

# **Towards a communication framework for South Africa's National Development Plan (NDP)**

by

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree  
PhD in Communication Management

in the

**DEPARTMENT OF BUSINESS MANAGEMENT**

**FACULTY OF ECONOMIC AND MANAGEMENT SCIENCES**

**UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA**

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July 2019

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*Dedicated to my parents: Mwenya and Bruce Mohlalefi Selebi; and grandparents: Julia Mapolane Selebi, Remmy Kalulu Chikonkolo, Ethel Nakazwe Chikonkolo, and Abram Serereng Selebi; and my late Professor, Ronel Rensburg.*

*"I come as one, but I stand as ten thousand"*

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

All gratitude to my Creator: The Source of all things, known and unknown... seen and unseen... thank you!

## **Supervisor and co-supervisor**

Professor Ronel Rensburg... thank you for being an incredible mentor and guide throughout this process. You always go above and beyond the call duty. For the time and effort that you've invested in this budding academic – I am truly grateful.

Thank you to Dr Estelle de Beer for her incredibly valuable input and assistance with refining my study and for stepping in when I needed her most.

## **Research participants**

Thank you to all organisations and individuals that participated in this study. Special thanks to Mr Bantu Holomisa and Mr Piet Uys for your assistance.

## **Erasmus programme (University of Porto)**

Thank you to the European Union for sponsoring a 6-month Erasmus PhD exchange at the University of Porto, Portugal. I appreciate all the resources and expertise provided. This opportunity changed my life and perspective in ways I cannot express. Thank you!

## **Colleagues**

Thank you to my colleagues in the Division of Communication Management for their continued emotional and scholarly support. Special thanks to Ms Samantha Rabie for her assistance with any admin-related issues. Thank you to Dr Anne Leonard for helping me iron-out some of the conceptual aspects of the study.

## **My family**

Maya Angelou once said, "I come as one, but I stand as ten thousand". This would not have been possible without the people who love me. To my parents, you are my

inspiration. You held my hand as I took my first steps. You nurtured my body and soul and made me the woman I am today. For that I am eternally grateful. Thank you to my siblings, grandparents, aunts, and uncles for your love and support. The best is yet to come for the Selebi and Chikonkolo families.

# ABSTRACT

## Towards a communication framework for South Africa's National Development Plan (NDP)

By

Olebogeng Selebi

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The National Development Plan (NDP) is South Africa's most recent economic plan. Its goal is to reduce poverty and inequality by the year 2030. The uniqueness of the NDP lies in its focus on harnessing the energies of all South Africans for its implementation. Regardless of its pro-development proposals, it has been met with scepticism by political stakeholders – namely, political parties and trade unions.

The support of political stakeholders is essential to the plan's implementation as they are the gatekeepers for policy implementation. Also, these stakeholders represent the interests of their constituents. Without their support and participation, constituent support will be difficult to garner. Additionally, a communication plan, strategy, or framework geared at acquiring this support was not developed. The goal of this study was therefore to present a framework of communication principles for the National Development Plan. This framework would serve as a guide for government communication in the South African context. Six principles were identified:

1. Know your stakeholders
2. Address ideological conflicts

3. Set standards for how government should communicate
4. Decide on the narrative and commit to it
5. Craft leadership image
6. Create alignment

The researcher arrived at these principles by conducting a discourse analysis (supplemented by thematic and summative content analysis) of the political discourse surrounding the NDP. Elements of the Two-Way Symmetrical Model (Dozier, Grunig & Grunig, 1995; Skinner, Mersham & Benecke, 2013; Van Vuuren, 2014) and the Arena Model of Reputation (Aula & Mantere, 2008:62) were included in the framework.

The data consisted of transcripts of Parliament Hansards, newspaper articles, and semi-structured interviews with political representatives from the African National Congress (ANC), the Democratic Alliance (DA), the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU).

This study had several interesting findings. The research reflects the perceived importance of strategic communication as a tool for imbedding democracy and promoting democratic rule. Both of which are important for South Africa as a new democracy. The framework presented provides a starting-point for this process. Additionally, it encourages active citizenry and facilitates in the NDP's implementation process.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

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### 1.1 BACKGROUND

South African society is plagued by inequality. This is indicated by the Gini coefficient, measured at 0.65 in 2014 (World Bank, 2019). This is the highest Gini coefficient in the world and indicates that inequality in South Africa has worsened since the end of apartheid in 1994 (Creamer, 2018). The National Development Plan (NDP), introduced by the South African government, seeks to address these inequalities. The NDP is a macroeconomic development plan to “eliminate poverty and reduce inequality by 2030” (NDP, 2011:14). What makes this plan unique is that government aims to implement it through the participation and support of a variety of stakeholders from different socioeconomic contexts (NDP, 2011). All South Africans are encouraged to participate in its implementation (NDP, 2011). Communication management (often referred to as public relations) would be necessary to inform stakeholders of the plan and garner their support. “Public relations practice is the art and social science of analysing trends, predicting their consequences, counselling organisations' leaders and implementing a planned programme of action, which will serve both the organisation and the public interest” (Skinner, Mersham & Benecke, 2013:3).

The Public Relations Society of America (PRSA) developed the following definition of public relations (Skinner, Mersham & Benecke, 2013:4): “Public relations is a strategic communication process that builds mutually beneficial relationships between organisations and other publics”. The field of public relations is based on the assumptions that (Skinner, Mersham & Benecke, 2013:4):

- Organisations require stakeholder approval for them to operate within the environment.

- Approval is garnered through open communication between the organisation and its stakeholders.

Since the NDP would require strong stakeholder support for implementation, using effective public relations and communication strategies is necessary.

In May 2010 former South African President Jacob Zuma appointed the National Planning Commission (NPC), headed by then Minister Trevor Manuel, to draft a vision and national development plan to address the needs of society and lead to economic and social development (NDP, 2011:15). The National Planning Commission (NPC) consulted a variety of stakeholders, including political leaders, before drafting the plan. Regardless of this, it garnered negative criticism – primarily from political stakeholders. Political parties represent the interests of their constituents and determine whether development plans like the NDP are successfully implemented. They are therefore the first stakeholder group responsible for implementation, and effectively managing communication with them would be necessary to encourage them to participate in implementation.

Organisations have various stakeholders who bombard them with demands (Grunig, Grunig & Dozier, 2002:2). Therefore they “increasingly depend on someone who has the expertise to communicate with and build relationships with these stakeholder groups” (Grunig, Grunig & Dozier, 2002:2). This indicates that effective communication is an informed process, managed with the adequate know-how. Stakeholders are dependent on organisations (and vice-versa) and communication management and public relations address this dependence (Grunig, Grunig & Dozier, 2002:2). This applies to the NDP and how it is communicated. Grunig (in Grunig, Grunig & Dozier, 2002:2) state that “public relations is communication management, the ‘management of communication between an organisation and its publics’”. This statement indicates the necessity for effective communication management when interacting with the political stakeholders of the NDP.

The NDP is not South Africa’s first development plan – it is preceded by four other plans (The Presidency, 2014:84):

1. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)
2. The Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy
3. The Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (Asgi-SA)
4. The New Growth Path (NGP)

As indicated in the subsequent chapters of this thesis, none of these achieved the goals they set out to, and the NDP is following a similar trajectory. Understanding the issues affecting implementation provided the insight necessary to develop a framework to communicate on these issues and leverage the achievement of the goals set out.

Political stakeholders (e.g. political parties and trade unions) are the first point of contact for the plan's implementation. They represent the interests of their constituents and the public in general. If they do not accept the plan, they hinder its implementation. The purpose of communication management is to "help organisations build relationships with the publics found within several categories of stakeholders" (Grunig, Grunig & Dozier, 2002:2). So, communication management is necessary to develop and manage the interactions between government and the NDP's political stakeholders. Negative perceptions of the plan, discussed in political environments, impact on government's ability to implement it. Regardless of this, a communication plan, strategy and/or framework that addresses concerns has not been developed (Government Communication and Information System (GCIS), 2018). Communication management addresses "the overall planning, execution, and evaluation of an organisation's communication with both external and internal publics" (Grunig, Grunig & Dozier, 2002:2) and served as a basis for the development of the communication framework. It led to the achievement of the goal of this study which was to harness the political discourse surrounding the NDP to formulate a framework of communication principles for the plan. This was done through a qualitative analysis of discourse around the plan. The framework should be used as a guide for the development of communication plans and strategies that facilitate implementation.

In 2011 the NPC compiled a Diagnostic Report that stipulated South Africa's social and economic achievements and shortcomings since 1994 (NDP, 2011). This Report identified a "failure to implement policies and an absence of broad partnerships as the main reasons for slow progress" (NDP, 2011:15). Based on this, slow progress has been caused by a failure to implement policies and a lack of partnerships with the necessary stakeholders. Communication management allows organisations to build relationships by facilitating communication between itself and its internal and external stakeholders (Grunig, Grunig & Dozier, 2002:2), and therefore helps build the relationships necessary to implement the NDP.

The Diagnostic Report also identified nine primary challenges faced by South African society (NDP, 2011:15), namely that:

- too few people work
- the quality of school education for black people is poor
- infrastructure is poorly located, inadequate and under-maintained
- spatial divides hobble inclusive development
- the economy is unsustainably resource intensive
- the public health system cannot meet demand or sustain quality
- public services are uneven and often of poor quality
- corruption levels are high
- South Africa remains a divided society

Society at large welcomed the Diagnostic Report and found it to be a frank and constructive assessment of South Africa's socioeconomic state (NDP, 2011). The Commission saw it fit to address the abovementioned areas of concern by drafting a national plan that was released in November 2011. Building on the Diagnostic Report, the NPC identified four thematic areas (NDP, 2011:15):

1. Rural economy
2. Social protection
3. Regional and world affairs
4. Community safety

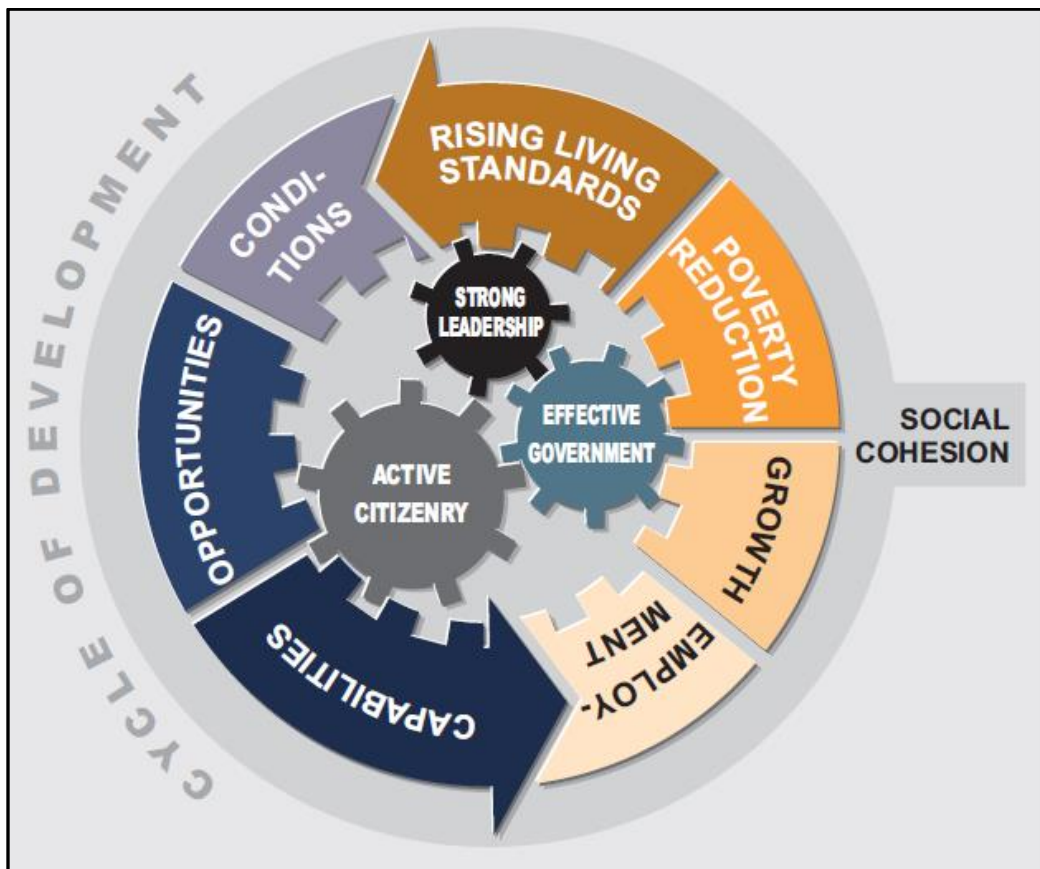
For the plan to be effective it would have to address the needs of a variety of stakeholders therefore the NPC consulted widely on the draft plan (NDP, 2011). Their public forums drew in thousands of people, met with Parliament, the judiciary, national departments, provincial governments, development finance institutions, state-owned entities, local government formations, unions, business, religious leaders and non-profit organisations (NDP, 2011:15). This gave the relevant stakeholders the opportunity to support the draft plan, propose modifications and make suggestions. Stakeholder theory states that organisations have a responsibility to consider the interests of their stakeholders (all parties affected by the organisation's actions) and should therefore be mindful of the effects of their decision-making (Branco & Rodrigues, 2007:7). The NPC's decision to involve the main stakeholder groups in this initiative helped to ensure that the needs of all stakeholders were discussed. However, this consultation process has not deterred the NDP from following the similar non-implementation trajectory of past plans. This study investigated the reasons for this and, based on the findings, devised a framework of communication principles to facilitate implementation.

Government made mistakes in the past with regards to its policy formation (Pillay, 2001:2), and these mistakes have led to political stakeholders being less trusting of policies. One recent admission by government pertains to the issue of land expropriation (Madia, 2018). Enoch Godongwana, Chairperson of the ANC's subcommittee on economic transformation, stated that "it would be disingenuous not to confirm that a lot of mistakes over the past 20 years have been made, [there is] no doubt about that. I would be misleading you if I don't accept that particular issue" (Madia, 2018).

Communication management is necessary to establish trust between an organisation and its stakeholders (Grunig, Grunig & Dozier, 2002). Stakeholders assess past mistakes as a basis to undermine the practicality and intentions of the plan. Pillay (2001:2) emphasised government's increased interest in partnering with non-government organisations, when developing policy. The NDP has been developed in line with this (NDP, 2011). The plan incorporated the input of stakeholders and opinion leaders from different fields. However,

the consultation process did not result in implementation as the plan continues to be opposed by political parties and trade unions. So, this study focused on identifying the underlying issues (ideological and otherwise).

The cycle of development (NDP, 2011:26), depicted in **Figure 1.1**, shows how strong leadership, active citizenry and effective government are necessary to drive development and create a socially cohesive environment. This thesis focused on the political discourse surrounding the NDP. The discourse of political stakeholders was then used for the development of a framework of principles to communicate the NDP and, in turn, facilitate its implementation.



**Figure 1.1: Cycle of development (NDP, 2011:26)**

This thesis addressed the underlying political stakeholder concerns affecting implementation and provides government with an informed framework to communicate



with stakeholders in a way that encourages them to be active citizens. In this way, it enables the cycle of development (**Figure 1.1**) and promotes the social cohesion needed for implementation.

## **1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM**

The National Development Plan (NDP) was released to the public in 2011, after consultation with stakeholders (NDP, 2011). It was preceded by four other development plans (The Presidency, 2014:84).

None of these plans were fully implemented, and without addressing the issues causing this lack of implementation, the NDP (and any other plans that follow it) will face a similar fate. This study indicates that one of the main issues impeding the implementation of the NDP is that the political parties and trade unions, that represent the interests of the public, are opposed to certain aspects of the plan. Without their support, it cannot reach other stakeholders. Regardless of this, a plan or strategy to communicate the NDP and facilitate dialogue to resolve issues and encourage implementation, has not been developed. Effective communication means that all participants comprehend and understand the content of the message (Lee, 2003:5). Also, in order to be effective, this communication would have to evoke subjective feelings such as trust, empathy, and mutual satisfaction with the stakeholders or audience (Lee, 2003:5). Steps have not been taken by government to develop a plan or strategy of this nature.

Political discourse provides an indication of how people believe society is, or ought to be (Kietäväinen & Tuulentie, 2013:847). Analysing the discourse surrounding the NDP provided a picture of the issues surrounding the plan and how to address them using effective communication. This required the researcher to perform a qualitative discourse analysis of the discourse surrounding the plan. The researcher selected qualitative research because of the depth of data needed to answer the research questions (Bryman, Bell, Hirschsohn, dos Santos, du Toit, Masenge, Van Aardt, & Wagner, 2014). Also, the study followed an inductive approach (used primarily in qualitative research), as the

researcher looked to understand the discourse surrounding the plan from the stakeholder's vantage point (Bryman et al., 2014).

Once the political discourse was analysed, and the research questions answered, a framework for communicating the NDP was developed. This communication framework can be used as the basis for the establishment of plans and strategies to communicate the plan and receive stakeholder support that facilitates implementation.

### **1.3 PURPOSE STATEMENT**

This study focused on communication as a facilitator of economic development. The purpose of this study was to develop a framework of communication principles for the NDP. This framework will guide the creation of plans and strategies to communicate the NDP and aid in its implementation by ensuring that it receives support from political stakeholders that are currently opposed to its implementation. This was done by analysing the political discourse surrounding the plan.

### **1.4 MAIN RESEARCH QUESTION AND SUB-QUESTIONS**

The overarching research question is as follows: How can the discourse surrounding the South African NDP be used to develop a framework of communication principles for government?

To address the above, the following sub-questions were determined:

1. What is the political discourse surrounding the NDP?
2. What are the underlying issues causing the contestation of the NDP?
3. How does communication facilitate the implementation of the NDP?
4. Who are the key stakeholders in the discourse on the NDP?

According to Bryman et al. (2014:42), in qualitative research, "good research questions explore the reasons why people do things or believe in something". The answers to the

above questions resulted in the development of a framework of communication principles to facilitate the implementation of the NDP. The overall goal of the study was therefore achieved.

## **1.5 DESCRIPTION OF INQUIRY STRATEGY AND BROAD RESEARCH DESIGN**

### **1.5.1 Study's overall research design**

Summary of study's overall research design, discussed further in the methodology:

- Qualitative research: This study focused on data and information expressed in words. Parliament Hansards, media articles and semi-structured interviews were collected and analysed. Also, qualitative research is about depth. This study focused on answering the question “How can the discourse surrounding the South African NDP be used to develop a framework of communication principles for government?” This is a qualitative question as, in line with Bryman et al.'s (2014:51) stipulations, a “how” research question provides “rich, deep, thick data” and focuses on the perspective of the participants. Quantitative research looks at the researcher's viewpoint (Bryman et al., 2014:51) and therefore did not meet the requirements of this study.
- Applied research: The purpose of applied research is to decipher social issues and provide solutions to them. The results of applied research can be used in real world contexts. This study resulted in a framework that could practically be used to communicate the NDP and facilitate its implementation.
- Phenomenological research design: This deals with “researching the world through the eyes of those with direct lived experience to discover how they interpret their experiences and make sense of their world” (Bryman et al., 2014:42). Phenomenology aligns with the qualitative, interpretivist (Bryman et al., 2014:14) nature of this study.

## **1.5.2 Sampling**

The sampling can be summarised as follows:

- Population: The population was South African citizens who are members of trade unions or political parties.
- Sample: Parliament Hansards and media articles on the NDP (between 2011 to 2016) were analysed. To add to the richness of the data, South Africans who are part of, or work for a political party or trade union were interviewed.
- Sampling frame: The political parties and trade unions that participated in this study were the African National Congress (ANC), Democratic Alliance (DA), the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU).
- Non-probability sample: This is a sample that has not been selected randomly. The characteristics of the sample were clearly defined in this study because it focused on the discourse of political stakeholders who are cognisant of the NDP and the issues affecting its implementation.

## **1.5.3 Data collection**

The researcher collected Parliament Hansards, newspaper articles, and semi-structured interviews on the NDP and the political discourse surrounding the document. All newspaper articles and Parliament Hansards discussing the NDP between January 2011 and December 2016 were analysed. The NDP was launched in 2011 and the study commenced in 2016. So, the researcher looked at this time period for data collection. The process followed is discussed later in the thesis.

## **1.6 DATA ANALYSIS**

The semi-structured interviews were recorded and transcribed. The responses were analysed to identify common concepts and themes. The researcher also monitored the frequency at which certain concepts arose. These concepts were the basis for the final

themes discussed in the findings. The themes were compared to the theory and literature on the subject. This fulfilled the requirements of discourse analysis. The Parliament Hansards and media articles were analysed in the same way. Additionally, Leximancer software was used to identify further concepts and themes as well as the links between them. Thematic and summative content analysis culminated in the overall qualitative methodological technique of discourse analysis, used in this study. This is further explained in the methodology.

## **1.7 DELIMITATIONS AND ASSUMPTIONS**

### **1.7.1 Delimitations**

The delimitations of the study were that:

- Political stakeholders from the following groups were interviewed: the African National Congress (ANC), the Democratic Alliance (DA), the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Therefore, not all political stakeholders were interviewed so the study was limited to this sample.
- The researcher chose an interpretivist paradigm. This restricted them to conducting qualitative research.
- The phenomenological design and use of discourse analysis as the primary mode of inquiry also restricted the researcher to qualitative research.
- This study focused on three data sets: semi-structured interviews, Parliament Hansards and media articles.
- The main goal of the study was the development of a framework for the communication of the NDP, which potentially excludes other development plans and policies.
- The data were collected between 2011 and 2016.

## **1.7.2 Assumptions**

The assumptions of the study were that:

- Past development plans are assumed to have not been implemented for the same underlying reasons that the NDP has not been implemented.
- Effective communication can be a facilitator of economic development and policy implementation.
- Political parties and trade unions have influence over the opinions of their constituents. They represent the interests of their constituents and have influence over whether or not the NDP is accepted and implemented by stakeholders.
- Analysing the political discourse surrounding the NDP would expose the underlying issues affecting implementation.
- The discourse surrounding the NDP can be used to produce a communication framework to facilitate implementation.

## **1.8 ACADEMIC VALUE AND CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY**

### **1.8.1 Contribution to methodology**

As stated, the researcher used discourse analysis for this study. To aid in this process, summative content analysis and thematic analysis were used. Future researchers will be able to use discourse analysis as a basis for framework development, using the guidance of this study. It also indicated how the use of software, like Leximancer, can facilitate this process. In essence, it displayed that an analysis of discourse can improve communication.

### **1.8.2 Contribution to theory**

This study contributed to theory in the following ways:

- It provided further knowledge on the political discourse surrounding socioeconomic development in South Africa

- It contributed to knowledge on the reasons for implementation of South Africa's development plans, or the lack thereof
- It provided information on how plans and strategies of government communication can be improved upon
- It expanded on how discourse analysis can be used for the formulation of a communication framework
- It exposed some of the ideological issues affecting how development plans are perceived by stakeholders
- It explained how communication can be a facilitator of socioeconomic development and policy implementation
- It led to the development of a framework for the communication of the NDP

### **1.8.3 Contribution to practice**

This study resulted in the creation of a communication framework for the NDP. This framework is detailed in the final chapter of this thesis. The framework is a practical tool that can be used in the formulation of plans and strategies to communicate the NDP.

## **1.9 THESIS OUTLINE**

### **Chapter 1**

#### **Introduction**

This provides a brief introduction to the topic and the main concepts discussed in the thesis as well as the methods of collecting the data necessary to answer the research questions and develop the communication framework.

### **Chapter 2**

#### **Meta-theoretical framework and discussion of relevant theories**

This explains the meta-theoretical framework that guided the study, as well as the main theories that guided the study.

### **Chapter 3**

#### **The South African political environment and its stakeholders**

This provided information on the political context surrounding the NDP. It empowered the researcher with information on the context in which the NDP is being communicated and implemented, as well as the political stakeholders responsible for implementation.

### **Chapter 4**

#### **Overview of South Africa's economic development plans**

The NDP is not South Africa's first development plan. As stated, it is preceded by four plans that were not fully implemented. Understanding these past plans and the issues affecting their communication and implementation helped the researcher understand the issues impeding the NDP's implementation.

### **Chapter 5**

#### **Strategic government communication**

This study aims to construct a framework of principles to guide the creation of plans and strategies for communicating the NDP. Therefore, providing the basis for strategic communication in government was necessary.

### **Chapter 6**

#### **Qualitative research methodology and design**

Discourse analysis is the research design followed in this study. In this chapter, the researcher discussed the theoretical basis of discourse analysis and its use as a research design. It also outlined the qualitative methodology and the research process followed for this study.

### **Chapter 7**

#### **Discussion of findings**

The findings from the discourse analysis are outlined in this chapter. Each of the findings is discussed in the context of the research question it answered.



## **Chapter 8**

### **Conclusions and recommendations**

In this chapter, the researcher provides recommendations for future research and captures the main conclusions of the study as they pertain to the research questions.

## **Chapter 9**

### **Framework of communication principles for the NDP**

This study culminated in the development of a framework of principles for the communication of the NDP. This was the main goal of the study. The framework is presented in this chapter.

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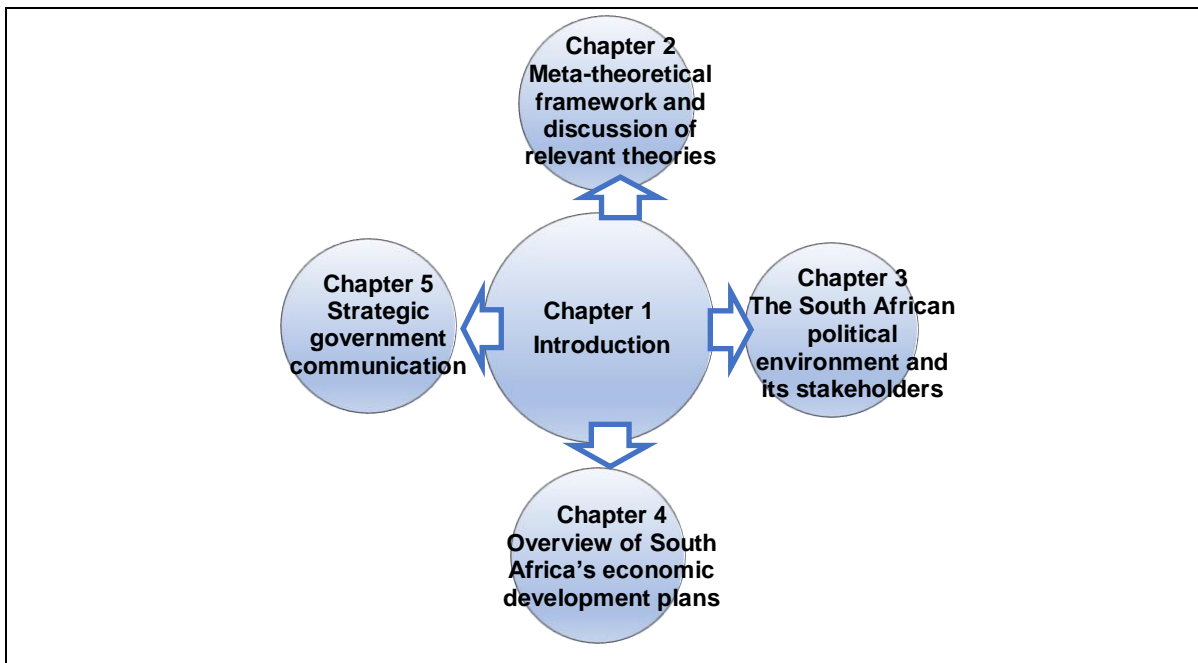
# CHAPTER 2

## META-THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND DISCUSSION OF RELEVANT THEORIES

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### 2.1 META-THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The meta-theoretical and conceptual framework provides background on the worldview and theoretical basis of this study. It also places the theoretical chapters in context, as indicated by **Figure 2.1**.



**Figure 2.1: Theoretical chapters in the context of the thesis**

A research topic is usually the result of a person's worldview (Onwuegbuzie and Frels, 2012:31). Knowing how the researcher perceives the world around them is important for understanding the development of the study as a whole. This also impacts on the literature used. Every researcher has their own perception of what is considered real knowledge

(Chilisa & Kawulich, 2012:51). These perceptions lead to a particular research paradigm, which has the following objectives (Chilisa & Kawulich, 2012:51):

1. To demonstrate a certain way of thinking that is commonplace for solving scientific enigmas. Therefore, an important part of completing social research is having knowledge of the theoretical foundations of the discipline being studied.
2. To demonstrate the “commitments, beliefs, values, methods, outlooks and so forth shared across a discipline” (Schwandt in Chilisa & Kawulich, 2012:51).

These are important considerations in the development of a meta-theoretical and conceptual framework, outlined in **Table 2.1**.

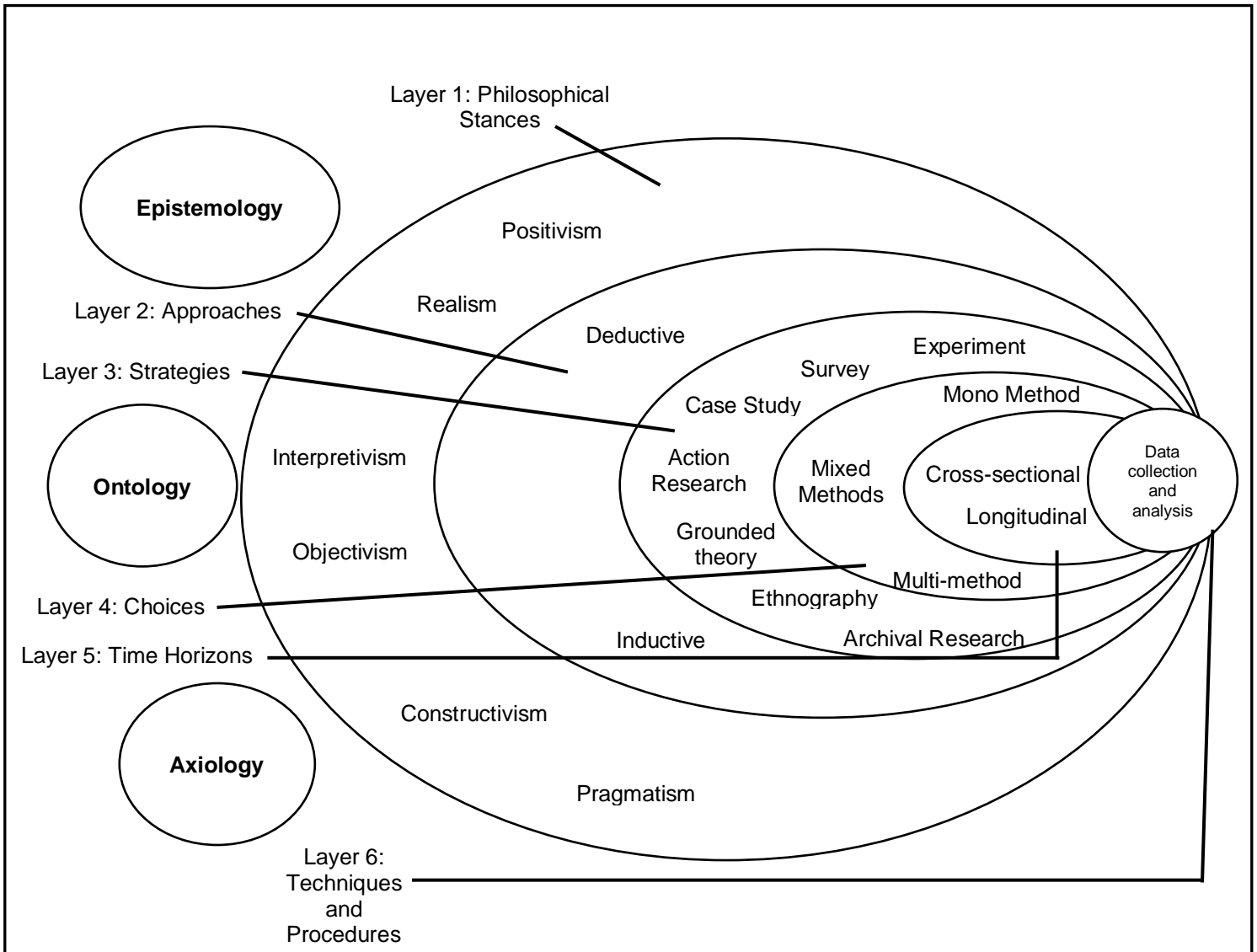
| <b>Table 2.1: Meta-theoretical and conceptual framework</b> |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| <b>Meta-theoretical assumptions</b>                         | <b>Ontology:</b><br><b>Epistemology:</b><br><b>Objectivity-subjectivity:</b><br><b>Axiology:</b>  | Constructivist<br>Interpretivist<br>Subjective<br>Value-laden |
| <b>Worldview</b>  | Interpretive qualitative worldview  |   |
| <b>Paradigms</b>  | Radical humanist / critical social paradigm<br>Interpretative   |   |
| <b>Grand theory</b>   | Social systems theory   |   |
| <b>Theories</b>   | Situational theory of publics<br>Communitarian theory<br>Social capital theory<br>Excellence theory<br>Theory of rhetoric<br>Stakeholder theory<br>Dialogic theory of public relations                                |   |
| <b>Inter-disciplinary focus</b>                             | Strategic communication management<br>Political science<br>Public administration  |   |
| <b>Models</b>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Cycle of development (NDP, 2011)</li> <li>▪ Strategic stakeholder linkages (Steyn &amp; Puth, 2000)</li> <li>▪ Antecedents of licence to operate (Van Riel, 2012)</li> </ul> |   |

|                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
|                     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ The continuous process of vision, strategy, planning, and budgeting (Steyn &amp; Puth, 2000)</li> <li>▪ Steps for strategy formulation (Steyn &amp; Puth, 2000)</li> <li>▪ Steps in developing a communication strategy (Steyn &amp; Puth, 2000)</li> <li>▪ The transactional model of communication (Dozier, Grunig &amp; Grunig, 1995; Van Vuuren, 2014)</li> <li>▪ Arena model of reputation management (Aula &amp; Mantere, 2008)</li> </ul> |
| <b>Construct</b>    | Strategic government communication  |
| <b>Key concepts</b> | NDP, communication strategy, framework  |

**2.1.1 Meta-theoretical assumptions**

A theory is “a plausible or scientifically acceptable general principle or body of principles offered to explain phenomena” (Merriam-Webster, 2018) and a meta-theory is defined as “a theory concerned with the investigation, analysis, or description of theory itself” (Merriam-Webster, 2018). Based on this, meta-theory explains the basis of theoretical discussion within a study as well as the thought process governing it, within the context of the study. In essence, it is the philosophy behind the study and explains how an area of interest should be studied (Bates, 2005:2).

To begin the discussion on the meta-theoretical assumptions of the study, the research paradigm will be explained. The research paradigm was formed by three things: ontology, epistemology and axiology (Chilisa & Kawulich, 2012:51). These, as well as how they impact on the methodology, can be seen in the research onion displayed in **Figure 2.2**.



**Figure 2.2: Research onion (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2007)**

The above figure indicates that six main philosophical stances exist: positivism, realism, interpretivism, objectivism, constructivism and pragmatism. How they apply to this study will be discussed in further detail.

### **2.1.1.1 Ontological position**

Ontology deals with what people believe about the nature of reality and the principles by which the world functions. According to Patton (in Chilisa et al., 2012:51), ontology helps

researchers understand if only one correct and unchangeable version of reality exists, or whether various versions of reality can coexist at once. This knowledge assisted the researcher in understanding the environment being investigated and the literature that should be focused on.

Due to ontology's concern with the nature of reality, it was necessary for the researcher to be aware of how they perceive the way the world operates and how society is constructed. The hypotheses that explained the ontological orientation were as follows:

- One of the reasons the NDP has not been implemented is because it has not been effectively communicated
- Political parties have an influence on people's perception of policy
- Understanding the political discourse surrounding the NDP can aid in the creation of a framework for government communication
- Understanding the political discourse surrounding the NDP would lead to the identification of the key actors needed for the implementation of the plan

When observing social phenomena, as can be seen in this study, the ontology would fit into one of the following categories: objectivism or constructivism (Bryman et al., 2014:16).

These are defined as follows:

- Objectivism "asserts that social phenomena and their meanings have an existence that is independent of social actors" (Bryman et al., 2014:17).
- Constructivism "asserts that social phenomena and their meanings are being produced continually by social actors, individually and collectively, through social interactions" (Bryman et al., 2014:17).

The discourse surrounding the NDP is continually produced by its stakeholders through their social interactions. It also asserts that social phenomena (such as the implementation of the NDP and the discourse surrounding it) and the meaning attributed to it is determined by the stakeholders. Based on this, constructivism is the ontological basis of this study. Constructivism indicates that meaning is constructed over time through interaction (Bryman et al., 2014:18). The interactions and discourse surrounding the NDP are

perceived to be constructing the meaning attributed to the plan's discussion over time. So, the discourse on the plan in political circles is constructing the narrative and therefore affecting the perception of the plan. This affects implementation. In this way, constructivism aligns with discourse analysis (Bryman et al., 2014:18).

### **2.1.1.2 *Epistemological position***

Epistemology explains the root of knowledge, how reliable the sources of knowledge are, and how people come to conclusions (Chilisa et al., 2012:51). It asks what the acceptable knowledge is on a subject. Bryman et al. (2014:12) discuss three epistemological positions – positivism, realism and interpretivism. Positivism focuses on using natural science methods and applying them in a way that helps people understand social reality (Bryman et al., 2014:12). Positivists believe that the scientific observation and interpretation of phenomena directly reflect reality. Realists hold the opinion that the scientific observation and interpretation of data are only one way of knowing that reality (Bryman et al., 2014:13). Therefore, realism points to the belief that there are several ways of studying the world. Based on these definitions and the goal of this study, the epistemological position is interpretivism. Interpretivism looks at the study of social science from the premise that people and the institutions they belong to are fundamentally different and cannot be studied in the same way as the natural sciences are studied (Bryman et al., 2014:14). Interpretivism aligns with this study in its focus on how individuals, who come from different political organisations, with varying ideologies, perceive the NDP.

In most cases, paradigms are related to particular methodologies. For instance, qualitative research is often related to an interpretivist paradigm, while quantitative research is usually linked to a positivistic research paradigm (Chilisa et al., 2012:51). This study used an interpretivist paradigm. Interpretivism proclaims that social phenomena are being created and interpreted constantly by individuals through social interactions (Bryman et al., 2014:17). This embraces the multiple realities and ideologies seen in the discourse surrounding the NDP and aligns with the use of discourse analysis, which was the main analysis technique used in this study.

### **2.1.1.3 Objectivity-subjectivity position**

Where a study is placed with regard to the objectivity-subjectivity position is based on the following assumptions:

- The objectivist stance comes from the assumption that the issue being studied “comprises consistently real processes and structures, which can be viewed from an external viewpoint” (Bryman et al., 2014:19).
- The subjectivist assumes that the issue being studied “is socially constructed by individuals to make sense of their social experience, so it can only be understood from the point of view of individuals who are directly involved in its activities” (Bryman et al., 2014:19).

The discourse surrounding the NDP is constructed by the stakeholders participating and engaging in it. According to Candor (in Finell & Liebkind, 2010:325), every stakeholder imagines a nation in a different way, making the term “nation” a hybrid construct. In the same way, stakeholders perceive policies like the NDP in a subjective fashion. This indicates that this study follows a subjectivist position. Also, interpretivism is an alternative to the positivist doctrine and requires that subjectivity be embraced (Bryman et al., 2014:14).

### **2.1.1.4 Axiological position**

Axiology determines the information that people generally perceive as true (Chilisa et al., 2012:51). According to Encyclopaedia Britannica (2018), axiology “(from Greek *axios*, ‘worthy’; *logos*, ‘science’), also called theory of value, the philosophical study of goodness, or value, in the widest sense of these terms. Its significance lies (1) in the considerable expansion that it has given to the meaning of the term value and (2) in the unification that it has provided for the study of a variety of questions – economic, moral, aesthetic, and even logical – that had often been considered in relative isolation”. Axiology is based on the value and scientific soundness of the research method. Based on the subjectivity position that applies, the research process in this study is perceived to not be objective.



However, the researcher did apply measures of scientific soundness, required in a study of this nature. This allowed the researcher to understand and recognise the role their values and opinion played in the collection and analysis of the data. Therefore, the researcher's conversance with the theory surrounding discourse analysis assisted in analysing the data with reduced bias.

### **2.1.2 Worldview**

Sigmund Freud, considered the Father of Modern Psychology, referred to worldview as “an intellectual construction which solves all the problems of our existence uniformly on the basis of one overriding hypothesis” (Nicholi, 2004:3). James W Sire defined worldview as “a set of presuppositions... which we hold... about the makeup of our world” (Funk, 2001). Worldview determines not only what a researcher chooses to investigate but also how they perceive the phenomena and go about investigating it (Kuhn, 1996:114).

According to Littlejohn (in Leonard, 2018:10), there are two main worldviews:

1. Worldview I: The first worldview is based on empirical and rational perspectives. In this perspective, the nature of reality has little to do with the individual. There are natural, scientific, tangible reasons for phenomena. So, little to no emphasis is placed on the perceiver of phenomena. The individual is not responsible for the creation of knowledge but rather, the knowledge comes from outside the individual. Objectivity is core to this worldview as it appeals more to a positivist paradigm.
2. Worldview II: This worldview looks to understand the context in which phenomena take place. This is more subjective in nature because the focus is on the how people perceive the world around them. Communication studies such as this one are most likely to be assigned this worldview because it looks at communication as a necessary tool for constructing society and social phenomena.

This study is based on the second worldview, as it aligns with subjective and interpretivist positions. Based on its paradigm, it follows an interpretive qualitative worldview because

this is a qualitative study based on discourse and interpretivism. The worldview has the following assumptions (Nieuwenhuis & Smit, 2012:127):

- Understanding humanity would require a level of introspection
- Society is a human construction
- The human mind creates meaning
- Human behaviour is impacted by what people know about their social environment
- Human knowledge and the social world are not mutually exclusive

The worldview guided the methodological outline of this study.

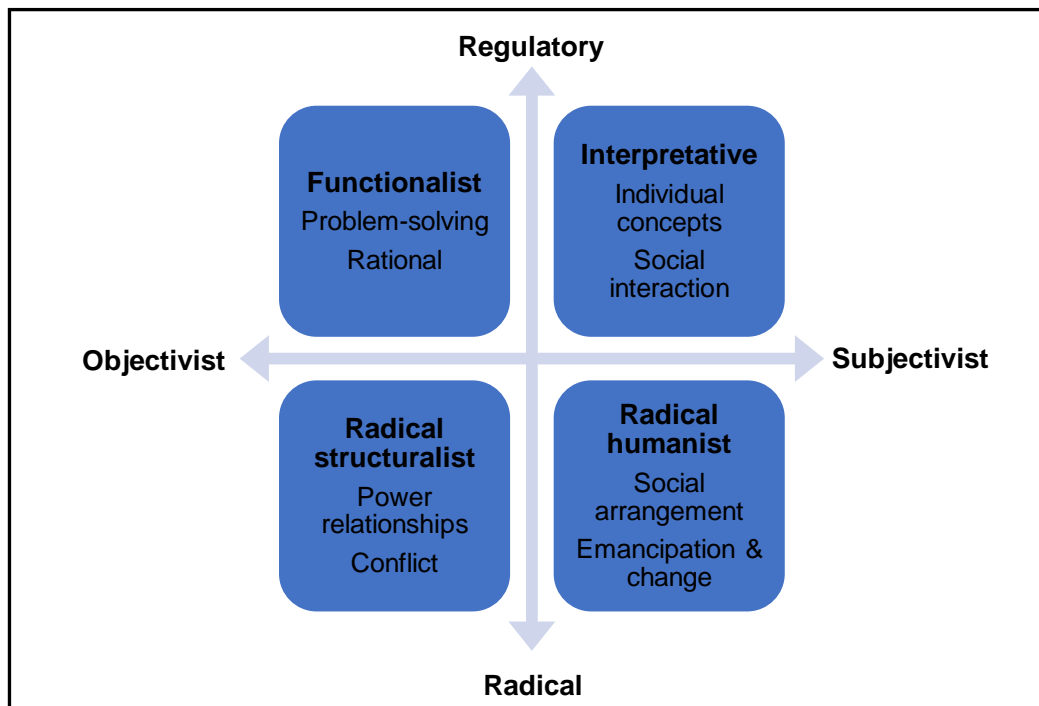
### **2.1.3 Paradigms**

The word paradigm came from the Greek word “paradeigma” which describes patterns and how they are formed (Thomas, 2010:292). It refers to the patterns that are formed in the scientific community and provides a model for scientific enquiry (Thomas, 2010:292). These patterns set the standards for how research should be conducted. Bryman (in Bryman et al., 2014:19) defines a paradigm as “a cluster of beliefs and dictates which for scientists in a particular discipline influence what should be studied, how research should be done, [and] how results should be interpreted”.

According to Kivunja and Kuyini (2017:30-36), there are four research paradigms:

1. The positivist paradigm
2. The interpretivist/constructivist paradigm
3. The critical paradigm/transformational paradigm
4. The pragmatic paradigm

Additionally, Bryman et al. (2014:20) identify four paradigms that exist in the functioning of organisations. These are depicted in **Figure 2.3**.



**Figure 2.3: Paradigms for the study of organisations (Bryman et al., 2014:20)**

These paradigms are defined as follows (Bryman et al., 2014:20):

- The functionalist paradigm (also referred to as the positivist approach) is regulatory and objectivist in nature. It is rooted in rationality and focusses on the use of research for the purpose of problem-solving.
- The interpretative paradigm is regulatory and subjectivist in nature. It focusses on how people experience organisations. The organisation is seen as a social construction. So, it is about how individuals perceive the organisation as a result of experience and social interactions.
- The radical humanist paradigm (also referred to as the critical social approach) is subjectivist and radical in nature. Similar to the interpretative paradigm, the organisation in this case is seen as being socially constructed. In order for change to happen within this this setting research would have to be guided by the need for change.

- The radical structuralist (also referred to as the post-modernist approach) sees the organisation as having developed as a result of structural power relationships. It is an objective radical approach to research.

The above discussion indicates that two paradigms apply to this study: the interpretative and radical humanist paradigm. **Table 2.2** displays the characteristics of interpretivism within a study of this nature (Thomas, 2010:298).

| <b>Table 2.2: Characteristics of interpretivism (Thomas, 2010:298)</b> |  |
|--|--|
| <b>Feature</b>   | <b>Description</b>   |
| <b>Ontology</b>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There are multiple realities.</li> <li>• Reality can be explored, and constructed through human interactions, and meaningful actions.</li> <li>• Discovers how people make sense of their social worlds in the natural setting by means of daily routines, conversations and writings while interacting with others around them.</li> <li>• Many social realities exist due to varying human experience, including people’s knowledge, views, interpretations and experiences.</li> </ul> |
| <b>Epistemology</b>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Events are understood through the mental process of interpretation that is influenced by interaction with social contexts.</li> <li>• Those active in the research process socially construct knowledge by experiencing real life or natural settings.</li> <li>• The inquirer and the inquired-into are interlocked in an interactive process of talking and listening, reading and writing.</li> <li>• More personal, interactive mode of data collection.</li> </ul>                   |

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| <b>Methodology</b> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Processes of data collected by text messages, interviews, and reflective sessions.</li> <li>• Research is a product of the values of the researcher.</li> </ul> |
|--------------------|--|

Interpretivism applies to this study because it strays from assumptions by allowing the researcher to question them and delve deeper into the reasons (Burke, 2007:11) behind the non-implementation of the NDP. This is in line with discourse analysis used in this study. Interpretivism “confronts the difficulties presented by the nature of the research domain such as the intangibility of many of the factors and relationships; the inherent involvement of the researcher within the research domain; the dependence of outcomes on the researcher’s perspective such as the definition of the research question, the design of the research question and the measurement of variables” (Clarke in Burke, 2007:11). This shows that interpretivism is ideal for understanding the intangible underlying issues that negatively affect implementation. The interpretative and radical humanist paradigms are both subjective because they place emphasis on seeing phenomena from the perspective of the individuals experiencing it.

The radical humanist approach is similar to interpretivism however, it is considered a more radical approach (Burke, 2007:10). Interpretivism seeks to uncover the reasons behind phenomena while radical humanism looks to change phenomena, once the reasons for it have been determined. Radical humanism is solution oriented. It also aligns with this study because it focused on not only understanding the reason the NDP was not implemented but, it also on developing a communication framework to encourage implementation.

#### **2.1.4 Interdisciplinary focus**

The broad research phenomenon of this study is based on communication as a tool for policy implementation. It is meant to develop a communication framework for the policies within the NDP to be implemented. This could be investigated using a myriad of disciplines, such as:

- Strategic communication management: The study resulted in the development of a communication framework that would serve as a guide the development of strategies and plans for communicating the plan.
- Political science: The study looks at political discourse and how the interactions of political stakeholders affect the implementation of the NDP.
- Public administration: Government will be responsible for using the framework of communication principles developed in this study.

Any of these disciplines may have been used as a basis for this study however, strategic communication management is the main discipline.

### **2.1.5 Specific models**

Konikow and Bredehoeft (in Leijnse & Hassanizadeh, 1994:197) define a model as “a representation of a real system or process”. This definition includes the basic equations as well as all input parameters needed to describe the system behaviour. This indicates that a model does not explain anything. Rather, “it is only the structure and/or function of a second object or process. A model is the result of taking the structure or function of one object or process and using that as a model for the second. When the substance, either physical or conceptual, of the second object or process has been projected onto the first, a model has been constructed” (Cooper & Schindler in Leonard, 2018:21).

Based on these definitions, the following models were used as a guide for this study:

- Cycle of development (NDP, 2011): This model can be found within the NDP document. It highlights the process needed for development to take place.
- Strategic stakeholder linkages (Steyn & Puth, 2000): This model explains the strategic linkages between the NDP and the political stakeholders influencing its implementation.
- Antecedents of licence to operate (Van Riel, 2012): This model outlines the factors necessary for stakeholders to support an organisation and provide it with a “license to operate” and implement its policies.

- The continuous process of vision, strategy, planning, and budgeting (Steyn & Puth, 2000): This model illustrates how strategies and plans develop from a vision.
- Steps for strategy formulation (Steyn & Puth, 2000): This model outlines the measurable steps for determining the success of the NDP's communication framework.
- Steps in developing a communication strategy (Steyn & Puth, 2000): This model provides an understanding of the steps necessary for the development of a communication strategy for the NDP.
- The transactional model of communication (Dozier, Grunig & Grunig, 1995; Van Vuuren, 2014): It provided an understanding of how two-way communication can create shared meaning within an organisation.
- Arena model of reputation management (Aula & Mantere, 2008): Explained how people's perceptions are created through communication within arenas of meaning.

## **2.2 GRAND THEORY**

Grand theories are generally abstract in nature and replicating a study in relation to a grand theory would be challenging (Bryman et al., 2014:7). So, applying them to the real world is a complex task. "To qualify as 'Grand', a theory should presumably have implications beyond the immediate discourse within which it was created" (Brown, 2013:484). Systems theory is the grand theory for this study because of the interdisciplinary focus of this study and the variety of systems that should integrate to implement the NDP.

### **2.2.1 Social systems theory**

Systems theory was first proposed by biologist Ludwig von Bertalanffy in 1968, and later applied to a variety of disciplines (Witmer, 2006:362). According to Bunge (in Pickel, 2007:400), "a system is a complex object whose parts or components are held together by bonds of some kind. These bonds are logical in the case of a conceptual system, such

as a theory; they are material in the case of a concrete system, such as an atom, cell, immune system, family, or hospital. The collection of all such relations among a system's constituents is its structure (or organisation, or architecture)". One of the main benefits of systems theory is that it explains the complex actions of and relationships between parts of a system (Witmer, 2006:362). This makes it a good way of looking at interdisciplinary studies. Athey (in Witmer, 2006:362) defines systems as interconnected components that produce a unique, bounded entity. These systems exist within a particular environment but, the extent to which this environment influences them varies depending on the system's openness (Witmer, 2006:362).

Perceiving systems are either open or closed can add a level of complexity to understanding them. According to Kast and Rosenzweig (1972:453), most systems are partially open and closed. People often perceive open system thinking as good, and closed system thinking as bad, but both are acceptable depending on the situation (Kast & Rosenzweig, 1972:454). For instance, closed systems are perceived to be better when organisations want to reduce uncertainty (Kast & Rosenzweig, 1972:454). Even though general systems theory is advocated for, organisations often continue to practice subsystems thinking (Kast & Rosenzweig, 1972:454). This leads to them operating in silos instead of acknowledging the interconnected nature of the system.

Closed systems tend to be unresponsive to changes in the environment. Open systems, on the other hand, base their survival on their ability to react to occurrences in their environment (Witmer, 2006:362). In this way, they strive to maintain a state of homeostasis (Witmer, 2006:362). In open systems, the input is taken from the environment and transformed through a throughput process, which leads to the production of the output (Witmer, 2006:363). Cybernetic systems are considered an example of an open system (Witmer, 2006:363).

Organisational systems are considered cybernetic because they allow elements from the environment to enter and leave freely (Witmer, 2006:363). People live and interact in social systems and introduce and transfer information between this environment and their



organisations (Witmer, 2006:363). “We influence the characteristics and cultures of our social systems even as they influence us” (Witmer, 2006:363). In this way, public relations and communication play a boundary spanning role (Witmer, 2006:363) to connect the components of the system. Environmental scanning provides information on the environment and presents it to the organisation to improve the effectiveness of communication (Witmer, 2006:363). Public relations provides organisations the feedback to help stakeholder systems deduce the meaning of events in their environments to maintain stability and balance.

Social systems theory was initiated by Talcott Parsons and advanced more recently by Niklas Luhmann (Elder-Vass, 2007:408). It helps to determine how to deal with concerns around how organisational operations are linked to strategy, and how both relate to the achievement of overall change (Hendry & Seidl, 2003:176). Although social systems theory is “not generally counted among theories of practice, but it is perhaps the most rigorous attempt yet at a theory of self-reproducing social systems” (Hendry & Seidl, 2003:178). In the conceptualisation of systems theory, Luhmann (2013:2) attempted to “scrutinise interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary theoretical efforts in order to find out, and demonstrate, what elements they might contain that could be of potential interest for sociology”.

Social systems theory is more interested, not in general systems, but in social systems and how they are created and governed through communication (Elder-Vass, 2007:413). It also focuses on how meaning is created within these systems (Elder-Vass, 2007: 413). According to Hendry and Seidl (2003:175), several researchers – including Hendry (2000); Jarzabkowski (2000); Whittington (1996, 2001); Johnson and Huff (1997); Samra-Fredericks (2000); Watson (2001) – perceive strategy as a form of social practice. Organisational strategies are developed on the basis of social practice. So, strategies provide insight into social practice and vice versa. As an example of this Whittington (in Hendry & Seidl, 2003:176) stated that to understand organisational strategy, one would have to look at the business schools in which strategy is taught, the consultancies where strategists are coached as well as the organisations in which they use their skill.

From a sociological point-of-view, strategy has two facets: it creates structure and assists in dealing with change (Hendry & Seidl, 2003:176). Strategy provides organisations with the structure needed to organise their functions and gives meaning to complex operations (Hendry & Seidl, 2003:177). When organisations have strategies, they are able to explain the reasons for decision-making (Hendry & Seidl, 2003:177). Additionally, strategy shapes discursive structures and how discourse takes place. “Strategies are recursively reproduced by the very practices they produce” (Hendry & Seidl, 2003:177).

Communication, according to Luhmann (Hendry & Seidl, 2003:179), is the basis for all social systems. No system can exist without communication or the combination of utterance (physical movement, speech or writing), information and understanding. This is due to the fact that communication is an inherently social function and cannot be abridged to an individual exploit (Hendry & Seidl, 2003:179). Communication requires that individuals come together. People often associate communication with the intentions and utterances of individuals but, perceiving it in this fashion is an over-simplification (Hendry & Seidl, 2003:179). At least two people should be present for communication to take place. Also, the effectiveness of a message is based, not on the intentions of the speaker but on how it is understood by the receiver (Von Foerster & Pörksen in Hendry & Seidl, 2003:179). Once the message is deciphered and understood by the receiver it becomes an abstraction and its impact is determined by its effect on future communication (Bateson in Hendry & Seidl, 2003:179).

“Social systems for Luhmann are not, therefore, systems of action, structured in terms of the thoughts and behaviours of individual actors, but systems of communications in which the communications themselves determine what further communications occur” (Bateson in Hendry & Seidl, 2003:179). This shows the importance of communication for the creation of organisations and social systems. So, the connections within organisations and their association to their internal and external stakeholders are determined through communication. It impacts on strategy formulation and implementation. Communication

should not to be considered a result of individual messages but as the overall product of communication processes (Hendry & Seidl, 2003:179).

The perceived importance of systems or mechanisms can be seen in the coining of the term “systemism” (Pickel, 2007:400). Systems can be seen in all modern science, whether natural, social, or biosocial (Pickel, 2007:400). This view asserts that everything in the universe is or will be a system or a component of one (Pickel, 2007:400). “There are no permanent strays or isolates” – everything, and everyone will form part of a system (Bunge in Pickel, 2007:400).

## **2.3 SPECIFIC THEORIES**

To understand communication theories within the domain of Political Science and Public Administration, one must familiarise themselves with the discipline of public affairs. According to Toth (2007:499), “public affairs is a specialisation of public relations that concerns building public policy relationships between organisations”. Public affairs helps organisations to develop quality relationships between themselves and publics that influence policy (Toth, 2007:500). Grunig (in Toth, 2007:500) states that “public affairs applies to fewer communication activities than does public relations/communication management. Public affairs applies to communication with government officials and other actors in the public policy area”. To further explain this, Dennis (in Toth, 2007:500) states that “the public affairs issues the practitioner has to deal with often have public policy impact. This, in reality, is oftentimes in the public interest however defined, and is thus the public affairs professional's overriding obligation and concern”.

When policies are developed by government, public affairs is the specialisation used to communicate these policies. To ensure success, public policy relationships should be understood and built with “local, state, and federal public officials” (Toth, 2007:500). Government public affairs officers have the responsibility of creating political and administrative responses to government's actions (Toth, 2007:500). This includes public policy development, public programmes, and lobbying for legislation (Toth, 2007:500).

Through public affairs governments can develop and maintain relationships between themselves and their constituents (Toth, 2007:500).

There is little theory on public affairs (Toth, 2007:508). However, certain public relations theories can be used to explain public affairs issues within the context of politics and public administration (Toth, 2007:508).

### **2.3.1 Situational theory of publics**

Situational theory has a successful track-record in grouping publics and determining what their attitudes are to certain issues (Kruger-Ross & Waters, 2013:178). In this way it is used to assume how publics will behave in certain instances (Kruger-Ross & Waters, 2013:178) and supports the theory of public opinion through its definition of publics and their opinions as communicative behaviour (Toth, 2006:508). In this regard communication is not only about words but gives an indication of the possible actions of stakeholders. This enables communication practitioners to categorise publics more effectively.

The situational theory of publics indicates that people react to messages through the processes of information seeking or information processing (Aldoory, Kim & Tindall, 2010:135). Information seeking is influenced by the independent variables of problem recognition, constraint recognition, and the level of involvement (Toth, 2006:509):

- Problem recognition: People recognise the existence of a problem and halt activity to find solutions.
- Constraint recognition: People recognise constraints that may interfere with solving the problem.
- Level of involvement: People determine the extent to which they are connected to the problem.

Understanding each of these variables paints a picture for the practitioner regarding how publics perceive themselves and their involvement, in the context of the identified issue

(Toth, 2006:509). These independent variables have an impact on whether stakeholders will participate in active or passive information seeking (Toth, 2006:509). Active or passive information seeking are the dependent variables (Toth, 2006:509). According to Grunig (in Toth, 2006:508), “high problem recognition and low constraint recognition increase both active information seeking and passive information processing. Level of involvement increases information seeking but has less effect on information processing”. The more involvement stakeholders have in policy processes, the more information they seek. However, this high level of information reduces their ability to process what they have learned.

When people discover a problem and believe it is within their power to solve it, they are more likely to seek information on it (Toth, 2006:509). Also, they are likely to form groups geared at solving the problem (Toth, 2006:509). Stakeholder disempowerment or a feeling of powerlessness will have the opposite effect (Toth, 2006:509). The situational theory of publics led Grunig (in Toth, 2006:509) to the following conclusions regarding the grouping of publics, based on their level of interest:

- All-issue publics: Publics active on all issues.
- Apathetic publics: Publics who do not care about any issues.
- Single-issue publics: Publics focussed on one specific issue, or a subset of an issue that affects a small segment of the population.
- Hot-issue publics: These publics are active on a single issue that is debated by the public and the media. These issues are topical and affect a large portion of the population (Grunig in Toth, 2006:509).

There are also other ways to classify publics. Latent publics for instance, experience similar issues but cannot identify the problems, which makes it unlikely that they would come together to find solutions (Kruger-Ross & Waters, 2013:178). These publics are unlikely to purposely seek information (Hallahan, 2000:511). Organisations should seek out the non-publics and latent publics to begin the process of building potentially positive relationships with them (Hallahan, 2000:511). Organisations should initiate these interactions and “assume responsibility for the communication process because of the

unrecognised or marginal interest often exhibited by inactive publics” (Hallahan, 2000:511). Once they recognise the issue, they are referred to as aware publics (Kruger-Ross & Waters, 2013:178). These publics face challenges that inhibit their full interaction in the arena. When publics are affected by an issue, aware of it, and actively participate in solving the problem, they are referred to as active publics (Kruger-Ross & Waters, 2013:178). Latent publics often have information on an issue but are not sufficiently motivated to become an active public (Kruger-Ross & Waters, 2013:178). This indicates that information is not always enough to convince people to participate more actively.

### **2.3.2 Communitarian theory**

According to Blustein, McWhirter and Perry (2005:150), the term communitarian refers to “the emphases on compassion, social obligation, and mutual determination. Human rights and responsibilities are balanced so that the principles of justice, human diversity, collaboration, caring, and self-determination complement rather than compete with each other”. Communitarian theory advocates for a balance between individual goals and the goals of the collective (Toth, 2006:513). Effective public affairs requires the creation of a sense of community (Toth, 2006:513). This notion comes from the public relations researcher’s work on communitarianism which is “an approach to balancing individual rights with community responsibilities” (Leeper in Toth, 2006:513). Communitarianism is important because according to Etzioni (in Toth, 2006:513), “the public’s current loss of control over our political institutions calls for a new progressive movement, a major social effort to energise a package of reforms that will reduce the role of special interests in the government of our local and national communities”. This indicates that communitarianism is interested in the collective and to energise stakeholders to participate more in policy development and implementation.

A communitarian perspective emphasises the reduction of social fragmentation, and an increase in citizen empowerment, and balance regarding rights and responsibilities of citizens (Toth, 2006:513). It follows a collectivist perspective of public affairs that looks at people as responsible for the language and culture they create (Toth, 2006:513). The

inputs and perspectives of all parties are valued equally and an environment is created where active-participative problem-solving can occur (Toth, 2006:513). John Dewey (in Rakow, 2018:316) shared this view by advocating for the “social self” as opposed to practicing autonomy as he saw language as “the source of the human and shared activity of meaning making”. He believed that if knowing and understanding information is an individual inclination that can lead people to either incorrect or correct conclusions, dialogue on issues would lead to better conclusions that serve the collective (Rakow, 2018:316). Dialogue with the collective would, in essence, prevent the negative repercussions of harmful ideas. This perception impacted on Dewey’s philosophy regarding democracy because he saw it as not only a political system but, a way of life (Rakow, 2018:316). He saw individuals as constant participants in the social arena (Rakow, 2018:316).

### **2.3.3 Social capital theory**

Social capital theory looks at how people create relationships within their particular groups and the impact these relationships have on their decision-making (Toth, 2006:514). The process of decision-making is not entirely factual or rational (Toth, 2006:514). This theory considers the nuances that exist in people’s experiences, as expressed in a group dynamic. The perspectives that come from conversations within these groups may not always be a true reflection of reality but provide an explanation of reality as it is experienced by individuals.

According to Perkins, Hughey and Speer (2002:35), social capital theory addresses the “norms, networks, and mutual trust of ‘civil society’ facilitating cooperative action among citizens and institutions”. It focuses on bringing organisations and stakeholders together to achieve mutually-beneficial goals. It is about leveraging relationships to achieve goals. Social capital has various benefits and is based on “generalised trust, access to and membership in various types of networks, and norms of reciprocity” (Rothstein & Stolle, 2008:441). It improves the performance of democratic institutions, increases personal

happiness, optimism and tolerance, and positively impacts on economic growth and democratic stability (Rothstein & Stolle, 2008:441).

Social capital develops from social structures that encourage communication exchanges (Toth, 2006:514). “These exchanges involve individuals, groups, organisations, cultures and nations, producing a shifting sea of relational creation, maintenance and dissolution that forms the framework for successful organisational activity” (Hazelton & Keenan in Toth, 2006:514). Social capital theory studies the social structures that generate value and supports the deeds of people and organisations in that social structure (Seibert, Kraimer & Liden, 2001:220).

Social relationships (that inevitably result from communication) are considered an asset for organisations and can be “banked, analogously to financial capital” (Toth, 2006:514). For an organisation to be conducive to emerging relationships it should contain the following dimensions (Hazelton & Keenan in Toth, 2006:514):

- 1) A system of networks that impact on relationship outcomes
- 2) People have opportunities to send and received information and have knowledge of the correct communication channels
- 3) The timing is appropriate
- 4) Referral is allowed and encouraged
- 5) It has appropriate social organisation

These five dimensions help with the determination of public relations success (Hazelton & Keenan in Toth, 2006:514). Also, the more connected communication practitioners are to these stakeholder groups, the more influential they would be (Hazelton & Keenan in Toth, 2006:514).

### **2.3.4 Theories from the Excellence Study**

The excellence theory is a general theory of public relations, developed from a 15-year investigation into the best practices in communication management funded by the



International Association of Business Communicators (IABC) Research Foundation (Grunig & Grunig, 2008:1). “Theories for the Excellence Study that relate to theory building in public relations affairs included the practical application of the symmetrical model with constituent groups, activism, and how excellent practices of public relations played out in governmental organisations” (Toth, 2006:515). The Excellence Study looked at the role of public relations for improving organisational effectiveness (Toth, 2006:515).

When approaching public affairs, excellence theory can be used for activism and creating excellence in government organisations (Toth, 2006:516). Understanding activists is important because their role is to challenge policy and influence organisations to make changes (Toth, 2006:516). Also, they often choose to partner with government against organisations they feel do not behave ethically (Toth, 2006:516). Due to their influence, activist groups are considered one of the most powerful external publics and should not be taken for granted.

Although activists put pressure on organisations, their influence should not be perceived as negative considering they push organisations towards more excellent practices (Toth, 2006:516). This is indicated by Grunig and Grunig’s (Toth, 2006:516) statement that “organisations that face activist pressure would be more likely to assign public relations a managerial role, include public relations in strategic management, communicate more symmetrically with a powerful adversary or partner, and develop more participative cultures and organic structures that would open the organisation to its environment.”

Excellence theory places value on relationships between an organisation and its strategic publics (Grunig, 2006:152). According to the Excellence Study, strategic public relations management is not based on the organisation (Toth, 2006:517). So, the results of incorporating effective communication will impact governmental organisation in the same as non-governmental organisations. However, there are a few unique issues that should be considered for government. “There will be more stakeholders and there will be conflicting stakeholders for a government agency to take into account. In addition, the leaders who provide strategic direction for a government agency are not only the

'managers' of that agency but also legislators and the chief executive of the nation, state or locality" (Grunig & Jaatinen in Toth, 2006:517).

### **2.3.5 Theory of rhetoric**

As indicated by the discussion thus far, language has an influence on people's perception and behaviour. Discourse, which this study is based on, has a persuasive element to it and is rooted in the theory of rhetoric.

#### **2.3.5.1 Rhetoric as a basis for discourse analysis**

Discourse analysis is rooted in the theory of rhetoric, which looks at the use of language as a tool of persuasion and communicating certain ideological stances. Although there are often negative connotations linked to the term "rhetoric", it is actually a neutral term that denotes the use of symbols to create meaning (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:2). It is the "practice or the product of message creation" (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:3).

Rhetoric is derived from the Greek word "eiro", which means "I say" (Dauterman, 1972:3) and the Greek term "τέχνη ῥητορική, téchne rhētoriké", which means "the art of speech" (Andoková & Vertanová, 2016:133). Aristotle defined it as "the faculty of discovering the possible means of persuasion in reference to any subject" (Andoková & Vertanová, 2016:133). "The aim of a successful speech delivered by means of an effective utterance of speaker's thoughts was then, first and foremost, to persuade the audience in compliance with the intentions of the orator" (Andoková & Vertanová, 2016:133).

Aristotle, the main author on rhetoric, further defined it as "the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion" (trans. Roberts, 2008:10). So, rhetoric is used when a communicator intends to persuade an audience and observes the context to determine the best devices for persuasion. Rhetoric is not a subject like medicine, mathematics, or geometry, but is considered a tool that can be used to communicate on any topic.

In ancient Greece, understanding rhetoric was important primarily for legal reasons (Andoková & Vertanová, 2016:133). It was necessary that people knew how to defend themselves, should they appear in court. The skill of persuading an audience to prove one's innocence was regarded highly (Andoková & Vertanová, 2016:133). Its importance then spread to the political sphere, primarily as it related to ideology and diplomacy (Andoková & Vertanová, 2016:133).

Aristotle (trans. Roberts, 2008:5) stated that "rhetorical study, in its strict sense, is concerned with the modes of persuasion. Persuasion is clearly a sort of demonstration, since we are most fully persuaded when we consider a thing to have been demonstrated. The orator's demonstration is an enthymeme, and this is, in general, the most effective of the modes of persuasion. The enthymeme is a sort of syllogism, and the consideration of syllogisms of all kinds, without distinction, is the business of dialectic, either of dialectic as a whole or of one of its branches." Based on this, demonstration is important in rhetoric. Simply making a statement without demonstrating its truth, is unlikely to influence the audience. In this way, rhetoric should appeal to a person's logical faculties.

To persuade the audience the orator does not need to explicitly make an argument but may, according to Aristotle, make use of an enthymeme and syllogism (trans. Roberts, 2008:5). Using these, the rhetor would make an argument in which one premise is not explicitly stated. They would therefore provide the audience with sufficient information to conclude in line with the intentions of the speaker, without explicitly stating what these intentions are.

To successfully understand rhetoric, three things would have to be considered (Martin, 2013:34):

- Rhetorical context: This is the environment in which discourse occurs. It also refers to the direct circumstances that lead to discourse. Understanding a particular context requires an analyst to know the "historical time and place of the intervention, the exigence(s) to which it is a response (a perceived problem) and

any broader circumstances the intervention also seeks to shape” (Martin, 2013:34). So, an understanding of the setting discourse takes place in is necessary.

- Rhetorical argument: Rhetoric is about the ability to use communication to argue effectively and make a point in a way that it is understood as intended while connecting with the audience emotionally. The element of rhetorical argument considers the condition in which discourse is taking place, and whether it is expressed in the vocabulary used in the initial message. Good communicators give their audience the opportunity to think of concepts more broadly and in ways that they may not have thought of in the past. The speaker’s ability to create a mental image in the mind of the listener is crucial to effective rhetoric. The listener will then take this image and interpret it according to their own knowledge, context and understanding. The following therefore apply: argumentative appeals, arrangement, style and delivery (Leith in Martin, 2013:34).
- Rhetorical effects: This deals with the effect that rhetoric has on people. The aforementioned factors indicate how rhetoric has an effect on people’s perceptions. Rhetorical effects also deal with measuring and determining the impact of a message on the environment and audience.

According to Macaulay (in Charteris-Black, 2014:745), Parliamentary government “is government by speaking”. This indicates the importance of what is said in Parliament and how that affects and reflects perceptions. Regardless of the perception that spoken language and rhetoric are on the decline in Parliament, the need for effective verbal persuasion has increased – more so where relations with the media (who transmit messages to the public) are concerned (Charteris-Black, 2014:745). Politicians communicate but their ability to consciously communicate persuasively is on the decline, even though the need for it is increasing.

Understanding rhetoric can be a complex task due to the subjective view of communication. To reduce this subjectivity, the main job of a rhetorical specialist would be to make inferences not only from the consistency and soundness of an argument or dialogue but also from the manner in which the message is organised in reaction to certain

scenarios (Martin, 2013:34). Each scenario is different, and the way rhetoric is used will therefore differ. Hence, understanding the context, discussed in the literature chapters, comes to the fore. Once this is done, the way rhetoric is used and interpreted in context can be better comprehended.

The rhetorical context refers to the occasion, the audience, and a set of constraints (Staggers, 2015:13). The occasion deals with the need for communication in a particular situation (Staggers, 2015:13). The communicator here understands what the issue is and communicates accordingly. The occasion is only considered rhetorical if the people have the ability to change a situation through communicating. The audience are the individuals the message is intended to reach. The communicator has knowledge of the audience and communicates in a way that would influence or persuade them (Staggers, 2015:13). Finally, the rhetor would have to consider the constraints and issues that may affect a person's communicative options (Staggers, 2015:13).

The ancient Greek wall inscription "Whoever does not study rhetoric will be a victim of it" demonstrates how important rhetoric was in ancient Greek society (Andoková & Vertanová, 2016:133). It insinuates that understanding rhetoric allows one to acknowledge how rhetorical messages are carefully and intentionally constructed. Also, the term "victim" gives the impression that rhetoric is a negative thing. This negative perception of rhetoric led to more debate on how to balance the mastery of rhetoric while ensuring that it is used ethically (Andoková & Vertanová, 2016:133).

According to Herrick (2005:1), Plato had a negative perception of rhetoric and its use by some. Socrates also shared this view, believing that rhetoric is used by people of naturally superior intelligence, to flatter those he believed to be less intelligent (Herrick, 2005:1). He used the words "foul" and "ugly" to describe rhetoric (Herrick, 2005:1). This reiterates the perception that rhetoric is used as a tool for manipulation. However, according to Aristotle "we must be able to employ persuasion, just as strict reasoning can be employed, on opposite sides of a question, not in order that we may in practice employ it in both ways (for we must not make people believe what is wrong), but in order that we may see clearly

what the facts are, and that, if another man argues unfairly, we on our part may be able to confute him” (trans. Roberts, 2008:7).

### **2.3.5.2 *Rhetorical appeals used in discourse***

Rhetoric creates aesthetic appreciation for language and clear expression, however its main goal is persuasion (Herrick, 2005:13). The three rhetorical appeals used to achieve this are ethos, logos and pathos.

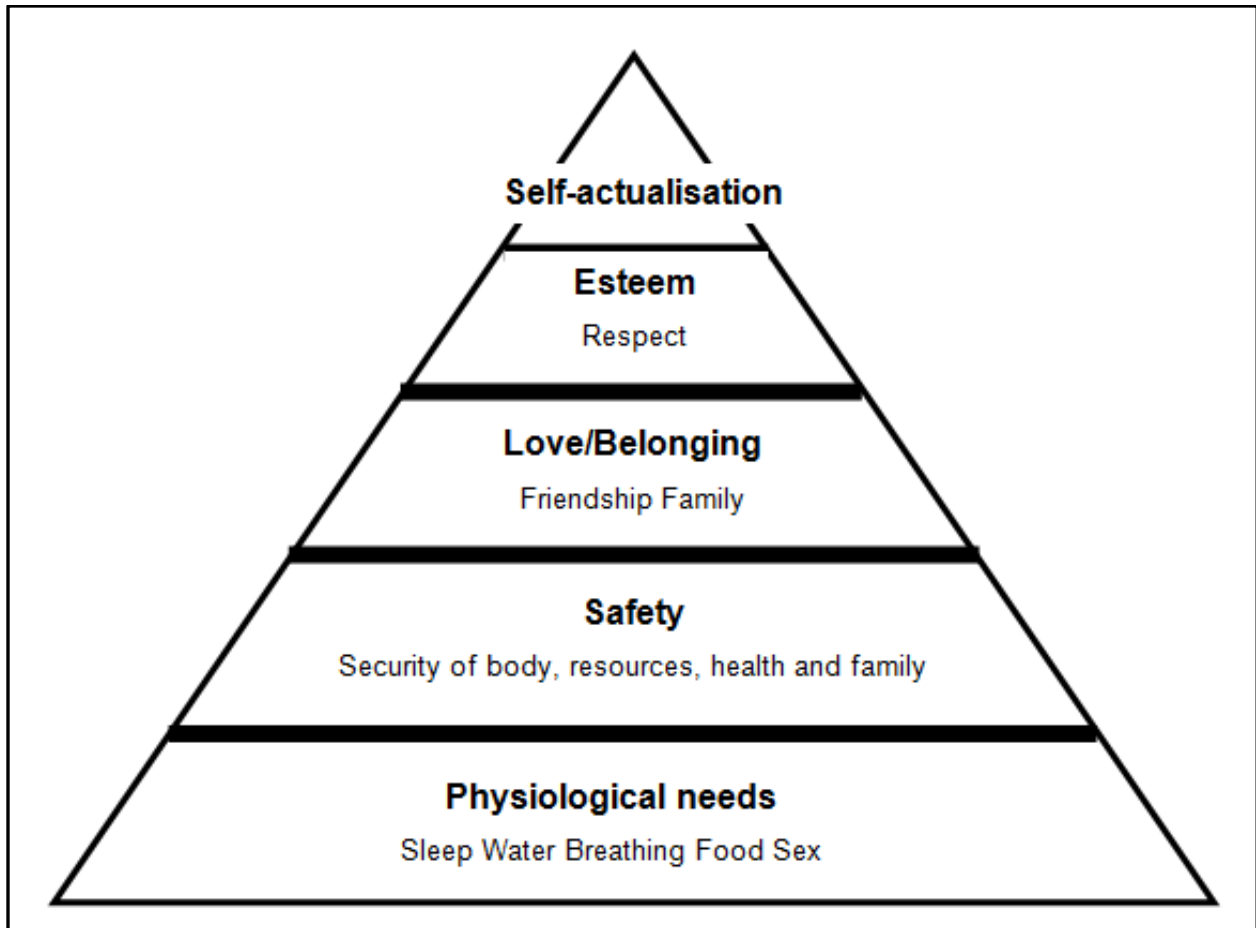
Ethos is linked to the audience’s perception of the communicator’s credibility (Branham, 2015:34). According to Aristotle (trans. Roberts, 2008:236), ethos is based on the rhetor’s “power of evincing a personal character which will make his speech credible”. Asserting ethos is not sufficient. Audiences are more likely to trust honest people (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:26). When stakeholders disagree on a particular issue, they are more likely to side with people they feel have a track-record of honesty (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:26). They use their own judgement to decide which party in a dispute is most honest (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:26). Character is shown over time, and this character impacts on the communicator’s ability to persuade. For rhetoric to be effective, the audience would have to trust the rhetor and see the speaker’s perspective as an ethical one. If the source of information is not trusted, it is unlikely that people would be persuaded. The audience should trust, not only the intentions of the communicator, but also their knowledge on the subject matter. Any mistakes identified in the message may undermine the ethos (Branham, 2015:34).

As a display of ethos, a good rhetor should demonstrate intelligence, strong character, and goodwill (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:26). A rhetor demonstrates intelligence through a track-record of making good knowledge-based decisions (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:26). Organisations demonstrate this through their competence (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:27). They should show their stakeholders that they can achieve their goals and objectives, and provide a product or service in line with the standards set by society (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:27). People gage a rhetor’s character by looking at how their decisions compare to societal norms regarding right or wrong decision making (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:26).

Additionally, organisations should show society that they are able to operate in a socially responsible manner (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:28) and demonstrate that they are able to make ethical decisions by society's standards. These standards differ so, understanding this would help the rhetor to determine whether their actions align with what is acceptable in a particular society. This would enable them to display that their decisions are made for the good of society, and that they are concerned with the audience's well-being (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:26). It shows goodwill towards the audience (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:26). Ethos demonstrates the influence of reputation on credibility (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:26).

The second rhetorical appeal, pathos, deals with the use of emotion to persuade an audience (Branham, 2015:34). Aristotle described it as a speaker's "power of stirring the emotions of his hearers" (trans. Roberts, 2008:236). It puts the audience in the frame of mind to accept a message, by arousing their emotions (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:29). Aristotle believed that the decisions people make are determined by the emotions they experience during the decision-making process (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:29). To achieve pathos, the rhetor should focus on the needs, values, and identification of the audience (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:29). Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs is indicative of this as it shows that although organisations have several stakeholders, all stakeholders have common needs that have to be met. These needs are displayed in **Figure 2.4** and can be categorised as follows (Van Vuuren, 2014: 219-220):

- Physical/physiological needs
- The need for safety and security
- The need for affiliation
- Esteem needs
- The need for self-actualisation/self-realisation



**Figure 2.4: Maslow's hierarchy of needs**

Audience's needs have the power to move them (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:30), so understanding these needs is important for connecting with the audience and arousing the pathos to influence them.

Once the rhetor has aligned to the audience's needs, they would have to identify and align with their values. Violating society's values may lead to a negative impression of an organisation (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:31). "Values are generally agreed-upon ideas of what is right or wrong or good or bad in a society" (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:31). To demonstrate their values, an organisation will use value appeals which are statements that show their alignment to societal values (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:31). Value appeals enhance organisational image. Also, in the case that an organisation may face reputational damage, value appeals reduce the level of possible criticism. Bostdorff and Vibbert (in



Hoffman & Ford, 2010:32) state that “appeals to values may be used to help prepare audiences to accept future arguments about policy issues”. So, if an audience already perceives an organisation as aligned with their values, they will be less likely to oppose policy changes.

To evoke pathos, stakeholders should also be able to identify with the organisation (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:34). This is related to both the organisation’s needs and values (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:34). People are limited with regard to the extent to which they can connect with each other. Language increases our ability to connect with and understand one another and breakdown some of the inherent barriers between humans (Burke in Hoffman & Ford, 2010:34). This is referred to as identification (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:34). People’s identities form from their groups, societies and the people they interact with. For instance, Jim Rohn stated that “we are the average of the five people we spend the most time with” (Groth, 2012). To identify with the audience, the rhetor can use the common ground technique (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:35). This is when they communicate and demonstrate the similarities between them and the audience (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:35). Pathos is not used often in organisations but works when advocating for change in policy as it enables the speaker to use stakeholder stories and experiences as examples of why change would be necessary (Branham, 2015:34).

Logos is the appeal to logic (Branham, 2015:34) and deals with the speaker’s “power of proving a truth, or an apparent truth, by means of persuasive arguments” (trans. Roberts, 2008:236). Logos is about using arguments and reasoning (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:38). Arguments are claims that are reinforced by good reasons (Wallace in Hoffman & Ford, 2010:38) and have three parts: the claim (the rhetor’s idea), the evidence (the proof they present to substantiate this idea), and the reasoning (the logic that links the evidence to the claim, and proves it correct) (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:38). Lane (2015:44) states that logos is “the consistency and clarity of an argument as well as the logic of evidence and reason”. There are two types of reasoning in logos – inductive and deductive (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:38). With inductive reason, the rhetor begins with specific examples that appeal to the audience and ends with a broader conclusion that the audience may not

have initially agreed with (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:39). The opposite applies to deductive reasoning in which the rhetor begins with broad arguments that the audience likely agreed with and ends with specific examples that apply to the audience (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:40).

Branham (2015:35) identifies an additional rhetorical appeal – *kairos*. This is the appeal to timeliness. The communicator would have to take the time at which a message is communicated into consideration. Certain messages are perceived to be more or less relevant depending on the time the message is communicated.

### **2.3.5.3 *Rhetoric and politics***

Aristotle (384–322 BC) and Isocrates (436–338 BC) saw rhetoric as a civic art (Andoková & Vertanová, 2016:134). So, it was an important part of governance within communities. Even the act of condemning a person’s rhetoric is seen as rhetorical (Andoková & Vertanová, 2016:134). This is due to the fact that the intention of condemning rhetoric is to persuade people that the rhetoric used is incorrect. So, people are using rhetoric whether they are aware of it or not. “Rhetoric as a civic art has the power to shape communities, form the character of citizens and greatly effect civic life” (Andoková & Vertanová, 2016:134).

Aristotle perceived rhetoric as “the antistrophos to dialectic”, which means that it is about exploring or debating the veracity of opinions (Andoková & Vertanová, 2016:135). In Isocrates’ book, *Antidosis*, he states that “we have come together and founded cities and made laws and invented arts; and, generally speaking, there is no institution devised by man which the power of speech has not helped us to establish” (Andoková & Vertanová, 2016:134). Discourse, and the rhetoric it is based on, create societies and are important for maintaining order within those societies. So, rhetoric cannot be separated from governance. Decades later, Aristotle’s work concurred with this notion stating that “it is clear that the city-state is a natural growth, and that man is by nature a political animal... man alone of the animals possesses speech. The mere voice, it is true, can indicate pain

and pleasure, and therefore is possessed by other animals as well and this speech is designed to indicate the advantageous and the harmful, and therefore also the right and the wrong; for it is the special property of man in distinction from the other animals that he alone has perception of good and bad and right and wrong and the other moral qualities” (Andoková & Vertanová, 2016:135).

Aristotle further went on to say that “Rhetoric is as it were an offshoot of Dialectic and of the sciences of Ethics, which may be reasonably called Politics. That is why Rhetoric assumes the character of Politics, and those who claim to possess it, partly from ignorance, partly from boastfulness, and partly from other human weaknesses, do the same. [...] Rhetoric is a sort of division or likeness of Dialectic, since neither of them is a science that deals with the nature of any definite subject, but they are merely faculties of furnishing arguments” (Andoková & Vertanová, 2016:135).

Regardless, Plato (428–348 BC) saw rhetoric as a tool often used to exercise power and manipulate audiences (Andoková & Vertanová, 2016:136). Plato argued that politics and rhetoric should be rejected in favour of Socratic philosophy (Floyd-Lapp, 2014:2). Plato believed that emotional appeals should not be used in political discourse, as it would be more ethical to use candid, authentic logic and reason (Floyd-Lapp, 2014:2). Contrary to this, the Roman orator Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BC) believed that rhetoric supports the republic and extends beyond the ability to communicate effectively (Andoková & Vertanová, 2016:136). According to him, the character and actions of the speaker as well as their knowledge of various topics is also an important part of being a good rhetorician (Andoková & Vertanová, 2016:136).

Although rhetoric can be used with negative intentions, it does fulfil certain social functions (Herrick, 2005:16). Understanding these social functions mitigates some of the negative effects of rhetoric because it empowers stakeholders by allowing them to participate in rhetorical communication (Herrick, 2005:16). It removes the perception that rhetoric is for the elite. In line with this, rhetoric performs the following social functions: (1) it tests ideas,

(2) it assists with advocacy, (3) it distributes power, (4) it promotes the discovery of facts, (5) it shapes knowledge, and (6) builds communities (Herrick, 2005:16).

Rhetoric promotes the development of a free society because it allows for ideas to be tested (Herrick, 2005:16). As persuasive as it is, the audience should be encouraged to scrutinise ideas and allow them to stand on their own merits (Herrick, 2005:16). In this way, rhetoric assists with advocacy because it is the method used to advocate important ideas (Herrick, 2005:17). Richard Lanham (Herrick, 2005:17) states that rhetoric is the study of “how attention is created and allocated” so it directs attention to issues that stakeholders find important (Herrick, 2005:17). It gives them a voice and distributes power more evenly between leaders and the people they represent (Herrick, 2005:19).

Rhetoric is related to power because it displays who is allowed to speak on certain issues. It also indicates the language in which issues can and should be addressed, and the media that can be used to do so (Herrick, 2005:19). How a culture determines this is based on their perception of the relationship between rhetoric and power, and the way power is distributed (Herrick, 2005:19). To evenly distribute power, rhetoric places emphasis on fact-based information (Herrick, 2005:21). People are encouraged to find evidence to support their stance, use critical thinking to analyse information, and accept the “clash differing argumentative cases that often accompanies rhetorical efforts, brings new facts to light and refines available facts” (Herrick, 2005:21). Differing opinions are seen as positive and are encouraged. Rhetoric shapes knowledge because it creates negotiation regarding information (Herrick, 2005:21). All stakeholders become participants in this process. It deals with how communities come to agree on what they know or value (Herrick, 2005:21). Through rhetoric people are able to test knowledge and not just accept information as it is presented (Herrick, 2005:21). In this way, opportunity is given for various ideas and ways of thinking to be presented.

Through its encouragement of collaboration, rhetoric builds community (Herrick, 2005:22). A community is defined by what people value, know and believe (Herrick, 2005:22).

Political leaders would have to play an integral role in the process of encouraging the use of rhetoric by all stakeholders.

Aristotle agreed that rhetoric could be used for negative reasons, however he believed that the positive effects of its correct use outweigh the negatives (Floyd-Lapp, 2014:2). People who lack integrity may use rhetoric, but Aristotle stated that its value as a tool of public discourse presents the opportunity to allow people to engage, both in terms of reason and emotion (Floyd-Lapp, 2014:2). Aside from its practical application rhetoric is also historical, cultural, and analytical. It is historical in the sense that it has been part of curricula for over two thousand years (Dauterman, 1972:6). It is seen as an important part of western civilisation and philosophy as it has influenced many of the great philosophers of the west. The cultural nature of rhetoric comes from its ability to capture the essence of human relations (Dauterman, 1972:6). Rhetoric is cultural because as the study of all human interaction, it gives one greater insight into the ethos of his own culture (Dauterman, 1972:6). Finally, rhetoric is analytic because, as a study allied with literary criticism, it concerns breaking down a whole into its discrete components so that one can better perceive how the whole functions (Dauterman, 1972:6).

According to Herrick (2005:7-15), rhetorical discourse is (1) planned, (2) adapted to an audience, (3) shaped by human motives, (4) responsive to a situation, (5) persuasion-seeking, and (6) concerned with contingent issues.

For rhetoric to be effective, it's goals should be planned before-hand. The rhetor would take time to strategise on the best ways to achieve the goals of communication (Herrick, 2005:8). This helps the speaker to determine which issues to address, the evidence they will present, the order in which arguments will be presented, and the resources that will be used to strengthen the argument (Herrick, 2005:8). This would include the rhetor being able to adapt the message to the needs of the audience (Herrick, 2005:9). The speaker would perform an analysis of the audience to determine the issues that are most important to them, and hence connect emotionally with the audience. Thus far, one can conclude that the use of rhetoric is not a haphazard process but involves a degree of planning and

systematic thought, which may aggravate the perspective that rhetoric can be used to manipulate audiences.

### **2.3.6 Stakeholder theory**

The NDP is a development plan that requires the input of all South Africans. It has a large stakeholder base. This study focused on political stakeholders because of their role as the gatekeepers of implementation. As has been explained, without political buy-in other stakeholders would not be able to participate in implementation. Political stakeholders have the power to encourage or impede implementation. Understanding this stakeholder group is necessary for this study.

According to Van Vuuren (2014:215), stakeholders can be defined as “people who are affected by the practices of that organisation”. Freeman’s (in Fontaine, Haarman & Schmid, 2006:3) definition affirms this stating that a stakeholder is “any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organisation’s objectives”. The organisation should be perceived as a grouping of stakeholders with the purpose of managing stakeholder interests, needs and viewpoints (Friedman in Fontaine et al., 2006:3).

Freeman’s stakeholder theory asserts that stakeholders include anyone affected by the organisation and its workings and is in opposition to Milton Friedman’s capitalism-based shareholder theory stating that the only stakeholders an organisation should care about are shareholders who contribute to the financial bottom-line (Smartsheet, 2018). According to Freeman (2004:230-231), stakeholder theory is based on the following arguments:

- Organisations must take into account the effects of their actions on others because they have a potential effect on them as well;
- In order to do so, they should understand stakeholder behaviours, values, and backgrounds/contexts by asking stakeholders what they stand for;

- Organisations should look at focal points that can help them understand what their stakeholders stand for;
- Organisations should understand how stakeholder relationships work at three levels of analysis: The Rational or “organisation as a whole”; the Process, or standard operating procedures; and the Transactional, or day to day bargaining;
- These ideas can be applied through new structures, processes, and organisational functions, and organisations can rethink how the strategic planning process works and take stakeholders into account;
- Stakeholder interests should be balanced over time.

The NDP’s stakeholders are varied and constitute all South African citizens. This is a substantial number of stakeholders to consider.

### **2.3.7 The dialogic theory of public relations**

As was earlier discussed, rhetoric is often perceived as unethical because of its use primarily by the highly educated and elite to persuade the masses. Regardless of the perception of rhetoric as a one-way process, audiences should also be encouraged to participate in rhetoric in response to the rhetor’s assertions. Kent and Taylor’s (2002) dialogic theory of public relations presents a solution to this by placing emphasis on two-way communication as a way of ensuring that public relations efforts remain ethical. “Dialogue consists of statement and counterstatement” and therefore ensures that all stakeholders participate in the conversation (Kent & Taylor, 2002:22). “As public relations theory and research move toward a two-way relational communication model, many scholars and practitioners are increasingly using the terms ‘dialogic’ and ‘dialogue’ to describe ethical and practical approaches to public relations” (Kent & Taylor, 2002:21). It is however important to remember that the use of a dialogic approach to communication does not force an organisation to act ethically, nor will it always do so (Kent & Taylor, 2002:21). In line with this, the concept of symmetrical communication indicates that public relations should ideally be guided by the standards of equality, reciprocity, and the civic ethos (Pieczka, 2009:2).

The dialogic theory of public relations (rooted in philosophy, rhetoric, psychology, and relational communication) asserts that through dialogue organisations would be able to serve the interests of all stakeholders (Kent & Taylor, 2002:21). “Dialogic communication is the sending and receiving of ideas between two participants” (Lane, 2010:7). According to Pearson, “It is morally right to establish and maintain communication relationships with all publics affected by organisational action and, by implication, morally wrong not to do so” (Kent & Taylor, 2002:21). This addresses the issue of the perceived unethical nature of rhetoric. In line with this, rhetoricians and philosophers have always considered dialogue to be an ethical way of communicating and dividing true information from false assertions (Kent & Taylor, 2002:22).

The words “dialectic”, “discourse” and “process” have been used by scholars to describe dialogue (Kent & Taylor, 2002:21). These words indicate that dialogue deals with the discussion of opinions and ascertaining their truth through the process of discourse. This aids with relationship building between organisations and their stakeholders (Kent & Taylor, 2002:22). Black (2008:95) indicates that storytelling is an important tool for promoting dialogue. It allows people to relate to one another by expressing their identity and empowering them to appreciate each other’s perspectives (Black, 2008:95). It allows individuals to see the world from the perspective of the other participants in the dialogue (Black, 2008:95).

When dialogue is used, each individual sees value in the other and perceives the other as an “end” rather than a “means to an end” (Kent & Taylor, 2002:22). Therefore, the needs, objectives and concerns of each participant are treated with equal importance. From a psychological perspective, the perception that individuals and organisations have of those they engage in dialogue with impacts on the quality of communication and the relationships that result from it (Kent & Taylor, 2002:22). So, if organisations communicate with stakeholders from the vantage point that stakeholder needs and opinions are of equal importance, they are likely to build better relationships with them. This aligns relational communication which identifies the following characteristics in dialogue: “genuine,



accurate empathetic understanding, unconditional positive regard, presentness, spirit of mutual equality, and a supportive psychological climate” (Kent & Taylor, 2002:22).

Dialogue results from continuous communication and relationship-building between an organisation and its stakeholders (Kent & Taylor, 2002:24). So, dialogue is not achieved by an isolated event. Similar to rhetoric, dialogic communication can also be manipulated and used unethically. As a result, Stoker and Tusinski (in Russell, 2008:12) believe that the goals of dialogic communication are admirable but can be unreasonable. “The use of selective communication designed to persuade like-minded publics transforms dialogue into two-way asymmetric communication” (Stoker & Tusinski in Russell, 2008:12). This fault in dialogic communication can lead to unethical communication practices (Russell, 2008:12). To deal with this, strategic communication is necessary to better ensure that stakeholder interests are achieved (Kent & Taylor, 2002:24). According to Hallahan, Holtzhausen, Van Ruler, Vercic and Sriramesh (2007:4), strategic communication deals with the ability to communicate purposefully. So, each participant should enter dialogue with a full understanding of what they hope to achieve.

According to Pieczka (2011:8-9), dialogue:

- is a process that is not necessarily continuous, but takes place over a long period of time, usually in separate instances.
- is reciprocal and occurs in groups where issues shared by the collective are discussed.
- consists of participants who understand and respect their differences.
- is about, not only hearing the other party but, seeking to understand how they think, and to be understood in return.
- does not focus on convincing parties to think similarly but to establish common ground between stakeholders.
- flourishes when participants have a mindset of respect and goodwill.
- refrains from the use of language that may be perceived as an attack on other participants in dialogue.
- is perceived as beneficial and constructive in itself.

Dialogue has five features: mutuality, propinquity, empathy, risk, and commitment (Kent and Taylor, 2002:24-25). Firstly, mutuality deals with the cognisance of the fact that organisations and their stakeholders are intertwined (Kent & Taylor, 2002:25). When organisations make plans they should take the intertwined stakeholder relationships, and the effect they have, into consideration (Kent & Taylor, 2002:25). “Unlike bargaining/negotiation, dialogue is not about winning, losing, or compromising” – it is about collaboration and nurturing a “spirit of mutual equality” (Kent & Taylor, 2002:25). It focuses on stakeholder perspectives and the reasons they them (Kent & Taylor, 2002:25). Participating in dialogic communication means understanding that reality is subjective and that neither participant knows the complete truth about an issue (Kent & Taylor, 2002:25). According to Bentley (2012:2), this indicates that “the process of making meaning is inherently creative. Dialogic communication does not find truth but constructs it”.

The second concept is propinquity. Propinquity drives the relationship between the participants in dialogue and “advocates for a type of rhetorical exchange” (Kent & Taylor, 2002:26). Propinquity asserts that stakeholders should be involved in dialogue on issues that affect them (Kent & Taylor, 2002:26). This is achieved through “immediacy of presence,” “temporal flow,” and “engagement” (Kent & Taylor, 2002:26). Immediacy of presence indicates that stakeholders should be involved in the decision-making process, instead of being informed of decisions taken after-the-fact (Kent & Taylor, 2002:26). Regardless of this, dialogic communication is not only rooted in the present but, takes the past and future into consideration (Kent & Taylor, 2002:26). This aligns with the necessity of the “temporal flow” of dialogic communication. Also, for dialogue to be effective, participants would have to engage whole-heartedly (Kent & Taylor, 2002:26). The conversation should be accessible to stakeholders and each participant should take it seriously for it to be effective (Kent & Taylor, 2002:26).

Thirdly, empathy would have to be integrated into dialogue. Empathy insinuates that dialogue creates an environment where support and trust are the norm (Kent & Taylor, 2002:27). It is characterised by “supportiveness,” a “communal orientation,” and

“confirmation or acknowledgment” (Kent & Taylor, 2002:27). Dialogic communication does not only encourage dialogue, but it facilitates it as well. It ascertains that each stakeholder has an equal chance to express their perspective and that neither stakeholder dominates the conversation. “Dialogue is not synonymous with ‘debate’ – which is about the clash of ideas – but rather, dialogue is more akin to a conversation between lovers where each has his or her own desires but seeks the other’s good” (Kent & Taylor, 2002:27). To do so, each party would have to acknowledge and confirm the perspective of the other, even though they have the right to ignore it (Kent & Taylor, 2002:27). This confirmation is necessary for building trust with stakeholders (Kent & Taylor, 2002:27).

Regardless of this, the unpredictability of dialogic communication comes with its own risks. These risks are characterised by “vulnerability,” “emergent unanticipated consequences,” and a “recognition of ‘strange otherness’” (Kent & Taylor, 2002:28). To engage effectively, participants would have to display a level of vulnerability by expressing themselves in an honest fashion at the risk of possibly being ridiculed by the other party (Kent & Taylor, 2002:28). “It is through self-disclosure and risk that relationships are built and the possibility for change on the part of participants exists” (Kent & Taylor, 2002:28). This can result in unanticipated consequences resulting from the spontaneous nature of dialogic communication (Kent & Taylor, 2002:28). The final risk pertains to the consideration of strange otherness that results from honest dialogue. This deals with the consciousness of differences between participants in dialogue (Kent and Taylor, 2002:28). However, these differences should be embraced as stakeholders should not be expected to be the same (Kent & Taylor, 2002:28). These differences add interesting nuances to dialogue.

The fifth feature of dialogue is commitment which deals with three characteristics of dialogue: “genuineness”, “commitment to the conversation,” and a “commitment to interpretation” (Kent & Taylor, 2002:29). The first characteristic refers to the authenticity of the dialogue and whether the participants are forthright with information (Kent & Taylor, 2002:29). Organisations and stakeholders that communicate openly are able to develop more mutually-beneficial strategies (Kent & Taylor, 2002:29). To facilitate this process, participants should commit to the conversation and do so for the mutual benefit of all

stakeholders instead of attempting to exploit the weaknesses of participants (Kent & Taylor, 2002:29). Also, participants should be committed to interpreting the information they receive as clearly as possible (Kent & Taylor, 2002:29). So, efforts should be made to “grasp the positions, beliefs, and values of others before their positions can be equitably evaluated” (Kent & Taylor, 2002:29).

This meta-theoretical and conceptual framework formed the basis of this study and aided in the researcher’s interpretation of the literature and findings. It explained the meta-theoretical assumptions, worldview, paradigms, grand theory, inter-disciplinary focus, theories, models, the construct and key concepts for this study.

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## **CHAPTER 3**

### **THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT AND ITS STAKEHOLDERS**

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The National Development Plan was launched in 2011 to “eliminate poverty and reduce inequality by 2030. South Africa can realise these goals by drawing on the energies of its people, growing an inclusive economy, building capabilities, enhancing the capacity of the state, and promoting leadership and partnerships throughout society” (NDP, 2011:14). This statement indicates the importance of stakeholder participation in the NDP’s implementation. The definition of “stakeholder” used earlier in the thesis applies to this study and stipulates the following:

- Stakeholders are “people who are affected by the practices of that organisation” (Van Vuuren, 2014:215)
- Stakeholders are “any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organisation’s objectives” (Freeman in Fontaine et al., 2006:3)

These definitions concur with one another and were the basis for the researcher’s understanding of this concept, applied to the political environment. Due to their influence over constituents and implementation, political stakeholders are the first stakeholders needed for implementation. Therefore, this chapter is dedicated to the NDP’s political environment and the stakeholder relationships that govern it, and addresses the following:

- The South African political environment and the political ideologies that govern how stakeholders relate to the NDP
- The strategic linkages between the NDP and its political stakeholders

When it comes to development, socioeconomic issues are the basis for discussion in the media, political circles and the general public. These socioeconomic issues are indicated by South Africa’s high Gini-coefficient of 0.58 (Cheru, 2001:505). According to the Mail

and Guardian (2015), this measure has increased to between 0.660 and 0.696, indicating an increase in income inequality and an increased need for the implementation of the NDP, which proposes strategies to reduce inequality. Inequality exacerbates socioeconomic issues in South Africa. Some political parties and trade unions disagree with the ANC's NDP strategy for dealing with inequality. The following section stipulates the reasons for this by explaining the political environment as well as the ideologies of the parties and unions influencing it.

### **3.1 THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT**

The NDP was launched in a complex political environment. This is a unique environment consisting of 13 political parties, all with their own ideologies, manifestos and perspectives. Understanding this environment is an important part of communicating the NDP.

According to Parliament (2018), the political parties in South Africa are:

- African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)
- African Independent Congress (AIC)
- African National Congress (ANC)
- African People's Convention (APC)
- Agang SA (AGANG)
- Congress of the People (COPE)
- Democratic Alliance (DA)
- Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)
- Freedom Front Plus (FF +)
- Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)
- National Freedom Party (NFP)
- Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)
- United Democratic Movement (UDM)

**Table 3.1** indicates the Political Party Representation in the National Assembly (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2014). This is the current composition of Parliament and gives an indication of the most influential political parties in South Africa. These parties represent 90.73% of the population and are as follows (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2014):

1. African National Congress with 62.15% of the total votes
2. Democratic Alliance with 22.23% of the total votes
3. Economic Freedom Fighters with 6.35% of the total votes

Based on this, these parties represent over 90 percent of South Africans and have the most influence over the plan’s communication and implementation in the political arena.

| <b>Table 3.1: Political Party Representation in National Assembly (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2014)</b> |                     |                       |                               |                                 |                                  |                          |
|--|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| <b>Party</b>   | <b>Abbreviation</b> | <b>Votes Received</b> | <b>% of Total Valid Votes</b> | <b>Seats from National List</b> | <b>Seats from Regional Lists</b> | <b>Total No of Seats</b> |
| <b>African National Congress</b>   | ANC                 | 11 436 921            | 62.15%                        | 118                             | 131                              | 249                      |
| <b>Democratic Alliance</b>   | DA                  | 4 091 584             | 22.23%                        | 45                              | 44                               | 89                       |
| <b>Economic Freedom Fighters</b>   | EFF                 | 1 169 259             | 6.35%                         | 11                              | 14                               | 25                       |
| <b>Inkatha Freedom Party</b>   | IFP                 | 441 854               | 2.40%                         | 5                               | 5                                | 10                       |

|   |          |                   |       |     |     |     |
|---|----------|-------------------|-------|-----|-----|-----|
| <b>National Freedom Party</b>             | NFP      | 288 742           | 1.57% | 3   | 3   | 6   |
| <b>United Democratic Movement</b>         | UDM      | 184 636           | 1.00% | 2   | 2   | 4   |
| <b>Freedom Front Plus</b>                 | FF Plus  | 165 715           | 0.90% | 3   | 1   | 4   |
| <b>Congress of the People</b>             | Cope     | 123 235           | 0.67% | 3   | -   | 3   |
| <b>African Christian Democratic Party</b> | ACDP     | 104 039           | 0.57% | 3   | -   | 3   |
| <b>African Independent Congress</b>       | AIC      | 97 642            | 0.53% | 3   | -   | 3   |
| <b>Agang SA</b>                           | Agang SA | 52 350            | 0.28% | 2   | -   | 2   |
| <b>Pan Africanist Congress of Azania</b>  | PAC      | 37 784            | 0.21% | 1   | -   | 1   |
| <b>African People's Convention</b>        | APC      | 30 676            | 0.17% | 1   | -   | 1   |
|   |          | <b>18 224 437</b> |       | 200 | 200 | 400 |

Now that the most influential political parties have been identified, the philosophies and ideologies that govern them will be discussed. This provides information on the ideological predispositions affecting implementation.



### **3.1.1 African National Congress (ANC)**

The ANC was established in Bloemfontein on 8 January 1912 and was based on the belief that racial division in South Africa was unethical (Odendaal, 2012:466-473). With this in mind, one of its ideological undertakings was to bring black South Africans together to challenge the racial division enforced by the Apartheid government and to oppose the exclusion of black Africans from the political process at the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 (Twala, 2014:1988). People from various sectors of society (e.g. traditional leaders, lawyers, clerks, teachers and religious leaders) responded to this message and met in Bloemfontein to establish the ANC (Odendaal, 2012: 466-473).

Dubow (2000:1) stated the following: “From its founding in 1912 and in the guise of its earlier incarnation, the South African Native National Congress, the ANC’s political orientation pivoted on the need to defend and advance African civil and political rights against colonial discrimination and subjugation. Its founding leadership was constituted from the African elite. Educated and socialised in Western mores and customs, its members were driven to unite the range of scattered opposition movements to better contest colonial hegemony”. The ANC’s political identity and exclusive membership for Africans was entrenched in the establishment of the Union, which was a consolidation of four provinces that represented the interests of English- and Afrikaans-speaking white South Africans (Odendaal, 2012: 466-473).

The opposing principles and ideologies of the ANC are visible throughout its history. The ideological divide became prominent during the exile years of the movement (Twala, 2014:1988) where ANC members, out of fear of the apartheid government’s persecution, fled the country. This meant that the ANC was fragmented, with members seeking refuge across the continent, and in some cases, on other continents. What was once a unified party with a single ideology became a party with several ideologies evolving differently from one group to another.

The discussion thus far indicates that the ANC's ideology has evolved over time depending on the phase that the organisation was in, and South Africa's political climate. According to Twala (2014:1989-1992), the ideological shifts have been as follows:

- Forging the unity of Africans in South Africa
- Promoting the nationalist agenda
- The question of non-racialism
- The struggle for multi-racialism
- The pro-business policies
- Adopting the principles of democratic centralism
- Promotion of social democracy

### **3.1.1.1      *Forging the unity of Africans in South Africa***

The Constitution of the ANC, approved by the executive committee in 1918, stated that its aims included the achievement of universal adult franchise and the creation of a united democratic South Africa (Twala, 2014:1989). The ANC endorsed these ideals by sending petitions and delegations to the South African and British governments. Motshega (2010: 95) stated that “one of the original purposes of the ANC was to bring together a wide variety of different ethnic groups and tribes, to bring about unity and cooperation between people of colour”. From the ANC's establishment in 1912 to the 1950s, ANC ideology was dominated by African nationalism (Twala, 2014:1989). Nationalism refers to an ideology, a form of culture, or a social movement that emphasises the collective of a specific nation (SAHO, 2018). As an ideology, nationalism holds that ‘the people’, in the doctrine of popular sovereignty, is the nation and is ultimately based on supporting one's own nation (SAHO, 2018). African nationalism is a political movement for the unification of Africa (Pan-Africanism) and for national self-determination (SAHO, 2018). The ANC sought to further black interests, while white participation in the black African struggle was limited. ANC membership was exclusively black throughout this period. The formation of the Congress Alliance in the 1950s, which facilitated political cooperation amongst black, coloured and Indian activists saw a more integrated approach to the ANC's liberation efforts (Twala, 2014:1989).

### **3.1.1.2      *Promoting the nationalist agenda***

When the ANC was founded in 1912, the movement was known as the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), which changed to the ANC in 1923, indicating its commitment to the nationalist agenda (Rantete, 1998:3). The liberation struggle was conceived by the ANC's primary focus of 'self-determination' and overthrowing apartheid, more so than on achieving democracy (Twala, 2014:1990). The struggle was more about the equality of the nation than it was about equality for people as individuals (Southall, 2003:255-272). This is aligned with the collectivist culture commonly seen in Africa. As early as 1911, Pixley ka Isaka Seme, one of the ANC's founding members, stated that the "demons of racialism, the aberration of the Xhosa-Fingo feud, the animosity that exists between the Zulus and the Tsongas, between the Basothos and every other Native must be buried and forgotten; it has shed among us sufficient blood! We are one people. These divisions, these jealousies, are the cause of all our woes and of all our backwardness and ignorance today" (Meli, 1988:36).

### **3.1.1.3      *The question of non-racialism***

Although the ownership and meaning of the term 'non-racialism' is contested, it is often understood to imply the denial of race and its complete negation (Twala, 2014:1990). In the 1920s the ANC adopted the concept of nonracialism which opened it up to various influences (Twala, 2014:1990). During this period, greater worker organisation combined with an ethos of non-racialism, prompted the ANC to establish closer relations with the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) (Twala, 2014:1990). Close cooperation continued between the ANC and CPSA until 1927 when Seme expressed his opposition to the communist involvement in the black nationalist movement (Twala, 2014:1990). In the 1930s the influence of the ANC declined, mainly due to the ineffectiveness of the movement, opposing factions within the groups, leadership disputes and the failure of government to address the grievances of black South Africans (Twala, 2014:1990).

Proponents of non-racialism believed that only through the denial of race could South African politics cease to be framed in racial terms, thus allowing for meaningful social change and equality (Twala, 2014:1990). In the 1950s, events such as the Defiance Campaign and the adoption of the Freedom Charter by the ANC further promoted the non-racialism agenda of the ANC (Twala, 2014:1990). Protest and dissent, through civic mobilisation, were achieved in the 1952 Defiance Campaign and thereafter the decision to hold the Congress of the People (COP) in 1955 (Twala, 2014:1990). The Freedom Charter, adopted there, played an important role in the narrative on the struggle for liberation (Twala, 2014:1990). Ranchod (2013:3) stated that the Freedom Charter became the foundational document for the historical quest for freedom. The Charter was the locus of disputation and a site of conflict for varying ideological factions in the ANC (Twala, 2014:1990). The intensity of the conflict led to the splintering of the ANC and the formation of the Africanist-oriented Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) which promoted the Africanist agenda (Twala, 2014:1990).

The statement “the people shall govern” in the Freedom Charter is the origin of the notion of people’s power in the context of non-racialism (Booyesen, 2011:86). Ndebele (2001:6) further stated that the Freedom Charter was important in highlighting cross racial political cooperation.

Ndebele (2002:133) argued that the adoption of the Freedom Charter as an official document played a significant role in the development of the ANC’s non-racial politics. The preamble to the Charter declared that “South Africa belongs to all who live in it, both black and white” (Freedom Charter, 1955). Despite this declaration, the ANC did not provide automatic membership for supporters from other designated racial groups. By the time the Second World War ended the ANC was campaigning unequivocally for full equality and increasingly used extra-Parliamentary methods, such as passive resistance campaigns, in support of its struggle (Twala, 2014:1990).

#### **3.1.1.4      *The struggle for multi-racialism***

The concept of non-racialism is often confused with multi-racialism. In 1985 Oliver Tambo, then president of the ANC, stated the following on the difference between non-racialism and multi-racialism: “There must be a difference. That is why we say non-racial. We could have said multi-racial if we had wanted to. There is a difference. We mean non-racial, rather than multi-racial. We mean non-racial, there is no racism. Multi-racial does not address the question of racism. Non-racial does. There will be no racism of any kind and therefore no discrimination that proceeds from the fact that people happen to be members of different races. That is what we understand by non-racial” (Maré, 2003:3). Multi-racialism was built on the belief that South Africa was not a unitary society, but rather constituted different and distinct races. These races were seen as having different interests influenced by their cultures (Twala, 2014:1991). Liberal multi-racialism sought to manage the relations between different race groups in South Africa through what became known as constructive segregation (Twala, 2014:1991). Multi-racialism of the early ANC was ultimately seen as an attempt to manage race relations and accepted the racially separate political organs of the Congress Alliance (Twala, 2014:1991). This approach was increasingly challenged from within the ANC, most notably by the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL), where a more radical African nationalist position had begun to emerge in the 1940s (Twala, 2014:1991).

By the 1950s the multi-racial position of the ANC was the cause of internal conflicts and led to a breakaway of the Africanists, who formed the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) under the leadership of Robert Sobukwe (Petersen, 2000:7; Lodge, 1994:104-122). Sobukwe stated that “against multi-racialism we have this objection, that the history of South Africa has fostered group prejudices and antagonisms, and if we have to maintain the same group exclusiveness, parading under the term multi-racialism, we shall be transporting to the new Africa these very antagonisms and conflicts... It is a method of safeguarding white interests irrespective of population figures. In that sense it is a complete negation of democracy. It implies that there are such basic insuperable differences between the various national groups here that the best course is to keep them

permanently distinctive in a kind of democratic apartheid. That to us is racialism multiplied, that is probably what the term truly connotes” (Petersen, 2000:7).

### **3.1.1.5      *The pro-business policies***

Limb (2010) argued that the pro-business policies of the ANC government in recent years reflect their gradual alienation from workers. This is commonplace in liberation movements across Africa – nationalist politicians are perceived to make “good use of workers and then abandoned them” (Limb in Twala, 2014:1991). This is one of the reasons organisations like COSATU question the intentions behind documents like the NDP. According to Limb (2010), it is true that politicians tend to leave behind the policies, such as those enshrined in the Freedom Charter and the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) that aimed to create jobs, safeguard health and the environment, and protect worker rights. However, in the post-apartheid era, Mashele and Qobo (2014:9) criticised the ANC and claimed that it had difficulties in delivering on some of the RDP promises made during the electioneering periods. When it became the ruling party, it was revealed that the early enthusiasm of the transition period was not entirely realistic (Twala, 2014:1991). Southall (2013:88) stated that the post-1994 ANC adapted global realities by implementing responsible pro-market strategies and returning the economy to levels of growth. In spite of this, the ANC later abandoned the collectivist-oriented RDP in favour of the neo-liberal Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy, which was dubbed the “1996 class project”, and embraced free-market capitalism (Twala, 2014:1994). This was championed by Thabo Mbeki and Trevor Manuel and was perceived to be an ambitious plan considering the slow economic growth at the time. This plan was referred to as neoliberal primarily by the South African Communist Party (SACP).

### **3.1.1.6      *Adopting the principles of democratic centralism***

Democratic centralism refers to the principles of internal organisation used by Leninist political parties and is a synonym for any Leninist policy inside a political party (Twala, 2014:1991). This democratic perspective advocates for the freedom of political party

members to discuss and debate matters of policy and direction. However, once the decision is made by majority vote, all members are expected to uphold that decision (Twala, 2014:1991). The latter aspect represents centralism. Although after the 1994 general elections in South Africa, through the Constitution which provided for a distribution of power between the national state and the nine provinces, the ANC pursued a goal of greater centralisation (Twala, 2014:1991). It is argued that the centralisation of power within the ANC came during Thabo Mbeki's presidency which was characterised by the consolidation of various government administrative departments into a few administrative committees (Twala, 2014:1991). This move by Mbeki was viewed as an attempt to widen the gap between the ANC and his administration (Twala, 2014:1991).

### **3.1.1.7      *Promotion of social democracy***

Contemporary South African political debate can oversimplify or even ignore the complicated and contested history of social and political thinking in the ANC (Twala, 2014:1992). The 1943 African Claims document highlighted some socially important issues (Turok, 2011:21-26). The then ANC president, AB Xuma, changed the movement's focus from ethnic mobilisation to mass campaigning, and used the radical ideas prevalent during the anti-fascist struggle (Twala, 2014:1992). These ideas involved equality of treatment for the whole population and included a bill of social rights that accounted for state medical services and compulsory education, as well as the extension of progressive labour legislation to all racial groups (Twala, 2014:1992). This was the first clear formulation of social democratic ideas in the ANC.

The ANC first referred to the term 'social democracy' in its 2007 document known as the 'Strategy and Tactics' document (Twala, 2014:1992), which stated that the ANC "seeks to build democracy with social content. Informed by our own concrete conditions and experiences, this will, in some respects, reflect elements of the best traditions of social democracy, which include a system which places the needs of the poor and social issues such a health care, education and a social safety net at the top of the national agenda; intense role of the state in economic life; pursuit of full employment; quest for equality;

strong partnership with the trade union movement; and promotion of international solidarity” (Potgieter-Gqubule, 2010:111).

Contrary to the claims made by some ANC leaders suggesting that it has always been committed to certain ideologies such as non-racialism, Twala’s (2014) analysis indicates that this ideal was not a consistent feature of ANC thinking. The ideologies evolved over time.

### **3.1.2 Democratic Alliance (DA)**

The Democratic Alliance played an important role in the eradication of apartheid. The United Party (UP) was in opposition to apartheid but was unwilling to confront it (DA, 2018). This led to 13 Members of Parliament (MPs) breaking away from the UP to form the Progressive Party (PP) in 1959 (DA, 2018). The PP was a party dedicated to opposing apartheid (DA, 2018) and was the origin of the Democratic Alliance (DA). Led by Helen Suzman, the Progressive Party (PP) went on to win six more seats in Parliament and merged with another UP breakaway called the Reform Party to form the Progressive Reform Party (PRP) (DA, 2018). The PRP then went on to merge with another UP breakaway called the Committee for a United Opposition to form the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) (DA, 2018). Under the leadership of Colin Elgin, the PFP was elected official opposition after the 1977 election (DA, 2018). After another breakaway, the PFP was renamed the DP and played an important role in negotiating an interim constitution. With the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and other liberation organisations, and the release of Nelson Mandela from prison, the process of negotiations for political change in South Africa began (DA, 2018).

After the abolishment of apartheid, the DP decided that the best way to protect and strengthen democracy in South Africa was to build a strong opposition able to restrict the one-party dominance of the ANC (DA, 2018). In 2000 the DP reached a merger agreement with the Federal Alliance and the New National Party (NNP), and the DA was formed (DA, 2018). A year later the DA’s relationship with the NNP and former DP members broke



down and the NNP formed an alliance with the ANC (DA, 2018). In the 2004 general election, the DA gained 12.3% of the vote and won 50 seats in the National Assembly, making it the main opposition party (DA, 2018). The party's growth has continued steadily since then.

In recent years, the Democratic Alliance (DA) has been making inroads with working-class communities that had previously shunned the party. This is due to people's desire for an electoral alternative to the ANC (Jacobs, 2011). South Africans have adopted an "opposition at all costs" approach to voting (Jacobs, 2011).

According to Jacobs (2011), the "core concept of Zille's DA is one of an 'open opportunity society for all,' which it counter poses to the ANC's 'closed crony society for some' where a clique rules to accumulate wealth." The DA focuses on establishing a competitive job-creating economy, supported by an efficient education system, as the main drivers of society (Jacobs, 2011). This indicates a more "trickle down" perspective of economic development, similar to that of the NDP.

The DA is an advocate for the concept of an open opportunity society where society is perceived as a meritocracy, and government enables individual advancement on the basis of supposedly inherent talents and industriousness, measured usually through academic credentials, rather than on characteristics such as race, gender or political affiliation (Jacobs, 2018). To explain this concept, former DA leader Helen Zille stated that "the open opportunity society for all is the society that the drafters of our Constitution envisaged. It does not regard people as 'permanent victims' but as active parties in development. Our job, in partnership with each and every citizen, with civil society, with business and with other institutions and spheres of government, is to make that vision a living reality" (Provincial Government of the Western Cape, 2010).

The open opportunity society is based on a conservative political philosophy, as it provides ideological defence of the capitalist system and attributes an individual's lack of success to individual weaknesses, not the system (Jacobs, 2011). According to Scott (2011:27),

“capitalism is an indirect system of governance for economic relationships”. Furthermore, capitalism is seen as an indirect system of governance that transcends the boundaries of standard neoclassical economic analysis, moving beyond merely the markets of pure economics to include the institutions and authorities of political economy (Scott, 2011:27).

Jahan and Mahmud (2015:44) stated that capitalism is based on:

- private property, which allows people to own tangible assets such as land and houses and intangible assets such as stocks and bonds.
- self-interest, through which people act in pursuit of their own good, without regard for socio-political pressure.
- competition, through firms’ freedom to enter and exit markets, maximises social welfare, that is, the joint welfare of both producers and consumers.
- a market mechanism that determines prices in a decentralised manner through interactions between buyers and sellers.
- freedom to choose with respect to consumption, production, and investment.
- limited role of government, to protect the rights of private citizens and maintain an orderly environment that facilitates proper functioning of markets.

If capitalist ideology is used, children of the historically advantaged are perceived to invariably have a head start in realising inherent talent (Jacobs, 2011). This makes it difficult for South Africa (with its vast inequality) to implement. This ideological point of view is in complete opposition to that of the EFF, which will be discussed in the next section. The DA does acknowledge that the enjoyment of opportunity and choice has been heavily affected by apartheid but its proposals for redress are perceived to be inadequate and are likely to be overshadowed by its broader societal framework, which is much more out rightly neoliberal than the ANC’s (Jacobs, 2011). The DA’s approach is perceived to be “a sort of Growth, Employment and Redistribution Plan (GEAR) on steroids” (Jacobs, 2011). This is seen in the DA’s business friendly economic policy in which it supports the cutting of corporate tax and the reviewing of labour legislation to make it easier to hire and fire employees (Jacobs, 2011). This puts them at odds with trade unions like COSATU.

Also, in support of the private sector, is the DA's policy on education. Their policy focuses on human capital theory, which sees education as a means for preparing people for the job market, and not to produce a population with strong critical-thinking skills (Jacobs, 2011). The concept of human capital theory originated with the work of Adam Smith (Goldin, 2014:1), where he stated that "the acquisition of... talents during... education, study, or apprenticeship, costs a real expense, which is capital in [a] person. Those talents [are] part of his fortune [and] likewise that of society" (Smith, 1776). This definition shows the DA's support for policies in which people are responsible for their own socioeconomic development and their skills should be used to advance the agendas of the private sector. It is perceived to advocate for the needs of the private sector, over those of ordinary citizens with Jacobs (2011) stating that "clearly the DA wants the education system to produce subjects, not citizens".

According to DA's Parliamentary caucus chairman Wilmot James, "If we lived in a stable and homogenous society, with a large middle-class and a history that had not been characterised by racial exclusion and dispossession, a classic liberal agenda might suffice. But this is not the case" (Molefe, 2011). Therefore, following a liberal ideology is challenging for the DA because they have to consider the context. James emphasised that the liberal agenda in the country needed to take into account the context specific to South Africa, and the liberal ideology's more recent global narrative of social justice and development (Molefe, 2011). James's use of the word "might" also indicates that the classic liberal agenda may not be a good fit for South Africa (Molefe, 2011). Responding to RW Johnson's two-part series accusing the DA of betraying its liberal roots, James argued that the liberal tradition in South Africa has not been homogenous as there were elements within the Progressive Party, the DA's predecessor, who believed in race-based redress and state intervention in the economy (Molefe, 2011).

This liberalist outlook was one of the motivating factors behind the Independent Democrats' (ID) dissolving their party to join the DA. The ID were perceived to be social democrats and saw no conflict between their ideology and that of the DA. Some members of the ID believed that the ideology of social liberalism was evident in the DA's grassroots-

level “on-the-ground work” and that this would eventually come to the fore as the party’s main ideology (Molefe, 2011). Jeremy Waldron (in Bell, 2014:2) stated that social liberalism is defined by the “requirement that all aspects of the social should either be made acceptable or be capable of being made acceptable to every last individual”. Dworkin (in Bell, 2014:2-3) further asserts that “a certain conception of equality...is the nerve of liberalism”. Examples of this emerging ideology within the DA can be seen in their support for domestic workers being covered by the Compensation Fund, as well as their support for the Youth Wage Subsidy.

During Helen Zille’s time as leader, the DA introduced a focus on identity politics which demonstrated their move to a more leftist ideology in recent years in an effort to attract more black voters (Wright, 2018). Initially, they were perceived to follow a classical liberalist ideology, but have gradually begun to adopt more socialist tendencies, more so with Mmusi Maimane’s introduction as leader of the DA (Wright, 2018). To emphasise this, Mmusi Maimane stated that “Some people are wealthier than others. We must punish them... because they have money we need”, which was perceived to be an attack on the middle-class and the private sector (Wright, 2018). This puts the DA in a position of being perceived as having a confusing, still maturing, ideological stance. The DA further exacerbate the perception of confusion regarding their ideological position by opposing the constitutional protection of labour rights which they see as a flaw in the Constitution (Molefe, 2011).

The DA is not perceived to have an enduring document that out rightly states what the overall ideology of the party is, therefore “who is to say that in the unlikely event that someone from within the party’s more right-leaning minority rises to power, they will not steer the party in a different direction” (Molefe, 2011), therefore causing more confusion.

### **3.1.3 Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)**

The Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) is one of South Africa’s newest additions to the political landscape, having announced its formation on 27 July 2013 in Soweto (SAHO,

2017). The party was formed by former ANC Youth League leader Julius Malema and former ANC Youth League spokesman Floyd Shivambu (SAHO, 2017). The EFF (2018) describes itself as a “radical and militant economic emancipation movement that brings together revolutionary, fearless, radical, and militant activists, workers’ movements, nongovernmental organisations, community-based organisations and lobby groups under the umbrella of pursuing the struggle for economic emancipation.”

The EFF sees economic freedom as total ownership of economic and natural resources by the “previously oppressed and exploited majority” (SAHO, 2017). They believe that “economic freedom results when the people’s rights and freedom enable them to decide how to allocate their own economic resources for the development and upliftment of their own lives” (SAHO, 2017). Their radical, leftist, anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist agenda draws inspiration from the broad Marxist-Leninist and Fanonian ideologies (SAHO, 2017). Marxism is an ideology that guides the organised conduct of the working class as well as proletarian parties and states in building socialism and carrying out the anti-imperialist movement (Sison, 1981:2). This ideology has inspired and impelled the rapid social, economic, scientific and cultural progress of socialist countries (Sison, 1981:2). Marxism-Leninism focuses on perceiving the world as it is, through the use of data and logic provided by progressive science and social practice to produce an objective perception of reality (Dutt, 1963:29). Through organic engagement and a constant relationship with the masses, the EFF provides alternatives to what they perceive to be the “current neo-colonial economic system, which in many countries keep the oppressed under colonial domination and subject to imperialist exploitation” (EFF, 2018).

With regards to the Fanonian ideology that the EFF ascribes to, Fanon advocates violent revolution within the context of the anti-colonial struggle (Aghamelu & Ejike, 2017: 31). Fanon believed the necessity for violent revolution stemmed from the violent nature of the colonial world, and necessary for decolonisation to take place explaining that decolonisation is a violent phenomenon because it is “the meeting of two forces, opposed to each other by their very nature, which in fact owe their originality to that sort of

substantiation which results from and is nourished by the situation in the colonies” (Aghamelu & Ejike, 2017: 31).

The EFF positions itself as a vanguard of community and workers’ struggles that “will always be on the side of the people” and associates with the protest movement in South Africa (EFF, 2018). This is visible in their use of red berets which became popular at political meetings, township funerals and amongst the general public (Mbetse, 2014:35). Its leader Julius Malema’s personality and overall popularity made him and the party a subject of media and public discourse (Mbetse, 2014:35). This has also sparked public interest in political issues.

According to political analyst Steven Friedman (in Mbetse, 2014:36), the party’s prominence could be dismissed as being “a case of media hype over substance”, arguing that the EFF’s theatrics were being confused with actual influence over the electorate and Ebrahim Fakir (in Mbetse, 2014:36) described the EFF as “a hodgepodge of different ideological and political strains melding the incendiary politics of ‘radical blackness’ with the seeming elements of socialism”. While the party appeared to be radical in its approach, “it is essentially an empty rhetoric captured in the politics of spectacle, where even complex ideas get pared down to mere slogans” (Fakir in Mbetse, 2014:36).

The EFF is based on the following principles (EFF, 2018):

- Expropriation of South Africa’s land without compensation for equal redistribution in use.
- Nationalisation of mines, banks, and other strategic sectors of the economy, without compensation.
- Building state and government capacity, which will lead to the abolishment of tenders.
- Free quality education, healthcare, houses, and sanitation.
- Massive protected industrial development to create millions of sustainable jobs, including the introduction of minimum wages in order to close the wage gap

between the rich and poor, close the apartheid wage gap and promote rapid career paths for Africans in the workplace.

- Massive development of the African economy and advocating for a move from reconciliation to justice in the entire continent.
- Open, accountable, corrupt-free government and society without fear of victimisation by state agencies.

The EFF believes in the notion that “political power without economic emancipation is meaningless” and the movement is inspired by ideals that promote the practice of organic forms of political leadership, which appreciate that political leadership at whatever level is service, not an opportunity for self-enrichment and self-gratification (EFF, 2018).

The EFF focuses on the needs of the working class and their interpretation of the Freedom Charter, because, since its adoption in 1955, there have been various meanings given to the Freedom Charter (EFF, 2018). The EFF’s (2018) interpretation of the Freedom Charter is that “South Africa indeed belongs to all who live in it, and ownership of South Africa’s economic resources and access to opportunities should reflect that indeed South Africa belongs to all who live in it. The EFF’s interpretation of the Freedom Charter is that which says the transfer of mineral wealth beneath the soil, monopoly industries and banks means nationalisation of mines, banks and monopoly industries.”

#### **3.1.4 Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)**

The South African political environment consists of political parties and trade unions that have their own ideologies and visions that are often in opposition to the policies of the NDP. Being South Africa’s largest trade union, the Congress of South Africa Trade Unions (COSATU) is the main union in question as it represents the interests of most trade unions and is the most influential. COSATU was created in the mid-1980s during the apartheid era (Schiafone, 2007:378). The main aim of this union was to oppose the government and its policies (Schiafone, 2007:378). However, with the abolishment of apartheid, its perceived importance as an organisation that represents workers increased. Most trade

unions fall under COSATU and therefore it represents the interests of most of South Africa's working-class. So COSATU's support for the NDP is important for implementation, not only in the political sphere, but on national level as well.

COSATU is in a strategic political alliance with the ANC and the South African Communist Party (SACP) (COSATU, 2018). When political organisations were unbanned in 1990, the ANC, SACP and COSATU agreed to work together as a Revolutionary Alliance (Tripartite Alliance) (COSATU, 2018). The alliance is centred around short-, medium- to long-term goals of the National Democratic Revolution, the establishment of a democratic and non-racial South Africa, economic transformation and a continued process of political and economic democratisation (COSATU, 2018). The aim was for other Alliance partners, such as COSATU, to offer support to the ANC (Twala & Kompi, 2012:176). Its mandate was to garner support for the ANC and increase the efficiency and effectiveness of the organisation (Twala & Kompi, 2012:176). Therefore, it was the responsibility of the alliance partners to "organise both members and sympathisers of the ANC on a large scale; aggregating their interests; thrusting the demands of the dispossessed and oppressed to the forefront; and seizing political initiative in the process" (Twala & Kompi, 2012:176).

Political affairs have an impact on socioeconomic issues. An example of this would be the effect that apartheid had on the South African economy. Due to the political instability experienced at the time, several countries developed sanctions against South Africa, making it difficult for trade to take place with other countries. Another example comes from the political factions that exist within the ANC, and the effect that these have on development. During Thabo Mbeki's presidency one faction developed, supporting Mbeki while another developed supporting Jacob Zuma. Pressure from the Zuma faction led to Mbeki's resignation and a decrease in investor support, which impacted negatively on economic growth (Thukwana, 2018). Understanding the political environment is important for implementing the NDP. Although COSATU claimed neutrality with regards to political factionalism, with Zwelinsima Vavi stating that the "ANC faction is destroying our society" (Tandwa, 2017), their ideology affects the implementation of the ruling party's policies.



Despite difficulties and challenges of the transition, including certain differences over approaches to macro-economic policies, COSATU continue to work on socioeconomic transformation within the Alliance, based on the RDP (COSATU, 2018). The RDP was supported by COSATU because of their commitment “to the struggle for socialism” (COSATU, 2018). The RDP is therefore the most COSATU-supported development plan because of its socialist basis. Socialism is the main ideology followed by COSATU. According to Merriam-Webster (2018), it is defined as “any of various economic and political theories advocating collective or governmental ownership and administration of the means of production and distribution of goods”. It is “a stage of society in Marxist theory transitional between capitalism and communism and distinguished by unequal distribution of goods and pay according to work done” (Merriam-Webster, 2018). This is similar to the Marxist-Leninist ideology held by the EFF.

Democracy empowered employees (Schiavone, 2007:379). Trade unions now had the role of managing this new-found power and required communication structures to manage the relationship between government (in terms of the policies developed), organisations, and the individual employees. According to Schiavone (2007:379), in the past, the key characteristic of trade unions was that they strove to prevent government interference in employee issues that were separate from production. Before the creation of COSATU, trade unions had the impression that they would be at a disadvantage if they behaved in a confrontational or combative manner towards the ruling apartheid government (Schiavone, 2007:379). This confrontational attitude towards the behaviour and policies of government was adopted by COSATU and worked to their advantage. They still use this technique when interacting with government and its policies. So, the confrontational stance towards questioning the state’s intentions for the NDP is inevitable. A communication framework can be used to facilitate the inevitable discourse surrounding the NDP, taking COSATU’s often confrontational approach into consideration.

The recession that took place in South Africa in the 1980s led to employees and society at large becoming more confrontational and hands-on when dealing with the state and the organisations they worked for. This precipitated a large strike that took place in 1984

(Schiavone, 2007:380) and was an important factor in the formation of COSATU. The success of the strike resulted from the integrated efforts of COSATU (which took the leadership role), the public, and political parties, such as the ANC (Webster; Lambert & Webster in Schiavone, 2007:380). This is an example of how, through coordination, these parties could come together to achieve a common goal – regardless of their ideological differences.

In line with its ideology, COSATU developed a set of guidelines and strategies that govern its organisational practice (Schiavone, 2007:380-381):

- COSATU involves itself in all issues that affect employees and workers in overall society. In the late 1980s, “COSATU increasingly adopted the role of the leading representative of the black working class. This constituency potentially included all non-white workers, unemployed and dependents, even beyond the approximately 6 million non-agricultural black workers from whom just over one million union members were largely drawn” (Schiavone, 2007:380). This led to the start of a project that aimed to improve the remuneration of all workers, regardless of the union. It also financed the creation of platforms to assist the jobless. This community-level influence is an important tool for communicating and garnering support.
- COSATU developed coalitions with community movements and clusters. According to Philip Hirschsohn (in Schiavone, 2007:380), “COSATU’s Executive Committee encouraged affiliates to strengthen their community ties, arguing that the problems faced at work and in their communities were inextricably linked to the struggle for democratic control of their lives. To address problems with rent, transport and poor living conditions, workers urged to take the lead in establishing street committees in the townships to build democratic organisation, unity and strength.” In order for COSATU to be influential on national level, they had to have influence on community level as well.
- COSATU has a different impression of disputes relating to issues in the workplace. To them, workers having disputes with their employers over treatment in the workplace is not seen as a negative thing but rather as a way of ensuring that

organisations improve. COSATU having a more confrontational approach to expressing their opinion should not be seen as an effort to undermine the ruling government but rather as their way of ensuring healthy dialogue. Hirschsohn (in Schiavone, 2007:381) stated that “through interaction with community groups and the UDF (United Democratic Front), COSATU activists helped to shape the discourse of the broad opposition”.

- As stated previously, it is not uncharacteristic for COSATU to interact with political parties. The ANC is the ruling party with the most political influence. Their relationship with the main body of trade unions is crucial to the acceptance and implementation of policy. The influence of these two organisations led to the formation of a coalition with the ANC. In the past the ANC was considered similar to COSATU: they were a political association created for the purpose of abolishing the right-wing apartheid government. The two groups shared many commonalities for a long time. COSATU’s coalition with the ANC contributed to the successful abolishment of apartheid which indicates that the relationship between political parties and trade unions in South Africa has proven successful in the past.

The above indicates the influence the union has as well as its ideological focus, which is on promoting policies that are perceived to provide a long-term benefit to workers. Schiavone’s (2007) study indicates COSATU has influence not only with workers but also communities, opposition parties, and the ANC itself. If COSATU perceives the NDP as an “anti-working-class” document, expecting them to communicate the plan without this bias would be erroneous. This would stifle implementation because garnering support from the public would prove challenging if the unions that represent them perceive the plan as counterproductive. The initial policies of the ruling party advanced the agenda of COSATU. Symbolic of this is the inclusion of employee rights and freedoms in the Constitution. Another indication is the ANC’s approval of global law agreements which gave normal South Africans access to products and services that they did not have access to in the past.

In the past, the relationship between COSATU and the ANC was a positive one however, there have been contentions in recent years, based on (Twala & Kompi, 2012:176-187):

- Disagreements over the introduction and implementation of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) programme (Twala & Kompi, 2012:179-180): COSATU was against the ANC's liberal reforms of macro-economic policies present in the GEAR programme. When GEAR was introduced COSATU and the SACP did not feel that it met the standards of the constitutional structures of the ANC. They also felt that consultation before the plan's implementation was insufficient. This led to debates surrounding implementation and created the perception that GEAR was a means of leading to privatisation, which is contrary to COSATU's socialist ideology. COSATU saw privatisation as anti-worker and that it would lead to increased unemployment. GEAR was seen as a way of barring COSATU and the SACP from participating in decisions on the macro-economic strategy and giving the ANC autonomy in this regard.
- Lack of discipline (Twala & Kompi, 2012:182): Professor Adam Habib believed that lack of discipline within the alliance was caused by COSATU's support for Jacob Zuma. Habib also believed they played a role in former President Thabo Mbeki's ousting. However, the alliance lacked the unity and discipline to continue sustainably from that point. Zuma's supporters represented an assortment of individuals – nationalists, socialists, conservatives, and established and aspirant business people. They had different goals, objectives and visions of South Africa's future which caused fracturing within the alliance. This has not been addressed or repaired.
- Verbal attacks by the leaders of the alliance over the question of the nationalisation of mines (Twala & Kompi, 2012:183): The abovementioned fracturing led to what is viewed as mudslinging within the alliance which started with ANCYL president at the time, Julius Malema, when he announced his support for the nationalisation of mines and accused COSATU and the SACP of attempting to hijack the ANC. This led to conflict and was indicative of a lack of sufficient discussion between stakeholders. Malema was then labelled by COSATU and the SACP as a leader who was trying to hijack the ANC for his own benefit. Regardless of this President

Zuma, and other leaders, denied the existence of ideological differences, leaving issues unaddressed.

- Debates around the National Planning Commission (NPC) (Twala & Kompfi, 2012:184-185): The conflict between the nationalists and socialists extended to the public domain in the discourse regarding the National Planning Commission (NPC). COSATU saw Minister in the Presidency, Trevor Manuel's, introduction of the Green Paper on National Strategic Planning as a power grab and an attempt by the Mbeki faction to influence government ideology. Former COSATU General Secretary, Zwelinzima Vavi, expressed that alliance partners were on guard to prevent this from happening. Manuel serving as Minister of Finance in Mbeki's Cabinet was perceived as incompatible with the Zuma administration, and unable to lead the NPC. COSATU also felt that civil society was underrepresented in the NPC.
- Charges against Vavi: In June 2010, reports surfaced that the ANC wanted to take disciplinary action against the union's General Secretary, Zwelinzima Vavi. The ANC took this action in response to Vavi's public utterances about how Zuma's government was soft on corruption that involved members of his government. This was perceived by the ANC as an attack and attempt to label the organisation and its leaders as corrupt, which Vavi disputed. Vavi's actions led to him being accused of contravening the ANC National Executive Council's (NEC) instructions not to attack alliance leaders in public. COSATU's Central Executive Committee (CEC) supported Vavi and professed that any action taken against him would lead to the end of the Tripartite Alliance. This situation caused a deeper wedge within the Alliance.

Now that the political relationships governing the implementation of the NDP have been explained, the next step would be to delve deeper into the theory explaining how these stakeholders link together and how they should be mapped to leverage implementation.

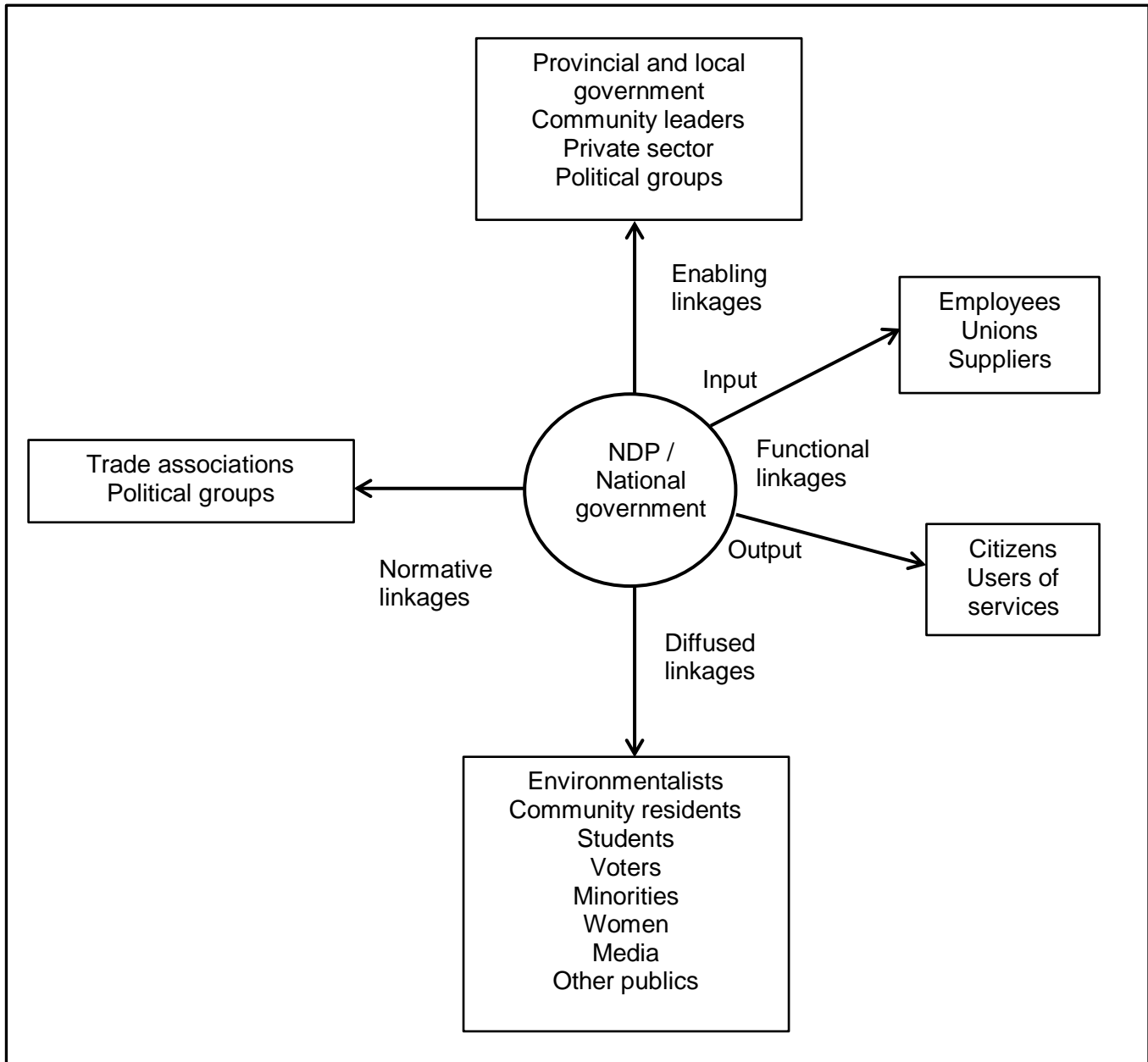
### **3.2 STRATEGIC STAKEHOLDER LINKAGES THAT FUEL IMPLEMENTATION**

One of the most important steps in the creation of a communication framework is for government to identify the strategic stakeholders necessary for the communication and implementation of the NDP. The NDP's strategic political stakeholders are outlined in the above discussion. According to Steyn and Puth (2000:65), strategic stakeholders "are those that are critical, crucial, essential, important, or vital for an organisation in the accomplishment of its mission". The implementation of the NDP will require the participation of all South Africans. This is a complex situation because satisfying these stakeholders at once is impossible. Therefore, political stakeholders (due to their influence) are a good starting-point for understanding the perspective of constituents regarding the NDP. Strategic stakeholders are directly responsible for implementing the plan – this study focused on political stakeholders because they determine whether or not the plan is implemented.

Receiving the support of these strategic political stakeholders would create the impression that government is making an integrated and harmonious effort. Hence, making communicating a unified message, which mobilises the public towards achieving the goals of the NDP, more plausible. To know stakeholder's role in implementation, one would have to understand the strategic linkages that would be necessary (Steyn & Puth, 2000:65). The linkages are as follows (Steyn & Puth, 2000:65):

- Enabling linkages: These are connections between the organisations and the authorities that will be responsible for providing consent and resources needed to execute the plan.
- Functional linkages: These are connections between the organisation and the people and organisations that will actively work towards implementation.
- Normative linkages: This is the linkage between the organisation and organisations that address issues similar to the ones it seeks to address.
- Diffused linkages: These are the connections the organisation has to individuals who do not form part of any particular organisation, yet will be affected.

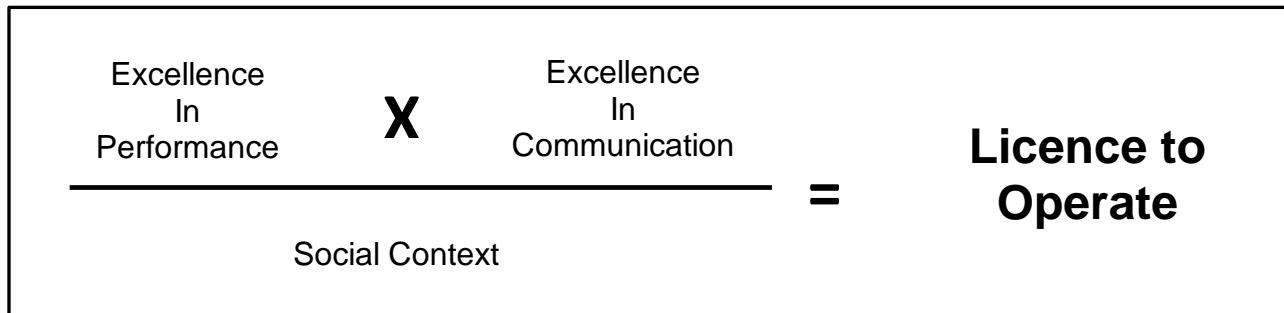
These linkages are depicted in **Figure 3.1**.



**Figure 3.1: Strategic stakeholder linkages (Adapted from Steyn & Puth, 2000:66)**

For these linkages to function effectively, the political stakeholders would have to grant government what is referred to as a “licence to operate” (Van Riel, 2012:1). It indicates the “limit of behaviour established for a company to gain recognition and acceptance in its

surroundings” (Nielsen, 2013). The antecedents of licence to operate can be seen in **Figure 3.2**.



**Figure 3.2: Antecedents of licence to operate (Van Riel, 2012:3)**

This figure indicates that in order for government to communicate the plan to stakeholders, it would have to consider:

- The excellence of government performance
- The excellence of government communication
- Social context

If any one of these is undetermined, government’s licence to operate would be restricted because stakeholder support would be impeded. So, if government communicates well but does not perform its duties effectively, taking into consideration the social context, they would not be able to fully align with the political stakeholders they require support from. Alignment with stakeholders is one of the most impactful issues that affect how organisations operate (Van Riel, 2012:1). Stakeholder engagement is the process of “involving individuals and groups that either affect or are affected by the activities of the company” (Sloan, 2009:26). Alignment leads to total stakeholder support, which is the strongest sign of alignment (Van Riel, 2012:1). A lack of stakeholder support results from a lack of alignment. Therefore, the lack of support from political stakeholders stems from their lack of alignment to government’s ideological direction, demonstrated by the NDP which is discussed in the next chapter.



Every stakeholder group requires communication that is unique to it, implying that the NDP would have to be communicated effectively to a diverse group of people. As stated previously, this study focused on political stakeholders because of their position as the first implementers of the plan. To determine the communication needs of these stakeholders, stakeholder mapping would have to take place. Some maps show stakeholders (individuals or groups) mapped against their area of interest (Murray-Webster & Simon, 2006:1). Commonly used dimensions include (Murray-Webster & Simon, 2006:1):

- Power vs. Interest: Stakeholders vary in their degree of power and influence on a project as well as the extent to which they have a vested interest.
- Interest vs. Attitude: A stakeholder's attitude determines whether they actively support an initiative, or work against it. It is therefore important to understand where stakeholders fall in relation to this.

Additionally, the following would have to be determined for stakeholder mapping (Van Vuuren, 2014:219):

- The geographic characteristics or physical location of the stakeholders: The location of the stakeholders (rural or urban) will have an impact on their perspectives and needs. Political stakeholders in urban areas would have different concerns from those that address rural communities.
- The demographic characteristics and quality of life will have an impact on the needs and wants of the stakeholders. This is determined by the age, ethnicity, sex/gender, language, job description, etc.
- The psychographic characteristics of the stakeholders will have an impact on stakeholder attitude and behaviour. The psychographic characteristics deal more with the ideological perspectives and beliefs.
- The culture/subculture of the stakeholder group refers to the nationality and traditions that shape people's perception of the world. When it comes to the NDP, this deals with the culture of politics in South Africa and how conversations take place in the political space.

The above factors determine political stakeholder's communication needs. Also, stakeholder identification, management, and engagement are important for implementation (Walker, Bourne, & Shelley, 2008:1). The process of managing stakeholders and communicating with them is a rather intuitive one at times (Walker et al., 2008:1). This intuitive element adds to the complexity of communicating. Strategising communication can assist with reducing levels of complexity.

To continue the process of understanding political stakeholders and increasing engagement, the dimensions used to assess these stakeholders would have to be determined. According to Walker et al. (2008:4), there are five "stakeholder ontological positions" or dimensions that stakeholders can be assessed on. The dimensions are as follows:

- Dimension 1 – Political perspectives of stakeholders: Individuals have different perspectives on politics and choose which parties to support based on these.
- Dimension 2 – Reasons and objectives of considering stakeholders: In order to understand stakeholders better it would be important to "define policy for regulations to be specified on who are valid stakeholders and how they should be treated".
- Dimension 3 – Value of considering stakeholders: Stakeholders can be viewed in a myriad of ways. On one end, they can be seen as instruments that can be manipulated and controlled for a particular outcome. Opposed to this is the view that stakeholders have moral rights and needs that should be considered when decisions are made.
- Dimension 4 – Considering the stakeholder's intervention level: This deals with the community's right to get involved in government's practices, using law and regulation. These rights can be exercised through local government, regional, national or global authorities. In South Africa the Constitution and primarily the Bill of Rights (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996) provide examples of some of the rights and freedoms that citizens have with regards to intervention in organisational issues.

- Dimension 5 – Considering the degree of stakeholder enforcement: This deals with the extent to which stakeholders feel they are able to voluntarily participate in a project. They are inspired to participate and do so without force.

Stakeholder mapping is an important technique for improving the interaction between the stakeholders of the NDP. According to Mathur, Price, Austin and Moobela (2007:8), stakeholder mapping is a good tool for identifying stakeholders. Aside from this, it provides the benefit of being used over a long period of time because of its strategic nature.

There are generic categories that stakeholders can be placed in to determine the best ways to satisfy the needs of each group (Mathur et al., 2007:9). **Table 3.2** summarises these categories. Stakeholders can be placed into three broad categories: individuals and organisations who affect the organisation, those who are affected by the organisation, and any other individuals who may be interested in it (Mathur et al., 2007:9). The political stakeholders focused on in this study fall into the category of “those who affect the organisation”, therefore indicating the importance of this stakeholder group in either aiding or hampering the plan’s implementation.

**Table 3.2: Generic stakeholder categories and types (Mathur et al., 2007:9)**

| Broad category                           | Sub-category                                   | Types of Individuals/Groups   |
|--|--|---|
| <b>Those who affect the organisation</b> | Those involved in delivery of the organisation | Developer   |
|  |  | Client  |
|  |  | Owner   |
|  |  | Investor  |
|  |  | Designer  |
|  |  | Banks   |
|  |  | Insurance   |
|  |  | Professional consultants such as architectural, financial, structural, engineering etc. |
|  | Those who determine the context                | Local authority   |
|  |  | Regional government departments   |
|  |  | Central Government Departments  |
|  |  | Non-departmental public bodies  |

|  |  |   |
|--|--|---|
| <b>Those who are affected by the organisation:</b> | <b>Directly affected</b>   | Users of the buildings, spaces, facilities etc.                                       |
|  | <b>May be directly or indirectly affected depending upon the context</b> | Users of the buildings, spaces, facilities etc.                                       |
|  |  | Local/surrounding community members   |
|  |  | General Public  |
|  |  | Local community groups such as resident associations, or other community-based groups |
|  |  | Specific demographic groups such as those based on race, ethnicity, gender, age etc.  |
| <b>Others who may be interested</b>                | Environmental/social campaigning organisations                           |   |
|  | Researchers/ Academics   |   |
|  | Media  |   |
|  | Potential users/clients for future projects                              |   |

The information discussed in this chapter addressed the overall political environment and the stakeholder relationships governing the implementation of the NDP. However, understanding this is only the first step. The NDP is not South Africa’s first development plan. Rather, it is preceded by several plans, all with the same goal in mind – socioeconomic development. Understanding these plans as well as what caused them to either succeed or fail, will form the discussion for **Chapter 4**. The NDP will also be discussed in this chapter.

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# CHAPTER 4

## OVERVIEW OF SOUTH AFRICA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLANS

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This chapter discusses the NDP and the development plans that preceded it, focusing on the following:

1. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)
2. The Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) Strategy
3. The Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (Asgi-SA)
4. The New Growth Path (NGP)
5. The National Development Plan (NDP)

South Africa has achieved several milestones since 1994. The year 2014 marked twenty years since liberation from apartheid. In light of this, the office of The Presidency (2014) released the Twenty-Year Review which was a document summarising the most important national policies and developments since 1994. Due to the economic policies of the past government, post-apartheid South Africa was at the brink of economic calamity (The Presidency, 2014:84). This posed a challenge for the new democratic government (led by the ANC) to create policies that would lead the “better life for all” that had been promised. The economy under the apartheid government was designed to favour or exclude certain individuals on the basis of race (The Presidency, 2014:84). Therefore, the economic wealth of the nation was to be enjoyed by the minority, while the majority was barred from these benefits.

These segregations were deliberate and mainly in the form of barring black people from the possession of land and the direct creation/proprietorship of companies (The Presidency, 2014:84). Government policies, at the time, stipulated the opportunities South

Africans would be privy to and how they would be apportioned on the basis of race. In addition to this the pre-1994 policies ensured that (The Presidency, 2014:84):

- Black societies received minimal infrastructure development and maintenance.
- Black businesspersons were barred from receiving credit and the ability to make use of manufacturing and trade establishments that could advance their businesses.
- Housing development and living spaces were segregated according to race, which created the problem of poor and underdeveloped rural regions. Due to the discrepancies between the level of development in rural and urban communities, migration of workers to urban areas increased.
- Big, white-owned corporations governed the main sections of the economy and industries at large. These organisations were protected by government and little investment (in terms of research, development and training) was required from the public sector. During this time, economic policies favoured large organisations and little attention was paid to supporting small, medium and micro enterprises (SMMEs) many of which were and are an important facet of the rural and township economy.

The NDP promotes a complete ideological shift from what was instituted in pre-apartheid South Africa because it proposes a more democratic distribution of power between government and its stakeholders. This is evident in the fact that the NDP requires the input of the public at large, as well as more private sector involvement in socioeconomic development. During apartheid, this was not required – development was primarily the responsibility of government. Therefore, a shift from pre- to post-apartheid thinking would require effective communication of the benefits of this shift.

The policies created under the apartheid government led nations all over the world to protest against apartheid laws through the creation of economic sanctions preventing the South African economy from interacting with other world economics (The Presidency, 2014:84). This led to the creation of substitute products to replace products that were previously imported from abroad. Furthermore, South Africa's technological

advancements and competitiveness stagnated, which led to the production of similar products (market saturation) and little innovation (due to lack of improved technology) (The Presidency, 2014:84).

These policies increased the degree of poverty and inequality, slowed economic progress, decreased the levels of investment, increased unemployment, led to a majority uneducated and unskilled population, increased the cost of production, and generally caused a decay in the manufacturing industry (The Presidency, 2014:84). Reviewing these policies and creating opportunities for all South Africans regardless of ethnic background would prove challenging for government.

There have been several policies instated by the ANC government to counteract the effects of segregated past policies. These policies and programmes aimed to generate more employment opportunities, eradicate poverty and decrease inequality. Development plans were created to communicate the overall vision and economic goals that government hoped to achieve within a particular time period. They governed the creation of policies and strategies on departmental level as well and were reflective of the ideologies and perspectives of leadership at the time. The main economic development plans since 1994 were as follows (The Presidency, 2014:84):

1. Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (1994)
2. Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy (late 1990s)
3. Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (Asgi-SA) (2006)
4. New Growth Path (NGP) (2010)
5. National Development Plan (NDP) (2011)

According to a study by the World Bank Group (Mikhaylov, 2018:1), the RDP emphasised the terms related to democratisation and reconstruction, with less focus on economic growth. GEAR introduced the importance of economic issues like fiscal policy and stability, as well as employment related issues (Mikhaylov, 2018:1). Asgi-SA looked at the role of projects and institutions in development, as well as an emphasis on agriculture (Mikhaylov, 2018:1). The NGP was more centrally concerned with economic growth,

aspects of green economy, and employment issues, particularly among the youth (Mikhaylov, 2018:1). The uniqueness of the NDP is that it has fewer mentions of economic growth, employment, and practical sector-related terms (Mikhaylov, 2018:1). The NDP emphasises health and the creation of a low-carbon economy, and addresses corruption-related issues more than past plans (Mikhaylov, 2018:1).

Additionally, the World Bank Group's (Mikhaylov, 2018:1) probabilistic topic modelling analysis, identified nine topics linking development plans: climate change and resources; green economy; corruption and security; health; skills and training; economic growth; fiscal policy and macroeconomy; reconstruction and democracy; and education. Based on this, the plans focussed on the following (Mikhaylov, 2018:1):

- Health, climate change, resources, corruption and security are more prominent in NDP
- Skills and training is covered more in Asgi-SA and marginally in NGP
- The NGP gives prominence to the green economy
- Fiscal policy and macroeconomy has higher coverage in GEAR
- Reconstruction and democracy are more covered in RDP
- Topics related to education and green economy are more likely to be covered in the same document
- Economic growth and fiscal policy and macroeconomy topics appear in the same development plans

The plans as well as their communication strategies will be discussed chronologically in more detail, starting with the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP).

#### **4.1 RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME (RDP)**

The Reconstruction and Development Programme, created in 1994, consists of six principles and five key programmes (Corder, 1997:183) that were enforced to improve South Africa's economic state. The effects of the RDP can be measured in terms of tangible benefits and perceived impact (Corder, 1997:183). People's perception of the



effects of a development plan is just as important as the tangible and economic impact it has. However, a plan that performs well and has a tangible benefit will have more support. Communication is the catalyst used to create meaning and understand development principles such as those stated in the RDP. According to Ibid (in Corder, 1997:184), “the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) is an integrated, coherent socioeconomic policy framework” that “seeks to mobilise all our people and our country’s resources toward a final eradication of the results of apartheid and the building of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future”. The policy is not purely economic in nature but also looked to deal with the social issues that affect development. Additionally, the RDP’s positioning was similar to that of the NDP. It was positioned as a plan that would harness the abilities of South Africa’s human resources and the private sector to fuel economic development. The above statement also signifies that the RDP was perceived to be the first and “final” plan of its kind. However, four more plans followed after its implementation.

It advocated for the moral and ethical development of society, democracy (in terms of opportunities and living standards), wealth creation and sustainable development that does not negatively affect the natural environment (Corder, 1997:184). In the initial stage of its implementation various “Lead Programmes were identified, planned and budgeted to kick-start the delivery” of different services to achieve the goals set in the RDP (Corder, 1997:184). Although it initially required the input of both the public (at large) and the private sector, this process did not take place as government was seen as responsible for the execution of the plan. The private sector featured primarily as a service provider, while ordinary citizens did not feature at all. They were regarded primarily as beneficiaries of the plan instead of contributors to its success. The plan started with a socialist ideology and incorporated more private sector activities for implementation. Effective communication would have been required to inform the public of their role in implementing the plan, however the communication on the plan focused more on government as a service provider and the public as beneficiaries of that service. So, the RDP was seen more as a service document to the public, rather than a partnership agreement between government and its stakeholders.

Six basic principles, linked together, make up the political and economic philosophy of the RDP (RDP, 1994):

1. An integrated and sustainable programme (RDP, 1994). The legacy of apartheid cannot be overcome with piecemeal and uncoordinated policies. The RDP brings together strategies to harness resources in a coherent and purposeful effort that can be sustained into the future. These strategies would be implemented at national, provincial and local levels by government, parastatals and organisations within civil society working within the framework of the RDP.
2. The RDP is based on a people-driven process (RDP, 1994): The RDP is focused on people's most immediate needs and relies on their energies to drive the process of meeting these needs.
3. The programme and its people-driven process was closely bound to peace and security for all (RDP, 1994): Promoting peace and security must involve all people and must build on and expand the National Peace Initiative. Apartheid placed the security forces, police and judicial system at the service of its racist ideology. The security forces have been unable to stem the tide of violence in South Africa. To begin the process of reconstruction and development security forces should reflect the country's national and gender character. Such forces must be non-partisan, professional, and uphold the Constitution and respect human rights. The judicial system must reflect society's racial and gender composition and provide fairness and equality for all before the law.
4. To embark on the process of nation-building (RDP, 1994): Central to the crisis in the country are the massive divisions and inequalities left behind by apartheid. Society should not be divided according to the categories of 'first-world' and 'third-world'. Growth strategies should not be confined to the former, while doing patchwork and piecemeal development in the latter, waiting for trickle-down development. Nation-building is the basis on which to build a South Africa that can support the development of Southern Africa. Nation-building is also the basis to ensure that South Africa takes up an effective role within the world community. Only

a programme that develops economic, political and social viability can ensure national sovereignty.

5. Nation-building requires a link between reconstruction and development (RDP, 1994). The RDP is based on reconstruction and development being parts of an integrated process. This is in contrast to a commonly-held view that growth and development, or growth and redistribution are processes that contradict each other. Growth – the measurable increase in the output of the modern industrial economy – is commonly seen as the priority that must precede development. Development is portrayed as a marginal effort of redistribution to areas of urban and rural poverty. In this view, development is a deduction from growth.
6. The first five principles depend on the democratisation of South Africa (RDP, 1994). Minority control and privilege in every aspect of society are the main obstruction to developing an integrated programme that unleashes the country's resources.

The above list indicates that citizen participation was stipulated as necessary in the RDP document. However, it was perceived as a service plan for government to provide certain services to the public. These views are in conflict with one another. The RDP (1994) is defined as “an integrated programme, based on the people, that provides peace and security for all and builds the nation, links reconstruction and development and deepens democracy.” The RDP was against a trickle-down approach to development. This approach is prevalent in the NDP.

This plan was effective at explaining national goals and ambitions under a government that would create “growth, development, reconstruction and redistribution, in a consistent macroeconomic framework, using the Keynesian paradigm” (Adelzadeh, 1996:66). Economist John Maynard Keynes developed the Keynesian paradigm on the premise that in tough economic times, economies are not self-adjusting and therefore require government intervention (Gul, Chaudhry & Faridi, 2014:2). From this perspective, government is expected to intervene and help the economy in the short-term, in order to produce long-term macro-economic benefits. This ideology takes economic fluctuations into consideration. In addition to this, the RDP was perceived to be collectivist-oriented

(Twala, 2014:1994) and follow a socialist worldview (COSATU, 2018). This was in contrast to the neo-liberal outlook of the GEAR development that replaced it (Twala, 2014:1994).

Keynes emphasised the important role of government in a capitalist economy (Markwell in Gul et al., 2014:4). He believed that for an economy to thrive, government had to spend money in a way that put it “into private sector pockets” to increase demand for goods and services (Dwivedi in Gul et al., 2014:4). This ideology favoured the use of government’s power to spend, tax, and borrow to improve economic growth and stability (Nasar in Gul et al., 2014:4). Due to the state of the economy and inequality post-apartheid, the government saw this as the best option for economic growth and stability.

According to the Ministry in the Office of the President (in Corder, 1997:184), the RDP focused on addressing:

- Land improvement/reform, reallocation and restitution/restoration
- Improved medical care with stipulations indicating that pregnant women and children under six years old would receive medical care regardless of the circumstance
- Electricity provision
- Providing primary school nutrition which included light breakfasts to approximately 5,4 million children
- Delivery of clean water to rural communities

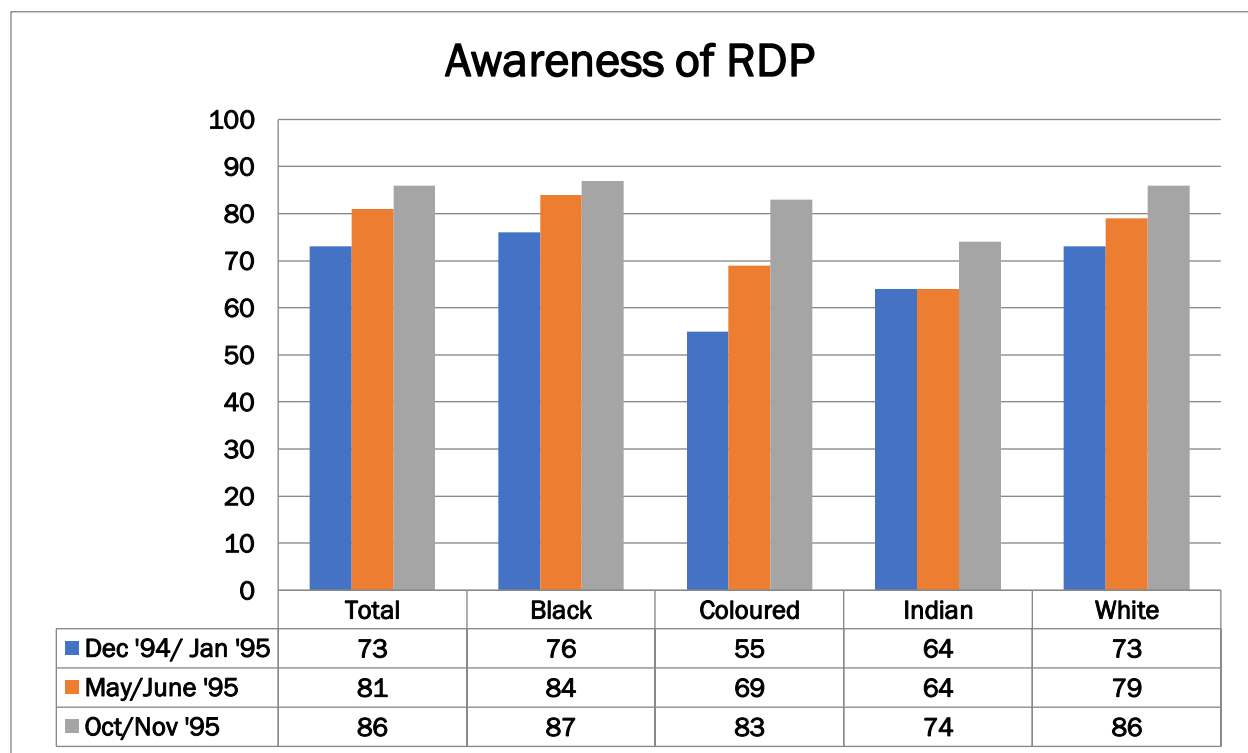
The abovementioned show that the RDP was concerned primarily with issues at grassroots level while the NDP has more of a macroeconomic focus. Also, the RDP has a tangible track record for service delivery, garnering more support and awareness for the document.

#### **4.1.1 Awareness of the RDP**

Public awareness of the RDP was an important factor in its implementation, due to the fact that the public were the plan’s main beneficiaries. The general public cannot make

use of, or support programmes they are unaware of. Therefore, communication on the part of government agencies would have been imperative.

Based on research by Corder (1997:194) in November 1995, approximately 80% of the urban adult population living in cities knew of the existence of the RDP. As displayed in **Figure 4.1**, when asked “Have you heard of the RDP, the Government of National Unity’s Reconstruction and Development Programme?”, 87% of blacks, 86% of whites, 83% of coloureds and 74% of Indians stated that they knew of its existence (Corder, 1997:194).



**Figure 4.1: Awareness of the RDP; Source: RDP Index (Corder, 1997:195)**

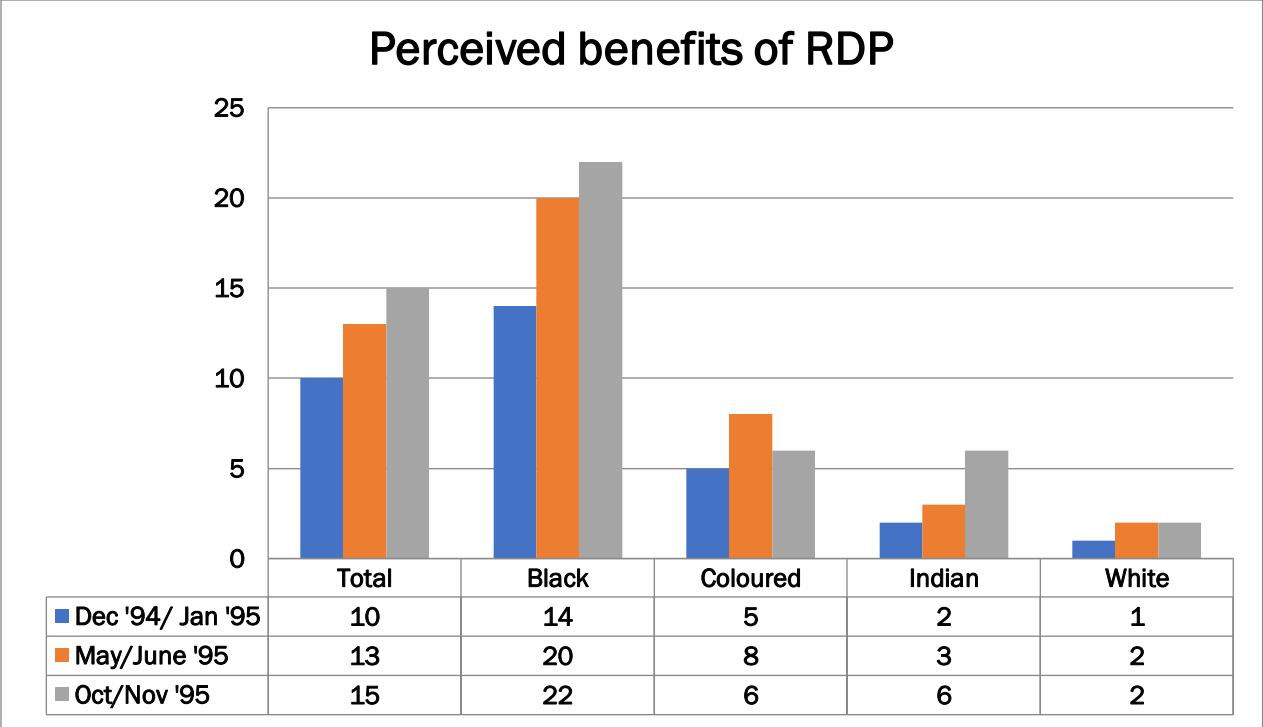
This indicates that the majority of urban adults knew of the existence of the RDP. At this point the number of black people with access to media resources still paled in comparison to the media access that white individuals had (Corder, 1997:194). This meant that black communities had a lesser degree of media consumption. Therefore, the probability that more black individuals would be informed of the RDP than white individuals is unlikely. However, based on the above-mentioned figures, in the case of the RDP the lack of media

penetration in black communities at this stage in South African history had a minimal impact on people's access to information on the development plan. This is presumably as a result of word-of-mouth communication on the RDP, which was boosted by political activity at the time (Corder, 1997:194). Spreading news on changing government policy also depends on the political and social climate at the time of the policy's introduction. The nation's climate (political and otherwise) can serve as a springboard for informing the public of changes in policy as well as the positive effect these changes will have.

As stated previously, the perceived, intangible benefits of a development plan are just as important as its tangible benefits. With regards to the perceived benefits of the RDP within the first stages of its implementation, Corder's (1997:195) findings were as follows:

- Approximately 20% of black South Africans living in cities had the impression that they had already benefited from the RDP
- Only 6% of Indians and coloureds held the same sentiments
- White people perceived the lowest benefit at this stage with only 2% of whites perceiving themselves as having benefitted from the RDP or standing a chance to benefit in future.

These perceived benefits are displayed in **Figure 4.2** and will be discussed in more detail in the next section.



**Figure 4.2: Perceived benefits of RDP; Source: RDP Index (Corder, 1997:197)**

**4.1.2 Perceived benefits of the RDP**

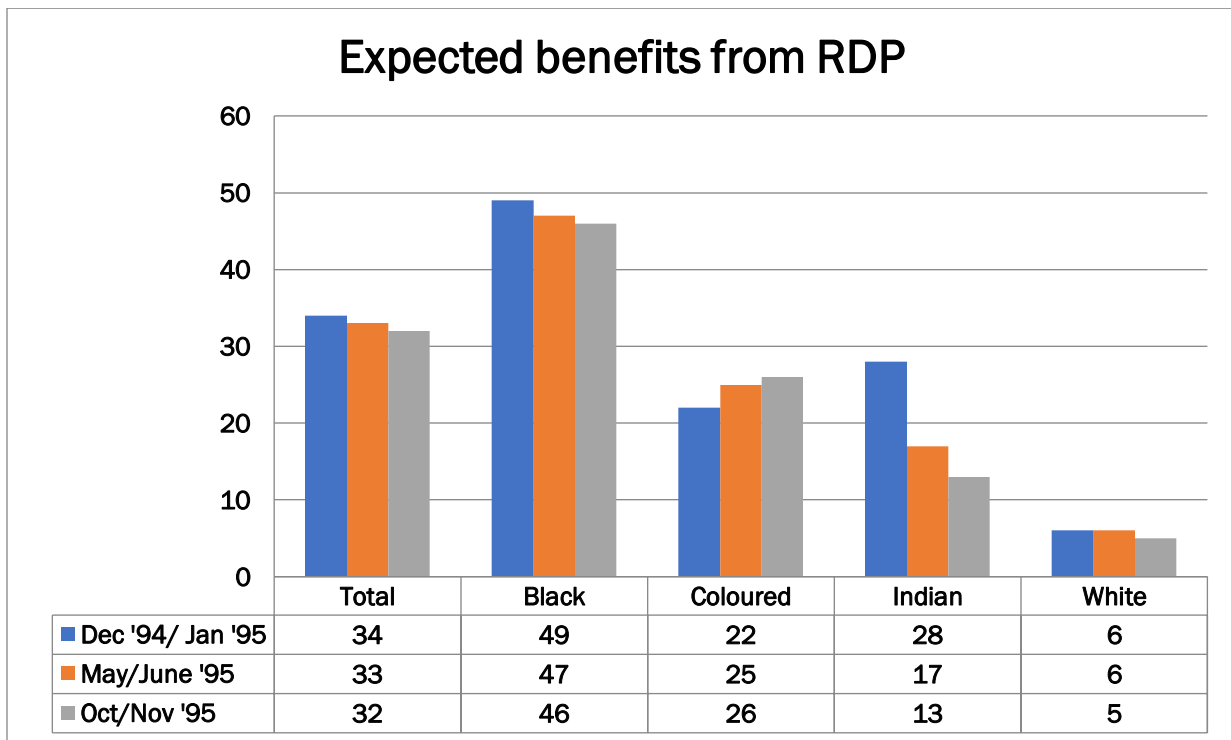
Due to the media communication on the RDP and word-of-mouth, the public developed their own opinion its benefits. According to public opinion, a year after its implementation, the main sectors this plan was beneficial in were (Corder, 1997:195):

- The connection of electricity facilities
- The provision of access to clean, safe water
- The provision of education facilities
- The provision of quality housing for the poor
- The creation of an improved, cleaner environment
- The creation of better healthcare services

Regardless of the perceived benefit, people also had expectations of what the plan’s implementation would deliver.

### 4.1.3 Expected benefits of the RDP

Aside from the perceived benefits, communication on the RDP (whether it be government communication or word-of-mouth) created certain expectations regarding its effect on society. Corder's (1997:197) research found that regardless of an incline in the public's knowledge of the RDP, their expectation that it would be beneficial to the nation in future reduced over time. According to the abovementioned study, only half of blacks, 25% of coloureds and one in seven Indians were of the opinion that the RDP would benefit them in future. Whites perceived the lowest future benefit with only 6% of this population believing that they would benefit from the RDP in future (**Figure 4.3**).



**Figure 4.3: Expected benefits of RDP; Source: RDP Index (Corder, 1997:198)**

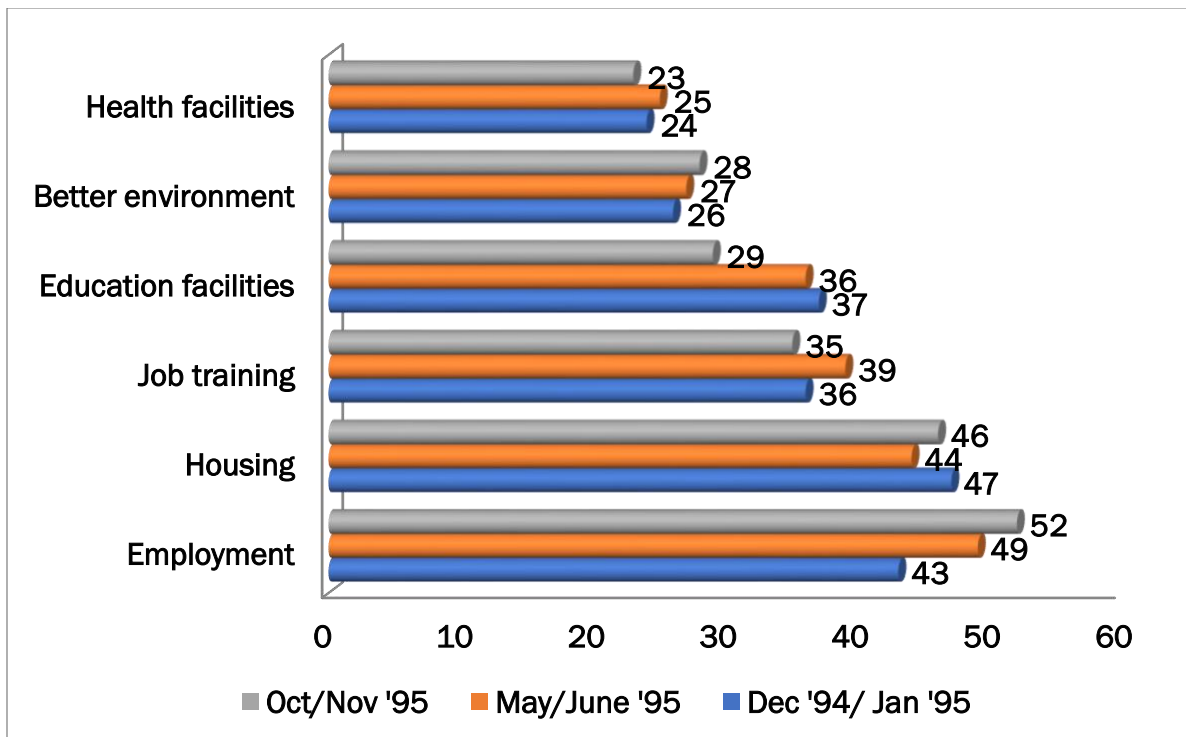
As presented in **Figure 4.4**, which depicts the findings of research conducted in the first stages of the RDP's implementation, the main areas where urban black people expected the RDP to impact society were the following (Corder, 1997:197):

- The creation of education facilities



- The provision of career/job and skills training
- The provision of quality housing for the poor
- An improved, cleaner environment
- Provision of better healthcare services
- The creation of job opportunities

The study also showed that people’s anticipation for the creation of more job opportunities increased steadily, while the expectation for education and training opportunities to become commonplace decreased (Corder, 1997:197). So, the creation of job opportunities became an expected benefit over time.



**Figure 4.4: Expected benefits of RDP – Urban blacks; Source: RDP Index (Corder, 1997:198)**

As stated previously, the perceived and expected benefits of a development plan rely on the dialogue surrounding the plan as well as the information stakeholders are privy to. This indicates that the leader’s opinions and rhetoric on the plan will also play a role in

people's perceptions. Citizens create meaning through communication and their conversations about national events. As stated in the previous section most of the black population (which constitutes the majority of the South African population) found out about the RDP through conversing with others. The influence of rhetoric on people's perceptions and expectations cannot be overlooked. Dialogue and communication can be used as a medium or mode of implanting ideas in people's heads and influencing them (Martin, 2013:25).

Martin's (2013:25) view on speech and communication is strongly related to the theory of rhetoric which is about persuading audiences through communication. So, understanding the relationship between rhetoric and political strategy is required for any form of political communication – even when dealing with the communication of development plans (Martins, 2013:25). Rhetoric is an important part of politics because it influences voter's perceptions in the favour of certain political parties. In the same way, opposition to the ruling party may also use this rhetoric as a way of casting doubts regarding certain policies created by the ruling party.

Former President Nelson Mandela had a unique, charismatic personality, which caused people to perceive him as "the people's" leader and his reputation made him a champion for the RDP (Kharsany, 2012). Regardless of this, it was replaced by GEAR, indicating issues with the plan. Although the Department of Human Settlements suggested that 2,930,485 housing units were delivered between 1994 and 2015, the RDP was still perceived as a failure by many (Africa Check, 2016). Government continued to state that 5 million houses were built, but the number was reportedly, closer to 3 million units (Africa Check, 2016).

According to a statement by the Department of Housing (South African Government, 2009), the intention of the RDP housing programme was "to build houses for all people who couldn't afford them. Over the years it emerged after government-initiated investigations and collapse of many houses, that the housing system had been abused and not used for the purpose it was intended for. Many contractors had built shoddy

houses and didn't train people under the peoples housing programme." In addition to this, the RDP housing programme was perceived to have failed in the following ways:

- Many of the houses were occupied by people other than the intended recipients, contrary to stipulated policy (IOL Property, 2012).
- If a house was not occupied by the intended beneficiaries, the state was entitled to repossess it for the next person on the waiting list (IOL Property, 2012). However, this rarely happened (IOL Property, 2012).
- A primary shortcoming of what is described as the "chaotic early years" of the RDP housing process was the failure to grant and deliver clear titles to the intended recipients (IOL Property, 2012). Even when titles were granted, subsequent transfers invalidated many (IOL Property, 2012). Record-keeping remained poor with many houses being transferred for low prices, driven by the circumstances of owners (IOL Property, 2012).
- Beneficiaries of some high-standard homes built by NGOs such as the Niall Mellon trust and Habitat for Humanity built shacks alongside the completed houses to rent out, or to live in so they could rent the houses out (IOL Property, 2012). This counteracted the dominant liberal vision of housing providing a dignified step towards middle-class aspirations (IOL Property, 2012). The foundations of liberal economic policies are premised upon individual property ownership (IOL Property, 2012). The failure of the system to enable the poor to become part of the mainstream economy indicates a systemic failure of the dominant economic model to meaningfully assist this marginalised sector (IOL Property, 2012).
- The quality of the houses was questionable so many of them collapsed and the size of the houses could not accommodate many of the families (South African Government, 2009).
- Government also introduced the people's housing project which envisaged contractors training housing owners to build their own homes and, in the process, acquire skills which would benefit them economically in the future (South African Government, 2009). This programme was mismanaged by contractors who did not train people but allowed them to build houses without proper training (South African Government, 2009).

Even though the RDP was replaced by the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy, over 20 years after the RDP's implementation it is still perceived as controversial in the following ways (Bailey, 2017:2-3):

- Location of housing projects (Bailey, 2017:2): Many areas surrounding houses built under the RDP programme lack proper infrastructure such as shopping centres, factories and other forms of business premises that can provide jobs to people who living in these areas. Clean running water, sanitation and electricity are also not available in some locations.
- Quality of houses (Bailey, 2017:2): Public Protector, Thuli Madonsela, presented a report in 2013 indicating that some houses were built without foundations and with sub-standard materials. Some of these houses were so defective that they had to be demolished and rebuilt.
- Tenant maintenance (Bailey, 2017:3): Some companies contracted to build RDP houses gave home owners six months to report defects. However, it often takes longer to identify these issues, making this stipulation unlawful.
- Illegal occupation of houses (Bailey, 2017:3): Many people on the housing waiting lists found that their houses had been illegally occupied. The legal process to remove "illegal occupiers" is often difficult and time-consuming.
- Maladministration (Bailey, 2017:3): Advocate Madonsela reported that, due to maladministration regarding waiting lists and irregular allocations, government had lost billions of Rands to corrupt companies and officials.
- Title deeds (Bailey, 2017:3): Title deeds are necessary to prove ownership. In many cases, houses were occupied without the owners being allocated title deeds. In April 2016, approximately 900000 title deeds were outstanding.
- The sale of RDP houses (Bailey, 2017:3): Although RDP houses and plots could not be sold before an eight-year period, there were no punitive measures in the Housing Act for people who contravened this.

The RDP continues to be referenced to this day; however, it was replaced by the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy in 1996. GEAR's stipulations as well as the reasons it replaced the RDP are outlined in the next section.

## **4.2 GROWTH, EMPLOYMENT AND REDISTRIBUTION (GEAR) STRATEGY**

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was devised by the Government of National Unity (GNU) at the onset of democracy (Corder, 1997:183). The GNU was led by the ANC and consisted of other political parties such as the Nation Party that governed pre-1994, and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). This took place from 27 April 1994 to 3 February 1997 (SAHO, 2017). The GNU consisted of people from different faiths and races and did not discriminate with regards to gender. The collaboration of different individuals and political parties was meant to ensure that the transition to a democratic society be as effective as possible. The GNU led by Nelson Mandela as president and FW De Klerk as deputy president (SAHO, 2017). To facilitate the process of integration, the cabinet included ministers from other political parties such as the National Party and Inkatha Freedom Party (SAHO, 2017). The RDP was implemented under the supervision of the GNU and required the input and approval of the political parties involved. This led to broader approval for the plan.

Adelzadeh (1996:66) stated that the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) signified an agreement about the nation's future, while taking the interests of varying political groups into consideration and negotiating compromises in situations where opposing goals or intentions were identified. One of the reasons the RDP was well-received is that its creation encouraged the involvement of various interest groups and political parties.

The RDP hoped to create economic advancement and expansion through "reconstruction and redistribution, sought a leading and enabling role for government in guiding the mixed economy through reconstruction and development, and it argued for a living wage as a pre-requisite for achieving the required level of economic growth" (Adelzadeh, 1996:66). Apartheid prevented almost 80% of South African's from benefiting from the economic potential of the nation. This majority responded well to the RDP due to the promise that it would rectify the economic injustice of the past and create employment, ensure the equal

transfer of wages, prosperity and capital, and provide for the elementary necessities of the all members of the public (Adelzadeh, 1996:66).

Regardless of the fact that the government continued to make reference to the RDP, the fiscal, monetary and international economic policies had changed significantly from the initial policies set out in the RDP (Adelzadeh, 1996:67), rendering the RDP almost obsolete. The National Growth and Development Strategy (NGDS) delivered in February 1996 also presented policies that were contrary to many of the policies set in the RDP by enforcing a “trickle-down approach to economic development” (Adelzadeh, 1996:67). This “trickle-down” approach is in line with the NDP released over a decade later but is directly in opposition to the RDP which focused on a bottom-up approach to economic development and insisted on development at a grassroots level that would eventually promote development at macroeconomic level.

To address this, the Department of Finance produced another document for economic development (in June 1996): The Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy (Adelzadeh, 1996:67). This strategy was predominantly macroeconomic in nature. In South Africa, economic development cannot be separated from social issues (Cheru, 2001:505) therefore a solely macroeconomic policy would be difficult to implement. The GEAR strategy stipulated that “in the absence of rapid employment growth, unemployment has increased, so that the distribution of income exhibits an increasing dichotomy between those inside the formal economy and those on its edges. Accelerated economic growth associated with stronger employment creation is the key to continued progress towards an equitable distribution of income and improved standards of living for all” (GEAR, 1996).

The value of the Rand saw a steady decreased in 1996, which was of great concern to government (Michie & Padayachee, 1998:626) and brought the effectiveness of the RDP and development initiatives since 1994 into disrepute. The RDP’s microeconomic nature could not address the issues of a decreasing Rand. This put pressure on government to create a macroeconomic strategy that addressed the concerns of the private sector (such

as the possibility of a devalued Rand) (Michie & Padayachee, 1998:626). The “Growth, Employment and Redistribution: A Macroeconomic Strategy” (or GEAR) was released on 14 June 1996 to address this (Michie & Padayachee, 1998:626). Unlike the RDP which incorporated consultation, and opinions of different stakeholders from various political parties, the GEAR strategy was finalised devoid of discussion within the ANC, or with the leader of the ANC Policy Department, the Labour Minister at the time, Tito Mboweni, “and was presented with the declaration that it was 'non-negotiable’” (Michie & Padayachee, 1998:626). This made it different from the NDP in the sense that the NDP was open to receiving stakeholder input. The lack of consultation also gave the impression that GEAR was a “damage control” strategy for the perceived failings of the RDP.

When GEAR was introduced government made a shift from the RDP’s Keynesian/social welfare ideology to a neo-liberal strategy of privatisation (Harber in Ndhambi, 2015:46). Neoliberalism is rooted in Adam Smith’s free market school of economics (Narsiah, 2002:29). This school of thought comes in reaction to the Keynesian economic programmes of the post-World War II era (Narsiah, 2002:29). The dominance of neoliberalism came from the perceived failure of Keynesian economics (Narsiah, 2002:29). This indicates that GEAR was positioned to have an ideological focus opposite to that of the RDP. As stated previously, GEAR caused tension between the ANC and its Alliance partners after the 1999 general elections (Ndhambi, 2015:46). This led to what was perceived to be attacks by the leaders of the ANC, led by then President Thabo Mbeki, on the “ultraleft within the Alliance which was said to be treating the government as hostile to the working class (Southall in Ndhambi, 2015:46). This was the reason for the failure of GEAR. It was a non-negotiable programme, with no deliberation prior to implementation that was perceived to be a source of contention between the ANC and alliance partners necessary for its success.

At the beginning of democracy, the government’s main economic focus was on “growth and redistribution” that would come as a result of the creation of a powerful government and market that would function as conduits for increasing development and decreasing poverty and societal disproportion (Cheru, 2001:505). After using this strategy for almost

two years the ANC government decided to adopt a new strategy for economic development – a neoliberal strategy for poverty alleviation. Neoliberalism can be defined as “an approach to economics and social studies in which control of economic factors is shifted from the public sector to the private sector” in a way that seeks to “reduce deficit spending, limit subsidies, reform tax law to broaden the tax base, remove fixed exchange rates, open up markets to trade by limiting protectionism, privatize state-run businesses, allow private property and back deregulation” (Investopedia, 2015). This reiterates the macroeconomic nature of this policy which is aimed at placing most of the onus of economic development in the hands of the private sector. This is in opposition to the RDP which placed the onus of development on government. As stated previously, the private sector has an important role in economic development in a developing society like South Africa. Effective communication structures are necessary for managing relationships between the private and public sector. The decision to place the responsibility of creating economic development on the GEAR programme may have seemed good at the time but this neoliberal perception of development has proven ineffective in most countries that have adopted it (Cheru, 2001:505).

The GEAR strategy intended to grow the economy at a rate of “6% per annum and job creation of 400,000 per annum by the year 2000” (Michie & Padayachee, 1998:627). The neoliberal paradigm in this development plan is expressed in that development would be expected to take place by releasing the private sector from the “fetters of the distorted racist logic and constraints of the country's apartheid past” (Michie & Padayachee, 1998:627). Therefore, this plan hoped to completely eradicate the macroeconomic policies of the past. The GEAR strategy almost seemed to aim to reverse the effects of the economic strategies of the past government by also seeking the rejection of important government economic measures such as price/tariff security, monetary and fiscal regulation, state ownership, etc. (Michie & Padayachee, 1998:627).

The above discussion indicates the vast differences between the RDP and GEAR, even though they were instituted by the same government within in a similar time period and context. It indicates how quickly the development landscape and government plans can



change. Regardless of contentions over its macroeconomic nature, GEAR is South Africa's longest-standing economic development plan. However, during Thabo Mbeki's presidency it was replaced by the Accelerated and Shared Growth for South Africa (Asgi-SA) strategy. The principles of this plan and how it fit into South Africa's development story will be discussed in more detail in the subsequent section.

### **4.3 ACCELERATED AND SHARED GROWTH INITIATIVE FOR SOUTH AFRICA**

According to a media briefing by Deputy President Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka (2006:1), the Accelerated and Shared Growth-South Africa (Asgi-SA) strategy rolled out in 2004 was meant to split poverty and joblessness in half by 2014. Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka (2006:1) stated that "we believe that these objectives are feasible – indeed we would hope to surpass those objectives – because of the steady improvement in the performance and job creating capacity of the economy."

The deputy president was responsible for the official launch of Asgi-SA in February 2006, which led to her being perceived as the main champion for the plan. The Asgi-SA development plan was the result of consultation with stakeholders in which six "binding constraints on growth" and development were identified (Mlambo-Ngcuka, 2008:2) to alleviate poverty and unemployment. This plan followed a similar consultative approach to that used in the NDP. These "binding constraints" indicated the main socioeconomic issues that had to be dealt with in South Africa at the time. The binding constraints that were identified through stakeholder consultation were as follows (Mlambo-Ngcuka, 2008:2):

- The state's limited capacity to address all social issues: The expectation that government should be solely responsible for eradicating poverty and unemployment placed a burden on the state.
- The unpredictability of the Rand: Since democracy in 1994, the Rand steadily increased but experienced some volatility. Economies are generally volatile and unpredictable due to the influence of external forces therefore this volatility is not unique to South Africa.

- South Africa experienced small levels of investment in infrastructure and infrastructure facilities: As indicated previously, the burden on government to be sole contributor to the needs of society was perceived as an unrealistic one. Hence, the investment and contribution of the private sector is important. Creating infrastructure equality around the country would be impossible without the contribution of the private sector.
- Scarcity of appropriately-trained graduates, specialists/technicians and artisans: As a developing country, South Africa requires a specific set of professional and technical skills. There is a need for not only macroeconomic development but also development on a microeconomic, grassroots level. Therefore, the state should focus on producing the necessary skills to develop the nation on all economic levels.
- Uncompetitive industrial and service sectors with frail sector plans: The South African economy requires the intervention of the private sector for it to succeed. The private sector should have innovative means of addressing societal issues and creating competitive industries and sectors.
- The inequality and marginalisation caused by the economic segregation of the past resulted in a large group of disadvantaged, uneducated and unskilled individuals who would not be able to contribute to or benefit from the developing economy. Due to inequality, the minority of the population would be responsible for providing for the majority. Correcting these societal imbalances will require the participation of various stakeholders.

The abovementioned issues are considered to be contributing factors to the development of the second economy. The lack of regulation in the second economy is disadvantageous to economic growth. Also, Asgi-SA's constraints indicate an aversion to the Keynesian perspective that places the burden of development entirely on the state. This signifies that Asgi-SA is more supportive of the GEAR ideology and against the philosophy that governed the RDP. However, Asgi-SA did still support development at grassroots level but required the state to provide the tools necessary for this level of development to take place.

Asgi-SA was largely accepted by the left and labour unions (Van der Walt, 2007:2). The South African Communist Party (SACP) was one organisation that praised Asgi-SA (Van der Walt, 2007:2). Blade Nzimande admitted that Asgi-SA was not a new macro-economic plan and criticised it for lacking the logistical information necessary for implementation, particularly for the working class (e.g. decent transport and education) (Van der Walt, 2007:2). Regardless, “he was ‘broadly’ upbeat, claiming to see signs of a shift towards ‘an active developmental state... a comprehensive industrial policy and... integrated local development planning’, a ‘welcome shift.’... all reasonable people... ‘agree with the relevance’ of promoting a competitive national economy” (Van der Walt, 2007:2).

Private sector support was also emphasised to assist with issues like increasing the quality and quantity of education, because it is one of the best ways of improving a person’s standard of living (Bhorat et. al. in Behar, 2006:2). To facilitate this, government introduced the Joint Initiative on Priority Skills Acquisition (JIPSA). JIPSA was seen as a tool for implementing Asgi-SA with the purpose of addressing the scarcity of skills necessary for economic growth (Behar, 2006:2). To emphasise the importance of skills development, Mlambo-Ngcuka (Behar, 2006:2) stated the following about the intentions of JIPSA: “Yet both unemployment and poverty are still at unacceptably high levels, which mean our growth is not fairly shared. The most fatal constraint to shared growth is skills, and it should be noted that skills are not just one of the constraints facing Asgi-SA but a potentially fatal constraint. That fact should be admitted with emphasis. We have to overcome the shortage of suitable skilled labour if our dreams for this economy are to be realised; the task is huge.”

According to policy analyst Steven Friedman, Asgi-SA was not considered a policy but rather a list of projects and programmes (Fin24, 2006). This was one of the criticisms of the plan – it did not have single document that could be read and scrutinised by members of the public (Fin24, 2006). The main detail was provided in a media briefing by deputy President Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka on 6 February 2006. This was consolidated into a

background document (Asgi-SA, 2006). Another criticism for the plan is based on its binding constraints (Asgi-SA, 2006:4-6):

- Volatility and level of the currency (Asgi-SA, 2006:4): Regardless of improvements in the administration of fiscal and monetary policy, currency volatility deters investors in tradable goods and services outside of the commodity sector.
- The cost, efficiency and capacity of the national logistics system (Asgi-SA, 2006:5): Backlogs in infrastructure, investment, and in some cases market structures that do not encourage competition, increase the price of moving goods and providing services over long distances.
- Shortage of suitably skilled labour amplified by the impact of apartheid spatial patterns on the cost of labour (Asgi-SA, 2006:5).
- Barriers to entry, limits to competition and limited new investment opportunities (Asgi-SA, 2006:5): The South African economy remains relatively concentrated, especially in upstream production sectors such as iron and steel, paper and chemicals, and inputs such as telecommunications and energy.
- Regulatory environment and the burden on small and medium businesses (Asgi-SA, 2006:5): The mediocre performance of the small, medium and micro business sector regarding contribution to GDP and employment partly arose from the sub-optimal regulatory environment.
- Deficiencies in state organisation, capacity and leadership (Asgi-SA, 2006:5-6): Certain weaknesses in the way government is organised and insufficiently decisive leadership in policy development and implementation constrain the country's growth potential.

To address these constraints, Asgi-SA (2006:6) proposed the following:

- infrastructure programmes
- sector investment (or industrial) strategies
- skills and education initiatives
- second economy interventions
- macro-economic issues
- public administration issues.

However, the plan was criticised for being vague, and the interventions were not perceived as being effectively linked to the issues they purported to address (Fin24, 2006). None of the interventions directly address the constraints relating to currency issues and limits to competition and investment opportunities (Fin24, 2006). This led to the plan being perceived as a wish list that lacked policy prioritisation (Fin24, 2006).

Asgi-SA was the main plan towards the end of Thabo Mbeki's presidency. Regardless of its criticisms, Friedman noted that no particular interest group (private sector or trade unions) had any substantial objections to the projects listed in Asgi-SA (Fin24, 2006). The New Growth Path (NGP) was introduced in 2010 to mark Mbeki's resignation and the introduction of President Jacob Zuma. This plan will be discussed in the subsequent section.

#### **4.4 NEW GROWTH PATH (NGP)**

Development plans all have the same primary objective – to create the necessary policies for economic development to take place. The strategies used may differ, but the objective remains the same. As displayed in the previous plans, this development can be created by focusing on developing society on a grassroots level and looking at development in more of a socioeconomic sense, or these factors could be set aside, and the government may focus on development at a macroeconomic level. South Africa's New Growth Path (NGP), introduced in 2010 focused on using the former (development on grassroots level) in a way that would eventually impact the economy on macro level.

Government, under the leadership of Minister Ebrahim Patel, on 23 November 2010 released the New Growth Path Framework aimed at enhancing growth, employment creation and equity (South African Government, 2018). The policy's main target was to create five million jobs over a 10-year period (South African Government, 2018). This framework reflected government's commitment to prioritising employment creation in all economic policies (South African Government, 2018). It identified strategies to enable

South Africa to grow in a more equitable and inclusive manner while achieving the developmental agenda (South African Government, 2018).

The goal of the NGP was to use job creation as a tool for development. According to Nattrass (2011:107), this was expressed in its aim to create 5 million employment opportunities by 2020 and generate a well-organised/efficient economy that caters to the needs of all (regardless of ethnicity) through a “labour-absorbing” and efficient economy. This would be attained through a combination of “direct government job creation, social-democratic consensus for building macroeconomic, labour and industrial policies” (Nattrass, 2011:107). The NGP was created to function more as vision of the future than an actual development plan or projection (Nattrass, 2011:107) – similar to the way that the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) have been set out. This coincides with the NDP because it is also perceived as more of a vision than a plan.

The NGP focused on the creation of decent work, reducing inequality and defeating poverty through a new growth path founded on a restructuring of the South African economy to improve its performance in terms of labour absorption, composition and the rate of growth (NGP, 2011:6). The creation of decent work is the basis for the ideological foundation of trade unions like COSATU. It can be said that the NGP consists of specific objectives, such as the programme to create youth groups consisting of one million youth and investing in mechanisms to educate and skill these youth (Nattrass, 2011:107). Regardless of this, the NGP’s main aim was to promote wide-ranging outcomes and objectives and therefore does not consist of detailed step-by-step actions that the state would have to implement to achieve these goals.

In essence, the policies developed to achieve the goals in the NGP would have to address the following (Nattrass, 2011:107):

- The creation of a stronger more well-organised government
- The creation of policies that are suitably directed in order to deal with the issues that are most important for development in the South African context

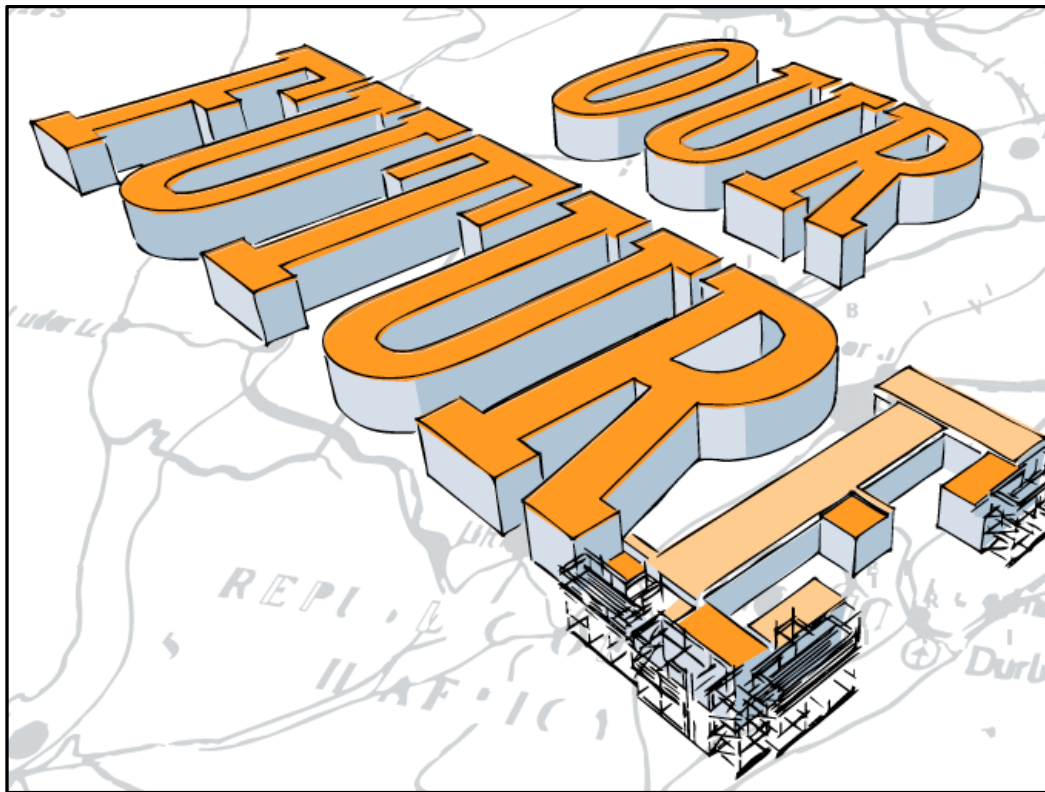
- The creation of monetary and fiscal policies that ensure that businesses and citizens are taxed in an efficient manner and that the funds are allocated correctly for the development of society
- Investment in creating a skilled labour force that is focused on developing the nation
- The creation of an environment where the workforce (labour) can work together with the businesses providing the capital. In a progressive economy, the needs of workers are regarded as highly as the need that organisations have to make a profit.
- The establishment of countrywide resolve to consent a particular degree of remuneration restriction
- The mobilisation of government reserves and course of investment (Funds garnered from the fiscal policy should be used to resolve issues identified since 1994)

Although noble, the strategies necessary for implementing the NGP and achieving its goals were not clearly outlined in the plan – making it vague and difficult to implement.

According to Natrass (2011:107), this plan was not detailed enough to be successful and it required some expansion and explanation. Natrass (2011:107) stated that the creators of the NGP did not create a thorough background plan therefore “a more productive approach is probably to concentrate on the logic of the vision, pointing to some of the key problems, trade-offs and requirements which have not been specified, and to ask questions about how realistic the objectives are given our current position”. To be successful, the NGP should have been a summary of a more detailed development plan. The vagueness of this plan led to it being replaced by the National Development Plan (NDP) a year after its implementation. The National Development Plan is the focal point of this study and its principles will be discussed in the following section.

## 4.5 NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN

The National Development Plan (NDP) is a macroeconomic plan that seeks to develop South Africa from a third-world nation to a first-world nation by the year 2030. The plan “aims to eliminate poverty and reduce inequality by 2030” by using the collective efforts of all South Africans (NDP, 2011:14). This is also communicated by the images used in the document (**Figure 4.5** and **Figure 4.6**).



**Figure 4.5:** Image on NDP cover page

The cover (**Figure 4.5**) and first page (**Figure 4.6**) of the document depict the image of several people constructing South Africa’s future.





**Figure 4.6: Image on NDP first page**

The document holds to this theme in its final image as well (**Figure 4.7**)



**Figure 4.7: Image on NDP last page**

The vision set out to achieve a future constructed by all South Africans and was devised by the National Planning Commission (NPC) which was established under Jacob Zuma's presidency and, according to Trevor Manuel, consisted "largely of people from outside government and gave them a mandate to be critical, objective and cross-cutting" (NDP, 2011:1). The NPC consists of 24 part-time external commissioners, a chair person and a deputy chairperson appointed by former President Jacob Zuma based on their expertise, namely (NDP, 2011:2-3):

1. Trevor Manuel (Chairperson)
2. Cyril Ramaphosa (Deputy Chairperson)
3. Miriam Altman
4. Malusi Balintulo
5. Hoosen Coovadia
6. Anton Eberhard
7. Tasneem Essop
8. Bridgete Gasa
9. Trueman Goba
10. Robert Godsell
11. Noluthando Gosa
12. Philip Harrison
13. Mohammed Karaan
14. Vuyokazi Mahlali
15. Malegapuru Makgoba
16. Christopher Malikane
17. Vincent Maphai
18. Elias Masilela
19. Pascal Moloji
20. Jennifer Molwantwa
21. Michael Muller
22. Joel Netshitenzhe
23. Ihron Rensberg
24. Vivienne Taylor

25. Jerry Vilakazi

26. Karl von Holt

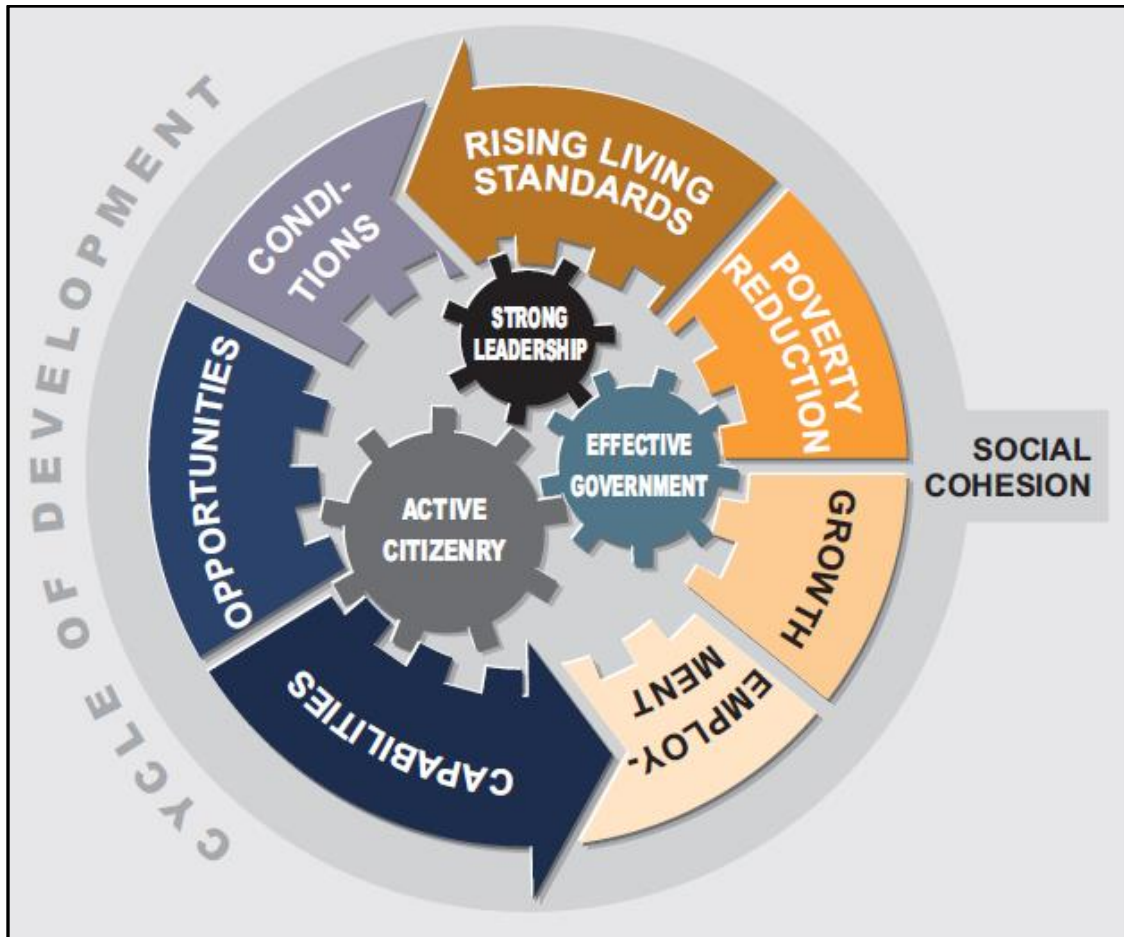
The NPC was established in 2010 to develop a long-term vision and strategic plan for South Africa's development and has an advisory function in government (NPC, n.d.). The NDP is the long-term, strategic plan developed by the NPC.

What makes this plan unique is that government seeks to implement it through the participation and support of a variety of stakeholders from different socioeconomic contexts. The broad aim of the NDP is to (The Presidency, 2016:10):

- deliver effective social wage to the poor.
- grow labour-intensive sectors such as mining, agriculture, agro-processing and tourism.
- support advanced sectors to expand, especially into Africa.
- invest in social and economic infrastructure to support these three goals.

According to **Figure 4.8**, for the NDP to be considered effective, improvement would have to be seen in the following areas: growth, employment, capabilities, opportunities, conditions, rising living standards and poverty reduction. The drivers of this improvement are (NDP, 2011:26):

- Strong leadership
- Effective government
- Active citizenry



**Figure 4.8: Cycle of development (NDP, 2011:26)**

**Figure 4.8** indicates that the creation of the social cohesion (driven by strong leadership, effective government and active citizenry) necessary for implementation to take place would require the following to be prioritised (NDP, 2011:26):

- Uniting all South Africans around a common programme to achieve prosperity and equity
- Promoting active citizenry to strengthen development, democracy and accountability
- Bringing about faster economic growth, higher investment and greater labour absorption
- Focusing on key capabilities of people and the state
- Building a capable and developmental state

- Encouraging strong leadership throughout society to work together to solve problems

These priorities are interconnected – change in one would evoke change in another (NDP, 2011:26). The National Planning Commission (NPC) that devised the National Development Plan consulted a variety of stakeholders, including political leaders, before drafting the plan. According to Minister in the Presidency, Jeff Radebe, the National Planning Commission was given the following mandate (The Presidency, 2016:12):

- To promote and advance the implementation of the NDP across different sectors of society
- To undertake detailed planning in a selected number of sectors
- To conduct regular engagements with various sectors of society on all matters pertaining to the long-term development of the country
- To facilitate stakeholder engagements aimed at forging a social compact towards more effective implementation of the NDP
- To take a cross-cutting view, undertake research into long-term trends, analyse implementation of short- to medium-term plans
- To contribute to the development of international partnerships and networks on national planning

The inclusion of economic, social and cultural rights in the 1996 Constitution of South Africa was aimed at advancing the socioeconomic needs of the poor in order to uplift their human dignity (Mbazira, 2009:1). The protection of these rights is an indication of the Constitution's transformative agenda that looks beyond providing abstract equality. South Africa is a multi-racial nation with the largest, most diversified, and industrialised economy in Africa. It is also influential regionally, due to its investment, political engagement and its active role and leadership within the inter-governmental African Union (Cook, 2013:3). The economy grew for many years, apart from 2009 when it contracted. Average per capita income and access to education have grown across racial groups – notably for blacks. Nonetheless, South Africa remains an unequal society with respect to wealth and income distribution and access to jobs, social services, and utilities. There are also

significant regional, rural-urban, and intra-racial disparities. Many South Africans live in poverty, and average per capita black incomes are one-sixth as large as those of the historically privileged white minority, although this disparity has gradually declined. Blacks were also disproportionately unemployed, at a rate of 36% in 2011, compared to 5.9% for whites, and have less access to education, although black education rates are steadily increasing (Cook, 2013:4). These are some of the socioeconomic issues the NDP hoped to solve at its inception in 2011.

The NDP offers a long-term perspective by defining a desired destination and identifying the role different sectors of society need to play in reaching societal goals (NDP, 2012). According to the plan, South Africa can realise these goals by “drawing on the energies of its people, growing an inclusive economy, building capabilities, enhancing the capacity of the state, and promoting leadership and partnerships throughout society” (NDP, 2012).

Minister Manuel highlighted the processes for the implementation of the plan (NDP, 2012):

- The NDP and its proposals have to be implemented in the right order over the next 17 years. Three phases have been identified
- Government has already started the process of aligning long-term departmental plans with the NDP and has identified areas where policy change is required to ensure consistency and coherence
- The NDP is a plan for the whole country. Government will engage with all sectors to understand how they are contributing to implementation, and particularly, to identify any obstacles to them fulfilling their role effectively.
- The plan will shape budget allocation over the next 17 years
- The NDP identifies the task of improving the quality of public services as critical to achieving transformation. This will require provinces to focus on identifying and overcoming the obstacles to achieving improved outcomes, including the need to strengthen the ability of local government to fulfil its developmental role.
- Planning and implementation should be informed by evidence-based monitoring and evaluation

- The president and deputy president will be the lead champions of the plan within Cabinet, in government and throughout the country. Premiers and Mayors will need to be visible and active champions of the plan, with their offices being the catalytic agencies to drive implementation at provincial and municipal levels.

According to the NDP document (2012:39), the plan requires leadership to drive implementation, and convince South Africans of the need to make mutual sacrifices for long-term benefits. To meet the developmental objectives of the NDP, the following would have to take place (NDP, 2012:39-40):

- Increasing exports, focusing on those areas where South Africa already has endowments and comparative advantage (NDP, 2012:39)
- A more efficient and competitive infrastructure to facilitate economic activity that is conducive to growth and job creation (NDP, 2012:39)
- Reducing the cost of living for low-income and working-class households (NDP, 2012:40)
- Reduced cost of regulatory compliance, especially for small- and medium-sized firms (NDP, 2012:40)
- A larger, more effective innovation system, closely aligned with firms that operate in sectors consistent with the growth strategy (NDP, 2012:40)
- Support for small businesses through better coordination of relevant agencies, development finance institutions, and public and private incubators (NDP, 2012:40)
- An expanded skills base through better education and vocational training (NDP, 2012:40)
- Strengthened financial services to bring down their cost and improve access for small- and medium-sized businesses (NDP, 2012:40)
- A commitment to public and private procurement approaches that stimulate domestic industry and job creation (NDP, 2012:40)
- A higher rate of investment (NDP, 2012:40)
- A labour market that is more responsive to economic opportunity (NDP, 2012:40)
- Enhanced commercial diplomatic services to support the expansion of South Africa's global market share (NDP, 2012:40)

These objectives complement the goals set out in the New Growth Path (NDP, 2012:40). In 2014, the NDP was translated into the Medium-Term Strategic Framework for the period 2014 to 2019 (The Presidency, 2016:14). Government adopted 14 outcome priorities based on the NDP (The Presidency, 2016:14). For each outcome, there was a coordinating minister held accountable for its achievement (The Presidency, 2016:14). The president signed performance agreements with all ministers that set out what each minister was expected to deliver (The Presidency, 2016:14). This was in addition to the established practice of entering into performance agreements with directors-general and other senior managers in public service (The Presidency, 2016:14). On a quarterly basis a progress report on each outcome is presented to Cabinet (The Presidency, 2016:14).

Implementing the NDP has been challenging for these reasons (COSATU, 2013:1):

- The document is long and complex.
- Effort has gone into packaging it in sophisticated manner, to appeal to various constituencies, by appropriating certain buzz words and popular concepts, but trying to avoid open controversy.
- The NDP is perceived to “speak in code”, requiring thorough analysis to uncover the underlying theoretical and philosophical approach, and the true character of the plan.
- The diagnostic report was developed by academics and experts from different perspectives so there are inconsistencies in certain respects. The presidency and Treasury inserted their own perspective into the document. A number of commissioners were unhappy with certain elements of the NDP drafted by the NPC Secretariats, and never formally signed off on the final product.
- The NDP is perceived to selectively draw from certain government policies and programmes and ignore others. Proposals ignore or contradict critical elements of the NGP/IPAP, which are supposed to be governments lead strategies over the medium term. This creates confusion as to which policy prevails and undermines



the greater degree of co-ordination which was emerging through e.g. the infrastructure plan, and the PICC.

- The plan is perceived to have inconsistencies and errors, as well as selective and incorrect interpretations of the key literature. It confuses a number of its own figures and projections on poverty, employment etc.

Due to the fact that the socioeconomic and political environments are constantly changing, all human organisations develop strategies of coping, growth and survival (Tuohy, 2012:140). Any transformative change involves the organisation going through stages of unfreezing, learning and initialisation (Tuohy, 2012:140). These stages involve psychological readjustments, some of which are difficult. As demonstrated thus far, leadership changes in government often lead to changes in the development strategy followed. Jacob Zuma's presidency came with the introduction of the NDP and the phasing out of the NGP. Creating the motivation necessary for this change to be accepted involves three processes (Tuohy, 2012:140):

- Discomfort: This is the stage at which it is perceived that the organisation is not achieving what it sets out to achieve. The data presented is often symptomatic. It develops a sense that 'something is wrong somewhere' and creates anxiety and/or guilt, which is termed 'survival anxiety' and implies that unless there is change, something bad will happen to the individual or organisation. This type of anxiety often gives rise to defensiveness, denying the validity of information and rationalising it. Evidence of this can be seen in the political discussion around the Diagnostic Report that preceded the NDP. This research-based report highlighted some of government and society's developmental issues. Although met with discomfort because it sparked political and social discussion on government's shortcomings, the report was relatively well received.
- Search for solution: This happens when people see a connection between the data and the goals, ideals and practices of the organisation. There is a realisation of a need for change that can develop new habits and ways of thinking. This gives rise to a search for deeper understanding of the problem and for alternative approaches. It means unlearning what is done at present and committing to

learning new skills. This is termed 'learning anxiety' and involves a range of elements from fear of loss of prestige or identity in a new role, of temporary incompetence in new methodologies, and punishment for such incompetence. This stage unfolded when the NDP was introduced as a new strategic document. It is also evident that the introduction of a new philosophy like that which is in the NDP can cause a level of discomfort, like that which is seen by organisations like COSATU opposing the plan. This is a natural process and should be treated as such. The negative dialogue surrounding the plan should therefore not be seen as negative, but as a natural part of implementation.

- Psychological safety: This involves creating the space where 'survival anxiety' and 'learning anxiety' are managed, by developing a positive approach to solving the problem. The best results are achieved by lowering learning anxiety rather than increasing survival anxiety, emphasising the importance of a communication framework to manage dialogue and reduce the 'survival anxiety', while promoting learning about the plan and its motives. The more learning takes place, the less anxiety there will be relating to the NDP. The less anxiety, the less opposition and more support will be garnered for its implementation.

The above indicates that before the NDP can be accepted by its political stakeholders, effective communication would have to take place to allay fears and promote productive dialogue. So, an understanding of strategic government communication, as well as the techniques for creating a communication framework for a development plan like the NDP informed the next chapter.

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# CHAPTER 5

## STRATEGIC GOVERNMENT COMMUNICATION

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The NDP is South Africa's newest development plan and according to Mei, Lee and Al-Hawamdeh (2004:13) communication is necessary for precluding the resistance to change that often comes with the introduction of a new plan. This chapter is therefore interested in how the South African government communicates and the communication mechanisms necessary to improve its effectiveness.

The stakeholder support needed for implementation would have to happen in the following phases: preparation, mobilisation, and implementation (Mei et al., 2004:18). Preparation and mobilisation precede implementation. These three phases are further divided into the following stages (Mei et al., 2004:18):

1. Securing stakeholder support and commitment
2. Making stakeholders aware of the plan
3. Ensuring that stakeholders understand what the plan constitutes
4. Securing stakeholder support for implementation
5. Securing stakeholder commitment to implementation

Communication is necessary at each of these five stages (Mei et al., 2004:18). Strategy implementation is "the process that turns strategic plans into a series of action tasks and ensures that these tasks are executed in such a way that the objectives of the strategic plan are achieved" (Ehlers & Lazenby, 2007:212). So, the process of managing communication to achieve a goal is continuous because securing stakeholder support and commitment is an ongoing process that requires effective communication (Mei et al., 2004:18). According to Howlett (2009:24), government uses communication as a policy tool. Communication by government deals with "all the activities of public sector institutions and organisations that are aimed at conveying and sharing information,

primarily for the purpose of presenting and explaining government decisions and actions, promoting the legitimacy of these interventions, defending recognised values and helping to maintain social bonds” (Pasquier, 2012:1).

The private sector uses communication to draw attention to itself and its products, but governments use communication to perform several functions at once (Pasquier, 2012:1):

- Core functions deal with informing the public, explaining and supporting decisions; defending values and promoting responsible behaviours; facilitating dialogue between institutions and citizens.
- Ancillary functions deal with orienting citizens and residents; demonstrating responsiveness, in particular through opinion surveys; promoting the legitimacy of government organisations and actions; contributing to the solidity of social bonds.

Considering the plan’s requirement of broad citizen participation, effective communication on the part of government would affirm the plan’s legitimacy and encourage active citizenry, and social cohesion (NDP, 2011), as discussed in the previous chapter.

## **5.1 GOVERNMENT COMMUNICATION AND INFORMATION SYSTEMS (GCIS)**

Based on Pasquier’s (2012:1) stipulations, communication by government involves the activities of all public sector institutions. All South African government departments are involved. However, Government Communication and Information Systems (GCIS) is the main department responsible for communicating the NDP. The GCIS is one of many departments, namely (SA Government, 2018):

1. Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries
2. Arts and Culture
3. Communications
4. Cooperative Governance
5. Correctional Services
6. Defence
7. Education

8. Energy
9. Environmental Affairs
10. Government Communications and Information System (GCIS)
11. Health
12. Home Affairs
13. Human Settlements
14. Independent Complaints Directorate
15. International Relations and Cooperation (Foreign Affairs)
16. Justice and Constitutional Development
17. Labour
18. Mineral Resources
19. National Intelligence Agency
20. National Treasury
21. Police
22. Public Administration Leadership and Management Academy
23. Public Enterprises
24. Public Service & Administration
25. Public Service Commission
26. Public Works
27. Rural Development & Land Reform
28. Science & Technology
29. Social Development
30. South African Police Service
31. South African Revenue Service
32. South African Secret Service
33. Sport & Recreation South Africa
34. Statistics South Africa
35. The Presidency
36. Tourism
37. Trade & Industry
38. Traditional Affairs

- 39. Transport
- 40. Water Affairs
- 41. Women, Children & People with Disabilities

Each of these departments has its own unique set of needs and demands. The GCIS would have to be mindful of this when communicating. Each department has individual units responsible for communication that coordinate with the GCIS (GCIS, 2018). All implementation activities take place within three spheres of government regulated by The Constitution (Thornhill, 2012:128):

1. National government
2. Provincial government
3. Local government

South Africa's government is divided into three domains: national, provincial and local. Local governments were further divided into municipalities in 1998 (Thornhill, 2012:128). This extended the number of stakeholders (political and otherwise) that should be considered by government communicators. One of the unique features of the South African government is that provincial and local governments are not necessarily used to implement the decisions of national government. Each of the domains of government are considered autonomous and should collaborate with national government in the decision-making process. Therefore, all spheres of government are important role players in the communication and implementation of the NDP. Managing these can be difficult and requires strong administrative skills, leadership (Thornhill, 2012:128) and effective stakeholder communication. To communicate with these political stakeholders, the strategic nature of communication by government ought to be understood.

According to the South African Government (2018), the spheres are autonomous and not hierarchical. The Constitution (1996:21) states that "in the Republic, government is constituted as national, provincial and local spheres of government which are distinctive, interdependent and interrelated". The government is represented by the operation of three sections (South African Government, 2018):

1. Elected members (legislatures): represent the public, approve policies and laws and monitor the work of the executive and departments
2. Cabinet or Executive committee (executive): coordinate the making of policies and laws and oversee implementation by the government departments
3. Departments and public servants: responsible for doing the work of government and account to the Executive

The GCIS falls into the third category as they are responsible for communicating government decisions. They are also responsible for managing the way government communicates and would play a role in incorporating the framework of communication principles suggested by this study.

The Government Communication and Information System (GCIS) was officially launched on 18 May 1998 (GCIS, 2018) and came into being after an investigation into government communication by a communications task group referred to as Comtask, which was the Task Group on Government Communications (Comtask). The National Party government had a culture of secrecy, disinformation and restrictions on press freedom (GCIS, 2018). Media restrictions caused limited exposure to government mismanagement and disinformation (Comtask, 1996:13). This changed from May 1994, with the Government of National Unity (GNU) that encouraged communicative freedom. The introduction of Constitutional guarantees for freedom of the media and the public's right to information promised a new, open and accountable style of government (GCIS, 2018). Government was also exposed, for the first time, to the effects of a free, independent media.

Post-1994, government recognised freedom of expression as an integral part of democracy, but this was “within a context of a society with an inheritance of severe deprivation in regard to information and dialogue with government. It also had to operate within an organisational culture and structural framework that was not geared to modern systems of communication and information delivery” (Comtask, 1996:13). So, the concept of a government that is founded on political dialogue with stakeholders is relatively new in South Africa.

Similar to the NDP's National Planning Commission (NPC), Comtask was a task group formed by government, consisting of a variety of members with expertise in different areas. The members were David Dison, Willem de Klerk, Stephen Mncube, Val Pauquet, Mathatha Tsedu, Steve Godfrey, Raymond Louw, Sebiletso Mokone-Matabane and Tshepo Rantho. The task group was appointed in 1995 by the then Deputy President Thabo Mbeki (GCIS, 2018). The brief of the task group was to review government communication at the local, provincial, national and international level. It had to make recommendations on how communication from government would be structured in line with the Constitutional principles of freedom of expression, transparency and openness of government (GCIS, 2018). Recommendations had to address new policies, structures and budgets. Comtask also had to examine the following (GCIS, 2018):

1. Training and affirmative action policies
2. The way in which ownership of the media affected government communication
3. South Africa's international information dissemination.

Comtask consulted with a range of stakeholders (including academics, the media, civil society organisations and advertisers), similar to those consulted for the formulation of the NDP (GCIS, 2018). It conducted a study of international best practice to learn from other countries about communication between government and its citizens.

The team delivered their final report to Mr Mbeki in October 1996 (Comtask, 1996). The report included 83 recommendations dealing with the structure of government communication, media diversity and access to information legislation. The report foresaw the following (Comtask, 1996: 56-91):

- The need for a secretariat in The Presidency responsible for determining communication strategy, advising and acting on behalf of the president and Cabinet, and co-ordinating between different communication structures
- A need for development of a professional communication unit within each Ministry and the different spheres of government responsible for delivering the communication strategy



- The need for a centralised Communications Service Agency (CSA) responsible for, among other things, co-ordinating bulk-buying of media and research into media needs and trends as well as assisting in developing content
- The need for a conscious focus on development communication aimed at empowering citizens
- The need for direct and unmediated communication with South Africans
- A need for the development and co-ordination of ongoing training in government communication.

In addition to this, government set up a Comtask implementation committee to:

- oversee the transformation of government communication as recommended by the Comtask report and
- assist in transforming the old South African Communication Service (SACS) into the new centre of the government communication system. In a Cabinet memorandum adopted on 8 October 1997, the committee proposed the development of a group of professional, effective government communicators to streamline government communication in South Africa. It proposed:
  - the creation of the GCIS Secretariat (now known as the Management Committee) to plan and coordinate government communication and information in collaboration with Cabinet and the Presidency
  - the transformation of the then SACS to fulfil the requirements of the new constitutional framework
  - the restructuring of communication across government departments and levels. Ministries would become directly responsible for the communication functions of their respective departments.

This process resulted in the launch of the GCIS on 18 May 1998 during the Communication Budget Vote in Parliament. The GCIS was formally established in terms of Section 7 (subsection 2 and 3) of the Public Service Act (1994) as a strategic unit located in The Presidency. The mandate of the organisation was to co-ordinate, guide and advise on how government should communicate. The core vision was to achieve

integrated, coordinated and clear communication between government and South African citizens to enable them to be involved in the country's transformation (GCIS, 2018).

At the first Government Communicators' Consultative Conference held in May 1998 Dr Essop Pahad (then Deputy Minister in the Office of the President) explained GCIS's role as (GCIS, 2018): "Our task, hand in hand with partners in the communication industry, including the media, is to ensure that this right is indeed realised in practical life. It is to see to it that all South Africans receive comment and information that enable them to make rational choices about their lives. It is to see to it that they themselves can pass on information and views about their activities as they change their lives for the better. They have got the right to know, and to be heard."

The GCIS was given the responsibility (GCIS, 2018):

- To deliver expert services
- To establish and observe criteria that promote effective government communication
- To ensure that all government's communication can be clearly understood by its stakeholders
- To pre-emptively communicate all government's plans, decisions, policies, programmes and achievements to the public

Individual government departments are important in communicating because they are each responsible for managing their own communication function (GCIS, 2018). Pasquier (2012:2) proposes that for the communication function to be effective, a distinction would have to be made between the different ways government communicates:

- Government-wide communication: This type of communication deals with the structures government has that enable it to communicate about its activities. They have to explain decisions, actions and contribute to debate over the government's values and objectives.
- Communicating citizen's civil rights: Government encourages citizens to understand their rights.

- Communication can be used to inform citizens of the benefits of their participation in the government programmes and how these benefits can be obtained.
- Communication can be used to enhance visibility and the influence of government. This may, in turn, assist in improving government's image and reputation.
- It places emphasis on effective communication in times of crisis.

One tool that government uses to communicate is public relations (PR). PR is defined as “a strategic communication process that builds mutually beneficial relationships between organisations and their publics” (PRSA, 2018). The constructs of PR are: strategic communication, relationship building, and stakeholders. Public relations is a facet of how government communicates and, according to Skinner et al. (2013:5-6), has these characteristics:

- Public relations is dynamic: It is not static. It changes constantly and can be adapted to the situation and circumstance in which it is required. In relation to government, it can be used to communicate policy information and address issues that concern stakeholders by providing communication platforms and facilitating dialogue on these platforms.
- Public relations is analytical: Proper public relations cannot be done without an analysis of the environment. The environment and situation that the public relations activity take place should be analysed and understood. Therefore, governments should attempt to understand the environment and stakeholders they communicate with.
- Public relations is planned: It does not happen haphazardly. Effective communication should be planned, purposeful, goal-oriented and result from a situational or problem analysis.
- Public relations implies action: Effective communication from government should be interactive – prompting and maintaining engagement with the stakeholders and involving them in issues that may affect them.
- Public relations efforts should be evaluated: There should be ways of measuring the effectiveness of government's engagement with stakeholders. This would assist in determining effective ways of communicating. Without measuring the

success of communication strategies, government runs the risk of repeating mistakes.

- Public relations emphasises adjustment: As stakeholder habits (communicative and otherwise) change, government should adapt to this and communicate accordingly. If certain communicative efforts have failed in the past, government would have to be adaptive enough to adjust to the needs of the audience.

Government has used public relations campaigns in the past. An example of this is the Proudly South African campaign. This campaign was launched in 1998 with the Presidential Jobs Summit – under the leadership of former President Nelson Mandela (Proudly South African, 2019). The successful campaign focused on job creation through investment in local products and services (Proudly South African, 2018). It did this through public relations campaigns that reinforced national pride (Proudly South African, 2018).

According to Proudly South African Chairperson, Dali Mpofo, the campaign had pro-active goals that could only be achieved with the participation of all stakeholders (Proudly South African, 2010:3). Based on its annual report, the campaign was successful and its objectives understood because of its focus on continuously educating stakeholders on its progress and intentions (Proudly South African, 2010:13). This was done by promoting the Proudly South African logo and increasing visibility and awareness through creativity and innovation, on a limited budget (Proudly South African, 2010:13). The main stakeholders of the campaign were (Proudly South African, 2010:14):

- The Department of Trade and Industry (DTI)
- Umsobomvu Youth Fund
- COSATU
- National Productivity Institute
- SA Disability Association
- Soweto Business Executive Chamber (SOBEC)
- Community constituents

Proudly South African had a successful endorsement campaign in the 2008/2009 financial year (Proudly South African, 2010:17). An example can be seen in **Figure 5.1**. It was “developed to enhance the reputation and credibility of the Proudly SA Campaign, through the support of and endorsement by credible political leaders, leaders in business, and other societal role-models” (Proudly South African, 2010:17).

**What do these people have in common? They salute the Women of Africa!**

|   |   |   |  |   |   |
|---|---|---|--|---|---|
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Dall Mqofu<br>Chairperson, Proudly South African                                  | Herbert Mkhize<br>NEDLAC Executive Director                                       | Brahim Patel<br>NEDLAC Overall Convener, Labour                                   | Raymond Parsons<br>NEDLAC Overall Convener, Business                               | Sizwe Shezi<br>NEDLAC Overall Convener, Community                                   | Les Kettlebos<br>NEDLAC Overall Convener, Government                                |

Not much, at first glance. They all occupy various positions in organisations with widely divergent cultures and ambitions. Yet all of them managed to put aside their differences and join forces. As Strategic Partners of Proudly South African, they have come together for the sake of a greater goal. All are committed to fostering economic growth by persuading South Africans to get behind homegrown business with demonstrably fair labour practices, sound environmental standards, and high quality goods and services.

There's just one more strategic partner they need. You. Buying Proudly South African helps build a proud South African nation with the hope of a dignified life for all our citizens.

Buy Proudly South African, and help build the pride and prosperity of our nation.

Proudly sponsored by PetroSA, Eskom and SAA in recognition of the exemplary contribution of Proud South Africans

PSA230 CONVENER/PROUDLY SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNICATION TEAM

|  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| <b>Founder sponsors</b>  | <b>Strategic Partners</b>   | <b>Founder Broadcast sponsor</b>  |
| <br> | <br><br><br><br><br> |  |

Proudly South African Tel: (011) 327 7778 – Fax (011) 327 3844 E-mail: info@psanet.co.za – Website: www.proudlysa.co.za

**Figure 5.1: Proudly South African endorsement campaign**

Another way of increasing brand visibility was the launch of PROUD! Magazine, which was published and distributed at the PetroSA Proudly SA HomeGrown Awards 2007/2008, the aim of which was to (Proudly South African, 2010:19):

- Educate consumers
- Communicate Proudly South African success stories and “positive stories of ordinary South Africans doing extraordinary things”
- Showcase Proudly South African members

An example of what the magazine looks like, and some of the content it addresses is depicted in **Figure 5.2**.



**Figure 5.2: PROUD! Magazine cover and content**

Additionally, the campaign reached its goals by doing the following (Proudly South African, 2010:17-20):

- Consumer Education Outreach Campaign: Outreaches to provincial government (primarily North West, Limpopo and Free State Provincial Government) and CEO Forums. The purpose of this was to educate consumers on what Proudly SA is and how they can support the programme.
- Youth Campaign was launched with the objectives of:
  - Encouraging national pride in the youth and encouraging them to be creative social leaders with entrepreneurial skills
  - Empowering the youth to be more socially responsible, respectful, innovative and creative
  - Encouraging youth to take pride in locally-produced products
- Above the line advertising was used to promote the Proudly SA brand

- Events like the 2010 FIFA World Cup were used to draw attention to Proudly SA. The Proudly SA CEO was appointed by the GCIS and the 2010 National Communication Partnership (NCP) to be the Arts and Culture Communication Cluster Champion for 2010. This was to “facilitate, identify and develop communication platforms to disseminate relevant 2010 messages”.

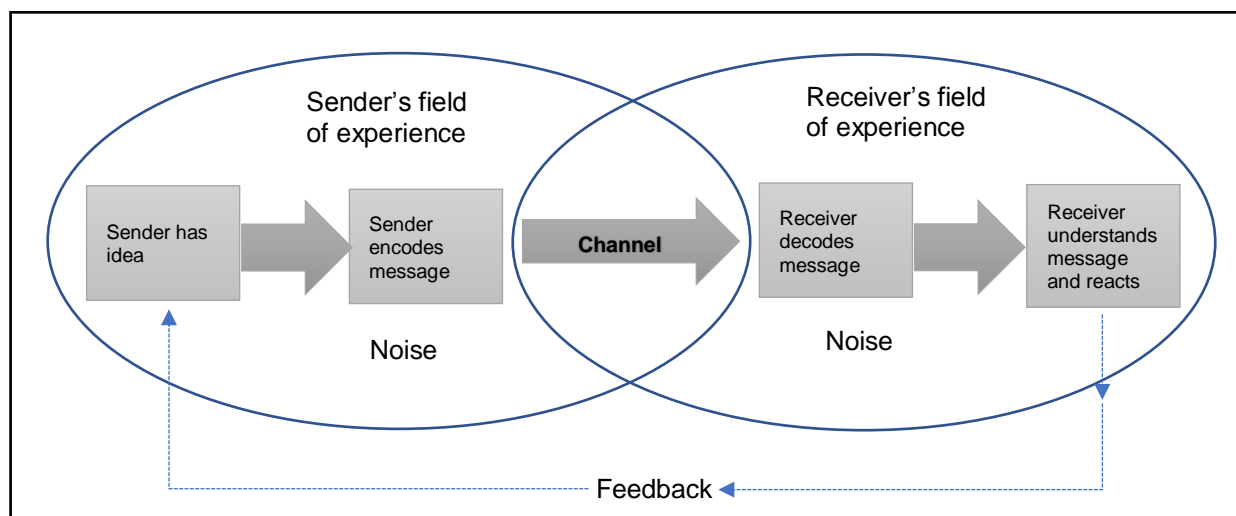
The Proudly South African campaign is an example of how a government campaign with various stakeholders can successfully bring them together, build awareness and achieve its goals by using research-based methods (Proudly South African, 2018). As indicated by this example, communication to achieve the goals of such a campaign would have to be done in strategic manner.

## **5.2 PUBLIC RELATIONS MODELS FOR GOVERNMENT COMMUNICATION**

According to Skinner, Mersham and Benecke (2013:31), the communication process has the following main elements: a communicator, a message, and a receiver. The message deals with the content and how it is disseminated to ensure the receiver understands it (Skinner, Mersham & Benecke, 2013:31). Messages are not developed in isolation (Skinner, Mersham & Benecke, 2013:31). Environmental factors influence stakeholders understanding of the message (Skinner, Mersham & Benecke, 2013:31). Both the sender and receiver are considered communicators (Skinner, Mersham & Benecke, 2013:31). The receiver also plays an active role in interpreting the message, responding, and creating meaning (Skinner, Mersham & Benecke, 2013:31). Additionally, the medium (also referred to as a channel) for communicating is considered (Skinner, Mersham & Benecke, 2013:31).

According to Dozier, Grunig and Grunig (1995:13), there are four recognised communication and public relations models: press agency, public information (one-way models); and the two-way asymmetrical and two-way symmetrical (two-way models) models (Dozier, Grunig & Grunig, 1995:13). One-way models focus on communicating information to publics. In this case there is no interest in receiving information in return

(Dozier, Grunig & Grunig, 1995:13). Two-way models, on the other hand, are dedicated to sending and receiving messages in a reciprocal fashion. Participants are equally responsible for the flow of information. With two-way asymmetrical communication, the organisation develops messages it feels will be most-likely to influence publics. Two-way symmetrical communication, also referred to as transactional communication, uses stakeholder feedback to determine the most effective ways to communicate (Dozier, Grunig & Grunig, 1995:13). It “seeks to manage conflict and promote a mutual understanding with key publics” (Dozier, Grunig & Grunig, 1995:13). Also, it is considered the best when aiming for a “win-win” outcome (Dozier, Grunig & Grunig, 1995:13). This process is displayed in **Figure 5.3**.



**Figure 5.3: The transactional model of communication (Van Vuuren, 2014:71)**

There are seven elements necessary to explain the two-way symmetrical/transactional model of communication (Van Vuuren, 2014:71):

1. The sender initiates communication.
2. The sender encodes the message and sends it to the receiver.
3. The code is the language used to communicate the message.
4. The message is the information being communicated.
5. The channel is the vehicle the sender uses to transmit the message.
6. The receiver decodes and interprets the information they have received.



7. Noise refers to the factors that impede the conveying or reception and understanding of a message.

According to Tubbs, Moss and Papastefanou (2011:10), the transactional model focuses on shared meaning and the relationships that result from communicating and interacting with stakeholders. It is a two-way communication model that sees the both the sender and receiver as simultaneously influencing each other and creating meaning (Skinner, Mersham & Benecke, 2013:31). The roles of sender and receiver are interchangeable in this process (Skinner, Mersham & Benecke, 2013:31), however there are several barriers. These barriers pertain to reception, understanding, and acceptance (Skinner, Mersham & Benecke, 2013:32). The term transactional is often preferred as it gives a more accurate understanding of the model and is defined as “the negotiation of meaning between participants to establish and maintain relationships” (Tubbs, Moss & Papastefanou, 2011:10).

All communicators in this model are senders and receivers of information. Tubbs, Moss and Papastefanou (2011:10) therefore refer to participants as Communicator 1 and Communicator 2. Communicator 1 sends a message to Communicator 2 with the intention of having Communicator 2 understand the information as intended (Tubbs, Moss & Papastefanou, 2011:11). Through this process, the two communicators create meaning. In this arena, participants communicate both intentionally and unintentionally (Tubbs, Moss & Papastefanou, 2011:11). Sigmund Freud believed that even unintentional messages are unconsciously motivated (Tubbs, Moss & Papastefanou, 2011:12). So, whether people are aware of it or not, they are constantly in a process of interpreting information and coming to conclusions.

Communicator 1 initiates communication and chooses the medium to communicate the message. This message can be interrupted by noise, also referred to as interference. This refers to anything that distorts the message or prevents people from receiving and understanding it as intended (Tubbs, Moss & Papastefanou, 2011:14). Skinner, Mersham and Benecke (2013:33) refer to these as barriers to communication. Regardless of the

public relations model an organisation aligns with, these barriers will be encountered. There are three barriers that can arise at any phase in the communication process (**Figure 5.4**): barriers to reception, barriers to understanding, and barriers to acceptance (Skinner, Mersham & Benecke, 2013:32).

Barriers to reception include (Skinner, Mersham & Benecke, 2013:32):

- The attitudes and beliefs of recipients
- Needs anxieties and expectations of recipients
- Stimuli from the environment

Barriers to understanding include (Skinner, Mersham & Benecke, 2013:32):

- The sender's choice of language and jargon
- The listener's ability to fully focus on receiving the message
- The extent of the listener's open-mindedness
- The length of the communication process
- How much the listener already knows about the topic

Barriers to acceptance include (Skinner, Mersham & Benecke, 2013:32):

- The listener's attitudes and values
- Prejudices
- Status clashes between sender and receiver
- Interpersonal emotional conflicts

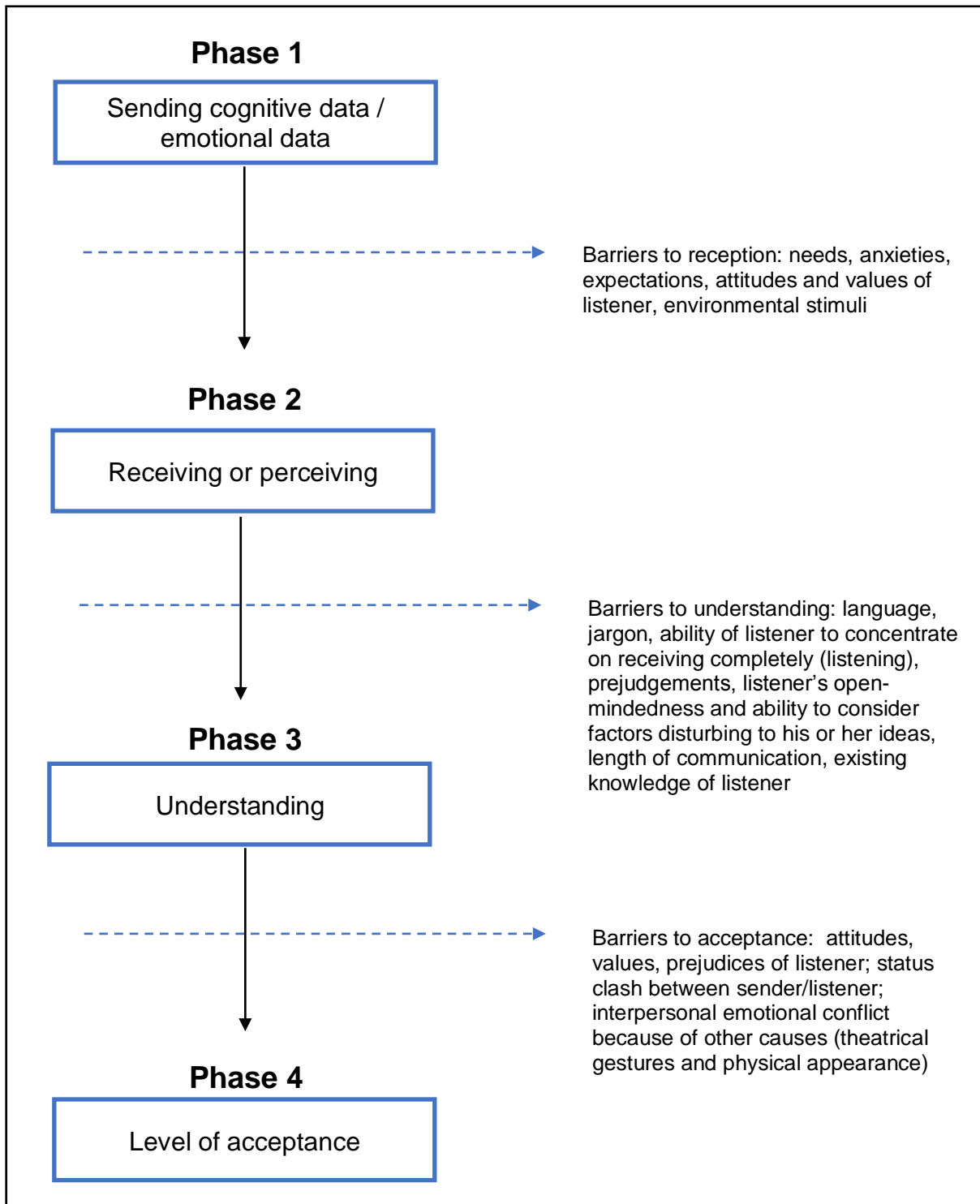


Figure 5.4: Barriers to communication (Skinner, Mersham & Benecke, 2013:33)

Once the barriers have been overcome, Communicator 2 would receive the message, interpret it and engage in the process of feedback. The receiver's analysis of the message is just as important as the way the sender delivers it. So, receivers are expected to engage in critical listening (Tubbs, Moss & Papastefanou, 2011:15). What makes this model unique is its focus on feedback to refine the message and create meaning between individuals within the arena. Feedback is "the return to you of behaviour you have generated" (Tubbs, Moss & Papastefanou, 2011:15). To emphasise this, Kapp and Hall (in Tubbs, Moss & Papastefanou, 2011:15), state that "many times we talk about our relationships with people as if we had no relation or connection to them – as if our behaviour had nothing to do with what the other did. In actuality, however, we have a lot more to do with our partner's responses than we may wish to acknowledge." So, the initial communicator should not underestimate their influence on the receiver's response. Each communicator should understand the importance of their role in creating meaning within the arena.

### **5.3 THE ARENA MODEL AS AN EXPLANATION FOR THE NEGOTIATION OF MEANING**

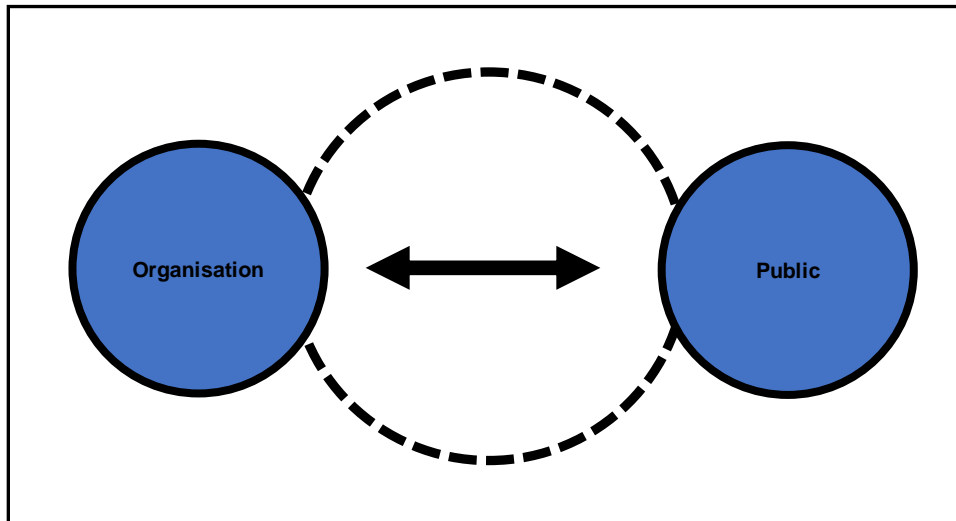
In 1989 Jurgen Habermas coined the concept of "the public sphere" which describes "the rise of a societal arena where citizens convene and discuss social problems to reach consensus rooted in open-ended, rational, and critical argumentation and debate" (Fredriksson & Ihlen, 2018:1).

When speaking of the public sphere Habermas stated that "we mean first of all a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed. Access is guaranteed to all citizens. A portion of the public sphere comes into being in every conversation in which private individuals assemble to form a public body" (Habermas, Lennox & Lennox, 1964:49). This indicates that the societal arenas where stakeholders come together to debate and find consensus on social and political issues, are becoming larger. Habermas, however, did not accept public relations as a force to encourage dialogue within arenas because his perception of its one-way nature would negatively

affect dialogue (Fredriksson & Ihlen, 2018:1). This came from the perception that public relations is a tool for organisations to portray themselves as “having the public interest in mind while hiding one’s real business intentions” (Fredriksson & Ihlen, 2018:2). However, according to Aula and Mantere (2008:62), communication arenas exist regardless of the presence or absence of public relations efforts. Organisations should therefore strive to understand how meaning is created within these arenas and capitalise on it. Aula and Mantere’s Arena Model of Reputation (2008) explains this process.

“An arena is like an old-fashioned market where local residents gather to take care of things and conversely, to share meanings. News reaches the market from inside and outside the kingdom, about faraway lands and about the neighbour’s relationships” (Aula & Mantere, 2008:63). An arena is anyplace where discourse takes place and shared-meaning is created (Aula & Mantere, 2008:62). Here, people exchange texts, new and digital media, have meetings, create unofficial networks and engage on issues of interest (Aula & Mantere, 2008:62). These conversations may not seem pertinent to the survival of the group but, all contribute to people’s perceptions within the group, and therefore impact on the outcome of various social issues. Arenas can be studied through the interactions between an organisation and its publics.

Aula and Mantere (2008) explain this process within the context of reputation management. All opinions on an organisation, including perceptions of its reputation, are created within arenas of meaning (Aula & Mantere, 2008:63). **Figure 5.5** depicts this process.

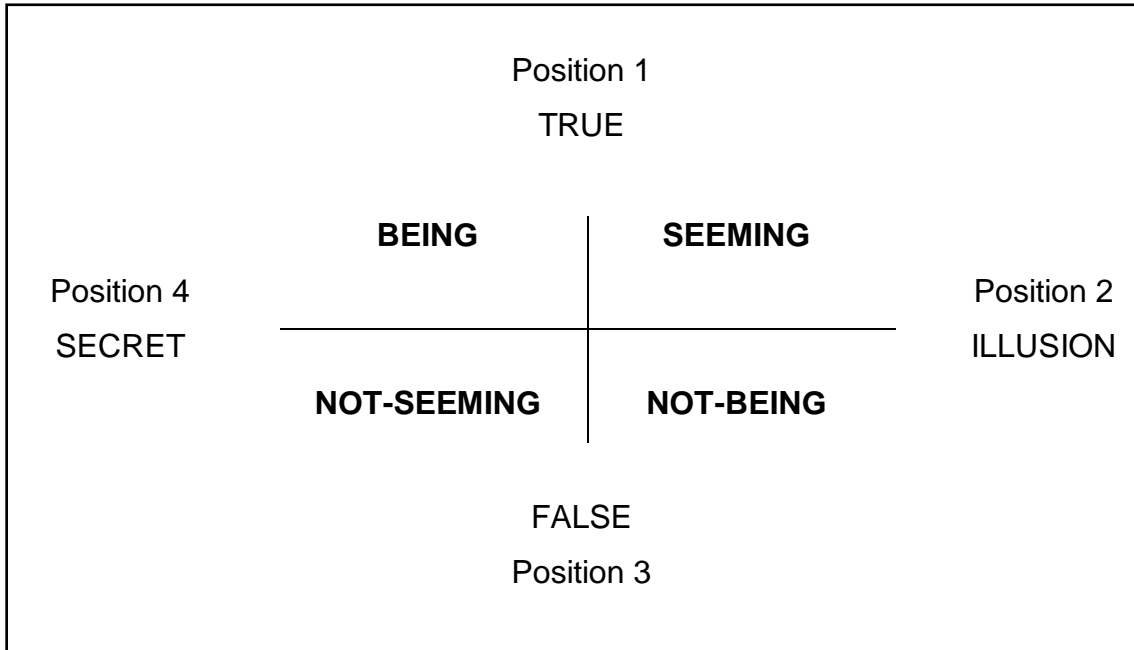


**Figure 5.5: Reputation arena (Aula & Mantere, 2008:63)**

Developing a particular perception of an organisation's reputation comes from all communication that occurs within the arena (Aula & Mantere, 2008:63). This extends beyond verbal messages to include tonal and visual perceptions (Aula & Mantere, 2008:63). The same can be said for interpretation of messages within the arena.

Language is a medium for communication however, if stakeholders do not already share some level of knowledge, ideas or philosophies about the world, it may be challenging to create meaning (Aula & Mantere, 2008:64). Participants in the arena should share "interpersonal and intersubjective awareness" (Aula & Mantere, 2008:64). Various things occur within the environment, but language gives meaning to these realities (Aula & Mantere, 2008:65). People receive information from their environment and interpret it on the basis of their knowledge and subjective experiences, attitudes and personal opinions (Aula & Mantere, 2008:65). Before processing information and creating meaning within the arena, they judge the credibility of this source (Aula & Mantere, 2008:65). This is however, also coloured by their subjective perceptions (Aula & Mantere, 2008:65). In the end, stakeholders use their instinct as a barometer for determining what the information, presented in the arena, means (Aula & Mantere, 2008:65).

The above indicates a strong level of subjectivity relating to how meaning is created because stakeholders would then bring their interpretations of stimuli to the arena and negotiate the meaning (Aula & Mantere, 2008:68). This is a participative two-way process. The negotiation helps participants separate falsities (seeming), from reality (being) (Aula & Mantere, 2008:68). **Figure 5.6** depicts this process.



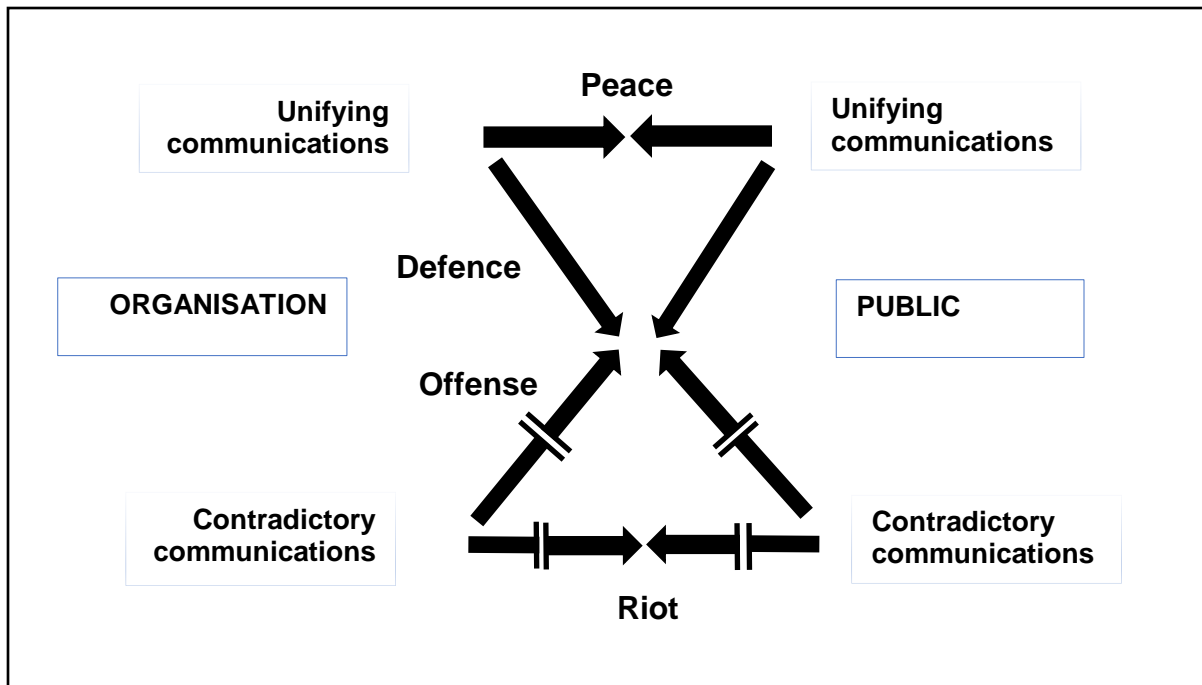
**Figure 5.6: Being vs seeming – the arena’s meaning-construction process (Aula & Mantere, 2008:69)**

In the process of negotiation, the organisation should not be perceived as the sender, and the stakeholders as the receivers or interpreters. All participants are simultaneously producing messages and interpreting them. These messages are formed within four main arenas (**Table 5.1**), namely: peace, attack, defence, and riot (Aula & Mantere, 2008:81).

**Table 5.1: Reputation arenas for reputation-strategising (Aula & Mantere, 2008:81)**

|                                      | An organisation | seeks            | to | seeks           | to |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|----|-----------------|----|
|                                      |                 | integrate        |    | dissipate       |    |
|                                      |                 | reputation       |    | reputation      |    |
| <b>A public</b>                      |                 |                  |    |                 |    |
| <b>seeks to integrate reputation</b> |                 | Arena 1: Peace   |    | Arena 3: Attack |    |
| <b>seeks to dissipate reputation</b> |                 | Arena 2: Defence |    | Arena 4: Riot   |    |

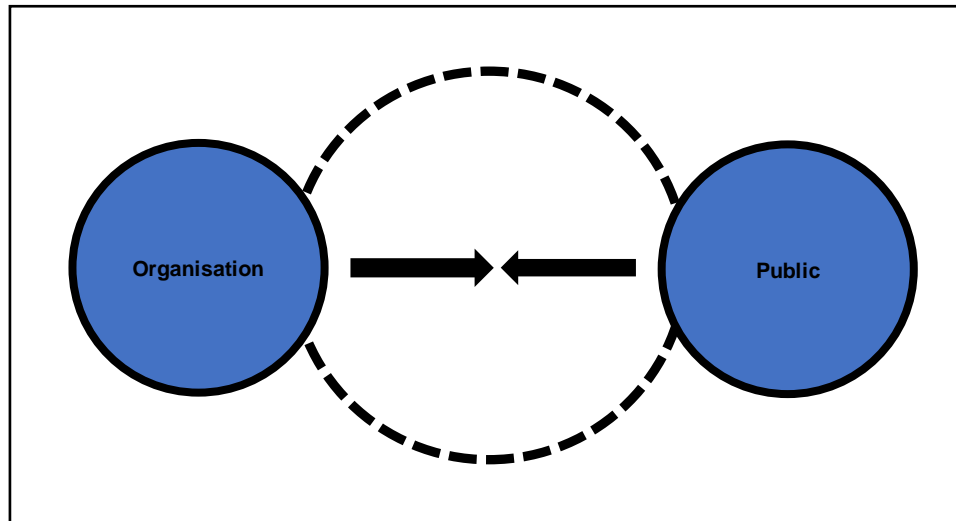
This process of meaning-creation and the conflicts that often occur are summarised in **Figure 5.7**. **Figures 5.8** (peace), **5.9** (defence), **5.10** (attack), and **5.11** (riot) depict these conflicts, as they pertain to each arena.



**Figure 5.7: The reputational conflicts between an organisation and its publics (Aula & Mantere, 2008:82)**

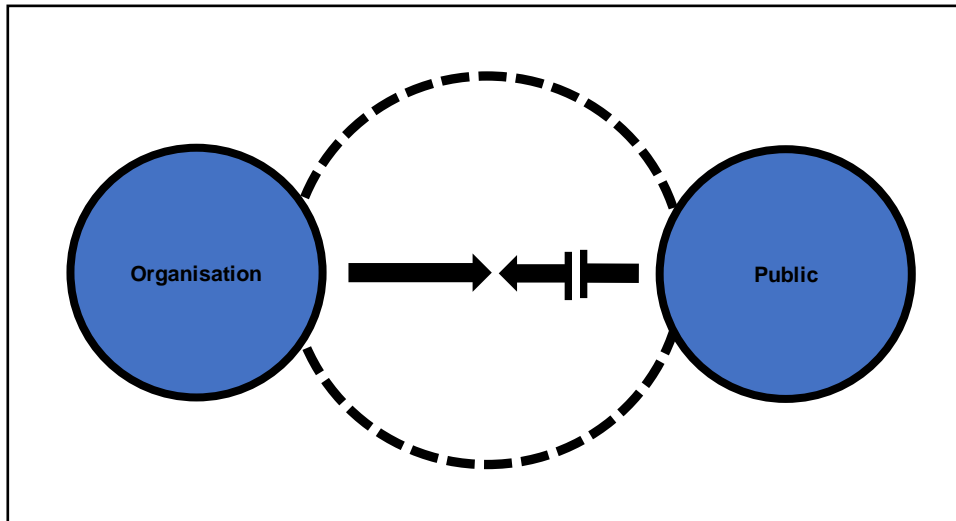


The first arena (**Figure 5.8**) addresses “peace on earth and goodwill among publics”. When both the organisation and its publics have a similar opinion of issues as well as how to deal with them, the arena is one of peace (Aula & Mantere, 2008:82). This occurs when the messages (“being”) of an organisation align with what stakeholders believe to be true (“seeming”) (Aula & Mantere, 2008:82).



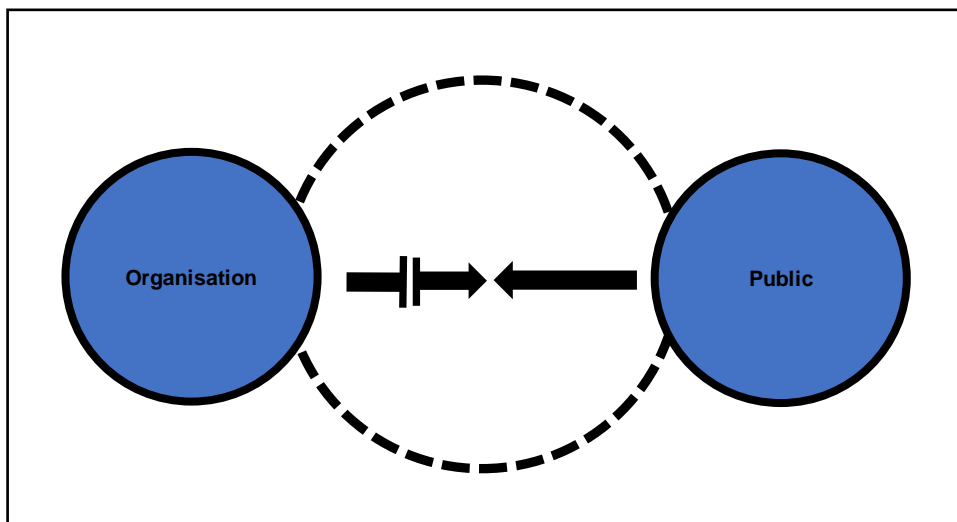
**Figure 5.8: Peace in the reputational area (Aula & Mantere, 2008:83)**

Often when there is peace in the arena, certain stakeholders may rise in opposition to the commonly-held view. This gives rise to a second arena – the defensive battle (**Figure 5.9**) where organisations, through communication, defend themselves against the opposing narrative. This often occurs when stakeholders perceive the organisation’s “seeming” and “being” to be in opposition to each other (Aula & Mantere, 2008:83). However, organisations should understand that “a state of peace is frequently desirable, yet rarely 100 percent possible. There is always a war, or the threat of war, somewhere” (Aula & Mantere, 2008:83).



**Figure 5.9: Organisation is forced into defensive battle (Aula & Mantere, 2008:84)**

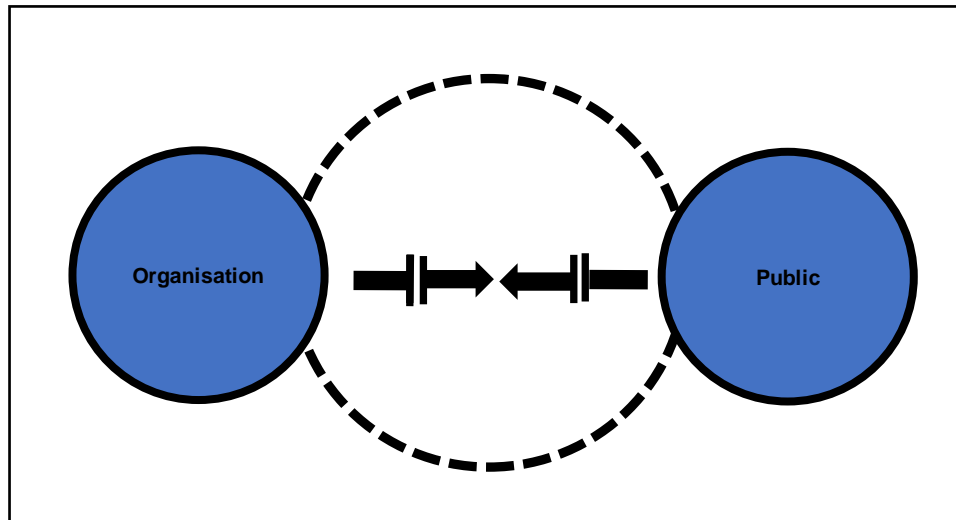
In some instances, conflict in the arena may occur when the organisation chooses to be on the offensive (**Figure 5.10**), which is when it desires to change the existing narrative (Aula & Mantere, 2008:86).



**Figure 5.10: Organisation involved in offensive battle (Aula & Mantere, 2008:87)**

Finally, a riot (**Figure 5.11**) may break out when neither the organisation nor the publics have interest in creating unified meaning. This also occurs when both parties are

interested in changing perspectives within the arena and there are fragmented perspectives on both sides (Aula & Mantere, 2008:87).



**Figure 5.11: Riot breaks out in reputational arena (Aula & Mantere, 2008:89)**

These four arenas can be navigated in a myriad of ways, displayed in **Table 5.2**.

**Table 5.2: An organisation’s public relations and reputation strategies (Aula & Mantere, 2008:93)**

|                      |                | <i>Company’s public relations</i>     |                                       |  |
|----------------------|----------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
|                      |                | <i>Institutional</i>                  | <i>Personal</i>                       | <i>Reputation management objective</i>   |
| <i>Type of arena</i> | <i>Peace</i>   | Strategy 1:<br>the senator            | Strategy 2:<br>the old-boy<br>network | Sustaining status quo  |
|                      | <i>Defence</i> | Strategy 3:<br>the defence<br>counsel | Strategy 4:<br>the<br>negotiator      | Maintaining story coherence  |
|                      | <i>Offense</i> | Strategy 5:<br>the<br>champion        | Strategy 6:<br>the stirrer            | Disrupting story coherence to renew<br>reputation  |
|                      | <i>Riot</i>    | Strategy 7:<br>the<br>chameleon       | Strategy 8:<br>the turncoat           | Destroying story coherence in order to tease<br>out the element of surprise and creative<br>chaos, and to communicate implicit<br>messages to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tease out the element of surprise<br/>and create chaos</li> <li>• Communicate implicit messages</li> </ul> |

In the peace arena, organisations are looking to maintain the status quo regarding the perceptions of publics (Aula & Mantere, 2008:93). To do so, two strategies can be used: “the senator”, or “the old boy network” (Aula & Mantere, 2008:93). With the senator strategy organisations place emphasis on the value of their institution and the work they do (Aula & Mantere, 2008:93). This strategy serves to constantly reinforce their image in the minds of their stakeholders. The organisation takes on the persona of a statesman who uses existing channels to communicate openly and honestly with constituents (Aula & Mantere, 2008:93). In some instances, organisations may choose to reinforce their reputation “behind the scenes” (Aula & Mantere, 2008:94). In doing so, they are making use of the “old-boy network strategy”. Here organisations cultivate their personal relationships with publics within the arena and rely on the networks they have already created over time (Aula & Mantere, 2008:94).

In the defence arena, organisations can use “the defence counsel” or “the negotiator” strategies to maintain the coherence of the already-existing story. Using the defence counsel strategy, the organisation protects itself from possible attacks in the arena by maintaining relationships with stakeholders (Aula & Mantere, 2008:95). For this, organisations make use of traditional communication networks within the arena (Aula & Mantere, 2008:95). The defence counsel uses public statements to correct misunderstandings and present information stakeholders would find useful (Aula & Mantere, 2008:95). With this approach, the organisation does not take responsibility for any misunderstandings and portrays itself as being in the right (Aula & Mantere, 2008:95). The reasons for misunderstandings are usually placed on other elements in the arena (i.e. the media) (Aula & Mantere, 2008:95). The organisation may also choose to counter conflicting messages by using the negotiator strategy (Aula & Mantere, 2008:99). “The negotiator persuades key stakeholder representatives in their own fields, and tailors messages to each context” (Aula & Mantere, 2008:99).

In the defence arena, the main objective is to interrupt the current story to create a renewed perception of the organisation. To achieve this, “the champion” and “the stirrer” strategies are used. With the champion strategy, the organisation realises that its publics have a fixed, negative perception of it. They therefore embark on quest to challenge these perceptions and develop a more favourable reputation. “The champion plays with an open hand, talks in a loud voice, and uses public channels to make his challenge” (Aula & Mantere, 2008:101). This is an open strategy, which makes it different from the stirrer strategy that uses fewer open techniques (Aula & Mantere, 2008:102). With this strategy, new disruptive discourses are introduced into the arena to destroy the current organisational perception (Aula & Mantere, 2008:102). It presents the opportunity to develop a different narrative (Aula & Mantere, 2008:102). Introducing contradictory messages into the arena allows for debate and begins the process of negotiating meaning and developing a new reputation (Aula & Mantere, 2008:102).

In the riot arena the aim is to destroy “story coherence in order to tease out the element of surprise and creative chaos, and to communicate implicit messages” (Aula & Mantere,

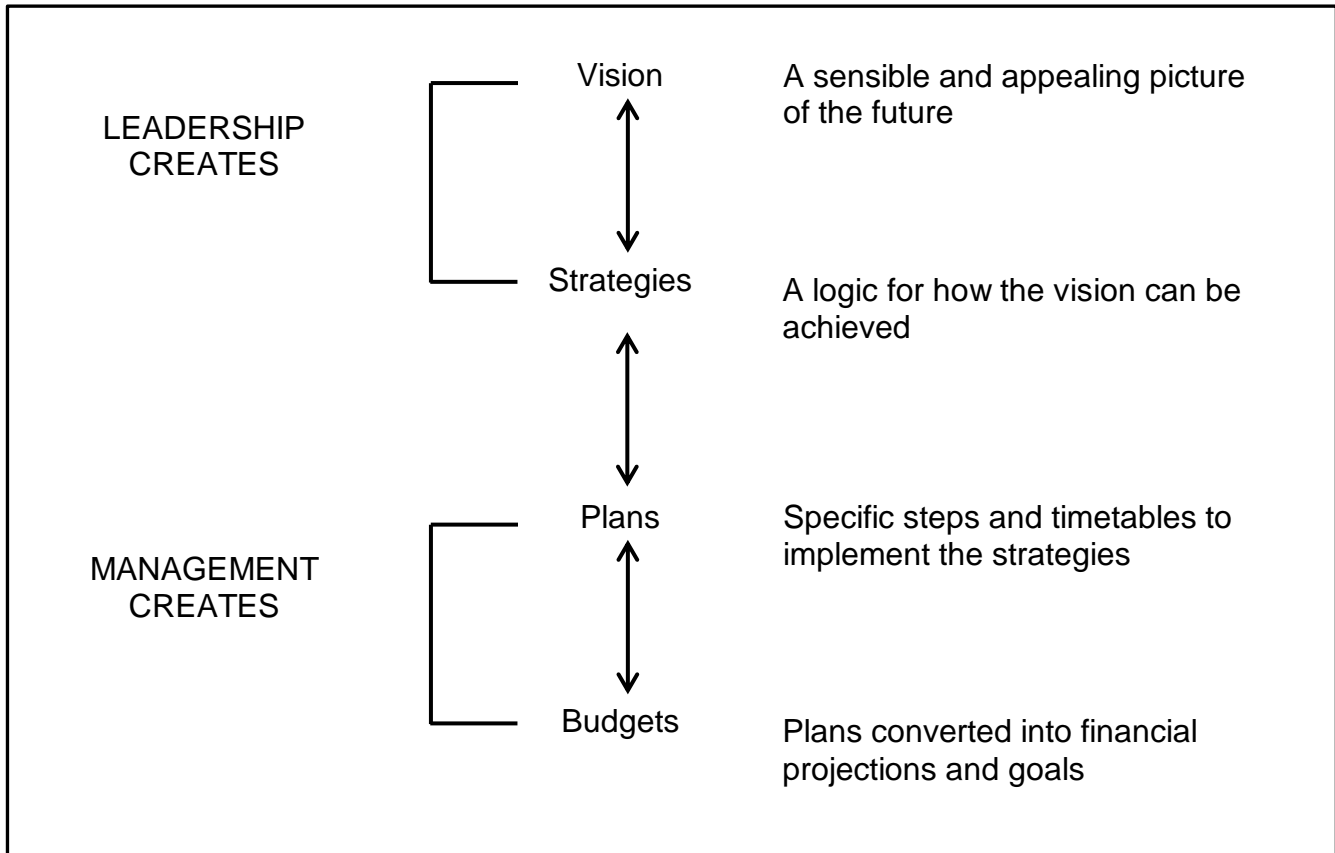
2008:93). It incorporates more aggressive strategies that focus on communicating meaning in an explicit fashion (Aula & Mantere, 2008:103). The first strategy in the riot arena is “the chameleon”. The chameleon changes form at the most unexpected moments and communicates messages loudly and confidently (Aula & Mantere, 2008:103). When stakeholders become comfortable with perceiving an organisation in a particular way, this strategy deconstructs perceptions by introducing a contradictory story to the one audience have grown accustomed (Aula & Mantere, 2008:103). This is not a commonly used strategy, but it captures people’s attention and makes way for interesting debate and constructions of meaning (Aula & Mantere, 2008:104).

The chameleon strategy may not allow for the development of a single, coherent story but messages are clear and communicated by a single source (Aula & Mantere, 2008:104). However, “the turncoat” strategy communicates messages in a way that allows for a myriad number of interpretations (Aula & Mantere, 2008:107). “The chameleons change their form and surprise the public by appearing different from before, whereas the turncoat makes it hard to determine what colour the company is at any one time” (Aula & Mantere, 2008:107). Turncoat strategists are considered “spin doctors” because they advocate for one thing and do another (Aula & Mantere, 2008:107).

#### **5.4 STRATEGIC COMMUNICATION TO FACILITATE IMPLEMENTATION**

The final outcome of this study is to produce a communication framework for the NDP. This framework would be used to communicate the plan to its stakeholders in a research-based way that facilitates implementation. To develop the framework, an understanding of the strategies and plans that the framework would inform is important.

According to John Kotter (Steyn & Puth, 2000:8), of the Harvard Business School, the relationship between vision, strategy, planning, and budgeting is a continuous process that is best depicted in **Figure 5.12**. A vision and the strategies and plans used to implement it have practical implications for the use of resources (i.e. the budget).



**Figure 5.12: The continuous process of vision, strategy, planning, and budgeting (Steyn & Puth, 2000:8)**

Communication plans and strategies overlap with the overall vision and the budget (Steyn & Puth, 2000: 9). Steyn and Puth (2000:29-30) define strategy in the following seven ways:

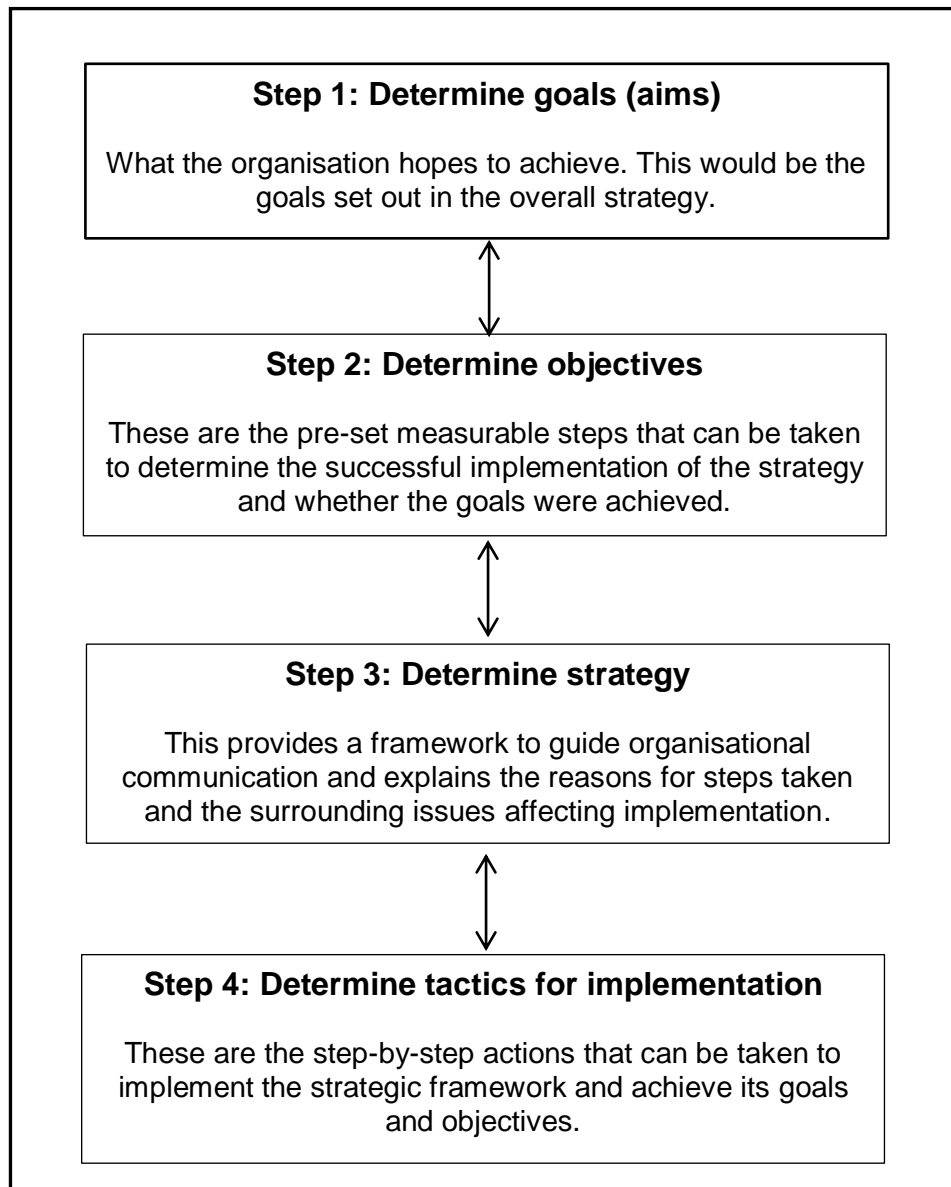
1. Strategy is direction: It informs the strategic direction of communication, and the goals this communication hopes to achieve. A strategy is considered an essential component for achieving goals. It is a roadmap. Communication goals and the strategies used to implement them depend on one another. A good strategy provides a clear course of action, regardless of the situation. It also informs communication in times of crisis.
2. Strategy is movement: A communication strategy cannot be effective in a stagnant environment. It requires fluidity and movement and encourages movement and development within an organisation. It prompts people to communicate innovatively, to align with the organisation's innovation and

- development. A communication strategy shows an organisation how to get from “where it is now” (point A), in relation to communication, to “where it wants to be” (point B) in future. So, it does not only paint a picture of the future (in the form of a vision) but it indicates how the vision will be achieved.
3. Strategy is purpose: A communication strategy answers the “why” question. It informs stakeholders of the importance of the organisational issue being communicated about. It unites stakeholders and gives them a sense of purpose. It provides something for them to relate to. Purpose deals with intention. It communicates the intention behind organisational decisions. As stated previously, strategy creates a sense of purpose. This is important because it allows stakeholders to rally around initiatives that reach a goal and accomplish a purpose that is well-defined. The “Yes We Can” slogan developed during former American President Barack Obama’s campaign is exemplary of this (Villanueva, 2010). Although the campaign dealt with a variety of stakeholders, this slogan encouraged them to rally behind the goals set out for the American people (Villanueva, 2010).
  4. Strategy is a pattern: “Strategy is a pattern in a stream of actions” (Steyn & Puth, 2000:29-30). Although organisational actions may seem unrelated, strategy unifies these actions and demonstrates how they work together to achieve the overall goals. Past actions also have an impact on future strategies. People perceive past actions as an indication of future patterns of behaviour.
  5. Strategy is proactive: An effective strategy promotes proactive communication. It anticipates changes and issues in the environment before they occur. It is research and information-based. This type of strategy emphasises the importance of taking initiative regarding the way an organisation communicates, instead of only communicating in times of crisis. It takes the organisation’s SWOT analysis into consideration so that it understands the internal strengths and weaknesses, as well as the external opportunities and threats that affect the organisation. Using this information, a proactive communication strategy is devised.



6. Strategy determines success: A communication strategy is the main factor in the success or failure of a communication campaign. A well-devised strategy ensures that the right message reaches the right people at the right time. It therefore reduces the chance of wasting resources.
7. Strategy provides a framework: A good strategy provides a skeletal structure regarding organisational goals and how to achieve them. It provides an aerial view of a goal and informs leaders on how to get there.

Ehlers and Lazenby (2007:7) state that strategy implementation is driven by leadership, culture, reward systems, organisational structures and resource allocation. “The term strategy is itself derived from the Greek ‘strategos’ meaning a general set of manoeuvres carried out to overcome an enemy” (Cornelissen, 2011:83). According to Farwell (2012:152), “strategy is a dynamic notion. It requires a strategic appreciation of all the political, economic, military, and cultural factors that affect the ability to achieve success”. It is “an effort or deliberate action that an organisation implements to outperform its rivals” (Ehlers & Lazenby, 2007:2). “It is the coordinating theme or factor, the guiding principle, the rationale behind the tactical programme” (Gregory, 2010:118). These definitions of the term “strategy” provide an understanding of what a strategy is, in order to aid in the strategy development process. An organisation’s strategy cannot be separated from its relationship to its stakeholders (Steyn & Puth, 2000:31). The thoughts and opinions of stakeholders should be considered when a communication strategy is formulated. Strategy formulation takes place according to the steps depicted in **Figure 5.13**.



**Figure 5.13: Steps for strategy formulation (Steyn & Puth, 2000: 31)**

These steps indicate the measurable techniques for developing a strategy (Steyn & Puth, 2000:30). Stakeholders can be a source of intelligence and information for organisations and communication strategies should be seen as an opportunity to nurture these relationships (Steyn & Puth, 2000:30). An environmental and issues analysis can also clarify how stakeholders should be communicated with (Steyn & Puth, 2000:30). Strategic management (2007:7):

1. increases profitability

2. increases productivity
3. improves communication across different organisational functions
4. empowers people by involving them in the process of strategy development
5. maintains discipline and gives managers a sense of responsibility
6. leads to more effective time management
7. allows for better, more efficient use of resources
8. makes people more proactive and reduces their resistance to change

Once the overall strategy has been determined, the strategic plan can be created (Steyn & Puth, 2000:30). This plan entails documenting, in detail, the decisions that would have to be made to manifest the communication goals.

Communication management is “the process of monitoring the planned communication from its initiation (the pre-implementation phase), through the implementation phase up to the post-implementation and evaluation phases” (Rensburg, 1996:41). A communication plan should be managed from not only during implementation, but also before and after implementation. The elements necessary for the planning and management of communication are (Rensburg, 1996:41-45):

1. The environment and setting in which communication takes place
2. The party that initiates the communication
3. The communication planner who is the individual(s) who develop and implement the communication programme
4. The message communicated
5. The medium through which communication takes place
6. The recipient or target audience
7. A measure of the effects and effectiveness of communication efforts
8. Feedback and feedforward on the communication efforts

Although the terms are used interchangeably, a communication strategy and plan are not the same thing (Steyn & Puth, 2000:32). The focus of this study is to create an overall communication framework for the National Development Plan that will serve as a guide

for its communication strategies and plans. To determine the strategic direction of an organisation's communication the following strategic management purposes would have to be considered (Steyn & Puth, 2000:32):

- **Monitoring:** Managing communication is an interlinked process. Any changes that occur at one stage of a strategy or plan may affect the expected outcomes. This may also impact on other elements of communication. Communication is a dynamic process because any changes that occur in the environment would affect people's perception of the organisation. It may also impact on dialogue. Practitioners appointed to manage communication would have to monitor any changes in the environment. This can be done by monitoring communication trends on social media, as well as monitoring what is said in mass media and on other public platforms. Practitioners would have to focus primarily on major environmental shifts. Altering communication strategies and plans for minor issues may be counter-productive. Practitioners would have to practice strategic thinking with regards to the "battles" they choose to fight.
- **Ensuring effectiveness rather than efficiency:** When it comes to strategy, the fastest way is not always the best. The expected effectiveness of a strategy should be prioritised over how quickly it can be implemented. Therefore, a well-researched, fact-based communication strategy has a better chance of succeeding, than a strategy that was not fully conceptualised.
- **Achieving strategic fit:** A strategy would have to be aligned with the needs of the internal (structure, systems, procedure, climate, resources) and external (economic, competitive, social, political, legal, technological) environments. The strengths and weaknesses (in the internal environment), and the opportunities and threats (in the external environment) should be monitored because they impact on a strategy's effectiveness.
- **Formulating and implementing strategies:** The strategy should be thorough enough that it addresses the issues impacting on the achievement of an organisation's vision.
- **Considering the stakeholder environment:** Stakeholder expectations are often varied which adds to the complexity of communicating with them. Therefore,

stakeholder analysis should be a continual process in an organisation's strategic communication.

The main focus of a communication strategy is on stakeholder's perception of the organisation and "involves the formulation of a desired position of the organisation in terms of how it wants to be seen by its different stakeholder groups" (Cornelissen, 2011:82). So, before a communication strategy can be developed, the gap between the vision (how the organisation wants to be perceived) and the reputation (how the organisation is perceived) would have to be determined (Cornelissen, 2011:82). To effectively narrow the gap between aspiration and reality, a strategy would have to adhere to the following (Cornelissen, 2011:83):

1. Strategy formulation consists of a combination of planned and emergent processes: The logical and well-planned aspects of the strategy should be adaptable to align with the changes within the environment.
2. Strategy involves a general direction and not simply plans or tactics: Strategies are not specific but provide a general idea of the correct approach to achieving organisational vision. Plans and tactics have a short-term focus, but the general nature of strategies makes it possible for them to be applied over longer periods.
3. Strategy is about the organisation and its environment: The organisation operates within a particular environment. So, all strategic decisions should be feasible within the applicable context.

Once an understanding of the overall process of strategy formulation has been ascertained, it can be applied to the formulation of communication strategy in particular. The steps for developing a communication strategy (**Figure 5.14**) are to (Steyn & Puth, 2000:63-75):

1. Analyse the internal environment: In the first step, it is important to understand the "goings on" of the internal environment. The internal practices of each organisation are unique and impact on performance.

2. Identify strategic stakeholders and publics: According to Steyn and Puth (2000:64), Lerbinger's classification of communication research indicates that strategic stakeholders can be identified in the following ways:
  - a. Stakeholder mapping (organisational linkages, public relations audit)
  - b. Identifying organisational consequences on stakeholders and publics (social audit)
  - c. Identify stakeholder perceptions, attitudes and concerns (public relations audit)
  - d. Identify stakeholder familiarity with the organisation
  - e. Identify key stakeholder issues

These points emphasise the importance of research in understanding the best ways to communicate with a diverse group of stakeholders. "The overall strategic management of organisations is inseparable from the strategic management of relationships" (Steyn & Puth, 2000: 64). For an organisation to manage implementation, it would have to simultaneously manage its stakeholder relationships through communication. Understanding stakeholders and the environment also assists with ensuring that the organisation stays attuned to changes, aiding in the flexibility needed for the implementation of strategy.

3. Identify and prioritise key strategic issues: Strategic issues are occasions, changes and trends that could affect the implementation of a plan. Not all issues are strategic. Understanding this helps communication practitioners to focus their energy on issues and stakeholders that would have the most impact.
4. Identify implications of strategic issues for stakeholders: Once the strategic issues are identified, the effect they have on stakeholder perceptions and behaviour can be determined. At this stage, one can ask "how do these strategic issues affect stakeholders?". This will help in determining how stakeholders think the proposed vision could affect them. Communication can be used as a strategic tool to clarify the impact of the vision on its stakeholders and reduce the spread of misconceptions.
5. Decide on communication strategy: At this stage the communication practitioner can decide on the correct strategic approach to communicate with stakeholders.

This strategy should support the overall organisational strategy and facilitate implementation.

6. Set communication goals: When an organisation develops a vision, it hopes to achieve a set of goals linked to that vision. Once the overall organisational goals have been determined, the communication strategy will be used to facilitate the achievement of said goals. The communication strategy should be developed with its own goals in mind. These goals should have the intention of achieving the overarching organisational goals.
7. Develop a communication policy: A policy would indicate the rules of communication. It reduces the chances of employees and organisational representatives communicating in a way that does not align with the vision. It also assists with addressing contentious issues and provides guidelines on how to address stakeholder concerns. Additionally, it stipulates how healthy dialogue can be maintained. According to Steyn and Puth (2000: 71-72), communication policy deals with:
  - a. Creating policies on the internal and external communication as well as laying the foundation for the way communication practitioners should address stakeholders.
  - b. Creating policies on the way the communication department relates to other organisational functions.
  - c. Creating policies on the structure of the organisation's communication department, pertaining to its hierarchy and leadership.
  - d. Creating a policy that indicates the goals and objectives of the communication strategy.
  - e. Creating a policy for what is appropriate or inappropriate regarding the conduct of those responsible for communicating the vision and representing the organisation. The hierarchy within the organisation would be considered here because it would determine who is responsible for communicating.
  - f. Creating a policy that denotes how information should be used and communicated. Not all organisational information is pertinent or should be communicated. The policy can be used to determine the pertinence of

information and which stakeholders it applies to. This will also determine how practitioners should communicate in times of contention and crisis.

8. Submit a draft of the communication strategy to leaders: Leaders should be informed of the communication strategy and how it facilitates the achievement of goals. Once the draft communication strategy has been compiled, they should be able to provide their opinion on it. This prevents misunderstandings and ensures consensus.
9. Conduct a media analysis: Media has evolved over the years. To effectively communicate, organisations should adapt to the changing media and communication landscape. Practitioners would also have to understand how people use the media and adapt the communication strategy to capitalise on this.
10. Develop a strategic communication plan: Once the above steps have been followed, the strategic communication plan can be developed. This plan is “the framework within which communication programmes (being continuous communication with strategic stakeholders), communication campaigns (which can be single or cyclic) and communication plans (developed to achieve specific communication goals) are developed” (Steyn & Puth, 2000: 73). A communication plan can be executed in the following ways (Steyn & Puth, 2000: 74-75):
  - a. Communication programmes: These allow the organisation to interact in a symmetrical way where stakeholders can express themselves and the organisation can make use of the feedback. Environmental scanning and research is required to determine the issues stakeholders have. It is also important for continuous programmes to be developed to encourage dialogue on the identified issues.
  - b. Communication campaigns: A campaign can be defined as a “connected series of operations designed to bring about a particular result” (Steyn & Puth, 2000: 74). A campaign is limited in terms of its time span, while programmes occur on a continuous basis. It is easier to determine the effect of a campaign once it has been implemented.
  - c. Public communication (information) campaigns: The focus of public communication campaigns is not to build relationships with stakeholders but



to emphasise a call to action. It is therefore more short-term in nature and seeks to mobilise stakeholders in a particular direction.

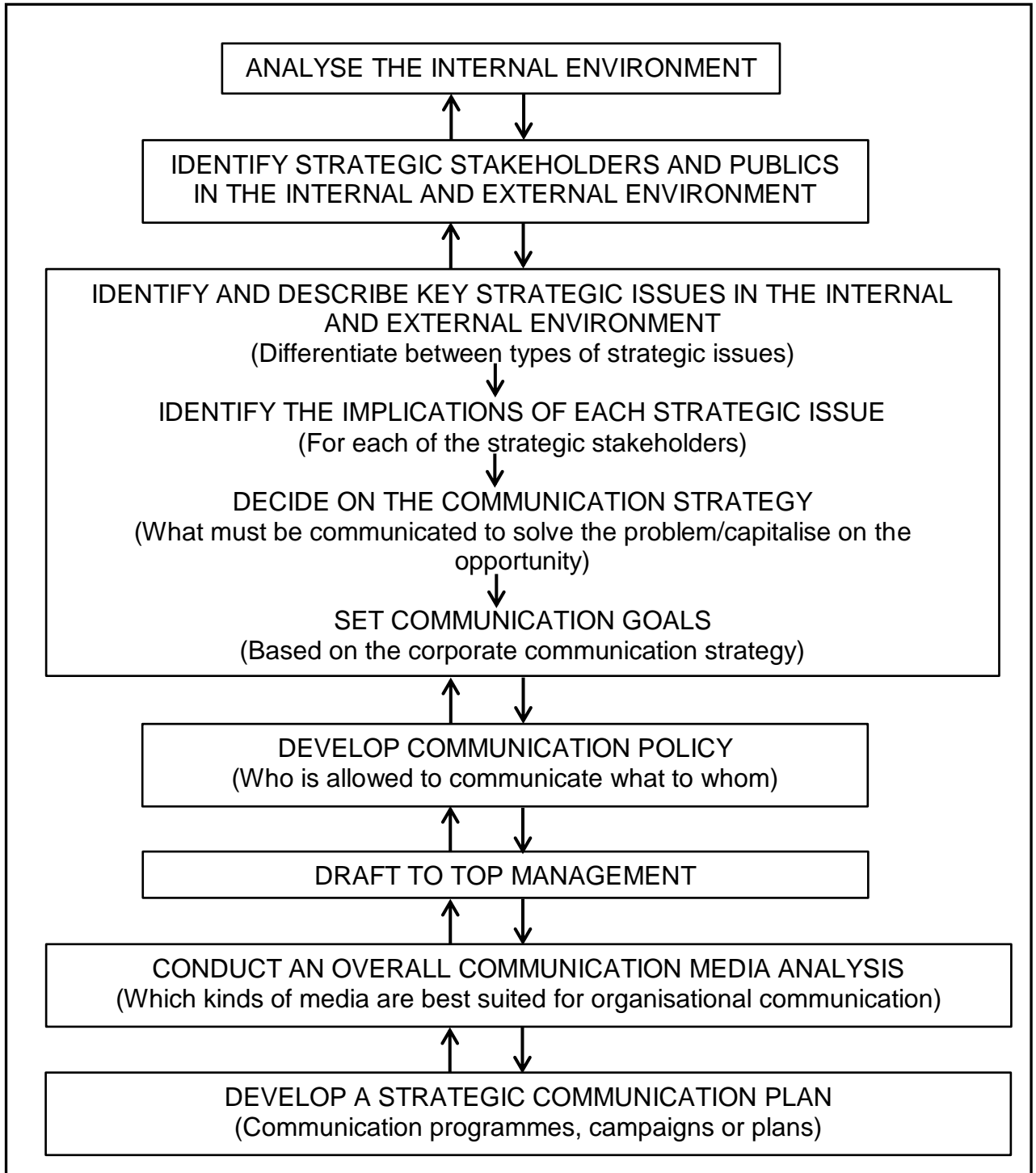
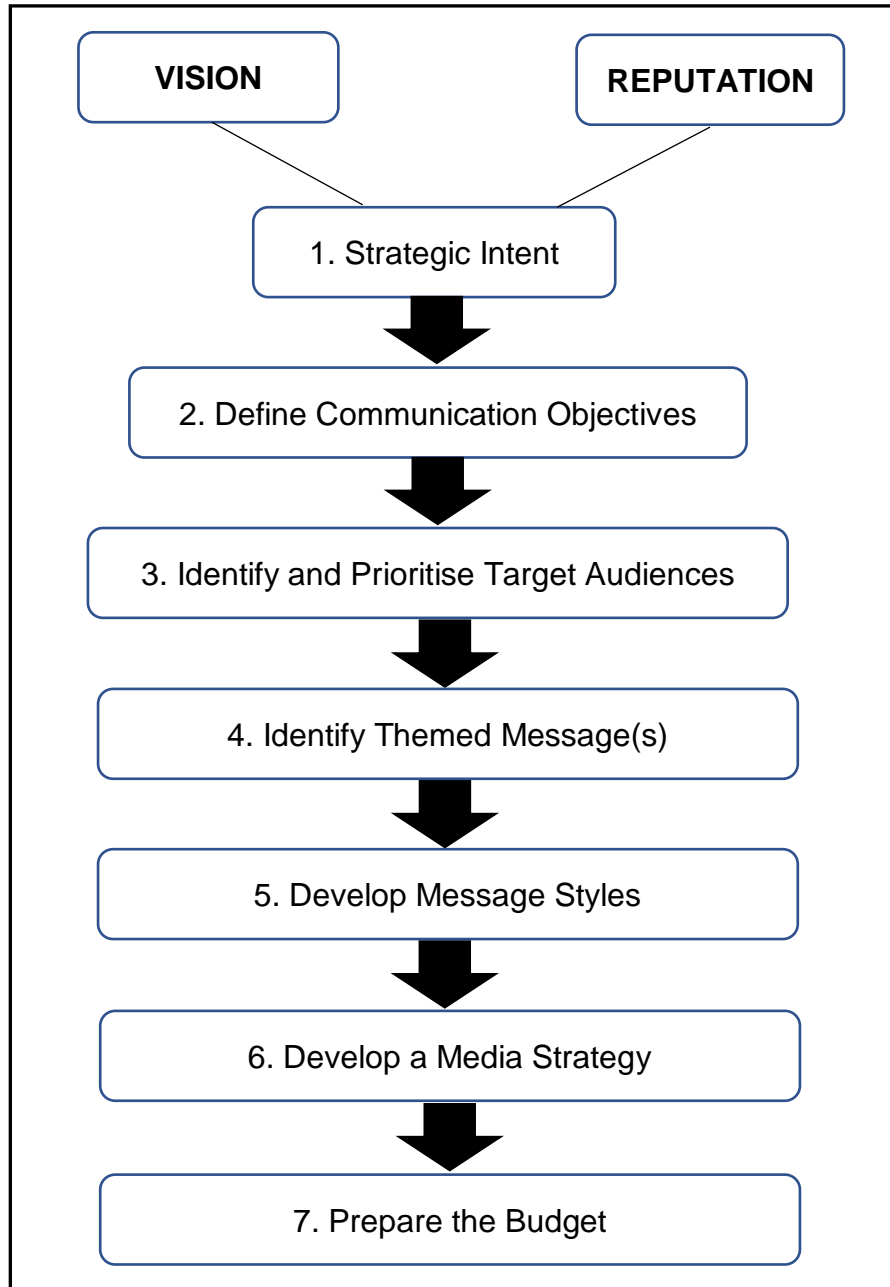


Figure 5.14: Steps in developing a communication strategy (Steyn & Puth, 2000: 63)

Cornelissen (2011:107-111) developed a process for planning communication programmes and campaigns, based on a communication strategy. These can be seen in **Figure 5.15**. The process is similar to Steyn Puth's (2000) steps for developing a communication strategy. However, Cornelissen (2011) places emphasis on strategic intent. Cornelissen's framework for planning communication programmes and campaigns (2011:107-111) focuses on:

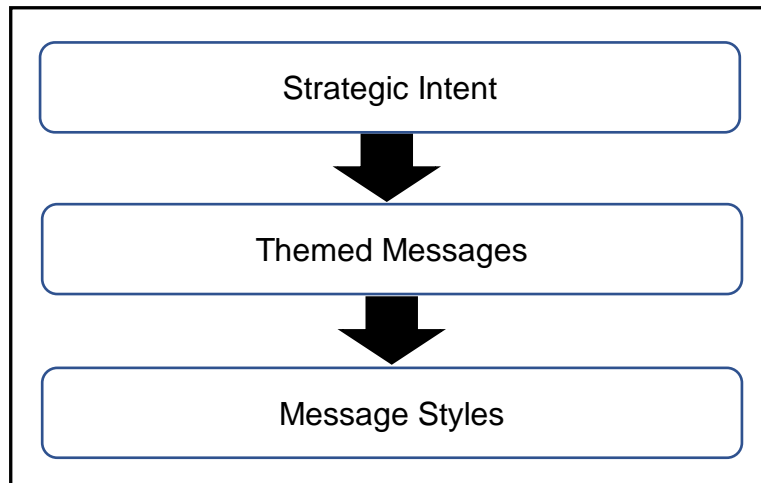
1. Strategic intent: The organisation's overall strategy as well as the communication strategy would have to be referred to and reflected on to determine the strategic intent that should be communicated in the plan or campaign. This strategic intent is based on narrowing the gap between how the organisation wants to be perceived (vision) and the current perception of stakeholders (reputation).
2. Define communication objectives: Unlike a communication strategy, the communication plans and programmes are meant to address specific stakeholders. The objectives should be SMART: specific, measurable, achievable, realistic and timely.
3. Identify and prioritise target audiences: Organisations have several stakeholders. Communicating with all of them is challenging. Identifying the most important stakeholders is tantamount to the success of organisational strategy.
4. Identify themed message(s): The communication practitioner would decide, based on the overall organisational vision, what the core message for the target audience will be.
5. Develop message styles: This step deals with how the themed message(s) will be conveyed. "The message styles involve the creative concept that articulates the appeal of the message and brings it to life through the use of catchy slogans and visual stimuli (pictures, images, logos and the typographic setting of a message)" (Cornelissen, 2011:110).
6. Develop a media strategy: Stakeholders consume messages differently. So, answering the questions "who", "what", "where", "why", "how" and "when" with regards to media consumption would help with understanding the types of media the targeted stakeholder group consumes.

7. Prepare a budget: The practitioner, based on the above information, can determine how much the communication programme will cost and allocate funds accordingly.



**Figure 5.15: The process of planning communication programmes and campaigns (Cornelissen, 2011:108)**

Understanding strategic intent is the first step for developing a communication strategy or plan (Cornelissen, 2011:107). This applies to the formulation of the content of a communication strategy (**Figure 5.16**).



**Figure 5.16: Stages in formulating the content of a communication strategy (Cornelissen, 2011:90)**

The strategic intent informs the themed messages selected for a communication strategy. Themed messages focus on the capabilities and strengths of an organisation (Cornelissen, 2011:88). As stated earlier, strategic intent deals with narrowing the distance between an organisation’s vision and how it is perceived by stakeholders. Themed messages should therefore be created with the intention of fortifying strategic intent. It “envisions a desired leadership position and establishes the criterion the organisation will use to chart its progress” (Hamel & Prahalad in Ehlers & Lazenby, 2007:65). Once this has been decided on the message style can be determined. There are 5 general message styles (Cornelissen, 2011:94-97). The first is the rational message style which focuses on an organisation’s superiority and achievements in comparison to other organisations (Cornelissen, 2011:94). So, the physical benefits are emphasised. This style is most beneficial when an organisation’s differentiating characteristics cannot easily be copied.

The second style is the symbolic association message style which, unlike the rational message style, focuses on an organisation's psychological differentiation. This is good for homogenous organisations or projects that are difficult to differentiate and do not provide a benefit that is easily quantifiable (Cornelissen, 2011:94). The emotional message style uses emotional messages (positive or negative) to motivate people to take action and involve themselves in a project or campaign (Cornelissen, 2011:96). The generic message style applies to organisations that function as a monopoly or are very dominant. In this case the organisation feels it has nothing to prove, because of its market dominance, and chooses to make a direct claim about itself with no assertion of its superiority (Cornelissen, 2011:96). The final style is the pre-emptive message style. In this style, an organisation asserts its superiority in a generic fashion. The organisation pre-emptively communicates its superiority before competitors can make the same claim (Cornelissen, 2011:97).

According to Farwell (2012), developing a communication strategy for political stakeholders would require additional considerations. The practitioner would need a strong concept of design which deals with the ability to develop a strategy that "constantly questions and critiques assumptions, observations, beliefs, and conclusions" (Farwell, 2012:154). In the political sphere, issues that existed when a strategy was designed may not exist in the implementation phase, so flexibility is necessary. Testing of a strategy's effectiveness should be incorporated into its implementation to increase the chances of success (Farwell, 2012:154). Campaign strategist Joe Gaylord stated that "each step must be satisfied in planning an information campaign and in using strategic communication. Equally, while one can put these down on paper, things change rapidly and unpredictably in any campaign. You need to be agile and opportunistic to be able to adapt to or take advantage of unforeseen developments" (Farwell, 2012:154).

The following elements comprise a strategy (Farwell, 2012:154): positioning; the story, plot, narrative, themes, and messages a strategy employs; the language used; the sequencing and timing of actions; and the targeting of audiences. Therefore, the following are important considerations for the development of a communication strategy implemented in a political setting (Farwell, 2012:155-173):

1. Lay a strong foundation for a campaign (Farwell, 2012:155): Stakeholders are interested in the actual results and the strength of leadership portrayed by political leaders. It is not enough to communicate strategic intent, but it is necessary that visible, and often drastic, action is taken in line with the strategy. Politicians would often have to prove that they can take action and get results before they expect stakeholder support. To create the perception of strong political leadership, drastic actions are often needed. Laying a strong foundation means being able to provide clear rationale for decision-making (even in instances when it may seem obvious), and proof (through actions) that the government is moving in a fundamentally different direction.
2. Positioning and narrative (Farwell, 2012:157): This focuses on providing a credible rationale for a strategy or communication campaign. The narrative should explain what politicians hope to achieve and why stakeholders should support their plans. A good narrative focuses on the audience. It is able to explain what the audience would benefit from supporting government's plans. Politicians should be able to clearly define their stance and repeat it regularly. Positioning a strategy deals with the story, plot and narrative connected to it. Farwell states that (2012:163) "these must set forth a credible rationale that infuses a policy or action with a version of legitimacy... themes and messages that flow from the rationale are about strategic positioning, and a strong narrative is vital in defining a credible rationale". Each targeted audience needs its own narrative that is communicated in a clear, plausible, believable, and persuasive manner to convince them of the benefits of their support. Government should also be able to convince stakeholders that they have the moral high-ground and are asserting it through their strategy. So, moral authority is very important for strategy implementation in the political sphere.
3. Language (Farwell, 2012:164): The way people frame a narrative is highly influenced by culture. Some cultures prefer direct communication while others prefer for information to be expressed using stories, images, metaphors, and analogies.
4. Timing (Farwell, 2012:166): Communication campaigns and strategies should be correctly timed to ensure the most impact. So, information should be communicated

in an order that increases the impact and reach of the message. Correct timing is also about being able to make the necessary adjustments to a strategy when changes occur in the environment.

5. Targeting (Farwell, 2012:166): Stakeholders differ in terms of their impact on a strategy's implementation. Some stakeholders are more influential than others. Segmenting them and targeting the most important ones ensures more effective implementation. "It identifies influential people who are indispensable for success, those who can be very helpful for success but are not indispensable, a wider group whose support is desirable, and those whose support may not matter" (Farwell, 2012:166). These groupings can change during the implementation process. When communicating to political audiences it would also be important to consider how the blogosphere communicates as well as how stakeholders use social media.
6. Persuading an audience of the cause's credibility (Farwell, 2012:166): This is often taken for granted by politicians. Support for strategies should not be presumed. Politicians should also not assume that they have the moral high-ground in the minds of their stakeholders. Core bases of support should be identified, and the message should be communicated to them on a continuous basis. Credibility and trust have to be built and earned over time through a consistent strategic communication.
7. Mobilising target audiences (Farwell, 2012:171): Once stakeholder support has been garnered, they can be motivated to take action and actively support a policy. An understanding of the target audience is achieved through strategic communication and can be used to mobilise them to act in accordance with the strategy.
8. Identify and mobilise credible messengers (Farwell, 2012:173): This deals with garnering third-party credibility for the political leaders instrumental for strategy implementation. For instance, Arab rulers often use the support of clerics to increase their credibility. Knowing which individuals have credibility in the eyes of your stakeholders and receiving support from them (individuals and institutions) is necessary for strategy implementation.

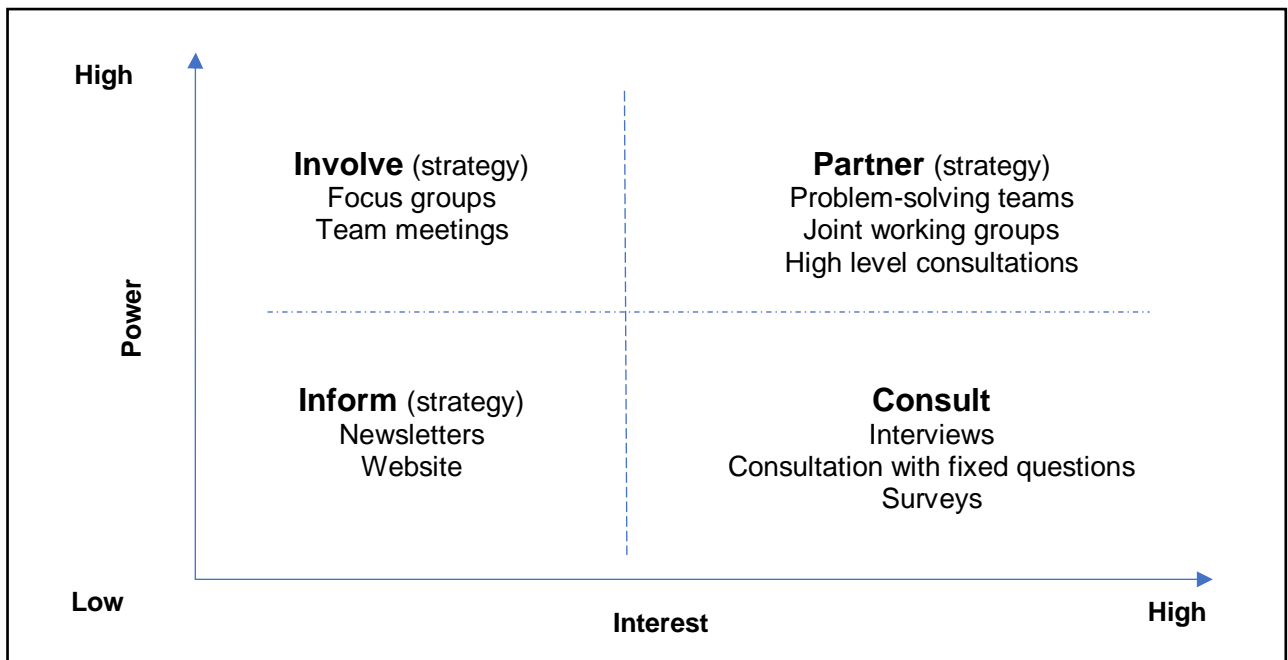
Various tactics can be used to implement a strategy. Gregory (2010:122) outlined these as depicted in **Table 5.3**.

| <b>Table 5.3: Range of tactics available to practitioners (Gregory, 2010:122)</b>   |   |
|---|---|
| <b>MEDIA RELATIONS</b>  | <b>INTERNAL COMMUNICATION</b>   |
| Press conference; press releases; articles and features; one-to-one briefings; interviews; background briefings/materials; photography; letters to editors; story ideas; advertorials; guest editorials; media directories; video news releases; website; e-mail. | Videos; briefings; newsletters; quality guides; CD/DVD; e-mail; intranet; business TV; meetings; one-to-ones.     |
| <b>ADVERTISING</b>  | <b>CORPORATE IDENTITY</b>   |
| Corporate and product; magazines; newspapers; websites; TV, cable, radio; billboard posters; signage; merchandise.  | Logos; buildings; product branding; clothing; letterheads; publications; website; merchandise; vehicles.          |
| <b>DIRECT MAIL</b>  | <b>SPONSORSHIP</b>  |
| Annual report; brochures/leaflets; customer reports; external newsletters; general literature; merchandise; CD/DVD; letters.  | Sport; arts; worthy causes; education.  |
| <b>EXHIBITIONS</b>  | <b>LOBBYING</b>   |
| Trade and public; literature; sampling; demonstrations; multimedia.   | One-to-one briefings; background material; literature; group briefings; hospitality; CD and DVD; audio cassettes. |
| <b>CONFERENCES</b>  | <b>RESEARCH</b>   |
| Multimedia; literature; hospitality.  | Organisations; public relations programmes; issues monitoring; results monitoring.                                |
| <b>COMMUNITY RELATIONS</b>  | <b>CRISIS MANAGEMENT</b>  |
| Direct involvement; gifts-in-kind; sponsorship; donations.  | Planning; implementation.   |
| <b>SPECIAL EVENTS</b>   | <b>LIAISON</b>  |
| AGMs; SGMs; special occasions; fairs; carnivals; social events; fundraising   | Internal (including counselling); external  |
| <b>CUSTOMER RELATIONS</b>   | <b>FINANCIAL RELATIONS</b>  |
| Media relations; direct mail; advertising; internet; social networks;   | Annual report; briefing materials; one-to-one briefing; media relations; hospitality; internet; extranet.         |



|   |  |
|---|--|
| exhibitions; retail outlets; sponsorship;<br>product literature; newsletters. |  |
|---|--|

The tactics employed depend on importance of each stakeholder group. Stakeholders should be prioritised based on their impact on strategy implementation. Those with the most power and interest require the most attention while those with the least power require less attention (Gregory, 2010:121). In **Figure 5.17** (Gregory, 2010:124) depicts this process by indicating the strategy (headings in bold) and tactics that could be used. It does so by showing which strategies should be used on stakeholders with high or low power over implementation, and high or low interest in implementation taking place.



**Figure 5.17: COI methodology for linking strategy and tactics (Gregory, 2010:124)**

**Figure 5.17** indicates that stakeholders in the top right quadrant have the highest amount of power and interest in strategy implementation and should be partnered with, and more involved than other stakeholders. Stakeholders with the lowest power and interest should only be informed of decisions but do not have to be involved in the decision-making process.

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## CHAPTER 6

### QUALITATIVE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

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Qualitative methodology was selected for this study. While quantitative research deals with quantification of the data collection and analysis process, qualitative researchers prefer induction informed by constructionism and interpretivism (Bryman et al., 2014:41). Qualitative research asks ‘how’ and ‘why’ because it looks to understand phenomena instead of only concentrating on connections between variables (Nieuwenhuis & Smit, 2012:125). The main research question for this study is qualitative in nature. Qualitative research focuses primarily research for which little information exists (Skinner, Mersham & Benecke, 2013:78). It helps to describe behaviour, themes, trends, attitudes, needs or connections that can answer the research questions (Skinner, Mersham & Benecke, 2013:78). “A qualitative design is appropriate when public relations practitioners intend on examining the properties, values, needs or characteristics that distinguish individuals, groups, communities, organisations, events, settings or messages” (Le Gruin in Skinner, Mersham & Benecke, 2013:78).

**Table 6.1** summarises the contrasts between quantitative and qualitative research.

| <b>Table 6.1: Common contrasts between quantitative and qualitative research (Bryman et al., 2014:51)</b> |  |
|---|--|
| <b>Quantitative</b>   | <b>Qualitative</b>                     |
| <b>Numbers and measurement</b>  | Words and description                  |
| <b>Researcher’s viewpoint</b>   | Participants’ viewpoint                |
| <b>Researcher detached from subjects</b>  | Researcher involved with participants  |
| <b>Testing theory and concepts</b>  | Theory and concepts emergent from data |
| <b>Static image of social reality</b>   | Interconnected process between actors  |
| <b>Structured data collection</b>   | Flexible investigation                 |

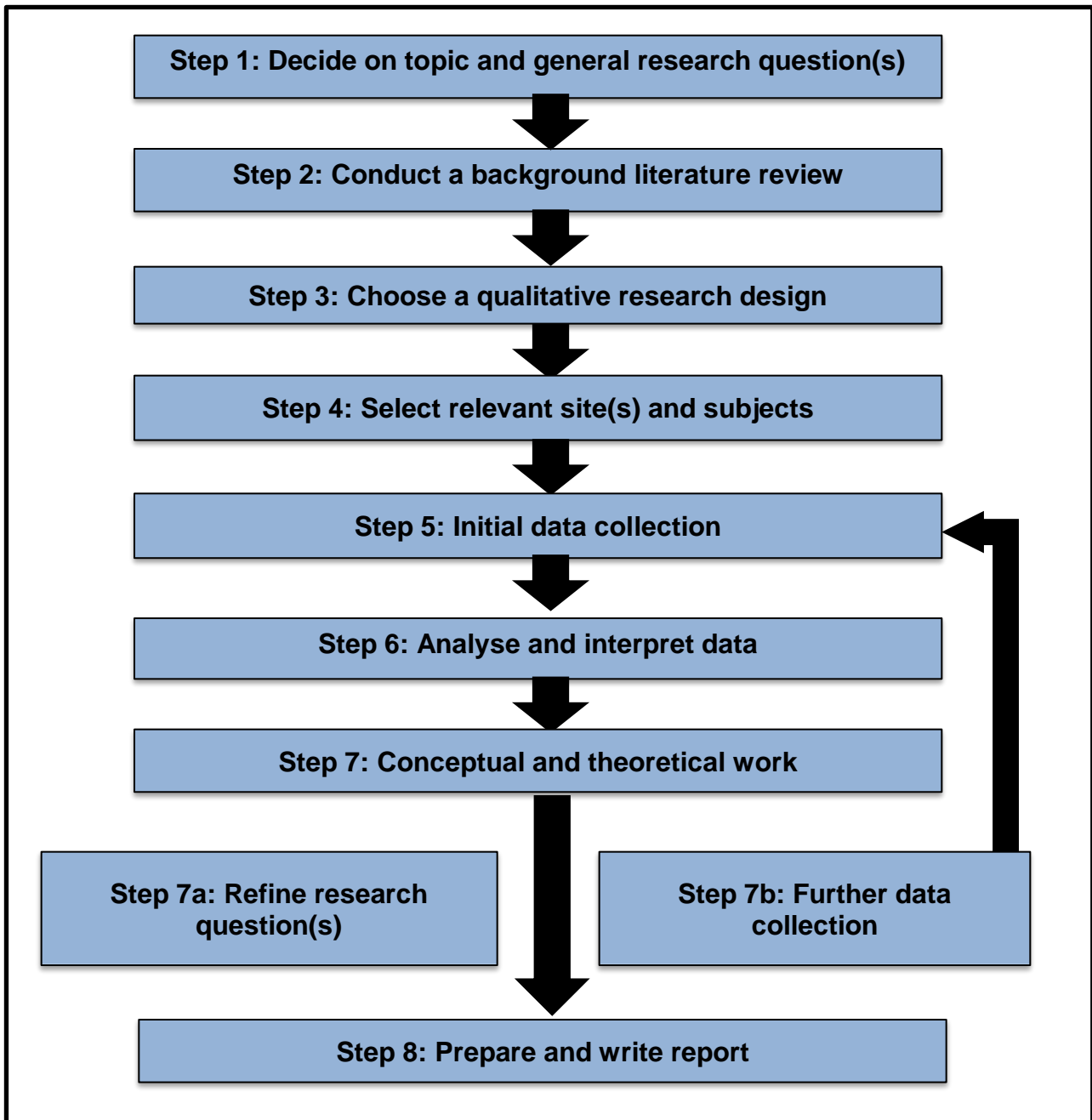
|   |                                  |
|---|----------------------------------|
| <b>Generalisation to the population</b> | Understanding of the context     |
| <b>Hard, reliable data</b>              | Rich, deep, thick data           |
| <b>Macro – large scale patterns</b>     | Micro – small scale explanations |
| <b>Behaviour of people</b>              | Meaning of action                |
| <b>Artificial settings</b>              | Natural settings                 |

Qualitative research is based on the following four traditions (Bryman et al., 2014:41):

- Naturalism: This give a detailed description of how people interact within their natural setting.
- Ethnomethodology: This has a naturalistic focus. It places attention on how social order is constructed through discourse and interaction.
- Emotionalism: This deals with understanding people’s ‘inner’ experience and emotions. There is little research on this area.
- Postmodernism: This deals with ‘method talk’ and the various ways that society is structured.

This study followed an interpretivist/constructivist paradigm, making qualitative in nature. **Chapter 2** discussed this in detail. Also, based on the above stipulations, it had an ethnomethodological focus because it looked at how society can be constructed through discourse.

The main steps in qualitative research can be seen in **Figure 6.1** (Bryman, Bell, Hirschsohn, Dos Santos, Du Toit, Masenge, Van Aardt & Wagner, 2014:41).



**Figure 6.1: Outline of the main steps in qualitative research (Bryman et al., 2014:41)**

The above figure shows that in qualitative research emphasis is placed on an extensive consultation of the theoretical and empirical literature for the interpretation of the data (Bryman et al., 2014:42). “Qualitative researchers prefer to treat theory as emerging out

of the collection and analysis of data, rather than data as a test of theory” (Bryman et al., 2014:42). Answering the research questions relies on this.

## **6.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY’S RESEARCH DESIGN**

According to Bryman et al. (2014:100), research design provides structure that guides the research method and data analysis.

The research question was: “How can the discourse surrounding the South African NDP be used to develop a framework of communication principles for government?” Based on the fact that the research question asked a ‘how’ question, a qualitative research design was selected. This allowed the researcher to act as a data collection instrument and delve deeper while receiving richer results, which is one of the main advantages of qualitative research (Nieuwenhuis & Smit, 2012:126). Nieuwenhuis & Smit (2012:126) describe the link between a qualitative study of this nature and the interpretivist paradigm.

Firstly, it helps the researcher acknowledge that people’s lives and experiences can only be fathomed by other people (Nieuwenhuis & Smit, 2012:126). The data sets selected for this study (Parliament Hansards, newspaper articles, and semi-structured interviews) gave the researcher an understanding of how political stakeholders perceive the National Development Plan (NDP). Stakeholders play a role in creating the environment the NDP is implemented in so understanding the world, from their perspective, is important. Hence, understanding their thoughts and opinions of the NDP (using an assessment of Parliament Hansards, newspaper articles and semi-structured interviews) was necessary.

Secondly, people create social life, experiences and the rules and norms of society (Nieuwenhuis & Smit, 2012:126). Reality is subjective and varies between individuals and societies. Each society is unique – even South African society and its specific political environment. This impacts on the NDP because it is communicated and understood within this unique environment. The interpretivist stance, and the qualitative research used to enforce it, allowed the researcher to consider the environment and perceptions when

collecting and analysing data. In line with this is the third point: people's minds are the creators of meaning (Nieuwenhuis & Smit, 2012:126). This means that there can be as many perceptions of an issue as there are minds. Qualitative research's depth assisted with understanding the complex meanings that people apply to societal phenomena.

Fourthly, the way people behave is impacted by their understanding of how the world works (Nieuwenhuis & Smit, 2012:126). People cannot make decisions that go beyond the realm of their knowledge. Since this study looked at political stakeholders, the data sets had to provide data from within the political sphere. The Parliament Hansards, newspaper articles and semi-structured interviews provided the depth of political opinion to complete the study. A qualitative study of this nature created a two-way relationship between theory and research. The more theoretical knowledge the researcher had, the better judgment they were able to make regarding the questions to ask and the best ways to probe on certain points. Finally, the interpretivist paradigm allows for the acknowledgement that society cannot exist on its own without the knowledge of the people who form part of that society (Nieuwenhuis & Smit, 2012:126). This enabled the researcher to engage with the data more effectively.

Nieuwenhuis & Smit (2012:127) state that there are three qualitative research designs: action research, grounded theory and phenomenology. The design that best aligned with this study was phenomenology. According to Moustakas (in Nieuwenhuis & Smit, 2012:132), phenomenology seeks "to determine what an experience means for the persons who have had the experience and are able to provide a comprehensive description of it. From the individual descriptions, general or universal meanings are derived, in other words, the essences of structures of the experience." This aligns with the study's interpretivist paradigm.

Phenomenology assisted the researcher with understanding the political context in which discourse on the NDP takes place. It also helped with describing the phenomenon from the perspective of the individuals that created it and experience it first-hand (political stakeholders, in this case). Phenomenology enabled the researcher to describe the

discourse and the effect of the plans' perception on its implementation. The fieldwork that takes place in phenomenological research involves the disciplined study of what the world is like according to people's perceptions (Nieuwenhuis & Smit, 2012:132). This was helpful for data collection and interpretation. It also helped the researcher to ask the right questions during the interviews. In the case of semi-structured interviews that apply to this study, this was helpful in adapting the questions depending on the individual's response.

The qualitative research methodology, interpretivist paradigm, and phenomenological perspective used led to the development of the following research questions, applied throughout the study:

1. What is the political discourse surrounding the NDP?
2. What are the underlying issues causing the contestation of the NDP?
3. How does communication facilitate the implementation of the NDP?
4. Who are the key stakeholders in the discourse on the NDP?

The research questions provided insight into the political ideologies and power dynamics at the core of the NDP's implementation. Answering these questions led to the accomplishment of the main goal of the study, which was to develop a framework of communication principles for the implementation of the NDP. To achieve this, the researcher analysed the political discourse surrounding the NDP through a discourse analysis of three sets of data: Parliament Hansards, media articles and semi-structured interviews with politicians and trade unionists. These stakeholders have influence on the implementation of the plan, on a political level. Political discourse was selected because political stakeholders are the first point-of-contact for the implementation of the plan. If the NDP is not accepted on a political level, its country-wide implementation would be stifled.

In line with Creswell's (2003:18) assertion, the researcher selected a qualitative approach, because the study is founded on information based on the interpretivist paradigm (i.e., the multiple meanings of individual experiences, meanings socially and historically constructed with an intent of developing a theory or pattern). Bryman et al. (2014:17) concur with this, stating that interpretivism implies that reality is fluid and constantly

changing and that different versions of reality exist simultaneously. This study was hence structured to observe multiple realities through the collection and analysis of qualitative data.

The researcher's role was to determine the overall "story" and trends the data conveyed. Data of this nature is described as narrative data and comes from the following sources (Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003:1):

- Open-ended questions and written comments on questionnaires
- Testimonials from people that have used the product or interacted with the organisation
- Individual interviews can produce data in the form of notes, a summary of the individual's interview, or transcripts
- Discussion group or focus group interviews
- Logs, journals and diaries might provide structured entries or free-flowing text
- Observations may be recorded in field notes as a result of observing a particular environment or setting
- Documents, reports and news articles or any published material can be assessed
- Stories may provide data from personal accounts of experiences
- Case studies

Guided by the above, the data used in this study were Parliament Hansards, semi-structured interviews and print newspaper articles. Based on the objectives, the selected data collection techniques ensured that the researcher was able to garner enough discursive data to draw reliable conclusions. The literature review focused on rhetoric as the grand theoretical foundation of the study. The theory of rhetoric is the basis for discourse analysis.

According to Bryman et al. (2014), there are various techniques that can be used for the analysis of language as a resource:

1. Conversation analysis
2. Discourse analysis



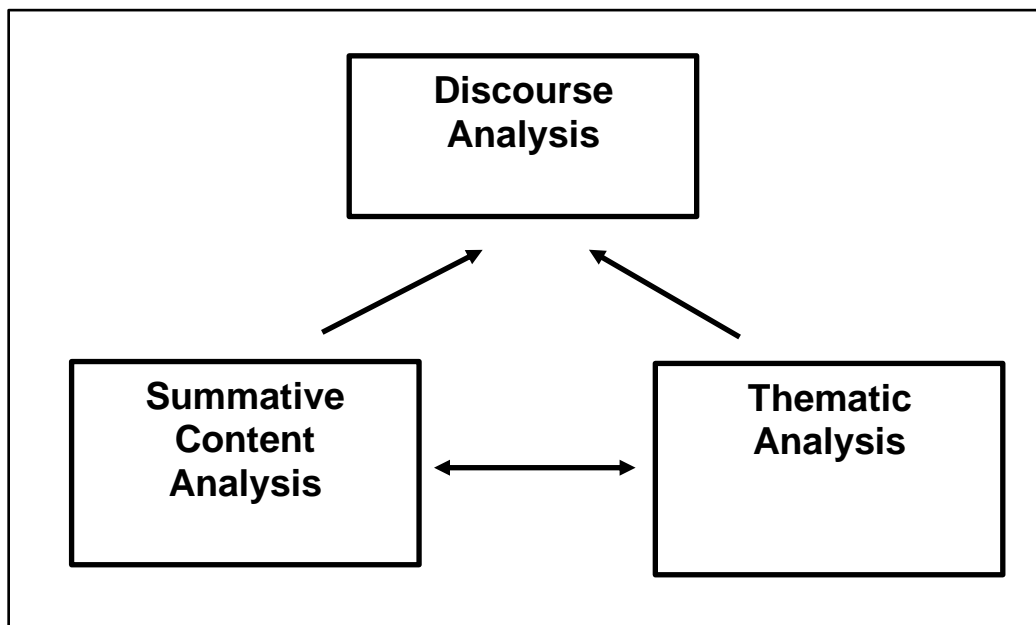
3. Narrative analysis
4. Rhetorical analysis
5. Critical discourse analysis

Conversation analysis has its basis in ethnomethodology which studies the techniques people use to create societal order (Bryman et al., 2014:363). It is not a research methodology. It is a detailed analysis that looks at conversations that naturally occur in society and is “concerned with uncovering the underlying structures of talk in interaction and as such with the achievement of order through interaction” (Bryman et al., 2014:363). Discourse analysis is more flexible in that it can be applied, not only to conversations but, to other texts as well (Bryman et al., 2014:365). Discourse analysis looks at the world as something that is socially constructed through language. So, language it is not only a mirror reflecting society, but it is shaping it as well (Bryman et al., 2014:365). Narrative analysis, on the other hand, looks at the temporal nature of people’s accounts of certain event (Bryman et al., 2014:366). Sequencing is therefore important in narrative analyses because it deals with the impact of time on people’s narration of events.

Rhetorical analysis investigates the way rhetoric and persuasion are used in organisations (Bryman et al., 2014:368). It would include analyses of different rhetorical devices, how they are used, and the effect they have. Critical discourse analysis, like conversation analysis, is a detailed tool. It pays attention to other issues extending beyond the text (Bryman et al., 2014:368). Critical discourse analysis practitioners are “more receptive to the idea of a pre-existing material reality that constrains individual agency” (Bryman et al., 2014:368).

Discourse analysis was selected because of its alignment with the interpretivist paradigm this study is based on. As stated before, discourse analysis sees phenomena as being socially constructed through language. The researcher was interested in determining what can be learned about the implementation of the NDP, through the discourse surrounding it. Therefore the context-sensitive nature of discourse analysis was most appropriate.

Summative content analysis and thematic analysis were used to support the discourse analysis process (**Figure 6.2**).



**Figure 6.2: Discourse analysis and its relationship to summative content analysis and thematic analysis used in this study**

For the content analysis, the researcher made use of quantitative content analysis, also referred to as summative content analysis. Quantitative content analysis is defined by Berelson (in Bryman et al., 2014:299) as “a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication.” Regardless of it being referred to as ‘quantitative content analysis’, it is a qualitative technique. Hsieh and Shannon (2005:1277) assert this by stating that the distinction of content analysis is that it is usually limited to being classified as a qualitative method. This technique also reinforced the reliability and validity of the study in the following ways (Holsti in Bryman et al., 2014:299):

- The objectivity regarding the procedures used to assign the raw data to categories was done in a more transparent way and reduced the possibility of personal biases.
- The systematic nature of this process means that the rules were applied consistently, which minimised bias.

Bryman et al. (2014:300) stated that with this technique the researcher would be able to look at different units of analysis. Using this technique, the researcher counted the number of times certain concepts arose in the analysis of the data. Hsieh and Shannon (2005:1277) identified three types of content analysis: conventional, directed, and summative content analysis. As stated before, the researcher made use of summative content analysis.

Summative content analysis deals with counting and comparing key words or content, followed by the analysis of the underlying context (Bryman et al., 2014:354). This contextual focus aligns with discourse analysis. Thematic analysis involves understanding the meaning of data by analysing the themes that emerge during the data analysis stage (Kawulich et al., 2012:231). The steps in thematic analysis are as follows (Braun & Clarke in Bryman et al., 2014:350):

1. Familiarising oneself with the data: This deals with transcribing the data and reading it several times while making note of some ideas.
2. Generating initial codes: This deals with coding interesting aspects of the data and making note of data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes: Here the researcher groups the codes together to identify interesting themes.
4. Reviewing themes: The researcher generates a 'thematic map' by looking for the flow and uniformity of the codes and themes.
5. Defining and naming themes: Here the researcher refines the data by defining each theme and ensuring that codes are allocated to the correct themes.
6. Producing the report: Here the researcher extracts applicable examples and compiles a report that links the data to the literature review and overall research objectives.

The two techniques of thematic analysis and content analysis culminate into the overall technique of discourse analysis, used in this study. This relationship is depicted in **Figure**

6.2. Furthermore, **Table 6.2** indicates which how the analysis techniques used addressed the research questions.

| <b>Table 6.2: Research questions and applicable analysis technique</b>     |  |
|--|--|
| <b>Research Question</b>   | <b>Analysis Technique</b>  |
| <b>What is the political discourse surrounding the NDP?</b>                | <p>The researcher used discourse analysis to contextually determine what the discourse surrounding the NDP is. This was the main analysis technique, supplemented by the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Thematic analysis was used to identify the overall themes arising from the political discourse surrounding the NDP.</li> <li>• Summative content analysis was used to determine the frequency with which these themes were discussed.</li> </ul>                                    |
| <b>What are the underlying issues causing the contestation of the NDP?</b> | <p>The researcher used discourse analysis to contextually determine the issues causing the NDP's contestation. This was the main analysis technique, supplemented by the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Thematic analysis was used to identify the overall themes addressing the contestation of the NDP.</li> <li>• Summative content analysis was used to determine the frequency with which these themes were discussed.</li> </ul>  |
| <b>How does communication facilitate the implementation of the NDP?</b>    | <p>This study outlines how the discourse surrounding the NDP can lead to an understanding of the issues affecting its implementation and improve the communication of the plan. Discourse analysis was the main analysis technique, supplemented by the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Thematic analysis was used to identify the overall communication needs.</li> <li>• Summative content analysis was used to determine the frequency with which these themes were discussed.</li> </ul> |

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <p><b>Who are the key stakeholders in the discourse on the NDP?</b></p> | <p>Based on the discourse the researcher was able to determine which stakeholders are most essential to the plan's implementation. Discourse analysis was the main analysis technique, supplemented by the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Thematic analysis was used to identify the stakeholder themes.</li> <li>• Summative content analysis was used to determine frequency with which stakeholders were mentioned in relation to the NDP.</li> </ul> |
|---|---|

Discourse analysis is a context-sensitive approach (Grant et al. in Bryman et al., 2014:368) considers more dynamics than the text alone. It “emphasises the role of language as a powerful resource that is related to ideology and socio-cultural change. It draws on the theories and methods of Foucault (1974, 1979, 1980)” (Bryman et al., 2014:368). This aligned with the intension of this study because understanding the underlying political ideologies that impact on the implementation of the NDP can be achieved through discourse analysis. Furthermore, Phillips and Hardy (in Bryman et al., 2014:368) stated that the task of a discourse analyst is “to explore the relationship between discourse and reality”. Using a combination of thematic and content analysis aided in this process.

In line with Reed’s (in Bryman et al., 2014:368) writing on discourse analysis, the researcher examined the political discourse surrounding the NDP by looking at existing political structures, ideologies and the power relations that are responsible for creating them. According to Van Dijk (in Bryman et al., 2014:369), this involves asking “who uses language, how, why, and when”. The researcher followed Phillips, Sewell and Jaynes’s (in Bryman et al., 2014:368) stipulations that discourse analysts should focus on tracing how discourse is constructed and maintained in relation to certain phenomena. The phenomenon in this case is the implementation of the NDP.

The researcher followed Grant et al.’s (in Bryman et al., 2014:369) three-dimensional framework for discourse analysis, which is:

1. The researcher started with an examination of the content, structure and the overall meaning of the text. This is referred to as the text dimension.
2. The researcher examined the form of discursive interaction used to communicate meaning and beliefs. This is referred to as the discursive practice dimension.
3. The context in which the discursive event was taking place was considered. This is referred to as the social practice dimension.

Aside from the above three dimensions, the appeal to discourse analysis in this study is the focus it has on intertextuality, which kept the researcher's attention on the idea of discourse as something that exists beyond the level of a particular issue (Bryman et al., 2014:369). The researcher was therefore encouraged by this analysis technique to place the discourse within the context it exists in.

## **6.2 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AS A RESEARCH DESIGN**

Discourse analysis is defined as a group of methods for linking texts and their deeper meanings (Lemke, 2012:79). Its goal is to understand social problems and conflicts and create the opportunity to explore social problems mainly constituted in discourse, with power relations grounded in social practice (Scollon & de Saint-Georges, 2012:69). This allowed for the researcher to understand South Africa's political environment. It does not focus exclusively on describing reality but includes an evaluation and assessment of the extent to which these realities link to values that are important to society (Fairclough, 2012:9).

Discourse analysis wavers between a focus on structures and strategies, changes in the organising of semiotic change, and strategies of social agents that manifest themselves in texts (Fairclough, 2012:12). This is described by Fairclough (in Fairclough, 2012) as the interdiscursivity of a text that forms part of its intertextuality, which deals with the genre, discourse and styles it draws upon and how they are incorporated into certain conversations. It takes the way politicians communicate into consideration – not just what they say. This is different from Noam Chomsky's popular perspective that focused on

analysing text in a way that ignored meaning and context, and focused on linguistic structures (Lemke, 2012:79).

An important facet of discourse analysis is that it focuses on the ideological nature of discourse (Fairclough, 2012:19) and, in doing so, aligns with this study's political basis. As discussed in previous chapters, political stakeholders have different ideologies that influence the discourse surrounding the NDP. Discourse analysis is linked to a variety of research and theoretical approaches, which is seen in the data analysis technique highlighted in this study.

According to Potter (2012:106), discourse is oriented to action; situated sequentially, institutionally and rhetorically; and constructed and constructive. These points can be further broken down as follows (Potter, 2012:106-108):

- Discourse is action orientated: Discourse is an important resource for accomplishing goals and implementing plans. Also, discourse takes place in the midst of action. When certain actions are taken, and perceived by others, discourse will form around it.
- Discourse is situated: "The most profound way that action is situated is in terms of the here and now of conversational sequence" (Potter, 2012:107). Discourse is dependent on context and what is taking place at the time. When one transitions from the perspective that language is an abstract, intangible and fixed system, and transitions to an action-focused approach, events are seen to unfold in real time, within a particular context. According to Heritage (in Potter, 2012:107), discourse relies on context because it picks up from, and responds to, the immediate conversational context; and it is also context-reproducing in that it builds a new context for whatever discourse is immediately following. Actions and discourse are also situated institutionally. However, institutional discourse is generally oriented to widespread institutional identities, which in turn can be summoned, oriented to, or overthrown in a variety of ways. Lastly, an action is situated rhetorically. Rhetoric is the basis for any form of discourse analysis.

- Discourse is constructed and constructive: Discourse comes from, and is constructed by different resources such as words, categories, rhetorical commonplaces, grammatical structures, repertoires and conversational practices (Potter, 2012:108). Discourse is described as constructive because it can be used to build diverse opinions of reality, of public organisations and actions, and of history and its impact on larger organisations and structures.

The above connects with the social constructionist perception, which sees discourse's focus being the organisation of customary social (instead of only verbal) practices (Jaspers, 2012:140). Discourse plays a role in constructing society in that what politicians say creates the overall story and perception. Therefore discourse is perceived as an important societal building-block. Also, people are not merely susceptible to the messages of individuals in powerful positions, neither are they omnipotent creators of their own reality but, they are social creatures who equally take part in the creation of society through everyday interactions (Jaspers, 2012:140). Language is not only used to relay what is happening in society but, also to create the reality being perceived. To emphasise this, Jaspers (2012:140) stated that "rather than the mere reflection of pre-existing social structures, language use is seen as one of the primary resources for social actors to shape and re-shape their social surroundings actively and creatively" and so, discourse does not happen in isolation.

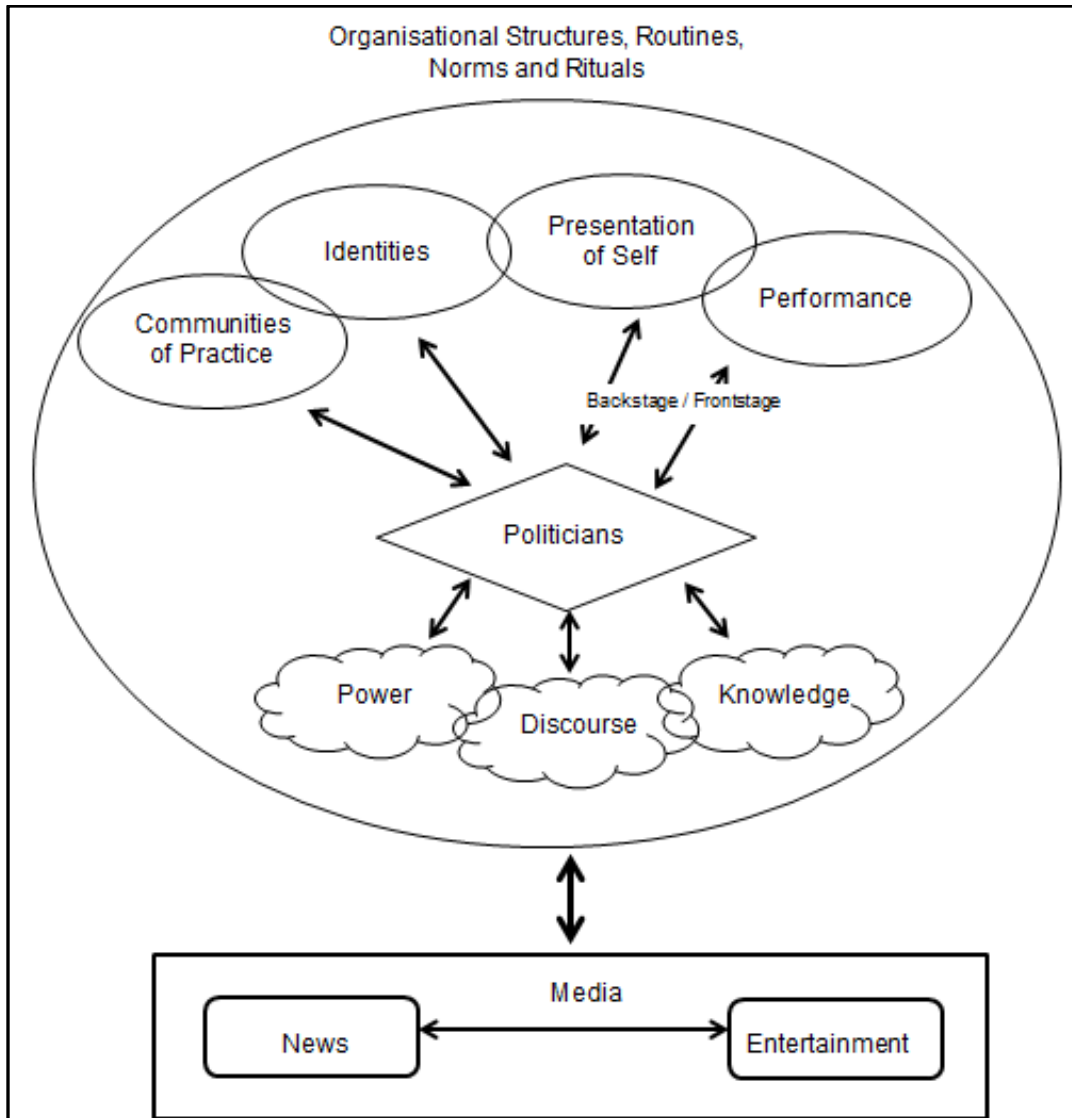
Discourse analysis is interdisciplinary and forms part of the following disciplines: literary studies; psychology; folklore and anthropology; and sociolinguistics (Juzwik, 2012:331). These four disciplines provide an understanding of the way the analysis of discourse has evolved over the years, with a broad transition from formalist approaches that dominated during the 1970s and early 1980s, to more conversational methods that combine analysis of interaction and the context of the conversational event, together with consideration for written features and structures (Juzwik, 2012:337). In discourse analysis, the researcher can either focus on only the spoken and written language used, or they can incorporate other features such as gestures. This study focused on the spoken (Hansards and interviews) and written (newspaper articles) discourse surrounding the NDP.



### 6.3 POLITICS AND DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

In the modern world, most people are exposed to regular political discourse that takes place in a variety of forms: political speeches, televised press conferences, televised interviews with politicians, and due to the rise of new media, political events can be seen on social media (Wodak, 2012:525). The internet, and more particularly, social media have also impacted how people communicate with political leaders and provide an unprecedented level of access to them. This gives insight into the personal lives and opinions of politicians, and what everyday people think of them, their actions and decisions. How politicians use communication platforms follows certain customs that form part of the “field of politics” (Bourdieu in Wodak, 2012:525). Although the public does not have access to politician’s private conversations and informal gossip, these interactions are said to have more impact on political decision-making than the dialogue that is held publicly (Wodak in Wodak, 2012:525).

Goffman (in Wodak, 2012:525) differentiates between what politicians say “frontstage and backstage” because understanding their public language and behaviour is an essential part of completing an analysis of their discourse. To explain this, Goffman (in Wodak, 2012:525) used the analogy of comparing political discourse to a stage performance. Goffman (1959:17) stated that “Front, then, is the expressive equipment of a standard kind intentionally or unwittingly employed by the individual during his performance.” The actions that take place backstage are completely separate from that which the audience can see or hear. **Figure 6.3** displays a summary of this process.



**Figure 6.3: Summary of organisational structures, routines, norms and rituals (Adapted from Wodak (2012:532))**

Taking the above into account, a researcher analysing discourse within a political context would have to ask themselves (Goffman in Wodak, 2012:526):

- How broad or narrow should 'political action' (or 'political language behaviour') be defined? Should the study of the traditional political genres (e.g., speeches, slogans, debates), be restricted or are all everyday actions in some way 'political'?
- What is the role of the political elites? Who determines political issues? What is the role of grassroots movements?

- How do ideologies and belief systems manifest themselves in various genres of political discourse? What is the relationship between media and politics?
- What are the main functions of political discourses? How do power structures relate to decision-making strategies?
- What are the main settings where political practices take place? How do the structures of various organisations and institutions influence political discourses?

These are the main questions highlighted by Goffman (in Wodak, 2012:526). As stated previously, an understanding of both the political ‘backstage’ and ‘frontstage’ is necessary. For this study, the front stage represents the “face value” perception of the discourse surrounding the NDP while the ‘backstage’ refers to the issues (primarily ideological) that are the basis of discourse. “Frontstage messages” are more carefully crafted, while messages in the “backstage” are a more honest depiction of people’s thoughts and feelings. These give a better indication of underlying issues.

In addition to understanding the front and backstage messages produced, Van Dijk (2012:588) suggests that having knowledge of the mental models that exist also carries importance. “Mental models are subjective representations of events or situations in which a person participates at a certain moment of time, at a certain place, with other participants (with variable identities and social roles), engaged in a specific action and with specific goals” (Van Dijk, 2012:588). Knowledge is the basis for people’s interpretation of reality and the way they articulate their experiences. This is how mental models are formed. Sometimes these formations are not completely based on reality. Mental models are also the basis for all studies of discourse, as they relate to how certain events (e.g., conversations, stories or news) are represented (Van Dijk, 2012:588).

Van Dijk (2012:589) highlights the context models that are necessary for discourse analysis. People form semantic situation models of events as a result of using language but, they also unintentionally in the same event create dynamic pragmatic models based on the discourse (Van Dijk, 2012:589). These constitute what are referred to as context models. Understanding these models is important for discourse analysis because they

symbolise the connection people make between different times when discourse takes place and its significance within a certain environmental context. Context models allow language users to acclimatise their discourse to the communicative context, which is a vital condition for the discourse to be correct and applicable (Van Dijk, 2012:589). This is described as the management of knowledge in interaction, because it deals with the use of 'audience design' strategy in which the communicator adapts their message based on the supposed knowledge of participants (Van Dijk, 2012:589).

Context models are also indicative of the mutual intentions of participants. According to Tomasello (in Van Dijk, 2012:589), "recognising the intentions of others is a basic condition of all human interaction". This is seen particularly when communication is used for political reasons – because of the lack of trust the public have for politicians and their rhetoric. To understand another's reasoning, people tend to attribute a politician's action to a particular intention. These inferences cannot be directly made because people cannot read the minds of others. However, they tend to create what is referred to as an implicit 'theory of mind' that allows them to interpret people's intentions by observing their conduct (Van Dijk, 2012:589).

To add to this, rationality is said to be an important part of analysing discourse. Providing reasons for decisions is a universal trait (Olson, 2012:604). This emphasis on rationality is hinged on the Aristotelian concept of logos, which focuses on the importance of a message appealing to the logical part of people's cognition. It applies regardless of whether the political discourse takes place in Parliament or in the media however, political messages conveyed in the media are filtered through the lens of the media. So, understanding the media's role in facilitating political discourse would be applicable.

### **6.3.1 Political discourse in the media**

Discourse in the media refers to the relationships that exist because of interactions on a broadcast platform (O'Keeffe, 2012:441). This can be expressed in spoken, written, or visual forms directed towards a listener, reader or viewer who is not present at the time

when the message is created. Although the message is directed towards the audience, they do not participate in its formulation and cannot comment or make their opinion known instantaneously (O’Keeffe, 2012:441). The use of social media is changing this process because it allows for instantaneous interactions with political stakeholders.

The manufactured nature of media messages increase the necessity for understanding how political messages in the media are formulated and the ideological positions they are based on. The media (newspapers, radio, television, etc.) has become an attractive way of analysing discourse because of its public nature. According to O’Keeffe (2012:441), analysing language used in newspaper articles is often done with scepticism as the analysts see themselves as “policing the subtle manipulation of language to distort reality”. This is indicative of the perception that the media manipulate a message to align with a particular agenda. Therefore a consideration of political rhetoric and its use within print media is an important part of the analysis of discourse. Agenda setting is an example of how the media use their own bias to decide which facets of political discourse are represented.

The principle of agenda setting indicates the level of power the media have in shaping the direction of a political conversation. However, the quantitative assessment of the media’s partiality has primarily been performed by other disciplines, such as content analysis (O’Keeffe, 2012:442). Regardless of this, a researcher performing discourse analysis should be conscious of this bias. O’Keeffe (2012:442) stated that “discourse analysis offers more potential as a framework for the analysis of newspapers and there has been a number of substantial works in this area.” However, discourse analysis cannot be completed without understanding the importance of the ideologies forming the basis of this discourse.

### **6.3.2 Discourse and ideology**

According to Chiapello and Fairclough (2002:187), ideology is defined as a “system of ideas, values and beliefs oriented to explaining a given political order, legitimising existing

hierarchies and power relations and preserving group identities.” Communication by politicians demonstrates that ideologies are negotiated, and power relations influence this process (Bhatia, 2006:174). In modern times politicians have transitioned into media personalities due to what Fairclough (2000:4) referred to as the ‘mediatisation’ of politics and government.

The negotiation of ideologies by political leaders on media platforms has made the field of politics more social than in the past (Bhatia, 2006:174). Ordinary people are, as a result, more comfortable in this generation with engaging on political issues. This has led to ordinary citizens creating a “political-social-identity” (Bhatia, 2006:174). Complex political issues, which were hidden from some stakeholders in the past, are now public knowledge because they are discussed in the media (Bhatia, 2006:174). Due to social media, this has happened at an unprecedented level. This shows the paradoxical interdependent nature of the relationship between the media and politics because they need each other to survive (Bhatia, 2006:174). Regardless of this, a hostile relationship often exists between the two.

The above assertion indicates some of the issues that arise from the impact of power relations on discourse (Blackledge, 2012:617). Another criticism comes from the danger of bias in discourse analysis as it pertains to the researcher using their own ideological positions as a basis for analysis (Widdowson in Blackledge, 2012:617). Discourse analysis analyses how “powerful gatekeepers in society influence social beliefs and values, and shape ideologies, through the standards they set for what is and is not acceptable, therefore revealing the power asymmetry in discourse” (Blackledge, 2012:617). Discourse analysis focuses on communication that is “distorted by power and ideology” in a way that examines how they coexist and are infused into society (Blackledge, 2012:617).

Van Dijk (1995:464) states that South Africa, from an ideological standpoint, is different from other African nations because of racial diversity in the political sphere. This adds an ideological layer to the analysis that may not exist in other contexts. Van Dijk (2011:382)

further asserts that ideologies are comprised not only of ideas, but more of what philosophers and psychologists call 'beliefs'. Beliefs are deeply engrained, and ideologies have to be perceived as belief systems. This reinforces the steadfast nature of ideologies and their perceived importance to the people who hold them. A strong ideology inspires the collective to achieve tasks (Van Riel, 2012:25). When the collective is inspired to participate in the achievement of a goal, they require less supervision and management can focus on implementation (Van Riel, 2012:25).

### **6.3.3 Discourse and power**

The above indicate that understanding ideology requires an understanding of the power relations that create it. This deals with how individuals, of varying influence in society, communicate with one another, as well as the power dynamics that exist in these relationships. It insinuates that the rhetoric and decisions made by people and institutions in more powerful positions have an impact on the actions of the majority. Van Dijk (1995:10) defines this power as “a social relation between groups or institutions, involving the control by a (more) powerful group or institution (and its members) of the actions and the minds of (the members) a less powerful group.” This power is commonly seen to provide privileged access to resources that people place value on, such as force, wealth, income, knowledge, and status (Van Dijk, 1995:10).

This gives more insight into the political power that politicians in South African are perceived to have. However, media power is another important power structure in a democracy like South African, where freedom of speech and freedom of the press are celebrated and encouraged. The power of the media comes from their perceived ability to control and influence the way citizens think of an issue. The previous section indicated that they do not necessarily manipulate the message itself but can choose the kinds of information to focus on. The information is factual, but it may not always paint the full picture. This forms part of agenda setting. They can communicate their message in a persuasive way and influence the direction that a conversation should take. Van Dijk (1995:10) describes media power as “generally symbolic and persuasive” because the

media does not have direct power over people's actions, but it does have a degree of power and influence over how people think about certain issues. The discourse surrounding the NDP is not different. With the rise of social media, this power has been spread to individuals outside traditional media. Therefore social media is an extension of the media's influence to more platforms and individuals. It also gives the layman the opportunity to engage in the conversations. This spreads the power, instead of isolating people from it.

Discourse analysis has never been one single specific theory or methodology (Wodak in Blackledge, 2012:616). According to Titscher, Meyer, Wodak and Vetter (2000:146), the reason for this is that discourse analysis is "concerned with social problems. It is not concerned with language or language use per se, but with the linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures." A researcher therefore has to look beyond the text in order to understand the societal and power issues that shape discourse. Taking this into consideration, Blackledge (2012:617) identified the theoretical positions adopted by discourse analysis:

- It perceives language as a social practice and places an emphasis on the social context as it relates to language. These social practices culminate from economic, political, cultural and familial practices.
- It places importance on the link between language and power and contends that 'the language element' of social research has become more noticeable and significant for people to make sense of what happens in society, particularly when it comes to change (Fairclough, 2003:203).

Based on this, discourse analysis asserts that language is more powerful when it is used by powerful people. The level of influence a person has affects how a message is received. So, the way leaders communicate and the intention behind the message should not be undermined. Discourse analysis is based on the premise that a message is "rarely the work of any one person, but often shows traces of different discourses contending and struggling for dominance" (Weiss & Wodak, 2003:15).



The media's power lies in their ability to facilitate the process of political persuasion, as the intermediaries for transferring political knowledge (Bhatia, 2006:174). Fairclough (1995:80) stated that "discoursal democratisation is of course linked to political democratisation, and to the broad shift from coercion to consent, incorporation and pluralism in the exercise of power. Synthetic personalisation is I think a facet of a concomitant process of the breaking down of divisions between public and private, political society and civil society, as the state and its mechanisms (especially ideological) of generating consent expand into private domains."

The focus that discourse analysis has on power links with the notion that the exercise of power by political figures constitutes a degree of manipulation. This manipulation is described by Van Dijk (2006:359) as the culmination of the following:

- Social power abuse: This constitutes the fact that socially, manipulation is defined as dishonest control that confirms the inequality in society.
- Cognitive mind control: Cognitively, manipulation comprises an intrusion on how people process and understand information within the context of biases they have relating to social symbols of knowledge and ideologies.
- Discursive interaction: Discursively, manipulation deals with the typical customs and presentations of ideological content, which places emphasis on dividing people based on an "us versus them" narrative while placing emphasis on their own positive aspects and the negative aspects of their opponents.

Manipulation is not persuasion. Manipulation is perceived as sinister and deals with the use of power and domination to accomplish a particular aim (Van Dijk, 2006:362). It is therefore important to understand the type of control that individuals and groups exert over others (Van Dijk (2006:362). This control focuses on people's beliefs and indirectly controls people's actions through the manipulation of those beliefs (Van Dijk (2006:362). For this reason, modern political discourse veers away from the use of manipulation and rather focuses on persuasion through language.

## 6.4 SOCIAL SCIENCE CONCEPTS APPLIED TO THIS STUDY

There were several concepts, used in social science research, that assisted in conceptualising the study. **Table 6.3** illustrates the social science research concepts applied to this study. The research concepts look at how this research can be used, the purpose of this research, the methodology followed, and the type of scientific reasoning applied.

| <b>Table 6.3: Social science research concepts applied to this study</b>                 |   |
|--|---|
| <b>Concept</b>   | <b>Description</b>  |
| <b>Uses of research (Neuman in Wagner et al., 2012:8)</b><br><br><b>Applied Research</b> | <p>The purpose of applied research is to decipher social issues and provide solutions. The results can be used in real-world situations. This study, through an analysis of the discourse surrounding the NDP, led to the development of a framework of principles to improve its communication and therefore aid in its implementation.</p>                          |
| <b>Purposes of research (Neuman in Wagner et al., 2012:8)</b><br><br><b>Descriptive</b>  | <p>Descriptive research paints a detailed picture of a social situation or relationship. It addresses 'how' and 'why' questions. This study asks a how question: "How can the discourse surrounding the South African NDP be used to develop a framework of communication principles for government?" Therefore, descriptive research applied best to this study.</p> |

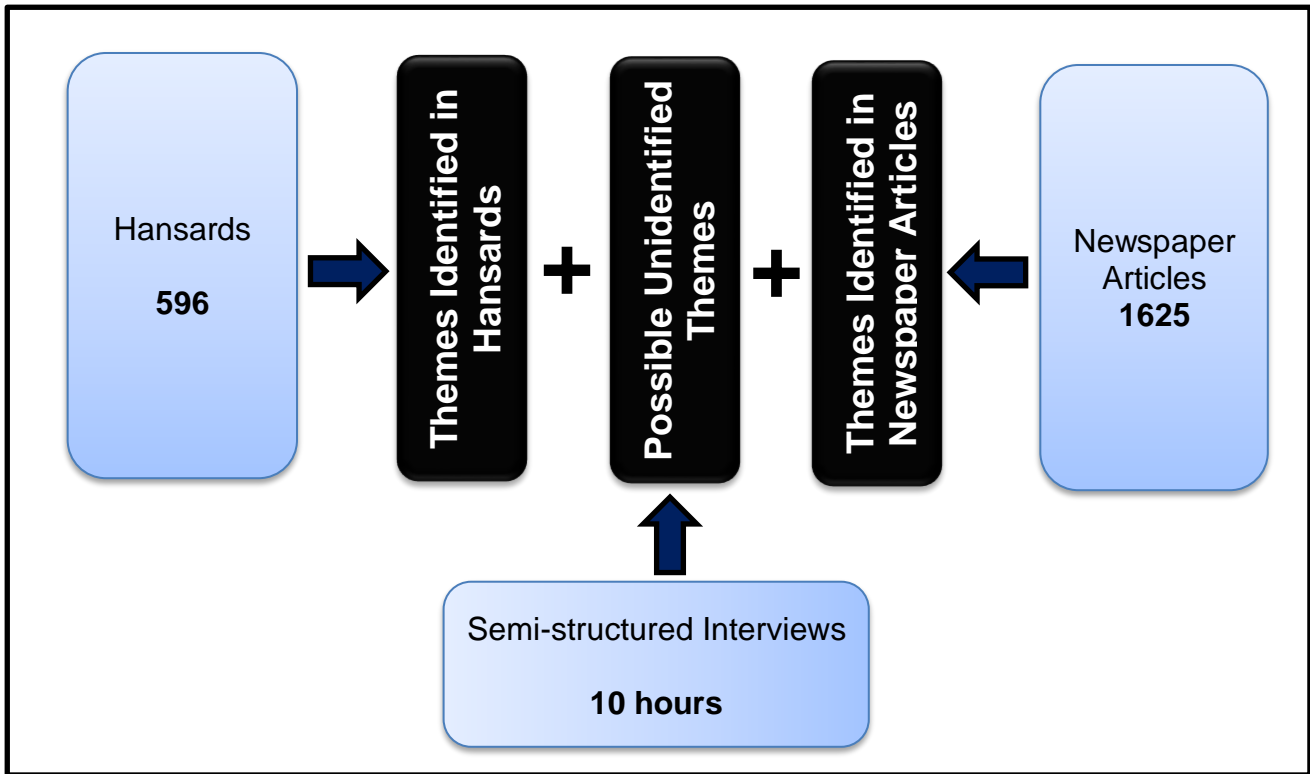
|   |  |
|---|--|
| <p><b>Methodology (Wagner et al., 2012:8)</b></p> <p><b>Qualitative methodology</b></p>                 | <p>This study focused on data expressed in words. Parliament Hansards, media articles and semi-structured interviews were collected and analysed. Qualitative research was selected based on the research questions. It provided the level of depth needed to achieve the objectives. Quantitative research focuses on answering “what” questions, while qualitative research focuses on answering ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions. As stated previously, the overarching research question is, “How can the discourse surrounding the South African NDP be used to develop a framework of communication principles for government?” Based on this, the qualitative approach was selected as the most appropriate.</p> |
| <p><b>Type of scientific reasoning (Mouton in Wagner et al., 2012:8)</b></p> <p><b>Reproductive</b></p> | <p>Reproductive reasoning can be used to clarify people’s actions. To understand the ideological reasons impacting the plan’s implementation, a level of reproductive reasoning was necessary. It assisted in drawing conclusions from the data. The researcher drew conclusions by analysing the political discourse surrounding the NDP. These conclusions were used to develop a framework of principles for communication.</p>   |

**6.5 SAMPLING STRATEGY**

The research question indicates that this study was qualitative in nature. Qualitative research is not rigid (Laher & Botha, 2012:88). Hence, there is no perfect way of

conducting a qualitative study. So, the researcher had to use their discretion to probe and ask the right questions and analyse the data in line with the stipulations for a study of this nature. Even the sample size chosen depended on the researcher's discretion. "In qualitative research we are looking at deep and rich research data collected over time in context" (Laher & Botha, 2012:88). This satisfies the context-sensitive nature of discourse analysis. The researcher analysed three data sets:

- The study began with an analysis of the discourse found in 596 Parliament Hansards dated between 2011 and 2016. These were all the Hansards on the NDP from its inception to December 2016, when the study began.
- Once this was done, the researcher analysed the discourse on the NDP found in 1625 newspaper articles dated between 2011 and 2016. These were all the media articles on the NDP from its inception to December 2016, when the study began.
- Once these two steps were complete and themes were identified in the first two data sets, the researcher decided to conduct semi-structured interviews with politicians and trade unionists. This was to identify any additional themes that were not found in the first two sets of data. The researcher concluded the interviews at the point where data saturation was reached (Laher & Botha, 2012:88) and the researcher perceived that they were no longer receiving new knowledge, information and depth from the data. The data saturation point was reached after 10 hours of interviews. The interviews were conducted in 2017. **Figure 6.4** illustrates how the process was undertaken.



**Figure 6.4: Extraction of themes from data sets**

Non-probability sampling was used for the three data sets. Non-probability sampling deals with “a sample that has not been selected using a random selection method. This implies that some units in the population are more likely to be selected than others” (Bryman et al., 2014:171). Purposive sampling was the non-probability method selected for the three data sets because the sample is selected based on the population’s characteristics and their ability to achieve the objectives of the study (Bryman et al., 2014:186). The participants could not be selected at random because the study demanded that samples fulfil certain requirements. For the interviews the non-probability method of snowball sampling was also integrated. Snowball sampling allows the researcher to contact a small group of people who are relevant to the research and then use these people to establish contact with others (Bryman et al., 2014:179). The researcher used snowballing by working on referrals from individuals who already formed part of the sample and knew people who fulfilled its characteristics.

The researcher was familiar with the characteristics of the sample as well as the different sampling units and used the basic terms and concepts of sampling outlined by Bryman et al. (2014:170):

- Population: This refers to the units from which the sample was selected. For the semi-structured interviews, the sample included individuals who worked for a political party or trade union at the time of the interview. These individuals also had to have knowledge of the NDP and its contents. As discussed in prior chapters, the ANC, DA, and EFF are the three largest political parties in South Africa, and COSATU is the largest trade union. The sample for the semi-structured interviews was taken from this population. For the Parliament Hansards and newspaper articles the sample included all articles and Hansards discussing the NDP between 2011 and 2016.
- Sample: This refers to the section of the population that was studied. For the interviews the sample was South Africans who are part of or work for a political party or trade union. They had to belong to one of the three most influential political parties, or COSATU, which is the largest trade union. These political stakeholders were selected because of their political influence and importance in the plan's implementation. Only the Hansards and newspaper articles discussing the NDP between 2011 and 2016 were analysed. This was to ensure that sufficient data could be derived regarding the NDP's reception within this political context. "Participants should be selected who find the topic relevant and can represent specific occupational or organisational groupings that have an interest in the topic" (Bryman et al.'s, 2014:235).
- Sampling frame: This refers to the listing of the units in the population from which the sample was chosen. The political stakeholders that participated in the semi-structured interviews were the ANC, DA, EFF, and COSATU. The Parliament Hansards were downloaded from the South African Parliament's website, which has a record of all Hansards on the NDP from 2011 to 2016. The newspaper articles on the NDP were accessed from Sabinet, a South African Newspaper database. It provided articles from the following South African Newspapers: Business Day, Cape Argus, Cape Times, Citizen, Citizen Saturday, City Press, Daily Dispatch,

Daily News, Daily Sun, Diamond Fields Advertiser, Financial Mail, Mail and Guardian, Pretoria News, Pretoria News Weekend, Saturday Argus, Saturday Dispatch, Saturday Independent, Saturday Star, Sowetan, Star, Sunday Argus, Sunday Independent, Sunday Sun, Sunday Times and Time, Sunday Tribune, Sunday World, The EP Herald, The New Age, Weekend Post, Weekend Witness, and Natal Witness.

- Non-probability sample: This is a sample that has not been selected randomly. The characteristics of the sample were clearly defined in this study because it focuses on people who work for political parties and trade unions and play a role implementing government policy. Therefore certain units of the population were more likely to be selected than others. This was demonstrated by the fact that people who were members of (or working for) political parties and trade unions were selected to participate in the semi-structured interviews. Only, newspaper articles and Parliament Hansards on the NDP were selected for the study.
- Non-response: This is a form of non-sampling error that happens when certain members of the sample refuse to participate in the study or cannot be contacted. Non-response only applied to the semi-structured interviews. In this case, the researcher focused on finding other individuals within the political parties who fit the criteria. Snowball sampling also assisted with finding other individuals to participate in the study, in case of non-response.

A biased sample does not represent the population that the sample was taken from. The above reduced the possibility of bias.

The newspaper articles and Parliament Hansards were identified in a similar way to the people being interviewed – non-probability purposive sampling. As stated, purposive sampling is a non-probability form of sampling where data (in this case newspaper articles and Parliament Hansards) are not selected on a random basis (Bryman et al., 2014:186). All the newspaper articles from major South African papers and Parliament Hansards that discussed the NDP from 2011 to 2016 were included.

According to Coyne (1996:623), sampling in qualitative research is a multifaceted, complicated subject because there are discrepancies in the way it is described in various literature. Hence, researchers often misunderstand the ways of conducting sampling correctly. This is usually because of lack of shared meaning between the researcher and the respondents (Coyne, 1996:623). To remedy this, the researcher pretested the interview questions and conducted a pilot study.

The researcher found two participants willing to participate in the pilot study. These stakeholders were from the United Democratic Movement (UDM) and the Freedom Front (FF). These are the sixth (1%) and seventh (0.9%) most popular political parties in South Africa, respectively (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2014). The participants commented on each question in the interview schedule and advised the researcher on how the questions could be restructured to ensure understanding. Once the questions were adjusted accordingly, the two participants were interviewed. The interviews were transcribed and given to two of the researcher's colleagues from the University of Porto, Portugal. The researcher participated in a 6-month PhD exchange programme at the University of Porto in 2017 and worked with two colleagues (PhD candidates) who coded the data.

The same process applied to the Parliament Hansards and newspaper articles. Six media articles (one from each year of analysis) and six Parliament Hansards (one from each year of analysis) were analysed by two of the researcher's colleagues. They then performed the analyses. This process allowed the researcher to ascertain that their coding rules created consistency in the analysis.

## **6.6 DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS**

Before the data collection instrument is developed, it is imperative to have clarity about the research question and intended goals Eiselen and Uys (2005:3). Eiselen and Uys (2005:3) further stated that a well-defined research question and clearly defined goals for an intended study is the first step towards ensuring that only relevant questions are asked:



Each question should thus be directly linked to the research question(s) (Eiselen & Uys, 2005:4). As stated before, the qualitative nature of this study advocates for a focus on research questions, and not research objectives. The research sub-questions are:

- What is the political discourse surrounding the NDP?
- What are the underlying issues causing the contestation of the NDP?
- How does communication facilitate the implementation of the NDP?
- Who are the key stakeholders in the discourse on the NDP?

Answering these questions led to the development of a suggested framework of communication principles to facilitate the implementation of the NDP.

The data collection instruments aimed to achieve the research objectives. **Figure 6.5** provides an example of the data collection instrument for the Parliament Hansards. This instrument indicated the following:

1. Code: Each statement relevant to the NDP was given a unique code. These codes were numbered chronologically. For instance, the Hansard codes were numbered H01, H02, H03, etc.
2. Statement: Here, the researcher captured each statement relevant to the NDP.
3. Speaker: Researcher makes note of Parliamentary Speaker.
4. Context: In line with discourse analysis, the context in which the discussion is taking place is noted.
5. Stakeholders: The stakeholders mentioned are noted.
6. Concepts: The overall concepts identified in each statement are noted. These developed into the themes used for the thematic and summative content analysis.

| Code | Statement | Speaker | Context | Stakeholders | Concepts |
|------|-----------|---------|---------|--------------|----------|
| H01  | XXX       | XXX     | XXX     | XXX          | XXX      |

**Figure 6.5: Example of data collection instrument for Parliament Hansards**

**Figure 6.6** provides an example of the data collection instrument for the newspaper articles. This instrument indicated the following:

1. Code: Each statement relevant to the NDP was given a unique code. These codes were numbered chronologically. For instance, the newspaper article codes were numbered N01, N02, N03, etc.
2. Statement: Here, the researcher captured each statement relevant to the NDP.
3. Author: Researcher made note of the article’s author.
4. Context: In line with discourse analysis, the context in which the discussion is taking place is noted.
5. Stakeholders: The stakeholders mentioned are noted.
6. Concepts: The overall concepts identified in each statement are noted. These developed into the themes used for the thematic and summative content analysis.

| Code | Statement | Speaker | Context | Stakeholders | Concepts |
|------|-----------|---------|---------|--------------|----------|
| N01  | XXX       | XXX     | XXX     | XXX          | XXX      |

**Figure 6.6: Example of data collection instrument for newspaper articles**

An example of the questions used in the interviews can be found in **Table 6.3**. Bryman et al. (2014:228) stated that an interview guide is less specific than a structured interview schedule. Interview guide format allowed the researcher to ask more questions and gain insight. As stated previously, one of the benefits of a semi-structured interviews is that they allow the conversation between the interviewer and the respondent to evolve depending on the answers provided. Bryman et al. (2014:228) support this by stating that “it is also a mistake to think that qualitative research is so unstructured that the researcher cannot at least specify a research focus. Over time, order and structure should emerge around your research question(s) and will form the basis for your interview guide.” In this case, the researcher chose to use the research questions as the basis for the selection of

questions for the interview guide. Furthermore, more questions were added to the interview guide as the researcher probed the respondents' answers.

| <b>Table 6.3: Link between research question and data collection instrument for semi-structured interviews</b> |   |
|--|---|
| <b>RESEARCH QUESTIONS</b>  | <b>QUESTIONS</b>  |
| <b>What is the political discourse surrounding the NDP?</b>  | 1. What does the NDP mean and represent to you?<br>2. What are some of the political conversations surrounding the NDP?<br>3. Do you think the NDP is sufficiently communicated in political circles?<br>4. In what context is the plan usually communicated?<br>5. What's your opinion of government's current communication strategies? |
| <b>What are the underlying issues causing the contestation of the NDP?</b>                                     | 6. Do you agree with the document itself?<br>7. What do you think are the underlying issues causing the contestation of the NDP?<br>8. How can these issues be addressed?   |
| <b>How does communication facilitate the implementation of the NDP?</b>  | 11. How should government communicate the National Development Plan?<br>12. What do you think is the role of communication in implementing the NDP?   |
| <b>Who are the key stakeholders in the discourse on the NDP?</b>   | 9. Who are the key political actors needed for the communication of the NDP?<br>10. How can these individuals and organisations work better at communicating the NDP?   |

Once the interviews were concluded, the researcher followed Bryman et al.'s (2014:228) stipulation that the interviewer should conclude by making summaries of how the interview went, its location, any feelings they had about it and whether it opened new areas of interest.

## 6.7 DATA COLLECTION PROCESS

Qualitative data collection methods are collaborative, progressive and allow for developing issues to be discussed and explored; which usually involves close interaction between the researcher and the sample. Political discourse surrounding the NDP applies in this regard because this is a developing issue. Researching it required intensive analysis of the data, within its context.

For this study, the researcher analysed Parliament Hansards and newspaper articles on the NDP. Additionally, data was collected from semi-structured interviews on the NDP and the political discourse surrounding the document. All newspaper articles and Parliament Hansards discussing the NDP between January 2011 and December 2016 were analysed. The NDP was released to the public in 2011 and the researcher began the study in 2016, hence the timeline. The Hansards were retrieved from the South African Parliament website – [www.Parliament.gov.za](http://www.Parliament.gov.za). The newspaper articles were accessed using Sabinet ([www.sabinet.co.za](http://www.sabinet.co.za)) which is an online reference platform that stores and provides access to newspaper articles. The researcher accessed these from the University of Pretoria's library website. Once the themes were identified in the Hansards and newspaper articles, the researcher conducted the semi-structured interviews in 2017 to identify further themes that were potentially not identified in the Hansard and newspaper article analyses.

According to Morse and Field (1996:72), when conducting an interview (whether structured or unstructured) the interviewer should not behave like a talk show host and inundate the respondents with questions. This could lead the respondent to being guarded and unresponsive. To remedy this, the researcher created a casual and relaxed environment for the respondents. Also, they were interviewed in environments that were comfortable and familiar to them (i.e. their work environment). This gave respondents the impression that they had control over the situation (Morse & Field, 1996:72), and allowed them to be more forthcoming with information. Also, the researcher gave interviewees a

degree of freedom with regard to the direction the conversation took and ensured that the environment is not rigid and questions overly structured.

Semi-structured interviews are used when the researcher knows most of the questions to ask but cannot foresee the responses (Morse & Field, 1996:76). This was a good technique because it ensured that the researcher received the required information while allowing the respondents to answer with sufficient detail (Morse & Field, 1996:76). The researcher developed a semi-structured open-ended interview schedule with questions that guided the conversation and assisted in achieving the research objectives. This qualitative data collection process:

- Helped the researcher understand themes and patterns in the data
- Assisted the researcher in interpreting and understanding the social construction of meaning in a natural setting
- Allowed the respondents to better explain their thoughts and perceptions of the subject
- Accommodated the complexity and multiple realities experienced by the respondents
- Allowed the researcher to function as a data collection instrument – as they observed, recorded, and coded the data
- Generated a report of findings that included expressive language
- Allowed designs to emerge during the study

The researcher followed Nieuwenhuis and Smit's (2012:133) guidelines during the interview process. These were adhered to in the following ways (Nieuwenhuis & Smit, 2012:133-134):

- The researcher refrained from asking questions to which the participants could give “yes” or “no” answers that provided little detail.
- The researcher refrained from asking questions that insinuated a preferred response (leading questions).
- The researcher refrained from asking lengthy, complicated questions by shortening and simplifying them.

- The interviews were timed to ensure that the researcher did not take too much of the interviewees' time. Each interview lasted no more than 60 minutes. The researcher also reduced the time spent on interviews by avoiding asking questions that did not achieve the objectives of the study.
- The researcher listened carefully to the responses in order to probe appropriately and correct inconsistencies or misunderstandings.
- The researcher probed into the respondent's opinions on the political discourse surrounding the NDP by asking the following questions:
  - What do you think of that?
  - Why do you believe that?
- The researcher clarified the respondent's stance on certain issues by asking the following:
  - What do you mean by that?
  - Can you say a little more about that?
  - Can you give me more examples?
- The researcher also probed for alternative responses by posing alternatives to their stance on the issue. This was done by asking the following:
  - Could one also say...?
- The researcher asked for more information when needed, by posing the following questions:
  - Can you give me an example?
  - Can you tell me more about...?
  - What about...?
  - Does that apply to...?
- The researcher summarised some of the responses and prompted for collaboration in clarifying the information by posing the following questions:
  - So, is what you're saying...?
  - Would it be correct to say...?

The above guidance assisted with driving the conversation and increased the richness of data. Also, this data collection technique enabled the researcher to “probe and explore

deeper and to collaborate data emerging from other data sources (triangulation)” (Nieuwenhuis & Smit, 2012:134). This culminated in 10 interview hours (when the data saturation point was reached). The purpose of the interviews was to identify additional themes, not identified in the Hansards and newspaper articles. Therefore 10 hours sufficed.

## **6.8 DATA ANALYSIS TECHNIQUES**

Three data sets were analysed:

- Semi-structured interviews with politicians and trade unionists
- Newspaper articles on the NDP (2011 – 2016)
- Parliament Hansards on the NDP (2011 – 2016)

The audio from the semi-structured interviews was recorded and transcribed. The statements on the NDP (from the Hansards and newspaper articles) were captured in an Excel spreadsheet. These followed the format indicated by **Figure 6.5** and **6.6**. All data sets were analysed to identify the concepts. The researcher also monitored the frequency at which certain concepts arose. These concepts were the basis for the final themes discussed in the findings of this thesis. The context of the data was captured, which fulfilled the requirements of discourse analysis. In line with Loveland and Loveland’s (in Bryman et al., 2014:231) stipulations, the researcher did not leave the analysis of the data from the interviews until all the interviews were completed and transcribed. This promoted awareness of themes as they emerged.

The decision to use discourse analysis stemmed from the study’s inductive research approach. Deductive research is more common in quantitative studies, as it takes theory and uses it as a basis for developing findings (Bryman et al., 2014:9). Inductive research is more common in qualitative studies, like this one, and focuses on theory as an outcome of research (Bryman et al., 2014:11). The deductive approach, which is more linear, did not fall in line with this study because the researcher did not go about completing the phases of the study in a chronological manner. However, induction does include some

deductive elements and vice versa (Bryman et al., 2014:11). Therefore theory played an important role in providing background for the study and the analysis of data.

One of the challenges of using the inductive approach is that the theory is derived from the data collected (Bryman et al., 2014:97). Clearly defining the area of study prior to data collection was challenging. The study's interpretivist nature remedied this by giving the researcher the ability to change their views on theory and literature throughout the data analysis process, therefore granting more flexibility (Bryman et al., 2014:98). The inductive approach allowed for the description and exploration of the political discourse surrounding the NDP. Aside from the researcher's own analysis, Leximancer software was used to ensure that concepts and themes were not overlooked. This increased the thoroughness and accuracy of the analysis. Leximancer software automatically analyses text documents to identify the high-level concepts, delivering the key ideas and actionable insights needed with interactive visualisations and data exports (Leximancer, 2018). The identified themes were then described using the discourse analysis performed by the researcher. The actual statements identified during the researcher's analysis were then linked to the themes identified by the Leximancer software.

The software's interactive visualisations provided network diagrams that assisted with understanding the relationships between themes (Leximancer, 2018). Bryman et al. (2014: 340) describe network diagrams as a method to show the multifaceted interrelationships between the main variables that are identified through the analysis process. These network diagrams are depicted throughout the findings of the thesis because "they give us the kinds of holistic narratives that tend to get chopped up analytically in matrices" (Bryman et al., 2014:340).

In summary, the researcher adhered to Bryman et al.'s (2014:31) perspective on qualitative research and kept this as a central theme throughout the study:

- Emphasis was placed on words rather than on quantification in the data collection and analysis process.



- An inductive approach to the study was selected because the focus was more on generating theory from the analysis of the available data.
- The natural science model as well as positivism was rejected for this study in order to ensure that emphasis was placed on the importance of understanding the way individuals interpret the world around them.
- Social reality was perceived as something that is always changing and developing through the eyes of the people participating in creating that reality.

As stated previously, thematic and summative content analysis were used to complete the discourse analysis process. To adhere to this, the researcher did the following (Braun & Clarke in Bryman et al., 2014:351):

1. The researcher familiarised themselves with the data by transcribing the interviews. The three data sets were read more than once. The researcher took note of the initial impression given by the data.
2. This led to the generation of initial concepts which highlighted the interesting features of the data in a logical way across the data sets.
3. The researcher then looked for themes within the data by organising concepts into potential themes and allotting the data to the relevant themes.
4. Once this was done, the researcher reviewed the themes by checking if they aligned with the coded extracts as well as the entire data set.
5. The themes were then defined and named through the researcher refining the specifics of each theme and the overall story the analysis revealed. The researcher adapted this to the study by defining the individual themes.
6. Finally, the researcher produced a report of the data by choosing clear examples and a final analysis of the data that related back to the research questions.

Coding infers that the coded data will not be shown in its original form but will be interpreted and represented by the researcher (Bryman et al., 2014:336). If the rules are not thoroughly defined, the variation in the observations will not be a true reflection of the data (Bryman et al., 2014:217). This variability can come from two places (Bryman et al., 2014:217):

- Intra-coder variability: This happens when the coder does not apply the rules for assigning answers to categories consistently.
- Inter-coder variability: This happens when different coders apply different rules when assigning answers to categories.

The researcher dealt with both inter- and intra-coder variability by including two other researchers in the process of validating the codes. This was discussed in the previous section.

## 6.9 LIMITATIONS

All research encounters limitations. **Table 6.4** indicates the limitations encountered in this study.

| <b>Table 6.4: Research limitations and solutions</b> |   |
|--|---|
| <b>Limitations</b>                                   | <b>Explanation</b>  |
| <b>Available and/or reliable data</b>                | The NDP has not yet been fully implemented. Therefore, no previous studies of this nature can be referred to. The researcher had analyse three sets of data. No secondary data was available for this study. The researcher conducted their own interviews and received documents from only verified sources (e.g. Parliament and Sabinet). |
| <b>Respondent bias</b>                               | Bias could not be completely overcome but the researcher pretested the interview schedule to ensure that respondents understood the questions as intended. The researcher also probed into responses that seemed biased or contradictory.   |
| <b>Generalisability of findings</b>                  | This study focused on political discourse on the NDP. The findings may not necessarily be   |

|  |   |
|--|---|
|  | <p>generalisable, but the methodology is clear enough that the same principles could be applied to different contexts and receive similar findings.</p> |
|--|---|

Addressing these limitations also aided in the researcher being able to increase the quality and rigour of the research design.

**6.10 TECHNIQUES TO ENSURE RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY**

Social science research is different from natural science research because the variables being measured are intangible (Mentz & Botha, 2012:80). For instance, the focus of this study was on determining how political stakeholders perceive the NDP, by analysing the discourse surrounding it. The intangibility of these variables may bring the preciseness of the measurement techniques into question. The researcher used techniques of reliability and validity to increase the quality of the measurement and analysis tools (Mentz & Botha, 2012:80). Reliability deals with consistency and uniformity and is concerned with the repeatability for the study (Bryman, 2014:24). To ensure that the study could be repeated or replicated, the researcher stipulated the steps followed in the research process. Also, for the interviews, the same pretested instrument was used with each respondent.

Validity deals with whether or not the researcher and the data collection instruments and techniques are measuring what they are expected to. The researcher applied this to the three data sets by ensuring that the measurement techniques focused on achieving the research questions.

Interviews cannot be administered with complete reliability every time. External factors that the researcher has not control over (wellbeing, disposition, their recollection, their environment, etc.) will often impact on the reliability of the data collection process in some way (Mentz & Botha, 2012:81). The researcher dealt with this by applying Mentz and Botha’s (2012:81) techniques:

- Inter-rater reliability: This is used to determine how similar the responses of different individuals are regarding a particular phenomenon. The more similar the responses are, the higher the inter-rater reliability.
- Parallel-forms reliability: This was used to “assess how consistently the same group of people respond to two different measures that are designed to measure the same construct” (Mentz & Botha, 2012:81). One way that the researcher applied this was by repeating questions using different words and terms. Similarities between responses to related questions indicated a high parallel-forms reliability.
- Internal consistency reliability: This measures the degree to which the questions in the data collection instrument measure the same concept reliably. This is similar to parallel-forms reliability. The researcher applied this by analysing the way respondents answered similar questions. The researcher also checked the questions to ensure that they were linked to the study’s main research questions.

Additionally, the human rights of respondents were respected at all times. The decision to take part in the interviews remained the choice of the respondent. The respondents were given the option to withdraw from the study at any time and were not coerced into providing information.

## **6.11 RESEARCH ETHICS**

The researcher considered the ethical issues Saunders et al. (2009:185-186), stipulated:

- Privacy of possible and actual participants;
- Voluntary nature of participation and the right to withdraw partially or completely from the process;
- Consent and deception of participants;
- Maintenance of the confidentiality of data provided by individuals or identifiable participants and their anonymity;
- Reactions of participants to the way in which the researcher sought to collect data, including embarrassment;

- Whether the participants are stressed, uncomfortable, experiencing pain or harm;
- Effects of the way in which the researcher uses, analyses and reports participant data;
- Behaviour and objectivity of the researcher.

To ensure that the research was conducted ethically, the researcher ascertains that:

- No copyright was infringed upon
- Plagiarism was avoided
- All respondents participated voluntarily and had the right to withdraw from the study at any point without negative consequences
- The researcher did not use financial/nonfinancial incentives to encourage participation
- Physical or psychological harm to participants was avoided
- Informed consent was received
- Participants were not deceived
- Confidentiality and privacy of respondents was upheld
- The anonymity of respondents was insured
- Permission from participating organisations was received before data collection commenced
- The data was archived and stored electronically
- The researcher-maintained objectivity, honesty and integrity
- No fabrication or falsification of data took place
- No misleading or false reporting was included in the findings

Respondents filled in an informed consent form to protect their rights and privacy.

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# CHAPTER 7

## DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

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In this chapter the findings are discussed in relation to the research questions.

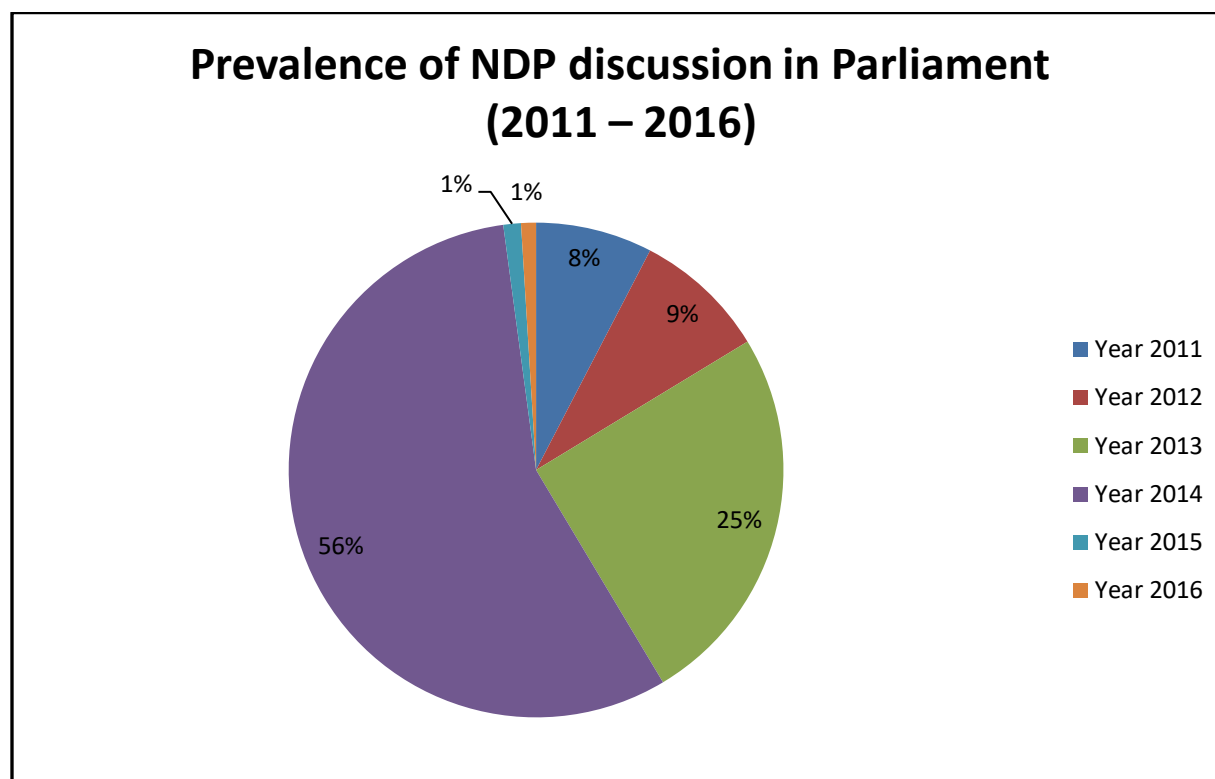
Based on the Hansard analysis, the NDP was discussed 596 times in Parliament between 2011 and 2016. The following can be determined regarding the number of times the NDP was discussed over the years:

- 8% (48 times) of discussions on the NDP took place in 2011
- 9% (54 times) of discussions on the NDP took place in 2012
- 25% (149 times) of discussions on the NDP took place in 2013
- 56% (333 times) of discussions on the NDP took place in 2014
- 1% (6 times) of discussions on the NDP took place in 2015
- 1% (6 times) of discussions on the NDP took place in 2016

The above can also be seen in **Figure 7.1**.

Based on this, relative to the overall discussion pertaining to the NDP in Parliament, it was most-discussed in 2014 (56.5%). A dramatic decrease in the discussion of the NDP took place in Parliament in 2015 and 2016. This has since dropped to 1%. This indicates a decrease in the perceived importance and applicability of the NDP agenda in political circles and amongst the political leaders responsible for its implementation. The discussion of the NDP in Parliament when it was initially launched in 2011 started at 8%. There was a slight increase in the following year (9%), which increased dramatically in 2013 (25%) and 2014 (56%). This indicates an increase in the focus on the NDP during that time period. This decreased to 1% in 2015 and 2016, which indicate a large decrease in this sentiment. The further implications of this data as well as a detailed break-down of

the fluctuations in NDP discourse taking place will be discussed in more detail in the subsequent section.



**Figure 7.1: NDP Parliament discussion prevalence over the years**

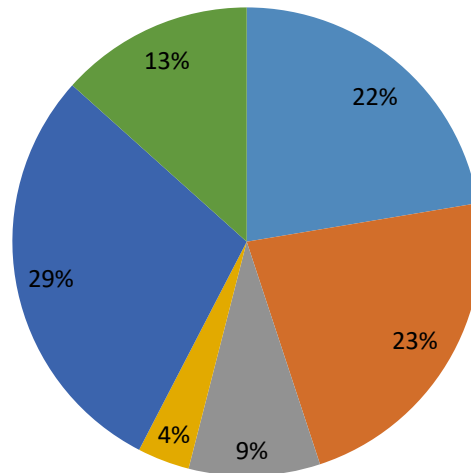
The NDP was discussed 1625 times in newspapers between 2011 and 2016. The following can be determined regarding the extent to which the NDP was discussed over the years:

- 22% (358 times) of discussions on the NDP took place in 2011
- 23% (374 times) of discussions on the NDP took place in 2012
- 9% (146 times) of discussions on the NDP took place in 2013
- 4% (65 times) of discussions on the NDP took place in 2014
- 29% (471 times) of discussions on the NDP took place in 2015
- 13% (211 times) of discussions on the NDP took place in 2016

This is depicted in **Figure 7.2** on the NDP discussion taking place in newspapers.

## Prevalence of NDP discussion in newspapers (2011 - 2016)

■ 2011 ■ 2012 ■ 2013 ■ 2014 ■ 2015 ■ 2016



**Figure 7.2: NDP newspaper discussion prevalence over the years**

The NDP was most-discussed in the newspapers in 2015 (29%). It was least-discussed in the newspapers in the preceding year (2014), which indicates a 4% discussion rate. The discussion on the NDP in newspaper media remained relatively prevalent since 2011. The discussion when it was initially launched in 2011 started at 22%. There was a slight increase in the following year (23%). This decreased dramatically in 2013 (9%) and further decreased in 2014 (4%), which indicates a decrease in the focus on the NDP and its perceived importance as a tool for economic and social development during that period. This increased to 29% in 2015 and decreased to 13% in 2016. Although it decreased in 2016, the data indicate that the NDP is an increasingly important discussion point in the media space – more so than it is in Parliament. This is depicted in **Table 7.1**.



| Table 7.1: Comparison of NDP discussion in Parliament and newspapers (2011 – 2016) |      |      |      |      |      |      |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Year   | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | 2016 |
| Hansard  | 8%   | 9%   | 25%  | 56%  | 1%   | 1%   |
| Newspapers   | 22%  | 23%  | 9%   | 4%   | 29%  | 13%  |

Table 7.1 and Figure 7.3 give an indication of the extent to which the NDP was discussed in Parliament (Hansard) compared to the discussion in the media (newspapers). A comparison is drawn between the two platforms.

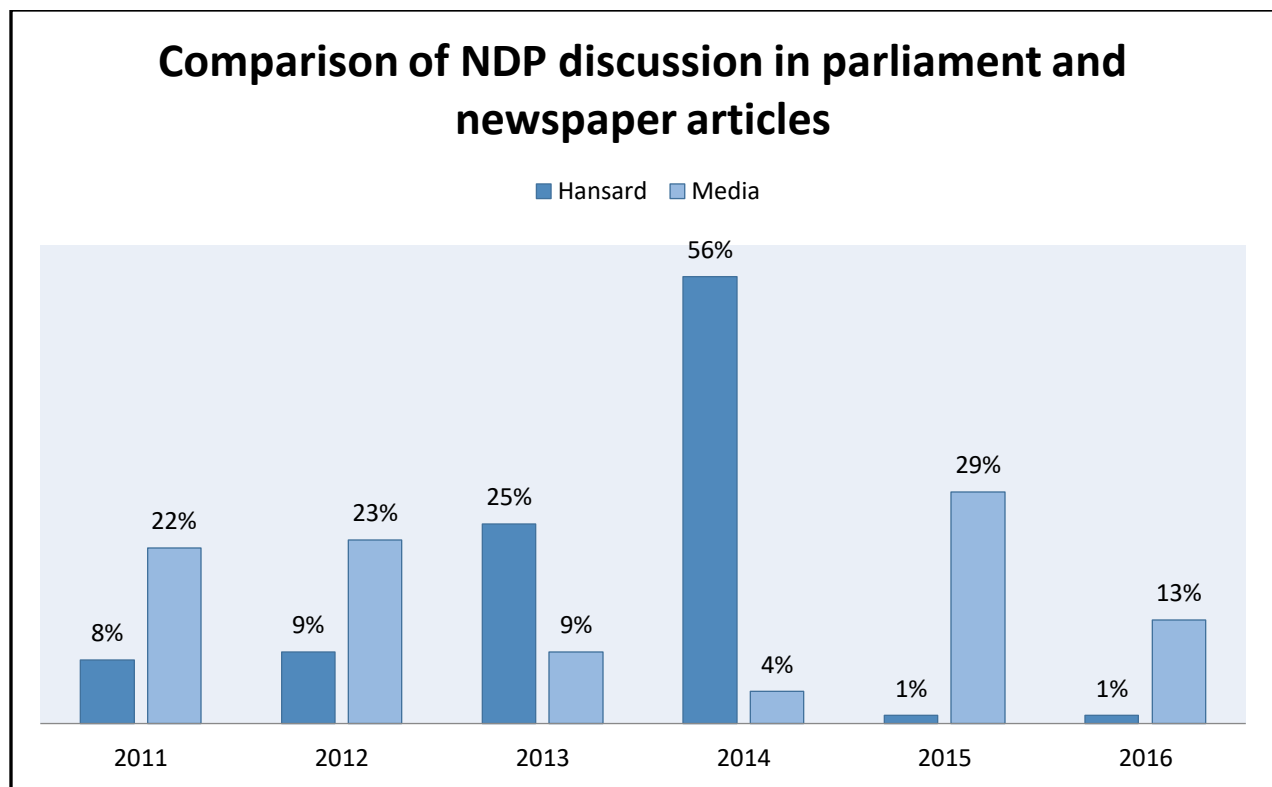


Figure 7.3: Comparison of NDP discussion in Parliament and newspapers (2011 - 2016)

The comparison between Parliament and the media indicates discrepancies in the perceived importance of the NDP on these two platforms, since the document was released. This shows that in 2011 it was discussed significantly more in the media (22%) than in Parliament (8%), regardless of the fact that political parties are expected to participate in and lead the implementation of the plan. In 2012, similar data is seen. Yet

again the NDP is discussed significantly more in the media (23%) than in Parliament (9%). The focus on the NDP conversation changed in 2013. In 2013 the Parliament discussion increased to 25% and the media discussion remained unchanged at 9%. The NDP discussion in Parliament further increased to 56% and decreased to 4% in the media in 2014. This indicates a 52% difference in the discussion rate. This changed drastically in 2015 because the focus on the NDP became more prevalent in newspaper articles than in Parliament. The NDP discussion in 2015 dropped to 1% in Parliament and increased to 29% in the media. The conversation in Parliament remained unchanged in 2016 and decreased to 13% in newspapers. This data is not to indicate the number of times the NDP is discussed on both platforms, but rather to indicate the increase or decline of the conversation on the NDP, relative to the platform.

As explained in the methodology section, in addition to a Leximancer analysis that identified some of the main concepts, the researcher performed a manual thematic and content analysis. This, in addition to the theory, achieved the goal of discourse analysis. The themes identified by the researcher will be discussed in the next section.

## **7.1 OVERVIEW OF CONCEPTS AND THEMES IDENTIFIED**

Several concepts were identified in the three data sets. The concepts identified in the Parliament Hansards and media articles are as follows: “active citizenry”, “Marikana”, “Nkandla”, “Gupta”, “protest”, “electricity”, “funding”, “religion”, “Phakisa”, “water”, “fracking”, “party conflict”, “politics”, “state dependence”, “minerals and energy”, “diagnostic”, “champion”, “MDG”, “health”, “sport”, “land reform”, “trade unions”, “transport”, “agriculture”, “nation-building”, “story”, “democracy”, “government relations”, “tourism”, “entrepreneurship”, “crime”, “poverty”, “mistake acknowledgement”, “document length”, “ignorance”, “youth”, “sustainability”, “action”, “trust”, “engagement”, “ideology”, “evolution”, “state capability”, “strategy”, “1994”, “cadre deployment”, “political will”, “macro and micro”, “measurable”, “#FeesMustFall”, “equality”, “unity”, “SOE”, “education”, “private sector”, “communication”, “corruption”, “economy”, “champion”, “term”, “national objectives”, “confusion”, “clear direction”, “Freedom Charter”, “The Constitution”, “RDP

houses”, “transformation”, “employment”, “alignment and integration”, “accountability”, “President”, “NPC”, “consultation”, “women”, “disabilities”, “practical”, “apartheid”, “Mandela”, “inclusive”, “electricity”, “transport”, “vision”, “jargon”, “expertise”, “new beginnings”, “hope and confidence”, “support”, “consistency”, “opposition”, “promise”, “enthusiasm”, “decent work”, “leadership”, “realistic”, “implementation”, “monitoring”, “social cohesion”, “policy”, “grassroots”, “responsibility”, “commitment”, “Mangaung”, and “transparent”.

In addition to the concepts identified by the researcher, Leximancer was used to identify the following additional concepts: “address”, “alliance”, “ANC”, “beneficiaries”, “business”, “challenges”, “conference”, “COSATU”, “DA”, “department”, “development”, “document”, “economic”, “education”, “future”, “government”, “growth”, “houses”, “implementation”, “important”, “inequality”, “infrastructure”, “investment”, “jobs”, “labour”, “land”, “leadership”, “nation”, “National Planning Commission”, “NDP”, “need”, “New Growth Path”, “party”, “people”, “plan”, “policy”, “political”, “poverty”, “power”, “President”, “private”, “projects”, “public”, “RDP”, “report”, “sector”, “service”, “settlements”, “social”, “society”, “South Africa”, “support”, “system”, “time”, “vision”, “youth” and “Zuma”.

Leximancer produced the below table (**Table 7.2**), which indicates the number of times each concept identified, by the software, was discussed in relation to the NDP.

| <b>Table 7.2: Prevalence of Leximancer concepts in Hansards and media analysis</b> |  |  |
|--|--|--|
| <b>Concept</b>   | <b>Number of times found in Hansards</b> | <b>Number of times found in media analysis</b> |
| <b>Address</b>   | 199                                      | 147  |
| <b>Alliance</b>  | 0  | 108  |
| <b>ANC</b>   | 288                                      | 307  |
| <b>Beneficiaries</b>   | 718                                      | 0  |
| <b>Business</b>  | 0  | 208  |
| <b>Challenges</b>  | 0  | 168  |
| <b>Conference</b>  | 0  | 114  |
| <b>COSATU</b>  | 0  | 160  |
| <b>DA</b>  | 108                                      | 0  |

|                                     |      |     |
|-------------------------------------|------|-----|
| <b>Department</b>                   | 2904 | 0   |
| <b>Development</b>                  | 419  | 387 |
| <b>Document</b>                     | 0    | 124 |
| <b>Economic</b>                     | 694  | 732 |
| <b>Education</b>                    | 0    | 219 |
| <b>Future</b>                       | 0    | 119 |
| <b>Government</b>                   | 2178 | 698 |
| <b>Growth</b>                       | 341  | 351 |
| <b>Houses</b>                       | 852  | 0   |
| <b>Implementation</b>               | 0    | 231 |
| <b>Important</b>                    | 0    | 95  |
| <b>Inequality</b>                   | 0    | 284 |
| <b>Infrastructure</b>               | 179  | 136 |
| <b>Investment</b>                   | 121  | 95  |
| <b>Jobs</b>                         | 267  | 562 |
| <b>Labour</b>                       | 0    | 214 |
| <b>Land</b>                         | 98   | 0   |
| <b>Leadership</b>                   | 0    | 261 |
| <b>Nation</b>                       | 332  | 423 |
| <b>National Planning Commission</b> | 192  | 329 |
| <b>Need</b>                         | 258  | 348 |
| <b>New Growth Path</b>              | 378  | 0   |
| <b>Party</b>                        | 0    | 116 |
| <b>People</b>                       | 0    | 217 |
| <b>Plan</b>                         | 261  | 834 |
| <b>Policy</b>                       | 235  | 442 |
| <b>Political</b>                    | 0    | 185 |
| <b>Poverty</b>                      | 222  | 285 |
| <b>Power</b>                        | 0    | 91  |
| <b>President</b>                    | 118  | 115 |
| <b>Private</b>                      | 0    | 142 |
| <b>Projects</b>                     | 804  | 0   |
| <b>Public</b>                       | 804  | 222 |
| <b>RDP</b>                          | 86   | 0   |
| <b>Report</b>                       | 0    | 100 |
| <b>Sector</b>                       | 0    | 198 |
| <b>Service</b>                      | 0    | 113 |
| <b>Settlements</b>                  | 883  | 0   |
| <b>Social</b>                       | 0    | 141 |

|                       |     |      |
|-----------------------|-----|------|
| <b>Society</b>        | 0   | 169  |
| <b>South Africa</b>   | 320 | 1036 |
| <b>South Africans</b> | 0   | 120  |
| <b>Support</b>        | 201 | 142  |
| <b>System</b>         | 99  | 0    |
| <b>Time</b>           | 0   | 125  |
| <b>Vision</b>         | 0   | 212  |
| <b>Youth</b>          | 0   | 99   |
| <b>Zuma</b>           | 0   | 158  |

Based on the Leximancer analysis, the more a concept is discussed, the higher its prevalence and the greater its importance. The concepts discussed in the newspaper articles were compared to the concepts discussed in the Parliament Hansards to determine which concepts are more prevalent on each platform. This indicates the extent to which issues discussed in Parliament translate to media platforms and, in turn, are communicated to important stakeholders for the plan's implementation. There were several concepts identified in the media articles, namely: "alliance", "business", "challenges", "conference", "COSATU", "document", "education", "future", "implementation", "important", "inequality", "labour", "leadership", "party", "people", "political", "power", "private", "report", "sector", "service", "social", "society", "South Africa", "South Africans", "time", "vision", "youth" and "Zuma". This shows a discrepancy in what government and the media place importance on. It also gives an indication of the types of language used between the two platforms.

Several of the concepts discussed in Parliament were excluded from the newspaper articles. The following concepts were discussed in the media and not in Parliament: "beneficiaries", "DA", "department", "houses", "land", "New Growth Path", "projects", "RDP", "settlements and "system". Many of the concepts discussed in Parliament are not discussed in the media and vice versa. These issues do not receive the attention in the public sphere necessary for the NDP to be supported and implemented. In order for the NDP to be effectively implemented, the communication framework should take the aforementioned concepts into consideration.

In addition to the analysis of the media articles and Parliament Hansards, interviews were conducted amounting to approximately 10 interview hours. The researcher analysed the interviews and the following concepts were identified:

“policy enhancement tool”, “communication”, “democratisation”, “context”, “challenges”, “communication facilitation”, “communication to embed democracy”, “social actors”, “language”, “access”, “policy”, “dialogue”, “participation”, “implementation”, “formulation”, “NDP ownership”, “citizens”, “power”, “decision-making”, “explain”, “citizenship”, “document length”, “contention”, “economic chapter”, “problem”, “redistribution”, “social issues”, “health”, “inequality”, “labour market”, “misconception”, “labour laws”, “wages”, “market domination”, “monopoly”, “barriers to entry”, “linkages”, “SMME”, “structural impediments”, “bureaucracy”, “intersectional”, “power relations”, “market access”, “employment”, “decent work”, “regulation”, “contradiction”, “narrow”, “sectoral”, “tourism”, “green economy”, “industrial policy”, “clarity”, “patterns”, “consumption”, “change”, “production”, “value-added”, “state ownership”, “industrialisation”, “focus”, “promotion”, “black capitalist class”, “SOE”, “Chomsky”, “manufacturing consent”, “communication strategy”, “inclusion”, “townships”, “conversations”, “citizen understanding”, “ownership”, “Parliament”, “mass communication”, “corporate”, “exposure”, “engagement”, “heterodox”, “rhetoric”, “rural areas”, “large firms”, “institutionalised issues”, “decentralisation”, “failure”, “policy review”, “government departments”, “ecological section”, “understanding”, “role”, “service”, “fallacies”, “data”, “structure”, “comprehensive”, “social security”, “social grants”, “human development”, “local economic development”, “NHI”, “financial liberalisation”, “tax”, “volatility”, “progressive”, “avoidance”, “creation”, “minerals and energy”, “localisation”, “local government”, “staged development”, “culture”, “entrepreneurship”, “resources”, “markets”, “hegemony”, “representation”, “interests”, “success”, “jargon”, “reasons”, “policy-making”, “drivers”, “discourse”, “measure engagement”, “contestation”, “underlying dynamics”, “choices”, “public”, “past development plans”, “awareness”, “scope”, “poverty”, “lack of achievement”, “unappealing”, “direction”, “elites”, “politicians”, “community-level”, “good idea”, “goals”, “prevention”, “capacity”, “vague”, “corruption”, “effective”, “efficient”, “progress update”, “Constitution”, “democracy”, “constitutional values”, “legislation”, “fear”, “animosity”, “political parties”, “feedback”, “economic growth”, “retirement”, “pension”, “steady”,

“education and training”, “standards”, “quality”, “funding”, “farming”, “youth”, “black people”, “trade schools”, “#FeesMustFall”, “property damage”, “history”, “apartheid”, “1994 elections”, “strategy”, “Afrikaner”, “self-governance”, “autonomy”, “land reform”, “violence”, “trade unions”, “division”, “involvement”, “identity”, “assimilation”, “planning”, “Gupta”, “vacuum”, “higher education institutions”, “graduates”, “channeling youth energy”, “expectations”, “frustration”, “revision”, “private institutions”, “government learning”, “respect”, “honesty”, “leadership”, “anecdotes”, “response”, “suggestions”, “questions”, “infighting”, “Orania”, “consulting”, “progressive communities”, “farming school”, “farm murders”, “risks”, “racism”, “volunteerism”, “mentorship”, “needs”, “skill shortage”, “radio”, “issues”, “relevance”, “municipality plans”, “disappointment”, “future”, “SOE”, “salaries”, “incompetence”, “reminiscing”, “profitability”, “leadership”, “Zuma”, “ANC”, “treasury”, “chapter 3”, “Adam Habib”, “criticism”, “top-down development”, “informal sector”, “BEE”, “investment”, “instability”, “gap”, “answers”, “economy”, “stagnation”, “listening”, “vision”, “plan”, “consistency”, “stakeholders”, “inputs”, “certainty”, “confidence”, “confusion”, “uncertainty”, “knowledge”, “real world”, “improvement”, “Zuma”, “factions”, “radical economic transformation”, “nuclear”, “fairness”, “transparency”, “intention”, “motivation”, “trust”, “secrecy”, “division”, “unity”, “expropriation without compensation”, “incoherence”, “National Policy Conference”, “ideology”, “ideological incoherence”, “internal war”, “internal opposition”, “state capture”, “looting”, “reform”, “renewal”, “old ANC”, “new ANC”, “ANC vs South Africa”, “afterthought”, “ANC loss”, “2019 election”, “preparation”, “relationships”, “complications”, “coalition”, “ANC internal renewal”, “realistic”, “party capture”, “state control”, “state size”, “capability”, “Zuma”, “cadre deployment”, “competency”, “purpose”, “political will”, “arrogance”, “ANC supporters”, “dominant tendencies”, “internal squabbles”, “money”, “performance”, “legitimacy”, “philosophy”, “opportunity”, “ANC alliance partners”, “blockage”, “self-interest”, “incoherent”, “business as usual”, “Trevor Manuel”, “NPC”, “experience”, “expertise”, “advisory body”, “broad”, “interpretation”, “empirical research”, “proposals”, “paralysis”, “intellectual integrity”, “study”, “accountability”, “presidency”, “free media”, “society”, “control”, “government criticism”, “interpretation”, “alignment”, “synchronicity”, “recommendation”, “COSATU”, “SACP”, “opposition”, “mandate”, “2014 election”, “NDP product”, “stakeholders”, “economy”, “consultation”, “guidelines”, “consensus”, “alignment”, “human resource”,

“positioning”, “personal”, “champion”, “Trevor Manuel”, “monitoring”, “Treasury”, “meaningful”, “endorsement”, “compliance”, “measurement”, “budget”, “opaqueness”, “elaboration”, “state intervention”, “sensitivity”, “detail”, “infrastructure”, “empowerment”, “investment”, “state intervention”, “justified”, “spending”, “decay”, “deadlocks”, “impression”, “perception”, “free”, “housing”, “promises”, “demand”, “paradigm shift”, “review”, “compromised”, “uprising”, “demonstrating”, “partnership”, “mutual”, “relationships”, “liberal border”, “system abuse”, “RDP”, “revenue”, “culture of dependence”, “humanise”, “support”, “communication campaign”, “ministers”, “State of the Nation”, “monitoring”, “grassroots”, “lay man”, “African context”, “third-world context”, “intention”, “identification with plan”, “simplicity”, “advertising”, “opportunity”, “benefit”, “strengthening”, “agriculture”, “work conditions”, “food security”.

The concepts identified in the three data sets are summed up by the following themes:

- Active citizenry
- Economic issues
- Planning
- Corruption and maladministration
- Policy implementation
- Service delivery
- Political discourse
- Government relations and relationship-building
- Areas of contention
- Story-telling
- Nation-building
- Communication to imbed democracy
- Improved education
- Business involvement
- NDP document
- Communication strategy
- NDP Partnerships



- Development plans
- Employment opportunities
- Stakeholder communication
- ANC involvement
- Leadership communication

These themes will be discussed, in relation to the research questions they address.

## 7.2 FINDINGS THAT ADDRESS RESEARCH QUESTION 1

*What is the political discourse surrounding the NDP?*

***“NDP is supposed to be a vision for government programmes until 2030, but the majority of its proposals are not practical”.***

***(Julius Malema, 2014)***

The themes that answered this research question and provided insight into the political discourse surrounding the NDP are:

- Active citizenry
- Economic issues
- Planning
- Corruption and maladministration
- Policy implementation
- Service delivery
- Political discourse
- Government relations and relationship-building
- Areas of contention
- Story-telling
- Nation-building
- Communication to imbed democracy

- Improved education
- Business involvement
- NDP document
- Communication strategy
- NDP Partnerships
- Development plans
- Employment opportunities
- Stakeholder communication
- ANC involvement
- Leadership communication

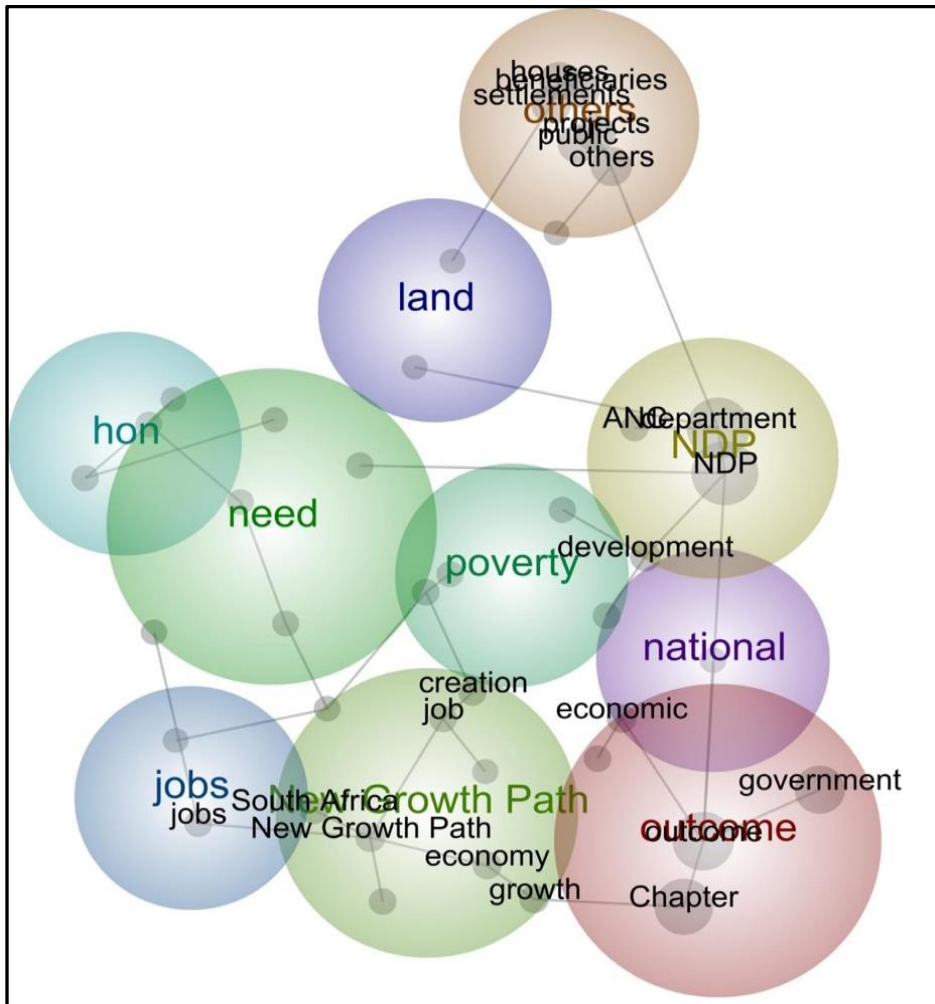
These are perceived as important components of the NDP's political discourse.

### **7.2.1 FINDINGS FROM HANSARDS: RESEARCH QUESTION 1**

As stated previously, Leximancer software was employed for the identification of themes and concepts relating to the discourse surrounding the NDP. It was also used to determine linkages between concepts, and how they culminate into themes. This ensures that the interactions and relationships between the themes are represented.

Leximancer is a software programme that analyses text and creates a visual representation of the material (Leximancer, 2011:4). This material is displayed through the use of conceptual maps that give the user an overall idea of the main concepts identified, as well as the links between them. **Figure 7.4** displays this. The concepts are then colour-coded depending on their overall importance in line with the colour wheel (Leximancer, 2011:14). The warmer the colour, the more important the theme. The colder the colour, the less important the theme. Therefore a red or brown-coloured theme would represent a high level of importance.

**Figure 7.4** is a portrayal of the first conceptual map developed for this study consisting of the concepts identified in the Hansards from 2011 to 2016.



**Figure 7.4: Concept map of overall Parliament Hansards (2011 - 2016)**

Interestingly, this concept map indicates that there is little to no overlap between concepts relating to the NDP and important issues like land, housing, poverty and jobs. So, the conversation on the NDP is not coinciding with issues deemed to be important to the public. The NGP seems to do better in this regard. Ten main concepts were identified from the analysis of the Hansards: others, land, NDP, hon, need, poverty, national, outcome, New Growth Path and jobs. The NDP concept consists of the following sub-concepts: NDP, department, development and ANC.

The discourse indicate that regardless of the perception that the youth are disillusioned, and the expectation that this disillusionment would result in low voter turnout in the 2009 elections, this was not the case. Disillusionment with government does not seem to reduce people's desire to participate in democratic processes. It also disproved the assumption that the youth are not willing to participate in political discourse. In response to this an ANC Parliamentary representative stated that in order to engage the youth constructively the ANC could focus on "building a new youth development path" (Motau, 2011). So, the discourse at the time looked to create a development plan for the youth.

Also, the RDP was still perceived as a relevant development plan, regardless of the NDP's launch. One of the main reasons for this is indicated by the perception that its primary focus was on meeting basic, tangible human needs (Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform, 2013), and because of this, it received (and continues to receive) support. Its association with providing a tangible service (primarily housing) has contributed to this narrative. Furthermore, the Freedom Charter, the RDP, and the 52nd National Conference of the ANC in 2007 indicated the importance of rural development and land reform, stating that these should be the nation's main focus for socioeconomic development. This shows that there are certain national documents that are discussed in Parliament, agreed upon and supported as important starting points for socioeconomic development. The NDP is yet to see this level of support.

The main "outcome" concept results from the sub-concepts "outcome", "Chapter", "government", "economic" and "policy". One of the important influences on the outcome of the plan and whether or not it is adhered to is the clarity of the NDP. There was an expressed need for increasing the clarity of government policy, especially when it comes to its relevance regarding certain sectors of the economy (Hlengwa, 2012). Also mentioned regularly in this regard was the importance of clarity in all government's communication on matters affecting economic development. There was a focus on the importance of alignment between the NDP and other government policies, as it was regularly stated that the level of alignment was insufficient. In fact, many policies currently being implemented are perceived to be in opposition to the NDP.

Skosana (2013) stated that, “What we should intelligently acknowledge is that the implementation of our foreign policy will inevitably impact on our domestic issues, including legal and constitutional arrangements, as citizens continue to organise broadly and intensely for social and economic justice.” This indicates the growing trend in citizens taking government’s role in providing services seriously and ensuring that their expectations are met in this regard. He furthermore went on to talk about how contradictions between domestic and foreign policies “threaten the vision of the National Development Plan”, which will eventually cause the public’s perception of government’s authority to deteriorate. This indicates that unclear communication of vision can lead to a deterioration in the perceived authority of government.

This concept also focused on the role of the New Growth Path (NGP) in implementing the NDP. It indicates the importance of understanding past development plans, primarily the NGP because of the focus that this plan had on economic restitution (Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry, 2011). The NGP required a high degree of government participation as well as government’s support for initiatives that focus on driving the social economy by providing citizens with the support necessary for them to participate in economic growth. This is slightly different from the NDP because the NDP requires citizens not only to make use of government services to change socioeconomic circumstances, but also to take their own initiative in creating socioeconomic growth. Communication in this regard is necessary as the data indicate that stakeholders are unaware of the level of participation required from them, as stipulated in the NDP. The New Growth Path concept had “New Growth Path”, “growth”, “economy”, “South Africa”, “creation”, “job”, “plan”, “nation” and “investment” as sub-concepts. The sub-concepts themselves indicate a macroeconomic focus.

The discussion in Parliament regarding the NGP shows that, regardless of a new plan being introduced, the NGP is still considered an important part of dealing with the issues of job creation, poverty reduction and faster economic growth (Mncube, 2011). Its high level of representation in 2011 may have been due to its short-lived nature, as it was

replaced by the NDP shortly after its launch. The NGP is also regularly referred to as “our” growth plan. This is personal language that communicates an affinity for the plan amongst ANC leaders at the time. It also displays a sense of ownership of the NGP that has not been seen for the NDP. 2011 also saw a relatively high degree of discussion on the programmes set in place as well as the funding for the implementation of the NGP. Also, the budget review and State of the Nation address paid attention to the NGP’s implementation, regardless of it being replaced by the NDP (Sohoni, 2011). This shows a degree of policy confusion and uncertainty.

The NGP was discussed as an important economic document several times from 2011 to 2016. Although its popularity dwindled as the NDP was introduced. Regardless of this, it continued to feature in Parliamentary discourse. It also featured in the conversation on the green economy as a source of job creation and development in the environmental goods and services sector, particularly in biodiversity, waste and natural resource management services (Minister of Water and Environmental Affairs, 2012).

The concept “others” had the sub-concepts “others”, “public”, “houses”, “projects”, “settlements”, “beneficiaries” and “Reconstruction”. Here reference was made to South Africa’s history and the impact that this has had on development. The issues of colonialism, racism, apartheid, sexism and repressive labour laws were a pivotal part of the conversation. Furthermore the role of Division of Revenue Bill was discussed but only in the context of how the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), not the NDP, was in essence a tool for implementing the Bill. Therefore the link between development plans and legislation is a matter of importance in Parliament. In order for a plan to be accepted it has to be perceived as being linked to other important Parliament documents – primarily those related to legislation and implementation.

Also, the RDP discussion raised an important issue for the implementation of the NDP. There was a degree of focus on the fact that the RDP programme largely benefited foreigners because “foreigners will get houses before South African citizens do” (Groenewald, 2011). Also issues behind the possibilities of corruption in the delivery of services was a point of discussion. Therefore Parliamentarians are of the opinion that the

issue of a corrupt tender process that plagued the RDP programme will affect the NDP's implementation as well.

The discourse indicates that the fact that the RDP (released in 1994) was replaced by the GEAR (Growth, Employment and Redistribution) development plan because it was seen as a more cost-effective way of creating economic development. Then the question becomes, does the NDP replace the NGP? As noted in the previous section this is unclear in a Parliamentary setting. So, many politicians continue to reference the NGP. For the NDP to be implemented there should be a clear distinction regarding whether the NDP is completely replacing the NGP or whether the plans will coexist.

The "need" concept consists of the sub-concepts "need", "year", "National Planning Commission", "million" and "members". In this theme, the role of the NPC in the plan's implementation was prevalent. The need for the NPC as champions of the plan also came to the fore. There's emphasis on the NPC's role in implementing the NDP through the use of public-private partnerships, as well as export growth. Regardless of this, the notion also exists that "while the National Planning Commission has increased emphasis on exporting minerals, prominent ANC members are uttering statements that are scaring away investors" (Van der Westhuizen, 2012). This shows perceived discrepancies in what is said in the plan and the way that members of the leading party communicate about the plan. It also indicates a need for a more centralised approach to the dissemination of information.

The next concept focused on poverty. It had the sub-concepts "poverty", "address", "infrastructure" and "support". Emphasis is placed on the fact that growing the economy and reducing poverty requires bold decisions to increase competitiveness and innovation. Therefore the NDP should be perceived as a plan that can innovatively implement its ideology and that the communication surrounding the plan should include innovative elements that have not been seen in previous government communication efforts. Political stakeholders are interested in seeing a government that incorporates bold decision-making and communicates as such.

The goals of the NDP in terms of poverty and inequality reduction were discussed without detail on the course of action for doing so – further communicating the opaqueness of its implementation strategy. Furthermore, the NDP discussion identified the Presidential Infrastructure Co-ordinating Commission (PICC) as an important stakeholder in implementing the plan. According to Mashigo (2013), this commission developed eighteen integrated projects to support economic development and address service delivery in the poorest communities. Therefore this constitutes grassroots-level economic development projects and communicating this would reduce the notion that the NDP does not focus on grassroots issues.

Former President Jacob Zuma (2013) was quoted saying that the National Development Plan is “supported by key economic instruments such as the New Growth Path and the Industrial Policy Action Plan”. This statement was contested in Parliament as the two plans were perceived to be incompatible. NDP stakeholders that were identified by the president were the business community, organisations involved in infrastructure development, agriculture, mining and beneficiation, manufacturing, the green economy and tourism. No mention was made about leveraging the abilities of ordinary citizens. Parliamentary representatives regularly referred to the NDP as an “umbrella plan” that has been set in place to address the challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality in South Africa. Although this plan has been acknowledged as an “umbrella plan” that will address a variety of issues, opposition parties were doubtful of its ability to reduce poverty by 50% in 2015, considering that unemployment was at a rate of 25% (Thring, 2013).

The concept “hon” (which refers to members of Parliament) consisted of the concepts “hon”, “Minister”, and “DA”. The Department of Treasury was one of the departments regularly noted, with regards to this concept, as being committed to the implementation of the NDP and the provision of decent work for citizens. Regardless of this, there has been opposition regarding the NDP’s support for creating decent work, considering the macroeconomic nature of the plan. Therefore the rhetoric communicated about the plan’s support for creating decent work is highly contested because of inconsistencies in the document when it comes to this. Also, the fact that the NDP supports inclusive economic



growth is debated because of the possibilities of corruption in the tendering process. These issues were mainly raised by the DA (Ross, 2013).

The jobs concept consisted of two sub-concepts: “jobs” and “President”. The correlation between the concepts “jobs” and “President” indicate the perceived role the president is to play in job-creation. The difficulty in creating jobs is discussed regularly in Parliament and primarily when it relates to the New Growth Path, not the NDP. The NDP is rarely discussed in the context of job creation, even though this is one of the most important concepts. Also, the NGP is discussed as being the development plan that focuses most on tourism as a conduit for economic development – the NDP rarely features in this regard. Gumede (2013) is quoted saying, “tourism has also been identified as one of the pillars in the New Growth Path, NGP, and the president has alluded to this in his state of the nation address more than once.” So, through communication, the president has shown his support for the NGP, but not sufficiently for the NDP. Furthermore, Marais (2011) stated that the “president has stated that the New Growth Path will be the catalyst to create five million additional jobs by 2020”. This brings into question the role of the NGP now that the NDP has been introduced. Also, it creates the impression that job creation is a priority for the NDP.

The land concept had the sub-concepts “land” and “system”. The main focus of the land reform discussion in Parliament is on whether or not a development plan is a sufficient tool for executing land reform. This shines light on the transformational nature of legislation in its ability to redress the imbalances of the past in terms of sustainable and efficient use of land (Ngwenya-Mabila, 2013). Therefore, on the issue of land reform, the plan is not seen as a transformative tool – legislation is. If the NDP is not perceived to suggest legislative change as it pertains to land reform, it may not be seen as a sufficient tool for this process.

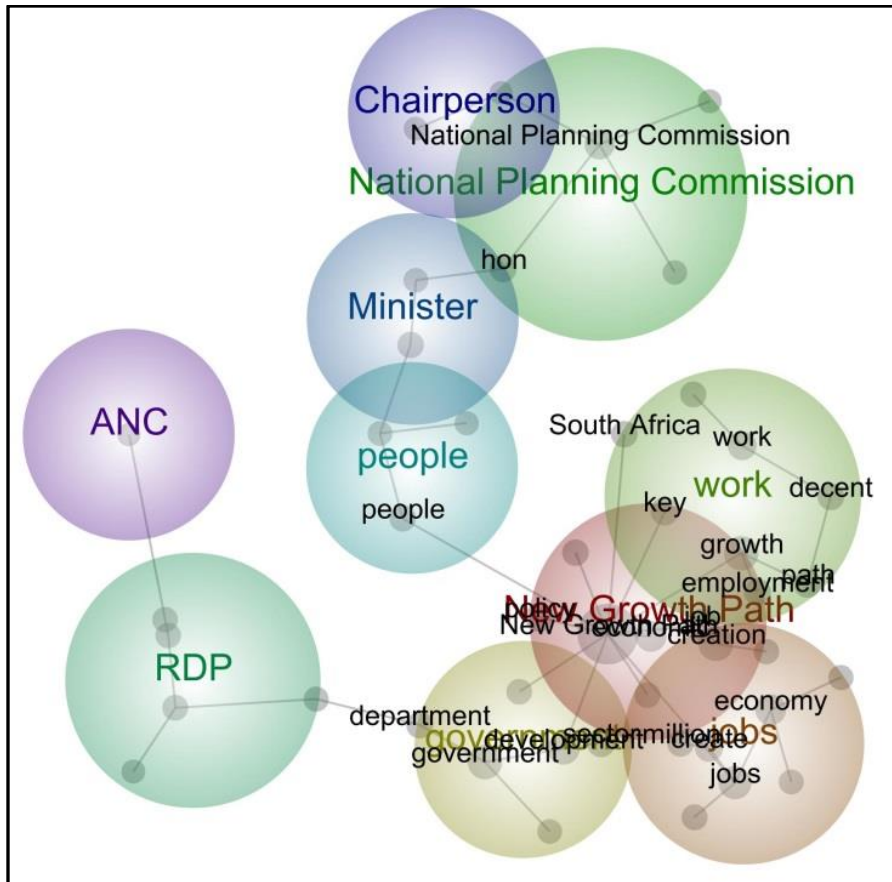
Finally, the “national” concept was discussed. This focused on the right that all citizens have to participate in the country’s wealth. This conversation was linked in Parliament to the ANC’s statement at the Ready to Govern Conference in 1992 in which they said, “The

mineral wealth beneath the soil is the national heritage of all South Africans, including future generations” (Sonto, 2011; Bhengu, 2013). This “right to participate” that was discussed in 1992 should be reiterated and communicated in line with the NDP because it coincides with the principles of the NDP and would tie-in well with the NDP story.

This summarises the overall concepts that were identified by the Leximancer software from 2011 to 2016. The main findings from each year of analysis will be discussed in the next section.

### **7.2.1.1      *Explanation of 2011 Hansard concept map***

The previous section discussed the overall concepts identified in Parliament from 2011 to 2016. This section will focus on the first year of analysis – 2011. **Figure 7.5** depicts the first conceptual map developed for this study consisting of the main concepts identified in Parliament in 2011.



**Figure 7.5: Concept map of Parliament discussion regarding the NDP in 2011**

Ten concepts were identified: chairperson, National Planning Commission, Minister, people, ANC, RDP, government, work, New Growth Path and jobs. Interestingly, the NDP does not feature in this concept map because the discussion on it was minimal. The RDP and the NGP still dominated the conversation on economic development at this stage.

The findings indicate that the New Growth Path was still mentioned synonymously in relation to economic development, regardless of the introduction of the NDP. This discussion primarily focused on unemployment, poverty and inequality and how job creation through the NGP can address these issues. The NGP, in 2011, was discussed as being prematurely implemented as the main tool for economic transformation and job creation. Therefore the perception at the time, was that government was not ready to implement the NGP. This is regardless of the fact that a new development plan (the NDP) was about to be released. The need for clear communication on the link between the NGP

and existing policy was emphasised. This came to the fore in the conversation on the tourism industry because it was set as being the industry with the most potential to produce economic growth and job creation.

The need for stakeholder support for development did not originate with the NDP. There was a strong and consistent call in Parliament for politicians to support the NGP. However, the NDP requires support, not only from Members of Parliament, but also from the public at large. So, the communication efforts should take this into consideration. One issue surrounding the NDP was the fact that the National Planning Commission was not perceived as having the responsibilities of other government departments. Although it is not considered a department, structures should be created for the monitoring and evaluation of the plan's progress. It is not perceived as a department that requires the supervision or involvement of Parliament. Like other government departments the commissioners of the NDP should be provided with platforms to communicate the plan's progress and garner stakeholder support, in much the same way that traditional departments do. This would assist in ensuring that people take the plan more seriously as, at this stage, the NPC was seen as a temporary fixture in Parliament.

The most important stakeholders of development plans were identified in Parliament as business, labour, youth, religious organisations and women's organisations. These stakeholders are essential, and their importance was discussed in conversation on past development plans as well – not just in communication on the NDP. The role of ordinary citizens in implementing the RDP was also widely discussed in this political arena.

The alignment of different government departments with the principles of the New Growth Path was also emphasised. The conversation focused on the fact that government departments should be guided by broader government policy documents – primarily the Industrial Policy Action Plan and the New Growth Path. The NDP was not mentioned. The agricultural sector was identified as having significant potential to create jobs, but also demonstrated significant inconsistencies between development plans and the policies that apply to this sector. This was a common complaint in the discourse on development plans.

The “work” concept had the following sub-concepts: work, key, path, employment, decent, South Africa and year. This concept further focuses on the New Growth Path and not on the NDP. It looked at how the NGP was “adopted to address inefficiencies and constraints across the economy and partner to create new decent work opportunities” (Chief Whip of the NCOP, 2011). Another reason that the NGP was so revered is that it was perceived to take the conversation on inequality seriously and was therefore more easily accepted by many of the ANC’s strategic partners (e.g., COSATU).

The NGP was mentioned as being focused on creating decent work, which was similar wording to that used by COSATU. Therefore creating employment is perceived as insufficient in this context. The real focus should be on creating “decent work”. Regardless of this, government and trade unions have not yet decided on a fixed definition of “decent work”, even though this is perceived as one of the most important aspects of development. The issue of decent work is also one of the most contested issues regarding development in South Africa. So, this concept should be defined and agreed upon. The National Planning Commission uses the International Labour Organisation, ILO’s, definition of decent work which COSATU disagrees with (Minister in the Presidency - National Planning Commission, 2011). However, the rest of Parliament has not consented to the use of this definition.

The “jobs” concept consisted of the following sub-concepts: jobs, economy, create, million, NGP, opportunities, investment, and infrastructure. At this stage, the NDP is perceived as a sub-concept. The “jobs” concept focused on the NGP’s goal for creating five million jobs in the next ten years through the prioritisation of six sectors: infrastructure development; agricultural value chain; mining and metal fabrication; manufacturing expansion; the green economy; and the key services of tourism, creative industries and business services. This goal is not in line with the goals of the NDP. Also, the discourse indicates that the NGP focused on government expenditure towards energy, transport, communications, water and housing, while the NDP focused on using alternative resources to fund projects. This demonstrates inconsistencies in the two and exacerbates the confusion regarding which

plan is being applied. The NDP's focus on alternative funding also emphasises its need for the support of external stakeholders.

According to the discourse, government is perceived to have achieved alignment between the IPAP 2 programme and the New Growth Path because they both aim to create five million new jobs by 2020. This shows that alignment is possible. 2011 also saw an increased expectation to make use of opportunities within the Brics group for economic development and that this would be a way to implement IPAP 2 and the New Growth Path policy framework. The essential focus of the NGP was job creation, which led to it being widely supported by the ANC's strategic partners, like COSATU. The NGP was perceived in Parliament as a macro- and microeconomic policy that supported more labour-absorbing activities. This is one of the reasons that it is seen by trade unions as a better economic plan. The NDP, is seen as the opposite because it focuses on a top-down approach to development while the NGP moves in both directions.

The "National Planning Commission" concept had the following sub-concepts: National Planning Commission, hon, country, and NPC. This concept detailed the discussion on the Diagnostic Report of the National Planning Commission by Minister Trevor Manuel, and how the report was welcomed by Parliament. The Diagnostic Report was perceived as a tool for discussing some of South Africa's socioeconomic issues. It was perceived to create a platform for open dialogue on development, grounded in research-based information – this approach was well received. However, regardless of the positive reception of the Diagnostic Report, the internal dynamics of the ANC and the effect they have on the implementation of the NDP were seen as mutually inclusive. Leader of the Opposition Helen Zille described this as a "bizarre kind of Saint Vitus dance" (Zille, 2011) which refers to a disorder characterised by rapid, uncoordinated jerking movements primarily affecting the face, hands and feet. This shows the perception in Parliament that the actions of the ANC are largely unplanned and lack adequate consultation and coordination. Howbeit, the National Planning Commission raised the issue of state capability and placed it as a central part of the Diagnostic Report. In addition to this, the

report released was perceived as an honest assessment of the major socioeconomic issues South Africa faces.

The “RDP” concept consisted of the sub-concepts “RDP”, “Development Programme”, “Reconstruction”, “need”, and “houses”. The main discussion in Parliament referenced the mismanagement of resources surrounding the RDP. “17425 Reconstruction and Development Programme, RDP, houses need to be demolished or rectified, in other words, correcting the shoddy work previously done by companies” (Feldman, 2011). The private sector acquired tenders to build these houses. Due to corruption and mismanagement, many of them had to be demolished. This tainted the perception of development plans that encouraged cooperation between the public and private sector. This is necessary relationship that requires regulation. Regular mention was made of former President Nelson Mandela’s reference to the RDP being a “reconstruction and development programme of the soul”. This narrative was regularly used to describe this development plan. Furthermore, South Africa’s history of colonialism, racism, apartheid, sexism and repressive labour laws was often discussed as part of this narrative. The use of Mandela’s words was done regularly to humanise the RDP and garner support for it. This functioned as a form of rhetoric for the plan.

Aside from some of the positive discourse on the RDP, reference is often made to the corruption that existed in its implementation. This created apprehension in support for the implementation of the NDP. The discussion in Parliament was that control programmes to prevent this from reoccurring were not in place. The RDP was “plagued by poor building practices, largely due to fraud and corruption within the department, in relation to the tender process involved with RDP housing schemes” (Sithole, 2011).

The “people” concept consists of the sub-concepts “people”, “plan”, and “national”. This concept focused primarily on the role of the lay man in participating in the implementation of the NDP. To start the process of implementation, the purpose of the NPC was clarified. Its purpose was to “devise a national plan for the country” (President Jacob Zuma, 2011). However, their role after the plan’s launch is unclear. The possibility of the NPC creating

an equal-opportunity society was questioned in Parliament with the Minister of Energy (2011) stating that “the goal is unity and equality, but that’s not the reality on the ground”. Unity is an important facet of the plan’s implementation and is perceived to not exist at this stage. It represents a gap in what the NPC is attempting to achieve with the aid of the NDP. The “Minister” concept which consists of the sub-concepts “Minister” and “members”, also speaks to this point by focusing on the members of the planning commission and the role of ministers in assisting the NPC achieve implementation. It looks at the confusion regarding the role of the NPC in investigating the viability of important decisions – nationalisation being on top of the list (Zille, 2011). This adds to the lack of clarity regarding the role of the NPC.

The Congress of the People (COPE), in particular, commended the government for the development of the NGP, even though the NDP had already been released. Some departments had created their own plan and vision for development when the NDP was launched. One such department is the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries which developed its integrated growth and development plan to support the New Growth Path, not the NDP (Bosman, 2011).

The ANC are also seen as an important part of the plan’s implementation. This concept placed emphasis on the role of the ANC in implementation. Also, a desire to see the Freedom Charter’s role in the NDP was expressed. The main conversation on the Freedom Charter deals with the fact that it promised that all South Africans would partake in the wealth of the country (Sonto, 2011) and its use in communicating the “NDP story”, within the context of the larger South African story, would be beneficial to promoting implementation. Therefore the link between the NDP and other historic documents (like the Freedom Charter) should be communicated.

The main focus in 2011 was on the implementation of the New Growth Path. There was little mention of the introduction of the NDP or the issues that have been found in the NGP that would have led to the introduction of a subsequent development plan to replace it, or work “hand-in-hand” with it. Regardless of this, it is emphasised regularly that the NGP



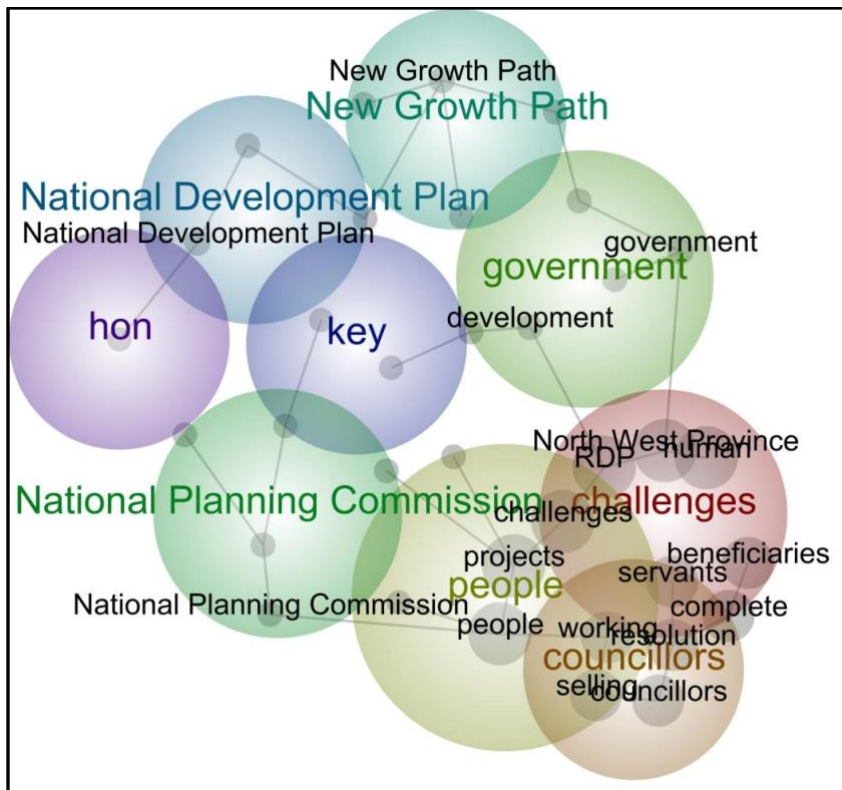
was developed “over a long process of consultation and discussion”, similar to the NDP (Sibhida, 2011). Nevertheless, the reasons for replacing a document that has been regularly discussed, and approved of, is not clear.

Former President Nelson Mandela is referred to mainly as an inspirational figure in the quest for economic development. Also, a distinction is made between him and the ANC. One Parliamentary representative stated “Madiba is going to heaven; the ANC is going to hell” (Ellis, 2011), indicating that Mandela had a good image that is in conflict to that of the of the ANC.

The NGP was, in 2011, communicated in Parliament as the only plan capable of “breaking the cycle of poverty, creating decent work for our people, reducing inequality and defeating poverty” (Chief Whip of the NCOP, 2011). An effort to direct this narrative towards the NDP has not been seen. The NGP was only adopted in Parliament a year before the NDP was released after a phase of research, policy development and discussion. The narrative, based on President Zuma’s words, was that the NGP was still the primary economic document. He stated during the ANC January 8 Statement and the 2011 State of the Nation (SONA) address that 2011 was the year of job creation, and re-emphasised the need for government departments and the private sector to prioritise their programmes in line with the objectives of the New Growth Path, with the aim of promoting job creation, rural development, decent work and “a better life for all” (Sunduza, 2011). Emphasis on alignment has been lacking in the communication and implementation of the NDP. There was also a higher demand on international priorities, such as Bric membership, to be aligned to the NGP. Also, the New Growth Path is perceived to have a champion – the Department of Economic Development. The champion for the NDP is unclear. The ANC’s tagline “a better life for all” was also spoken of negatively in Parliament as it was perceived to be an ironic tagline due the party’s seemingly corrupt practices.

### 7.2.1.2 Explanation of 2012 Hansard concept map

This section will focus on the second year of analysis – 2012. **Figure 7.6** depicts the conceptual map consisting of the concepts identified in Parliamentary discourse in 2012.



**Figure 7.6: Concept map of Parliament discussion regarding the NDP in 2012**

Nine concepts were identified from the analysis of Parliament Hansards in 2012: New Growth Path, National Development Plan, hon, key, government, National Planning Commission, challenges, people and councillors.

The challenges concept consists of the sub-concepts: “challenges”, “human”, “people”, “projects”, “North West Province”, “RDP”, and “ensure”. This concept is dark red, indicating that it is the most important one identified in 2012. Therefore 2012 was the year for discussing the challenges of implementing the NDP.

One of the main issues identified in the 2012 discussion was that mechanisms should be developed for monitoring the implementation of the NDP. National Treasury was the main department identified as being the lead in terms of developing a monitoring mechanism primarily to ensure that there is value for money in terms of proper co-ordination and procurement processes for the implementation of the plan (De Beer, 2012). However, the role of the NPC in this regard was not clarified. There was emphasis placed on meeting stakeholder expectations through the NDP and ensuring “that the trust of our people is not betrayed and what is promised is delivered” (Kiviet, 2012), implying that trust is an important part of gaining stakeholder support and guaranteeing implementation.

Reference is made to the initiatives set in place in the RDP programme that ensure that beneficiaries of this programme are aware of their rights and responsibilities (Duncan, 2012). There is no discussion on creating similar awareness programmes for the NDP, or what the rights and responsibilities of citizens are as pertaining to the NDP. The RDP is seen as mainly a restitution or redistribution programme benefitting people from impoverished environments and is therefore not as inclusive as the NDP. The NDP, on the other hand, is a macroeconomic plan that should benefit all South Africans. This is not discussed. The focus is also on how to measure improvement in the quality of life of people in the rural areas and refers to Chapter 6 in the National Development Plan which focuses on creating an integrated and inclusive rural economy (Minister in the Presidency: National Planning Commission, 2012). Chapter 6 is considered the most contested chapter in the NDP as many parties in Parliament disagreed with the economic proposals of the NDP.

The “beneficiaries” concept consisted of the sub-concepts “beneficiaries”, “complete”, “councillors”, “resolution”, “selling”, “servants”, and “working”. The issues surrounding the RDP and the role of the Department of Human Settlements in handling the challenges regarding the illegal occupation of complete RDP houses was discussed. Therefore this concept focused on the stakeholders who are the primary beneficiaries of the RDP. Also, the mechanisms for prosecuting people who incorporate corruption into the RDP programme were discussed. A Special Investigating Unit was established to investigate housing projects where allegations were made that councillors were selling RDP houses.

This point was repeated severally in Parliament and appeared to be an issue of concern and importance (2012). However, some of the concerns regarding possible corruption and maladministration in the implementation of the NDP were not addressed.

The “government” concept looked at the sub-concepts of “government”, “National Development Plan”, “economic”, and “skills”. This is where the discussion on the NDP comes to the fore. The main comment on the NDP was that it “is a step in the process of charting a new path for South Africa wherein all citizens will have the capabilities to grasp the ever-broadening opportunities available and to focus on capabilities” (De Beer, 2012). This insinuates a link between the NGP and the NDP because of the use of the term “new path” for describing the NDP. Based on this, the initial communication was that the NDP would replace the NGP. Regardless, the NGP was still discussed as being the main development plan, stating that the plan was created in response to the resolutions of the 52nd National Conference of the ANC in 2007 and that it is a policy framework for implementation (Cele, 2012).

The level of alignment between state-owned companies and the broader government economic and strategic priorities were questioned. This alignment should be clarified. Additionally, the NDP’s mandate of nation-building and promoting social cohesion, reconciliation and national healing is emphasised (Deputy Minister of Arts and Culture, 2012). Therefore the NDP should be communicated as a tool for promoting nation-building, as well as facilitating social dialogue among all sectors of society (Deputy Minister of Arts and Culture, 2012). The lack of economic opportunities is perceived to be a threat to the achievement of a cohesive society (Deputy Minister of Arts and Culture, 2012) so the plan’s successful implementation is perceived to be important, not only economically, but also for nation-building and social cohesion.

There is a narrative in Parliament that a transfer of wealth, from government to citizens, is necessary for economic development. This creates the point-of-view that the “National Development Plan supports an approach to economic empowerment which places the wealth currently accumulated in the hands of the government in the hands of the people.

The Minister said that he does not support that approach today” (Hill-Lewis, 2012). Therefore the NDP is perceived as a tool for wealth transfer. This sentiment however indicates that political stakeholders perceive government as the main restrictor of wealth-distribution. It further adds to the negative perception of the NDP and its intentions.

The development concept had the sub-concepts “development”, “need”, “infrastructure”, “sector”, “work” and “key”. In line with this concept, the New Growth Path is referenced as being focused on development through job creation. The NGP declared 2011 to be the year of job creation and transformation of the economy and mobilised social partners, including business, labour and the community sector to achieve this (Chief Whip of the Majority Party, 2012). This indicates interest in the NGP regardless of the fact that a new macroeconomic development plan, the NDP, had been released a year prior. Also, the NGP was used as the basis to create a public relations campaign for job creation in 2012. The NDP requires similar initiatives.

Regardless of the release of the National Development Plan, the issues surrounding the implementation of the New Growth Path were still discussed. The Minister of Economic Development (2012) stated that “the Presidential Infrastructure Co-ordinating Commission, PICC, identified what the key challenges are to effective implementation, and what we can do about them.” The issues surrounding implementation were investigated in the context of the NGP. The New Growth Path was still seen as a driver for development, instead of addressing the NDP as a driver for development. Regardless, reference was made to the National Planning Commission’s research on cohesion between the three spheres of government, and the needs of the private sector and communities. But no reference is made to the role of the NDP in executing this.

Private sector reluctance to participate in development programmes was identified as one of the main NDP implementation issues. A suggested way of dealing with this was for government to also provide financial backing and guarantees regarding the output of private sector participation (Coleman, 2012). This indicates the trust deficiency that exists between government and the private sector, as well as the communication deficiency that

exists. The benefits of participating in the NDP's implementation should be clearly communicated to the private sector.

The National Planning Commission concept consisted of the sub-concepts "National Planning Commission", "country" and "poor". Minister Trevor Manuel (2012) is quoted in the Hansard saying that the National Planning Commission "is an advisory body". This therefore clarifies its role. The NPC is not in charge of implementing the plan, but they are to advise on how the plan should be implemented. The NPC and the Public Service Commission also largely focused on the diagnostic report and the reasons for slow economic development and growth stating that poor management, the erosion of accountability and authority structures, misaligned decision rights and corruption were the reasons for the poor state of governance in government and most provinces (Marais, 2012). This lack of governance was stated as one of the issues that would impact negatively on implementation. The fact that all proposals in the NDP were motivated by consultation, facts and research was highly emphasised (Minister in the Presidency: National Planning Commission, 2012) and a perceived selling-point for the NDP. It also creates a platform for the NDP to be discussed within the context of the NPC's diagnostic report.

The creation concept consisted of the sub-concepts "creation", "plan" and "support". Garnering support for the New Growth Path was considered an important issue. State-owned companies were specified as being in support of the New Growth Path – particularly its stance on employment creation with the emphasis on addressing employment equity (Minister of Public Enterprises, 2012). Furthermore, the fact that implementation of the NGP would require a focus on rural development was supported. So, this plan had a "bottom-up" focus that the NDP was not perceived to have. With adequate communication, this perception can change. The NDP would also have to communicate its ability to enhance the rural economy.

The New Growth Path concept consists of the sub-concepts "New Growth Path" and "hon". The targets that the NGP set of creating five million new jobs by 2020 was still

discussed in 2012, with no regard for the NDP's job creation goals. According to the Minister of Science and Technology (2012), there is a synthesis between the Freedom Charter, Bill of Rights, RDP, NGP, and IPAP policy. The role of the NDP and whether or not it is also unified with these past documents was not discussed.

Another issue is that the NGP and the NDP are perceived to be ideologically opposed and spin-doctored to look like complementary plans (Rabie, 2012). This is seen to demonstrate a problem of leadership because of the perceived lack of policy co-ordination (Rabie, 2012). Another issue was that the method for implementing the NGP alongside the NDP was not been communicated.

An honest assessment of the economic and political issues and a humble acceptance of the evidence (Rabie, 2012) was one of the ways suggested for improving the implementation of development plans. The government was not seen as remorseful for its perceived role in the creation of the country's current socioeconomic ills. Furthermore, the importance of effective leadership and political will, both of which are perceived to be lacking, were said to impact economic growth. On behalf of COPE, Feldman (2012) expressed the concern that government may not have reshaped the Public Service enough to be able to implement the objectives of the National Development Plan. In essence insinuation that government was not ready to implement the NDP.

The policy concept consisted of the sub-concepts "policy" and "ANC". In line with the previous concept, government's (primarily the ANC) preparation and ability to implement policy came to the fore. The 1992 ANC set of policy proposals entitled "Ready to Govern" was discussed. This is an important part of South Africa's development story and should be incorporated into future discourse on economic development.

The final concept was "reconstruction" and was often discussed in relation to the RDP. So the RDP document is associated with reconstruction. The RDP served as a guide for government. Also, former President Nelson Mandela's support for the plan was one of the reasons for its overall support in Parliament (Mandela, 2012). Him being perceived as a





13 main concepts were identified from the analysis: RDP, applause, people, youth, country, ANC, government, need, hon, National Development Plan, jobs, NDP.

The National Development Plan concept had the sub-concepts “National Development Plan”, “economic”, “economy”, “growth”, “job”, “creation” and “public”. Mention of other development plans decreased at this stage. However, the New Growth Path was still linked to the NDP in conversation on economic development. In 2013 the government expressed its desire to implement the NDP (Minister of Finance, 2013). This was over two years after the plan’s release. Government proposed that implementation would happen through direct public spending, inclusive growth, increased private sector investment, support for job creation and skills training (particularly for unemployed youth), and the creation of a climate for investment. Communication is necessary to facilitate this process.

Past development plans continued to be referenced. The RDP was hailed as a good development plan that provided something tangible for citizens but also has been seen as a “cause for much of the dissatisfaction of the people of South Africa” (Boinamo,2013). This is primarily due to the fact that people’s expectations were not met, and some promises were not kept regarding the implementation of the RDP. The New Growth Path continued to be referenced primarily because of its emphasis on tourism as a source of economic development. The NDP’s recognition of the importance of this industry was also clearly made (Deputy Minister of Tourism, 2013). At this stage, the NDP was linked more clearly with social issues.

The NDP concept consisted of the sub-concepts “NDP”, “New Growth Path”, “year”, “infrastructure”. Emphasis was placed on the National Infrastructure Plan that was developed through President Zuma’s leadership and co-ordinated by the Presidential Infrastructure Co-ordinating Commission (PICC) to which the Economic Development Department provided technical support (Minister of Economic Development, 2013). No link was made to the NDP or how the National Infrastructure Plan accommodates the achievement of the NDP’s goals. However, the president stated that the implementation phase of the NDP had begun and incorporated the New Growth Path, the Industrial Policy

Action Plan and the infrastructure development plan, which were said to fall under the “NDP umbrella” (President of the Republic, 2013). However, some of the inconsistencies between the plans were not addressed, fuelling the perception that government is being deceptive by creating a “non-existent” link between the opposing documents. The Department of Performance Monitoring and Evaluation and the National Planning Commission’s Secretariat in the Presidency begun in 2013 to convert the National Development Plan’s proposals into a Medium-Term Strategic Framework (President of the Republic, 2013). This led to some confusion regarding the role of the NPC, as in previous years their task was to develop the plan, not execute it.

COSATU showed support for the implementation of policies such as the Industrial Policy Action Plan, the Infrastructure Development Programme and the New Growth Path but made no mention the NDP (Koornhof, 2013). This was the first indication of their lack of support for the NDP.

The government concept had the sub-concepts “government”, “development”, “vision” and “programme”. President Zuma stated that all three spheres of government would have to participate in implementing the National Development Plan (President of the Republic, 2013). This level of coordination between diverse government departments would require clear communication. The National Development Plan links rural and urban development (Deputy Minister of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs, 2013). This is an important selling-point and differentiator for the plan. There was an expressed need for the NDP to be seen as a vision that informs various policies, programmes and actions of government (Skosana, 2013).

The National Development Plan should be perceived as a plan that embodies the shared set of objectives and a common vision (Malgas, 2013). In order for this to truly be seen as a collective development plan (with a unifying, common vision) the suggestion was made in Parliament that a “programme of essentials” that can be agreed on in Parliament should be decided established. Therefore indicating that Parliamentarians may not agree on all

the terms in the NDP but should discuss the most important parts and reach consensus on these.

The plan concept had the sub-concepts “plan”, “policy”, “support”, “department” and “ensure”. This concept deals with some of the issues surrounding development plans. One of these issues was the fact that the Department of Telecommunications and Postal Services had little to do with the NDP’s chapter on ICTs (Shinn, 2013). This was highly debated in Parliament because it expressed a lack of coordination within government. Therefore the National Treasury put a hold on funding broadband to give government a chance to come up with a coherent, acceptable policy and plan of implementation. However, it was challenging because this department expressed a latent disapproval of the NDP’s chapter on ICT. Furthermore, the leader of the DA expressed disappointment in the fact that the president did not speak sufficiently on the how government would implement the NDP (Leader of the Opposition, 2013). This was a common element in the discussion of the plan.

The president urged Parliament to look at some of the essential priorities on which they can agree such as education, health, poverty and safety. He went on to present the National Development Plan as an embodiment of their shared objectives (Minister of Defence and Military Veterans, 2013). The lack of sufficient discussion on the implementation of the NDP was met with bitterness from the Democratic Alliance. Zille (2013) stated, in reference to the lack of implementation of the NDP, that “the anger at his [Zuma’s] failure to do so is felt across South Africa”. Furthermore, she stated that the DA and other political parties supported the NDP, and that the State of the Nation address should have been used as a “turning point for a country which feels a lack of confidence in the national government” (Leader of the Opposition, 2013). This indicates that the NDP is seen as a tool for discussing the country’s most pressing issues and restoring hope in economic development. The president repeatedly stated that the National Development Plan was supported by key economic instruments such as the New Growth Path and the Industrial Policy Action Plan (President of the Republic, 2013). This statement was heavily

disputed in political circles, especially pertaining to the NDP's alignment to the New Growth Path. This was seen as more spin-doctoring on the part of government.

The new wave of urbanisation was a focal point of the NDP discussion in 2013. It was proposed that in order to balance rural and urban development, all three spheres of government would have to participate in the creation of a national integrated urban development framework to assist municipalities to effectively manage rapid urbanisation (Deputy Minister for Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs, 2013). This rapid urbanisation was said to also change the demographic of stakeholders needed to participate in implementation. There was an indication in Parliament that in order for the NDP to be implemented there would have to be a structured national conversation on the future of South Africa's towns and cities (Deputy Minister for Co-Operative Governance and Traditional Affairs, 2013). This emphasises the perceived importance of communication and dialogue for implementing the plan. Cope stated that it understands the urgent need to improve infrastructure and access to essential services as envisaged in the National Development Plan but also placed emphasis on the fact that this should not be done at the expense of the work that has already been done to ensure economic development (Ferguson, 2013). To prevent a sense of enmity between the NDP and past plans, the contribution of past plans should be acknowledged in the NDP's implementation. Also, criticism of the plan should be allowed and encouraged. President Zuma described criticism of the plan by opposition parties as "hysteria" (President of the Republic, 2013). This kind of language was perceived to prevent dialogue on the plan and ensure that the "hysteria" continues, as issues remain unresolved.

Reference was made to the Ready to Govern document and the fact that it was well implemented because the ANC took a proactive role in implementation. Mfundisi (2013) stated that "when the ANC said they were ready to govern it actually meant that they were ready to do so" (Mfundisi, 2013). Even more proactivity would be needed in the communication and implementation of the NDP. This narrative indicates that in the past government was perceived as more proactive than it is currently. Furthermore, there was dialogue on the importance of incorporating the youth in the conversation on development

and change, primarily by using the narrative of the youth of the 1976 uprising as a benchmark for the impact that the youth can have in society (Minister in the Presidency - National Planning Commission, 2013).

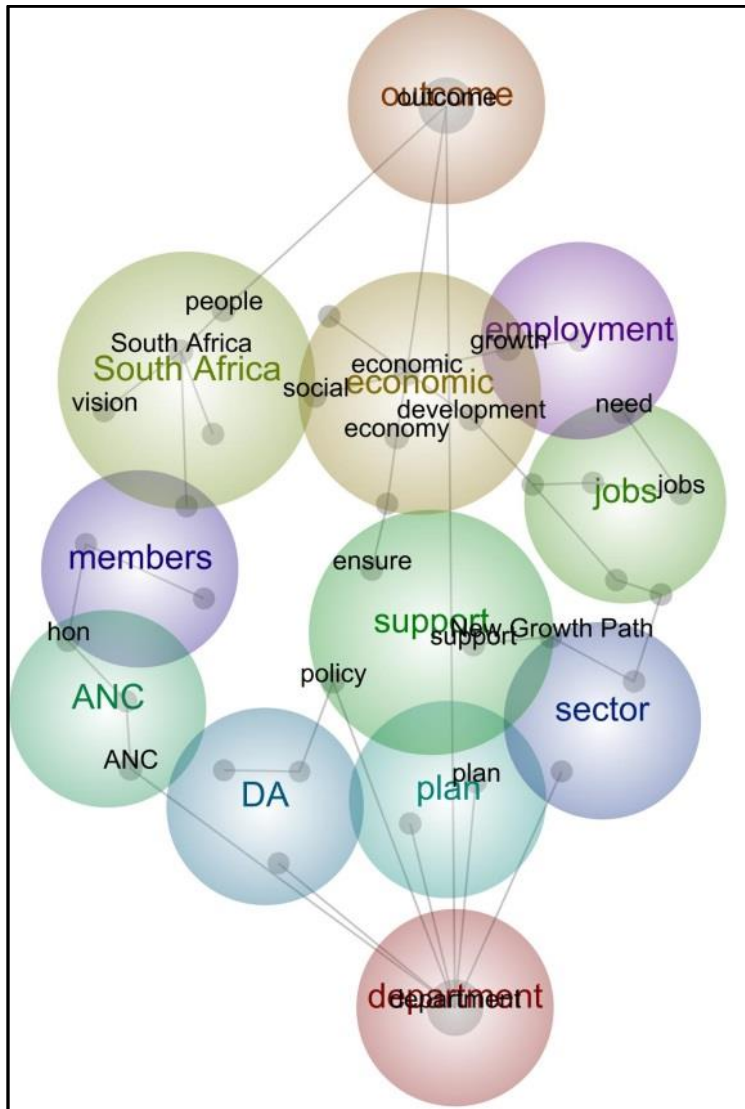
There was a high degree of express support for the National Development Plan amongst ANC speakers in Parliament (Deputy Minister of Public Works, 2013). Furthermore, the president stated that the NDP is supported by key economic instruments such as the New Growth Path and the Industrial Policy Action Plan (President of the Republic, 2013). This was disputed in Parliament, primarily considering some of the contentions between the NDP and the NGP. To address this, former President Jacob Zuma used the State of the Nation Address to highlight the need for the various government departments to align their strategies with the National Development Plan (Njobe, 2013). Although unemployment was one of the most talked-about issues in Parliament, it was the least-discussed in the context of the NDP. This was perceived by Parliamentarians to perpetuate the notion of misalignment between the discussion on the most-pertinent socioeconomic issues and the discussion on the NDP.

The success of the RDP and the fact that three million housing units have been built since 1994 was discussed in Parliament (Minister in the Presidency - Performance Monitoring and Evaluation, as well as Administration, 2013) as a way of indicating that the NDP could have similar success.

The final concept discussed was the “youth” concept, focused on the role of the youth in economic development. There was concern in Parliament regarding whether or not President Zuma would be able to lead and implement the NDP or whether, similar to the youth wage subsidy, COSATU’s concerns regarding the plan would slow its implementation (Ross, 2013). A suggestion in Parliament to enhance youth participation in the implementation of the NDP was the creation of a Youth Parliament (Makhubela-Mashele, 2013). This way young people could be encouraged to assemble and engage on issues that affect them and play an important role in policy implementation.

### 7.2.1.4 Explanation of 2014 Hansard concept map

This section will focus on the fourth year of analysis – 2014. **Figure 7.8** shows the conceptual map of the concepts identified in Parliament in 2014.



**Figure 7.8: Concept map of Parliament discussion regarding the NDP in 2014**

12 main concepts were identified from the analysis of Parliament Hansards: outcome, South Africa, economic, employment, members, support, jobs, ANC, DA, plan, sector and department.

The year 2014 saw a rise in conversations in Parliament on how individual departments would implement the NDP. Certain departments were tasked with implementing certain sections of the plan. For instance, the Department of Arts and Culture was mandated by government to lead and co-ordinate outcome 14 of the 2014 to 2019 Medium-Term Strategic Framework which puts into effect the implementation of Chapter 15 of the National Development Plan that is, “Transforming society and uniting the country” (Minister of Arts and Culture, 2014). Organisations such as the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) allied themselves with the NDP and stated that they would continue to contribute to government’s efforts to improve the standard of living through the development of social and economic infrastructure, and generally to support growth within the economy (Deputy Minister of Finance, 2014). There was also an emphasis on the role of the NDP in promoting development through improved infrastructure.

This is the year in which the issue of land reform was discussed in the context of the NDP. Malema (2014) stated that the “NDP is supposed to be a vision for government programmes until 2030, but the majority of its proposals are not practical”. He said this insinuating that the NDP is impractical, as demonstrated by the EFF’s belief that the majority of South Africans cannot advance socioeconomically without what he describes as a “radical change of property relations”. The NDP was described, not as a plan for government, but as a plan for the people of South Africa (Minister in the Presidency - Performance Monitoring and Evaluation as well as Administration in the Presidency, 2014). It was furthermore described as “the most dynamic plan in the history of South Africa” (Minister in the Presidency - Performance Monitoring and Evaluation as well as Administration in the Presidency, 2014). The NDP being “the people’s document” as well as a “dynamic” plan were perceived selling-points for its implementation. Also, perception that the NDP was drafted as a tool for garnering votes in the election was denied, stating that the election manifesto of the ruling party and its overarching vision was the NDP and

that “it is part of our commitment to the electorate of South Africa” (Minister in the Presidency - Performance Monitoring and Evaluation as well as Administration in the Presidency, 2014) insisting that the NDP is an overarching vision and not an election ploy.

The New Growth Path continued to feature as an important document for economic development in South Africa, although the role that it plays in implementing the NDP remained unclear. The NGP was also referred to as “the ANC’s New Growth Path”, similar to the NDP (Marais, 2014). This indicates a level of ownership of the plan by the leading party but, the language used gives the impression that that the plan does not belong to all political parties and South African’s but rather that the plan belongs to the ANC. This language excludes stakeholders from participating in implementation.

The ANC asserted that the NDP complements IPAP and the NGP. However, some of political stakeholders believe this to be false. The magnitude, scope and range of issues that the NDP covers, as well as other policy proposals were listed as the reason that some discrepancies exist between these plans (Carrim, 2014). Several departments, such as National Treasury, voiced their commitment to the National Developmental Plan, the Industrial Policy Action Plan and the New Growth Path, but how these plans fit together, and the role of each was not clarified.

The ANC continued to make statements about the fact that they support the NDP goals and that they take seriously the provisions of the manifesto of the ANC to escalate efforts to fight crime and corruption (Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform, 2014). However, the reputation of the president regarding corruption allegations thus far have cast doubt on the ability of government to implement the plan in an honest manner. This indicates a low level of trust between government and its stakeholders.

Conversation on the NDP primarily made reference to the fact that development plans are created by and owned by the ANC. There was no talk of these plans being owned by all political parties, neither was there any communication on their role in implementing plans (Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform, 2014). For instance, the Freedom



Charter, although it is highly respected by other political parties was referred to as an ideological construction of the ANC. Therefore making the transition from creating development plans that represent the ANC to making plans that represent other parties as well will require effective communication. The ANC later expressed an interest in working with other political parties to implement the NDP (Booi, 2014). At this stage, no initiatives took place to achieve this.

Julius Malema (2014) stated that the NDP is not a sustainable plan because his party did not believe that it would improve living conditions through the provision of formal jobs in the industrial sector and that this plan identifies services, such as domestic work, and the informal sector as job drivers. The EFF does not believe that sustainable jobs can be created in this way. This perception coincides with COSATU's stance on government providing opportunities for "decent work". This is an ideological issue held by at least two important stakeholders and should therefore be addressed. It was suggested that the aspects of the NDP that are agreed upon should be implemented in the interim. This would build confidence in the plan and enable positive dialogue on it. Khoza (2014) stated that "whilst there are disagreements on certain aspects of the NDP, it is generally accepted as a tool we can use to accelerate economic growth, create jobs and alleviate poverty."

A Minister in the Presidency stated that in December 2012 the ANC unanimously and wholeheartedly adopted the NDP saying that, "there are no backseat drivers for this plan; the driver is the president" (Minister in the Presidency - Performance Monitoring and Evaluation as well as Administration in the Presidency, 2014). This indicated that President Zuma was the perceived champion of the NDP. Regarding, the previous statements on the allegations of corruption surrounding the president, this was seen to have an impact on the perception of the plan, and its implementation.

The Public Investment Corporation was stated to be one of the most important organisations in increasing the rate of investment by both the public and private sectors and is therefore an important stakeholder for the communication and implementation of the NDP (Deputy Minister of Finance, 2014). Operation Phakisa was the first project

created to implement the NDP by bringing stakeholders together. It was described in Parliament as a “collaborative working model that put together stakeholders from the public sector, business, civil society and academic and research institutions into collective thinking sessions for five weeks to crack the implementation of megaprojects” (Deputy Minister of Economic Development, 2014).

According to Parliamentary representatives, the perspective was that in 2014 the New Growth Path was being represented as the implementation vehicle for the National Development Plan. Furthermore, while there are points of overlap between the two plans, they were still perceived as conceptually and fundamentally different, with the NGP taking a statist view of the economy while the NDP was more aligned to the involvement of the private sector (Atkinson, 2014). The NGP and the NDP were perceived by the DA as not being compatible and they believed that although the “NDP is the policy of choice” there are few signs of the ruling party being committed to its implementation (George, 2014). When the NDP diagnostic was first tabled in the National Assembly, the DA welcomed the candid outcome (George, 2014) but do not agree with the level of discussion, or see the plan as having sufficient support and consensus to be implemented. According to Ross (2014), the DA expressed its support for the NDP stating that “the economic moral, which we prefer, should be that the state is the enabler for growth with the private sector playing a pivotal role in growing the economy.” This encouraged the premise that the private and public sector should collaborate for development to take place. However, the DA maintained the position that government should actively lead the implementation and that the private sector will play a support role. At this point effective leadership and political will to lead implementation were perceived as missing elements.

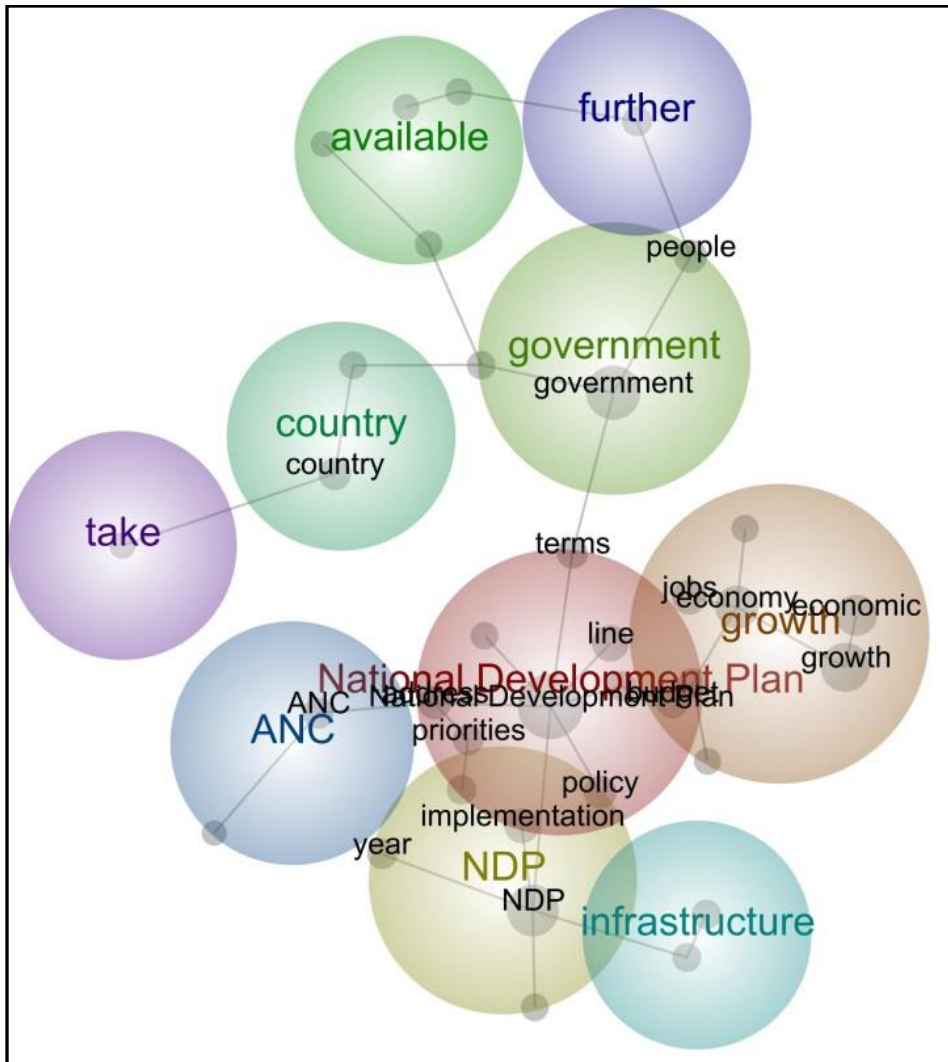
The onus fell on members of Parliament to monitor that government made resources available to various departments to help them meet the objectives of the NDP (Minister of Science and Technology, 2014). Therefore the perception was that Parliament played the role of ensuring accountability in the plan’s implementation. The primary narrative was that the NDP was an ANC plan accepted by some political parties. The notion that all political parties were involved in the development of the plan was not evident in the

discourse. For instance, Radebe (2014) stated that “it is indeed very heartening and humbling that the ANC really lives and leads because today, as we speak, the members on our left have wholeheartedly embraced the NDP.” This creates the impression that the ANC formulated the plan, but it was the responsibility of other parties to join them in implementing it. However, there is no mention of their participation in creating the plan in the first place. This reduced the level of ownership of the plan across political parties.

The New Growth Path was hailed as being the development plan responsible for a recovery seen in employment since 2010 (Pikinini, 2014). Also, since then employment in South Africa rose by over a million, with close to half a million jobs being created in 2014. Another reason the New Growth Path was seen as an effective development plan is that the job drivers in the NGP show where employment is possible (Pikinini, 2014). The NGP was still described as the “government’s key programme to take the country onto a higher growth trajectory”. The National Development Plan, almost four years after its introduction, was not seen as the main development plan for government (Minister of Economic Development, 2014). This statement was made by the Minister of Economic Development at the time, showing a lack of communication alignment. It possibly also showed support lacking for the NDP. There is a need for dialogue on the NDP, which President Zuma committed to (Minister of Science and Technology, 2014). This had not taken place at this stage.

#### **7.2.1.5      *Explanation of 2015 Hansard concept map***

This section focussed on the fifth year of analysis – 2015. **Figure 7.9** depicts the conceptual map with the concepts identified in Parliament.



**Figure 7.9: Concept map of Parliament discussion regarding the NDP in 2015**

10 main concepts were identified in the analysis: available, further, take, government, country, ANC, National Development Pan, growth, NDP and infrastructure.

The National Development Plan concept had the sub-concepts “National Development Plan”, “line”, “address”, “policy”, “budget”, “terms”, “priorities” and “create”. The discussion on the NDP was highest in 2015 but, decreased significantly from this point. Therefore there was a decline in the conversation on the plan. Also, there was a desire in Parliament that the state budget should more clearly be located in terms of the National Development Plan, the Medium-Term Strategic Framework and the State of the Nation address, particularly the 9-point plan to ignite the economy and create jobs (Carrim, 2015). The

NDP should also be reflective of the vision set in the Freedom Charter (Carrim, 2015). This indicates the importance of perceived alignment in the implementation of development plans.

Louw (2015) stated that the nine strategic priorities for 2015 could not be achieved within the NDP policy framework because the ANC has “no clue about how to lead in order to take our country forward”. This implies the perceived lack of leadership necessary to implement the plan as well as a lack of faith in the NDP and government’s leadership. There was agreement in the Financial and Fiscal Commission that in order to stimulate job creation, government must address sluggish economic growth, inadequacies in education and training, the skills mismatch, the collective bargaining system, barriers to entry to product markets and the constrained electricity supply (Lekota, 2015). This is in line with the principles set out in the National Development Plan and the NDP could be used a basis to discuss these issues. It was made clear that although the National Development Plan was the stated policy of choice, this was not reflected in government action because “economic paralysis” was seen to continue to reduce the number of jobs and growth (George, 2015). Government’s actions were not seen to align with the principles of the NDP. For instance, the forecast for economic growth in 2015 was 2% which was far below the 5,4% target of the NDP and would stifle the NDP’s goal of creating 11 million jobs in this time period (Figg, 2015). Therefore the plan was already seen as unrealistic.

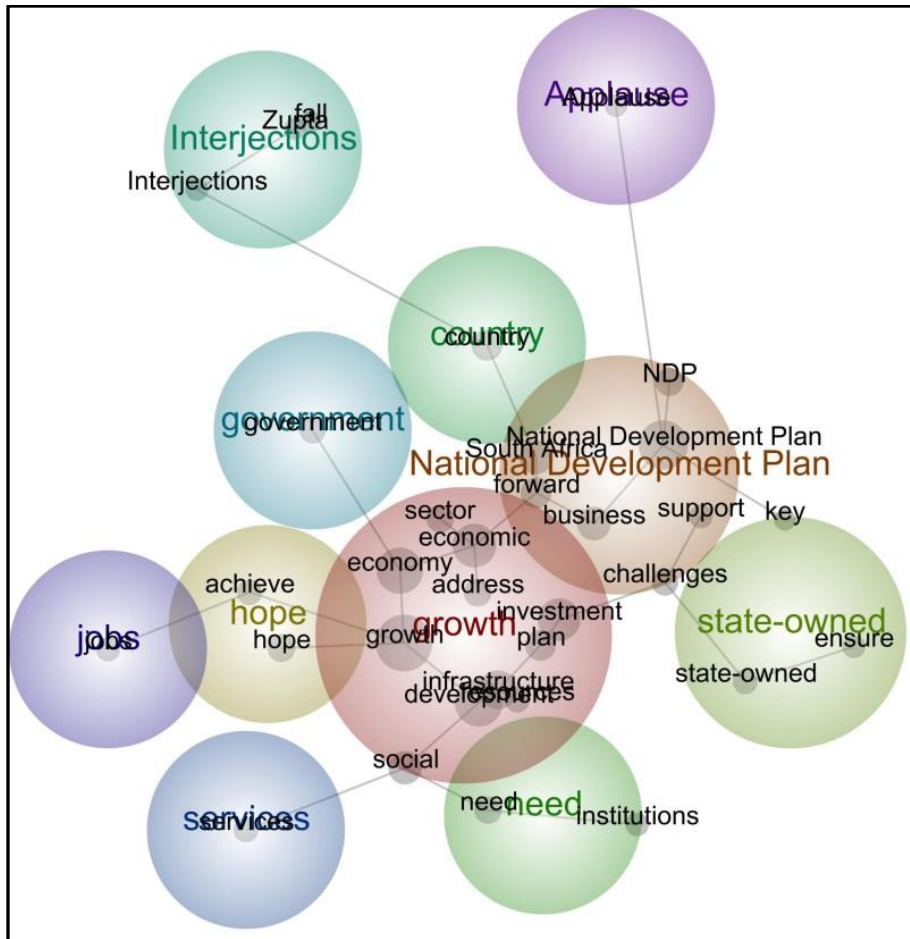
There was an expectation that the state would participate more in leading economic development (Kwankwa, 2015). Also, it was perceived that “radical economic transformation” is needed in South Africa and that in order to grow the economy the goals of the National Development Plan and the Industrial Policy Action Plan would have to be advanced with “renewed vigour” and passion by government (Mahlangu, 2015). Therefore government would have to be seen as zealously pursuing the implementation of the plan and communicating in like fashion. The expectation in Parliament was that development plans would be executed and policed ensure that any corruption regarding these plans is punishable. This is demonstrated in the discussion on the implementation of the RDP

because some of the people involved in providing houses illegally “have not yet been brought to book” (Mulaudzi, 2015). This lack of accountability brings leadership into question and advances the perception that similar corrupt activity would take place in the implementation of the NDP. More communication was stated as a requirement for the specific elements of the National Development Plan that should be focused on for implementation (Beukman, 2015).

The importance of communicating The Constitution and using it as a guide to a fair society (September, 2015) was emphasised. Therefore the link between The Constitution and the National Development Plan should be made clear, because The Constitution is a highly respected and reputable document. The ANC continued to stress its commitment to the implementation of the New Growth Path and the Industrial Policy Action Plan (Mahlalela, 2015). The link to the NDP did not feature.

#### **7.2.1.6      *Explanation of 2016 Hansard concept map***

This section will focus on the final year of analysis – 2016. **Figure 7.10** depicts the conceptual map for 2016.



**Figure 7.10: Concept map of Parliament discussion regarding the NDP in 2016**

11 main concepts were identified from the Parliament analysis: interjections, applause, government, country, National Development Plan, jobs, hope, growth, state-owned, services and need.

The focus on implementing the NDP reduced in 2016. Parliament representatives believed that the NDP could assist with managing finances, reigniting confidence in government and mobilising the resources of social partners. It was also perceived as a plan that could give hope to the youth and accelerate transformation towards an inclusive economy that encourages participation by all South Africans (Minister of Finance, 2016). Government's past promises to implement the NDP were emphasised in 2016 (Minister of Finance). Therefore the accountability of government with regards to implementing the plan was discussed by members of Parliament. Creating the perception that government institutions

are capable of facilitating economic growth is an important part of creating the trust necessary to have stakeholder support. The establishment of an inter-ministerial committee to enhance co-operation with the private sector “in the hope of placing our country on a growth path” is needed to regulate the communication between government and the private sector (Buthelezi, 2016). This is an important statement for implementing the NDP but government’s use of the words “growth path” create the impression that reference was being made to the NGP and not the NDP.

To deal with this, there was a call in Parliament to unite behind the National Development Plan (President of the Republic, 2016). Also, partnership between government, business, organised labour and civil society were said to be the key to policy coherence and more rapid development (Minister of Finance, 2016). So, managing these relationships is necessary. Emphasis was placed on the importance of building confidence in order to stabilise the economy, raise the level of investment and return South Africa to a path of inclusive economic growth. The perception in Parliament was that government is no longer as focused on inclusive growth as it was in the past (President of the Republic, 2016). The NDP is positioned to restore this focus but this should be communicated effectively.

There was opposition to President Zuma’s presence in Parliament in 2016, with Julius Malema (amongst others) stating that “We cannot allow Zuma to do as he wishes in this country” (Malema, 2016). Based on this, President Zuma was perceived by the opposition as having a negative impact on the implementation of important policies like the NDP. This brings into question his image as a champion for the NDP. Furthermore, the seriousness of the allegations made against him were not seen to be taken seriously by the president, with Malema (2016) stating that “He has stolen from us; he has collapsed the economy of South Africa; he has made this country a joke and after that he has laughed at us”. To emphasise the lack of trust, Buthelezi (2016) insinuated that there is little hope of the plan being implemented stating that “despite the hopes expressed in the National Development Plan, the NDP, by all parties that we could achieve a 5% economic growth rate by 2019, this will not happen.” Regardless, the NDP was lauded for its honesty regarding the country’s socioeconomic issues (Buthelezi, 2016).



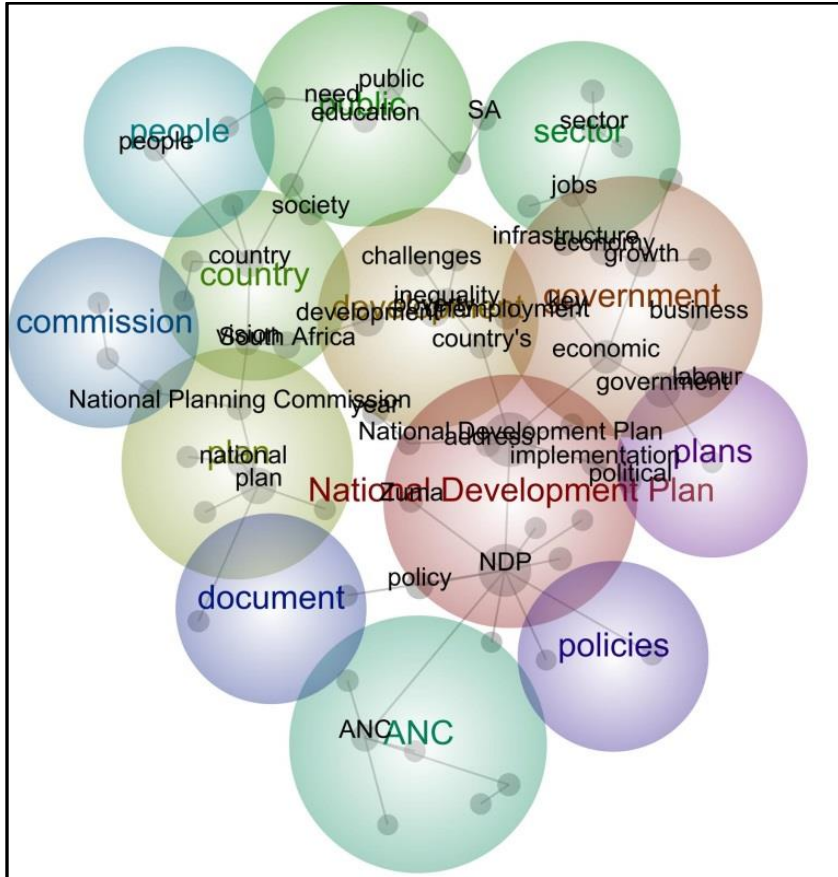
The “interjections” concept came to the fore in 2016, and not any other year. This shows the increase in interjections and conflicts in Parliament at this stage. The main issue was with the president and the perception of his leadership style and capability.

The “hope” concept also became popular in 2016, as depicted by the concept map. This concept focused on creating and inspiring hope in the implementation of the NDP. Aside from this, corruption was perceived as a hindrance to the implementation of the plan. Malema (2016) stated that “We are the last hope for the war against corruption.” This rhetoric created the impression that the nation as a whole was in opposition to President Zuma’s leadership and corruption in the leading party. Malema (2016) stated in regard to this, “Mr Zupta, your legacy can be summed up into three things: Umshini Wami, Nkandla, Guptas. To all South Africans, our message is clear and simple: Freedom is coming. The EFF is the last hope for jobs and service delivery.” This was strong rhetorical language indicating political stakeholders did not believe the intentions of the ANC were good, even as they pertained to the NDP. This emphasised the fact that this political party in particular did not see the NDP as needing to be implemented by the collective.

There was a desire in Parliament to see the NDP practically implemented, primarily because of its capability for creating jobs. However, there was an expectation that government would take responsibility for the ills related to unemployment instead of blaming other individuals or forces. President Zuma (2016) stated that “All programmes of government are now aligned to the National Development Plan”. The evidence of this, as well as how this alignment took place, was not demonstrated or communicated. Also, the Chief Whip of the Opposition (2016) stated that “with Rob Davies, the Minister - more excuses, more handwringing, more apologies: ‘It’s not our fault; we’re buffeted by outside forces.’” This indicates the importance of government taking responsibility for mistakes made that have led to slowed development. This connects to the concept of accountability, and its importance in leadership.

## 7.2.2 FINDINGS FROM NEWSPAPER ARTICLES: RESEARCH QUESTION 1

**Figure 7.11** is a portrayal of the first conceptual map developed for this study in relation to the concepts identified in the media articles from 2011 to 2016.



**Figure 7.11: Concept map of overall newspaper articles (2011 - 2016)**

13 main concepts were identified from the analysis of newspaper articles: people, public, sector, commission, country, development, government, plan, National Development Plan, plans, document, ANC and policies.

The National Development Plan concept had the sub-concepts “National Development Plan”, “NDP”, “policy”, “implementation”, “address”, “Zuma” and “political”. There was a high level of focus in newspaper articles on the government’s role in the implementation of the NDP. In an article in the Citizen (2012) it was stated that the DA wanted Jacob

Zuma to embrace the National Development Plan (NDP) as the country's only economic plan and announce its implementation by relevant departments starting in the 2012 medium-term budget cycle. This indicated that the NDP did not appear to be fully embraced by the people perceived to be responsible for its implementation. Also, President Zuma's State of the Nation address was said to have raised hopes for the implementation of poverty-alleviating initiatives and more economic development, but the address also triggered more opposition by COSATU to the National Development Plan (NDP). The media focused on profiling the members of the National Planning Commission as champions for the NDP. This was an attempt to “humanise” the plan.

The implementation of Operation Phakisa and the fact that it focused on creating jobs (mainly through the ocean economy) and ensuring infrastructure development was discussed in the media. Furthermore, it was positioned in the media as a programme that would aid in the implementation of the NDP. Operation Phakisa was discussed more in the media than it was in Parliament even though it is an initiative to implement the plan.

In an article in the Mail & Guardian (2015) Minister Faith Muthambi communicated the stance that government had already identified the communications sector as a critical growth sector, with the National Development Plan recognising that the on-going development of quality communications infrastructure, services, content and applications would be key to the rapid economic, social and cultural development of the country. Also, the tourism industry was hailed as one of the areas of development that should be focused on (Pretoria News, 2015). This was considered to be one of the more revolutionary aspects of the NDP and should be capitalised on.

Unlike in the Hansards where the NDP was seen more as an ANC plan, the media perceived it as a “blueprint, created by former finance minister Trevor Manuel” (Khanyile, 2015). Regardless, it continued to be perceived as government’s responsibility to implement the plan, even though Trevor Manuel was given the credit for creating it. Bisseker (2015) in an article for the Financial Mail stated that “Government's failure to implement the NDP or stabilise the labour environment are two key impediments to

growth.” This indicates the expectation for government to visibly lead implementation and failure to do so is perceived as a failure of government. She also stated that there was an increase in policy uncertainty and a breakdown of trust between business and government which played a role in South Africa's “growth slowdown”. It also points to the importance of a relationship-building function in government to improve trust between itself and its stakeholders.

In an article by Crotty (2012) Business Leadership SA's (BLSA) response to the National Development Plan was discussed. This organisation supported the NDP and stated that for the plan to be implemented it would require sacrifice from the management of organisations. What this entailed was not clear. This aligned with what Sikhakhane (2011) said in an article in The Star where it was stated that in order for South Africa to reach its full potential by 2030 the NDP's implementation would require tough decisions to be made, mutual sacrifice across government and organisations and strong leadership. The contents on the plan were regularly discussed in print media. “The plan proposes a development path that tackles the country's problems, including unemployment, poverty and inequality, as well as the protection of the environment” (Sikhakhane, 2011). This was the common narrative.

The link between the NDP and other development agendas was a matter of importance in print media articles. For instance, the UN's Sustainable Development Goals contained in Agenda 2030 are aligned to South Africa's National Development Plan, as well as to the African Union's agenda 2063, according to the Presidency (Pretoria News, 2015). The extent of this alignment and how they align was not communicated. Also, the plan that would take precedence, between the ones mentioned, was not communicated.

Minister Trevor Manuel (The Herald, 2011) said, “There is a real risk that South Africa's national plan could fail because the state is incapable of implementation”. This shows that although he is a member of the government and of the ruling party, there is a degree of questioning the states capability of implementing the plan. Although government requires the participation of a variety of stakeholders, it would be expected to lead the

implementation. The perceived leadership deficit would impede this process. Furthermore, Member of the NPC, Mike Muller (Mail and Guardian, 2011) considered the NDP to be “the country's first formal national development plan” therefore increasing the spotlight on the plan and the pressure to implement it. Former President FW de Klerk (2011) stated that there are signs that the government would “rise to the challenge” of implementing the NDP under the leadership of Trevor Manuel because the plan was a “practical and sensible national development plan”. Minister Manuel’s leadership was lauded as an important component of potentially implementing the NDP.

The NDP discussion gave rise to dialogue on South Africa’s socioeconomic ills, but also emphasised South Africa’s capability to deal with these challenges with the right leadership and the support of all sectors of society (City Press, 2011). This particular article shunned the perception of the state being incapable of implementing the plan. However, it did place emphasis on implementation requiring the right political leadership.

Political discourse in the media indicated that the NDP could create a sense of newness for the nation and present a new era in South African development. An article in the Sunday Independent (2011) stated that “the plan helps us to chart a new course”. According to Prof Jonathan Jansen (The Times, 2011), who regularly comments on political issues, for the educational recommendations in the NDP to be implemented, there would be need for not only a change in the economics of the country by also a change in the way political leaders handle and communicate in the political arena. He referred to this as a “new kind of politics” and indicated that in order to introduce a modern development plan, the way government communicates and interacts with the public would have to modernise.

The policy discrepancies perceived to exist between the NDP and other economic development documents was discussed. There were some concepts that were perceived to be aligned, in what were referred to as “the ANC’s policy documents” – the Department of Trade and Industry's Industrial Policy Action Plan 2 (IPAP2) and the Department of Economic Development's New Growth Path (Montalto, 2012). These documents were

perceived to place the state as the leader of change and the private sector was positioned to assist in achieving objectives. This is said to be in opposition to the NDP which is said to have a “more private sector, organic growth strategy” (Montalto, 2012). Prof Adam Habib indicated that if the NDP were to be embraced, it would introduce a shift from the much-debated issue of cadre deployment (Mkokeli, 2011). Furthermore, the African National Congress (ANC) was described as having “unapologetically implemented a policy of cadre deployment for more than a decade now” (Cohen, 2011). This shows a perceived lack of consultation and accountability, on the part of government, in implementing policies that may be controversial in nature.

Cohen (2011) described the NDP as having emotional appeal. This could be used to communicate the plan more effectively and connect with political stakeholders. Also, there was a perception that the ANC “vanquished” the old apartheid-era civil service and now had the challenge of correcting an issue that is said to be of their making, which is “a civil service so racked with inefficiency, corruption and an attitude of imperviousness that it is almost impossible to get anything done”, and this gave opposition parties “ammunition” that caused political conflicts (Cohen, 2011). It was perceived that political conflicts demonstrated in Parliament were caused by the ruling party’s lack of policy implementation and effective communication. Therefore communication on what should or has been done to ensure implementation is key to reducing the level of friction and confusion seen in Parliament.

Molwantwa (Business Day, 2011) stated that one of the reasons that development initiatives are not implemented, and common ground is not reached is because communication is not taking place and the necessary stakeholders do not come together and attempt to reach a compromise regarding issues surrounding implementation. According to the General Secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA), Irvin Jim (Business Day, 2013), the NDP is a “right-wing” policy that mirrors the Democratic Alliance policies. He furthermore stated that NUMSA and other COSATU affiliates were duty-bound to represent the interests of their constituency within the ANC. NUMSA went on to announce its rejection of the NDP (Marrian, 2013). In an article in the

Sunday Times (2015) the writer stated “if it’s already in the National Development Plan, let’s tweak it and implement it”, alluding to the fact that the most contested parts of the NDP should be discussed, changed and implemented in a way that reflects the interests of the majority. Achieving this would require effective communication and dialogue.

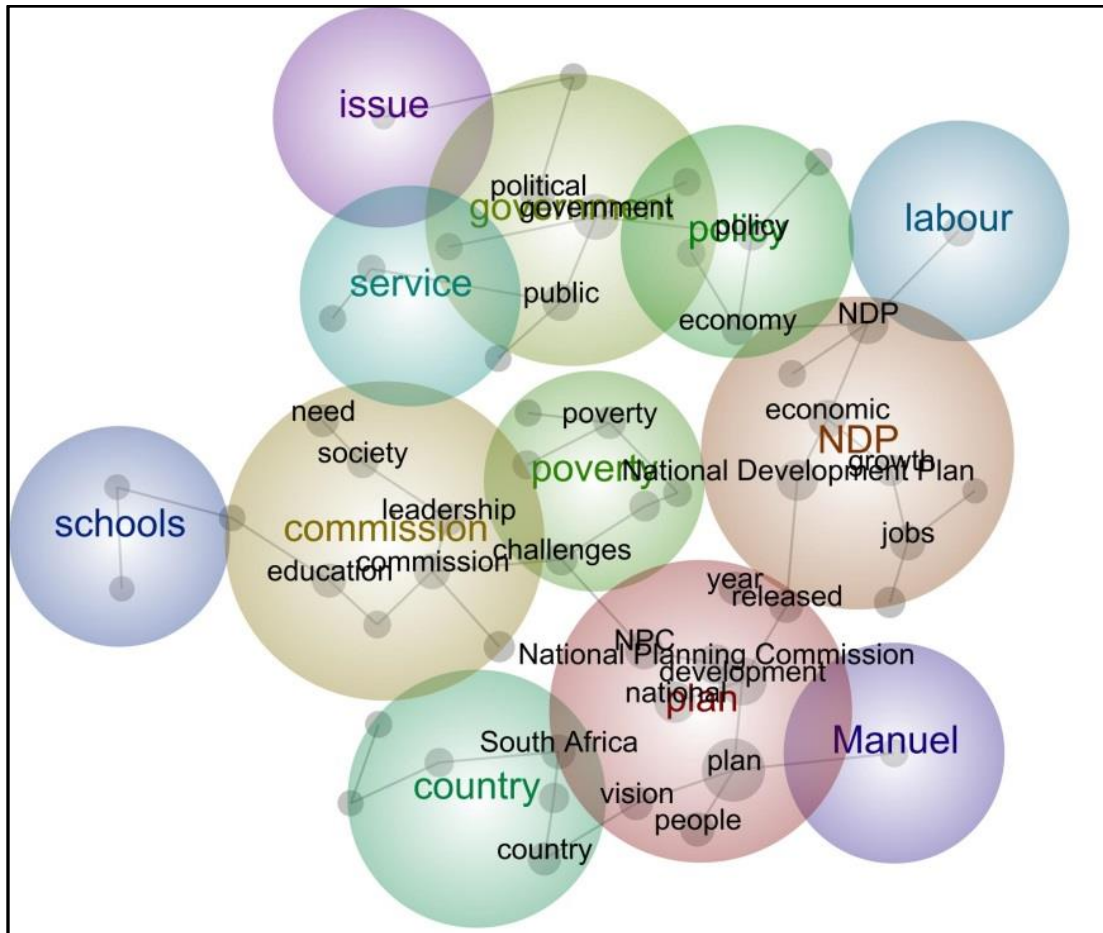
According to Hartshorne (2011), there is a link between the NDP and The Constitution and this link should be made clear in the communication of the plan. Lead SA and the Department of Basic Education developed the Bill of Responsibilities, which urges citizens to take ownership of their rights. The NDP calls for the bill to be “popularised and used as a pledge by all South Africans to live the values of the constitution” (Saturday Star, 2011).

Friedman (Business Day, 2011) stated that “there is sure to be resistance from vested interests even if it is not expressed openly” and that politicians and other “power-holders” may not be keen to follow the NDP. To add to this, the NDP is seen as a “living document not cast in stone” and this perception led to thoughts that the National Development Plan may eventually be reduced to a working document that is “subject to renegotiation in the ANC” (Maynier, 2015). This advances the notion that it is an ANC document and not one that is shared by all political parties and stakeholders.

Motsohi (Business Day, 2011) asked the following regarding development plan: “Why is it that the intended outcomes in all these plans have proven so elusive to achieve?”, implying that past development plans have failed and that the NDP will follow the same trajectory. He furthermore stated that “a brilliant strategy has no value if you cannot deliver on it” (Business Day, 2011). So, renewing faith in state capability should be focused on for implementation occur.

### **7.2.2.1      *Explanation of 2011 newspaper concept map***

This section focused on the first year of media analysis – 2011. **Figure 7.12** depicts the conceptual map with the concepts identified in newspaper articles in 2011.



**Figure 7.12: Concept map of newspaper discussion on the NDP in 2011**

12 concepts were identified in the analysis: issue, service, government, policy, labour, schools, commission, poverty, NDP, country, plan and Manuel.

The “plan” concept was the first recognised in 2011. It consisted of the sub-concepts “plan”, “development”, “national”, “National Planning Commission”, “NPC”, “South Africa”, “people”, “vision”, “released” and “year”. This concept focused on the political discussion of the National Development Plan in newspaper articles.

The first topic looked at the notion of leadership and its role in communicating the NDP. Creating the culture of good leadership in South Africa was seen as a way for realising the “proposed” NDP and its vision (Groenewald, 2011). Initially the focus in the media was on interviewing members of the NPC to receive insight into what the NDP was about. So,



the leaders of the plan played an important role communicating its contents. Award-winning business woman and member of the NPC, Bridgette Gasas, said the following about the NPC: “The National Planning Commission has a mandate to deliver on one, a national vision encapsulating the kind of South Africa in which all citizens would like to live in and two, the National Development Plan, giving both summary and detail of the programmes South Africa will undertake over the next 14 years, cutting across all sectors of our economy” (The Herald, 2011).

The NPC’s diagnostic report received attention because it shed light on some of South Africa’s socioeconomic ills and provided factual information on this. For instance, Magome (Pretoria News, 2011) focused on the issues facing the youth and stated that “we should heed the warning about what we do with our young people today because if the National Planning Commission’s observations are anything to go by, our future heavily relies on how we respond to it”. Therefore the diagnostic report was used as a vantage point for the discussion on the implementation of the NDP and the socioeconomic issues it hoped to address. This level of discussion put the NDP in the spotlight and was the public’s first encounter with the plan. A regular diagnostic of this nature would benefit the discussion on development in the South African context. The diagnostic asserts the validity of the NDP because it is based on verifiable facts about South Africa’s socioeconomic issues and helps with gaining stakeholder support. The importance of receiving the buy-in of all stakeholders was emphasised in the media (Finweek, 2011). In order for this to be possible, the politicians leading implementation should be perceived as “honest enough to face reality and make the right choices” (Motsosi, 2011).

There was a perception in the media that one of the NDP’s recommendations for advancing access to quality education and teaching is the need to decisively exclude the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) from participating in the appointment of principals and teachers (Motsosi, 2011). This perception further promotes the apprehension that unions have towards the NDP. For the plan to be implemented there was an expressed need for the creation of “institutional mechanisms for drawing on ideas from all quarters of society irrespective of racial or political background, and beyond

political party's archive of both of our past and our future" (Mangcu, 2011). This indicates a need for a new narrative to be developed for the NDP. One that is not based on "political archives of the past".

Furthermore, unionist Patrick Craven pointed out another issue with the plan's implementation by stating that "there's a gap between policy discussions and delivery" (Sunday Times, 2011). Vollgraaff (Sunday Times, 2011) further stated that a year after Economic Development Minister Ebrahim Patel unveiled the framework of "his" New Growth Path (NGP) to the public, "promises about jobs and inclusive growth have been made at the opening of Parliament, in the budget review and most recently in the National Development Plan (NDP) of the National Planning Commission (NPC)" and lack of delivery on past promises led to the NDP not receiving the necessary attention from stakeholders. This statement also indicates that development plans are perceived to be owned by the people and institutions that create them, and not by stakeholders. An example of this is the NDP being referred to as "Trevor Manuel's 20-year vision for the country" (Sikhakhane, 2011). To counter this notion, ordinary citizens were invited to participate in critiquing the plan (Pityana, 2011) however, the platforms for doing so were not properly advertised. Furthermore, the plan was described as having "some glaring shortcomings that will occupy the most prominent commentary" (Sunday Times, 2011). Therefore platforms should be created to discuss and reach consensus on these shortcomings.

Another area where trade unions like COSATU differed with regards to the NDP was that it was proposed that labour brokers, which the trade union federation was campaigning to have banned, be included in a subsidy programme for the placement sector to find, prepare and place matric graduates in work opportunities (Business Day, 2011). In response to this, the NDP was stated to be a policy that frees the business sector and makes the business environment conducive to growth, which results in jobs being created as businesses expand.

According to Anthony Butler (Business Day, 2011), the NDP is a long-term plan and for buy-in to be achieved, persuasive political leadership and communication would be required. Also, emphasis was placed on discussing, not only the socioeconomic development, but also its link to the underlying economic relationships that define South African society (Jim, 2011). To identify some of these relationships and their effect on implementation, the NPC Jam was established. This was a platform developed for dialogue on the Diagnostic Report and was well-received and described as a “glimpse of what is possible” (Manuel, 2011) regarding communication and interactions on serious socioeconomic issues. Manuel (2011) also said that it was important that the momentum be continued and that the content of dialogues, whether in Parliament, in the print and electronic media or in communities, be characterised by respect, tolerance, a regard for evidence and facts, and the desire to find shared consensus on how to resolve challenges. However, a similar initiative was not created for the NDP post-implementation. This was indicated in the fact that 11000 people were involved in consultations on the National Development Plan before it was introduced (Mposo, 2011). Post-implementation consultation should be included in future.

The NDP was perceived to be a document that made bold suggestions to boost job creation and the entry of new workers to the labour market. Although this boldness was perceived as one of its strong suits, the contrast between the NDP and the NGP was perceived as stark (Business Day, 2011). Regardless of the plan proposing practical solutions, the ideological issues that arose were not addressed. This created the impression that the NDP was “thumbing its nose at COSATU by calling for looser labour regulations that will lower entry wages and make it easier to hire and fire employees” (Business Day, 2011). According to de Wet (City Press, 2011), the NDP would lead to the outrage of powerful unions and significant blocks within the ANC and between its alliance partners.

One of the most important issues relating to the NDP and its link to the NGP is that the disputes between the two plans are not on what the plans say, but rather on what the plans do not discuss. Issues that they differ on are not discussed and are perceived to be

evaded (Business Day, 2011). These issues present an opportunity for dialogue on what is discussed in the NGP that the NDP. It also presents an opportunity for issues regarding the NDP to be clarified. For instance, Stone (Business Day, 2011) stated that the NGP is explicit with regard to the proposal on wage restraint for business executives, while the NDP is silent on the issue. Issues like this should be addressed.

The credibility of the NDP is tied to the viability of its delivery mechanism. Minister Manuel warned that “there is a real risk that South Africa’s national plan could fail because the state is incapable of implementation” (The Herald, 2011). This aligns with the “service” concept that focused on the fact the plan’s success depends on a capable state and public service (Mkokeli, 2011). The focus should not be only on building a capable state but communicating that capability. Education was perceived as being the largest point of contact between government and the communities, considering that there are approximately 26000 schools (Business Day, 2011). Therefore these should be used as a way of communicating the NDP directly to communities and gaining support for the plan.

#### **7.2.2.2      *Explanation of 2012 newspaper concept map***

This section focused on the second year of newspaper article analysis – 2012. **Figure 7.13** depicts the conceptual map outlining the concepts identified in newspaper articles in 2012.



**Figure 7.13: Concept map of newspaper article discussion on the NDP in 2012**

12 main concepts were identified from the analysis of media articles on the NDP: country, work, take, important, education, business, South Africa, development, National Development Plan, NDP, SA's and New Growth Path.

Feedback from the ANC's lekgotla (a meeting called by government to discuss strategy planning) indicated support the NDP. This feedback showed the perception that the NDP was more liberal in sentiment than past economic policy documents released by the ANC. However, the suggestion was that it should be used as an active guide for the actions of the ANC (The Star, 2012). Harris (Business Day, 2012) stated that Minister Pravin

Gordhan had responsibilities in ensuring the implementation of the NDP insisting that he should dispel fears that the government “will bow to pressure from its tripartite partners to implement unsustainable, populist policies and instead announce a programme of wholesale policy reform that should begin with a plan to integrate the proposals in the National Development Plan into the departmental budgets”. Therefore Minister Gordhan was perceived as an important leader in the implementation of the plan. One of his responsibilities was to reassure investors that he was in charge of economic policy and that government was able to implement a clear plan that made it beneficial to do business in South Africa (Harris, 2012). However, the steps needed to achieve implementation would have to be clarified (Business Day, 2012).

A suggested reason that stakeholders are stated to have lost faith in the possibility of the NDP’s implementation is the fact that government and business were not perceived to have united sufficiently in implementing Broad-based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) policies. Government and business “failed to define the goals of transformation, which had to be about more than changing the colour of a narrow elite” (Business Day, 2012). The perception of corruption within BBBEE policy implementation cast a shadow on the public’s perception of government’s interaction with black business and affected the perceived role of the private sector in implementing the NDP (Mthembu, 2012). Furthermore, communicating in a way that “humanises” business and businesspeople is essential for implementation (Mthembu, 2012). Organisations cannot be “humanised” without actively communicating with the public in a way that they can understand and relate to. Chamber of Mines CEO Bheki Sibiyi said that “As long as the government saw itself as responsible for job creation South Africa would have an unemployment problem” (Business Day, 2012). He suggested that government should instead focus on creating an environment conducive to economic growth and business development. Therefore indicating agreement with the NDP’s perspective that business should play a bigger role in implementation.

One of the suggested strategies for government to implement the plan was through partnership with Project Mthombo. This project’s goal was to contribute to the security of

liquid-fuels supplies in the Southern African Development Community (SADC), and is an infrastructure project for the development and economic growth of South Africa and SADC in general (Nokwe-Macamo, 2012). Projects like this would be good strategic partners and for communication and implementation of the NDP.

Former Western Cape MEC and National Planning Commissioner Tasneem Essop stated that the NPC was not a delivery mechanism but rather an advisory body (Pressly, 2012). The individuals that would lead implementation were yet to be identified at this stage. Also, the role of the NPC was communicated more clearly in the media than it was in Parliament. The NDP was perceived as a document that demonstrates that the ANC is thinking anew and that it is “once again in the process of reinventing itself” (Carim, 2012). This was one of the reasons that the implementation of the plan was doubted. It was seen as a tool for the ANC to reinvent itself, instead of as a tool for tangible economic development. President Zuma’s State of the Nation address demonstrated this. The address was eagerly anticipated, but whether or not it provided new hope for economic growth and delivery was questioned (Vollgraaff, 2012).

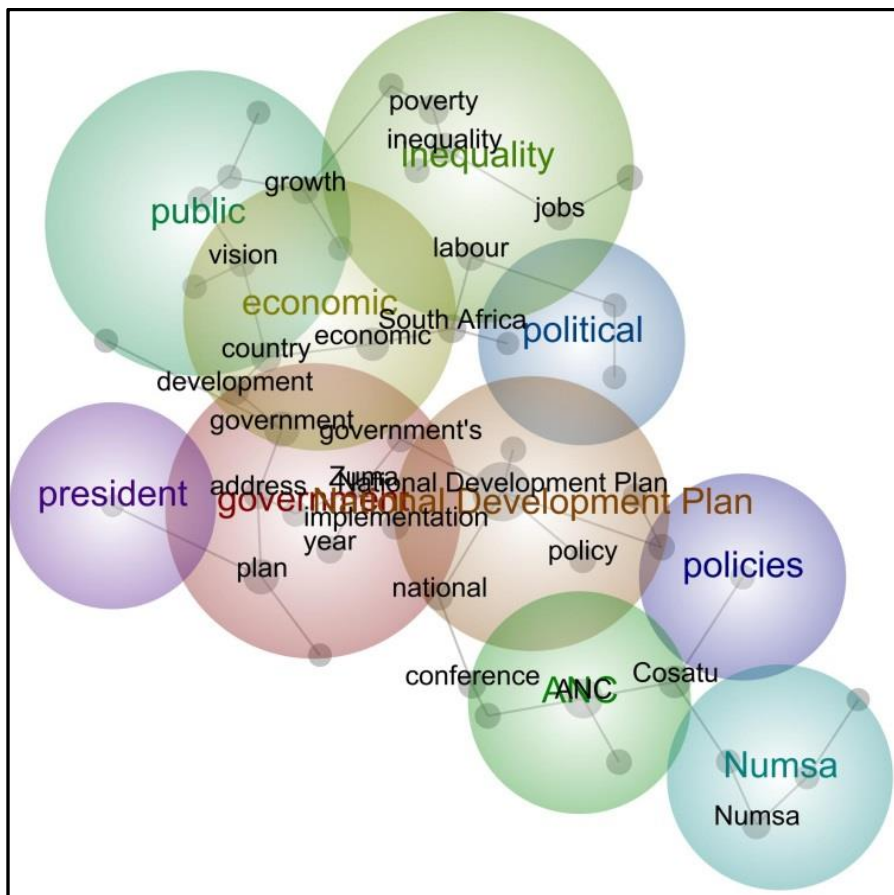
In 2012 there was still a focus on the New Growth Path and other policies surrounding industrial development. The government was reviewing its policies on industrial development zones and aimed to upgrade the concept to include special economic zones in the context of the New Growth Path and the Industrial Policy Action Plan (Allix, 2012). This indicates the continued focus on past plans.

According to Harvey (The Citizen, 2012), the contribution of trade unions to the National Development Plan is important and should not be overlooked. He furthermore stated that, “the scathing attack on the plan by the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) in December was telling. It carried some of the baggage of previous conflicts unions affiliated to COSATU had with the minister in charge of planning, Trevor Manuel, while he was finance minister” (Harvey, 2012). This statement showed that some of issues that trade unions have with the NDP are rooted more in the relationships that govern the plan’s implementation. It also indicates the importance of the perception stakeholders

have of Minister Manuel. So, the contents of the document are not the only reason for contention. Therefore this relationship should be managed, and the input of trade unions should be taken into account. So, leadership communication should be considered. For instance, at the time when there was a possibility of Kgalema Motlanthe being President Zuma's successor, the issues pertaining to their differing leadership styles became a topic of debate. So, leadership, and the way leaders communicate is important in political scenarios.

### 7.2.2.3 Explanation of 2013 newspaper article concept map

This section focused on the third year of newspaper article analysis – 2013. **Figure 7.14** depicts the conceptual map with the concepts identified in newspaper articles in 2013.



**Figure 7.14: Concept map of newspaper article discussion on the NDP in 2013**



The 10 main concepts identified from the analysis of media articles are: public, inequality, economic, political, president, government, National Development Plan, ANC, policies and NUMSA.

Based on the Leximancer analysis, 2013 saw a rise in the criticism of the NDP. An example of this was Floyd Shivambu's (Sunday Independent, 2013) statement on behalf of the EFF that the "the persistent failure by our policymakers and government leaders who cannot diagnose the real cause of rampant unemployment" was one of the proposed reasons for the NDP's lack of implementation. This indicates a need for dialogue on what the "real" socioeconomic issues are according to the different stakeholders, and how to address them. Regardless of this, 2013 also saw the beginning of government underscoring its support for the NDP. President Jacob Zuma used the State of the Nation address as an opportunity to bring people's attention to the plan (Hazelhurst, 2013). This took place two years after the plan's launch. Alignment was also stressed in the address, with President Zuma (2013) stating that the Brics initiative is aligned with the NDP's objectives of raising employment through faster economic growth, improving the quality of education, skills development and innovation as well as building the capacity of the state to play a developmental, transformative role.

The statement at the ANC's elective conference in Mangaung in 2012 and the party's national executive committee (NEC) lekgotla in 2013 confirmed that the National Development Plan (NDP) would underpin the government's programme of action. Furthermore, emphasis was placed on the fact that the NDP should be acted upon quickly and the programme of action should be in line with that of the ANC NEC, the Cabinet and the State of the Nation address. Therefore there was a focus on aligning the NDP with other documents that are perceived to execute the policies of the ANC.

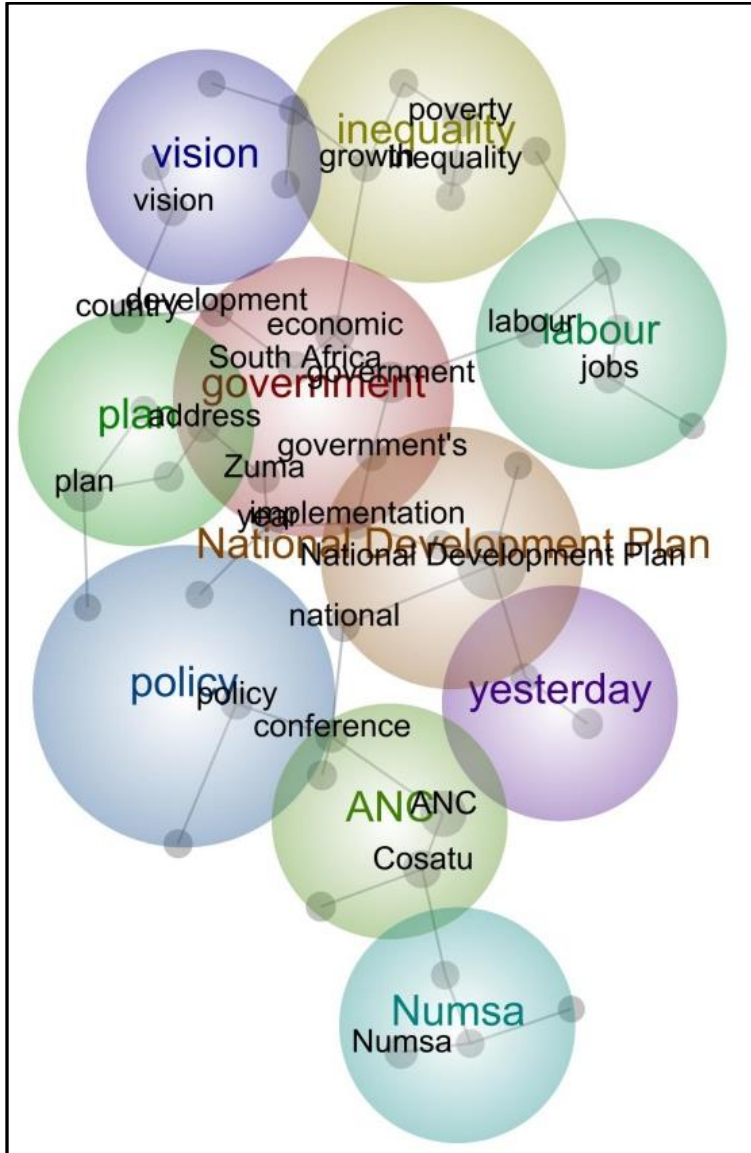
The ANC adopted the NDP at its Mangaung conference in December 2012, only for it to be openly rejected by trade union NUMSA and Zwelinzima Vavi, while other COSATU affiliates called for deliberations and debate on the document. This showed that the plan may have been adopted before adequate deliberation and buy-in was obtained (The Star,

2013). Vavi's opinion on this issue was that the left had lost control of the ANC to "black and African capitalists" who were now advancing the National Development Plan as a means of consolidating their own interests to the detriment of the working class. This shows the perception that the NDP, like the policy on Black Economic Empowerment, would primarily benefit a small minority that is already benefiting from the BEE policy. Vavi also voiced the belief that the majority of the members of the ANC had adopted the NDP at the Mangaung conference without reading the document. Professor Stephen Friedman (Saturday Star, 2013), director of the Centre for the Study of Democracy, said that the NDP was being used by both the ANC and trade unions as a political weapon instead of a tool for development, and that this was the main reason for contestation. Also, the narrative is that the ANC (as the ruling party) have the right to take decisions on policies, but that this led to COSATU and its affiliates resenting the NDP for their perceived lack of inclusion in its implementation.

Another contention is that the Commissioners who form part of the NPC have opposing and disjointed views. Therefore causing the document to have contradictions. Ilan Strauss (Business Day, 2013) stated that when discussing the policies to achieve the NDP goals "the NDP turns into a Hydra with many heads, reflecting the discordant views held by the 26 commissioners on the National Planning Commission (NPC)." Political economist Steven Friedman reiterated this by stating that (The Star, 2013) "there are a hundred different ideas contained in the new government mantra". One suggestion for making the NDP easier to understand was that it should be reduced to a two-page road map with a maximum of ten action points that everyone can understand (Business Day, 2013). Furthermore, the social dialogue aspect is critical.

#### **7.2.2.4      *Explanation of 2014 newspaper article concept map***

This section looked at the fourth year of newspaper article analysis – 2014. **Figure 7.15** depicts the conceptual map consisting of the concepts identified in the media in 2014.



**Figure 7.15: Concept map of newspaper article discussion on the NDP in 2014**

10 concepts were identified, namely: Vision, inequality, plan, government, labour, policy, National Development Plan, ANC, yesterday, ANC and NUMSA.

The first issue focused on in 2014 was that business leaders working with government had opposing views on issues of land reform. Major concerns for Eastern Cape Black Management Forum chairman Dumisani Mpafa include rural development, land reform, a youth wage subsidy, and funding for the National Development Plan (NDP). These issues were highly debated and should be addressed before implementation can take place. It

was expected that President Zuma would use the official opening of Parliament to put the National Development Plan at the centre of all government programmes over the coming years. This expectation was not met. Furthermore, the president's State of the Nation address was said to have raised hopes for the implementation of poverty-alleviating initiatives and more economic development, but the address also triggered opposition by COSATU to the National Development Plan (The Star, 2014). However, Jessie Duarte (Business Day, 2014) stated that NUMSA had always driven a populist, short-term vision for the country, "a constraint we have lived with in the strategic alliance we have forged with the Congress of South African Trade Unions, where NUMSA is an important ally". Therefore, the short-term strategies for implementing the NDP should be ironed-out to cater to these stakeholders.

Cyril Ramaphosa, Deputy President at the time, was perceived to be an important part of the leadership needed for the plan's implementation. Butler (2014) stated that the implementation of the National Development Plan and Ramaphosa would come "as a package" stating that his reputation with the private sector would make him a good representative for the plan. Butler (2014) further stated that the plan's successful implementation would be brought about by a combination of "carrots and sticks". The carrots would be budgetary contributions to departments, "which make proposals in line with the NDP". The sticks referred to an emphasis on accountability within departments, with penalties for not implementing the NDP correctly. Leaders (President Zuma in particular) would be expected "walk the talk" and use the State of the Nation address to announce a clear programme of action and a means measurement (Business Day, 2014).

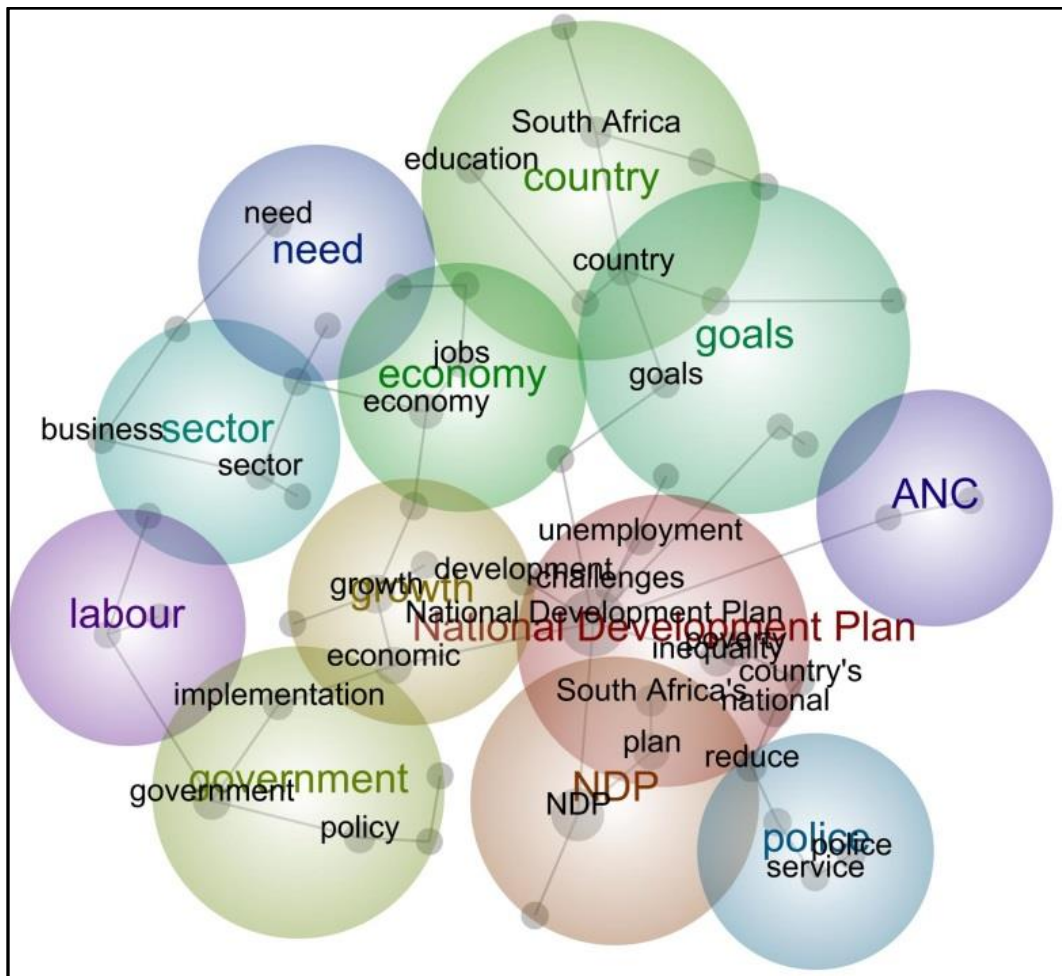
The NDP's stance on the importance of SMMEs in job creation was emphasised at this stage. The narrative in this regard was that small businesses had not been growing their employment rates due to the economic and labour environment, financial constraints and skills challenges (Bohloa, 2014). The ANC was perceived as being to blame for the decrease in employment prospects for young unemployed youth (Sunday Independent, 2014). Therefore, addressing these issues becomes imperative for implementing the plan and improving the image of the ruling party.

Cape Town Mayor Patricia de Lille (2014) stated her full support for NDP and emphasised the important role of local government in its implementation, stating that “local government is best for delivery” and that it was “where the real work happens”. Also, Kobus Fourie (2014) KPMG partner and leader of the KPMG SA centre of excellence for cities, said that cities were a catalyst for the successful implementation of the NDP, given that 87% of the South African population live in the eight metropolitan cities and produce 62% of the national GDP. Therefore, local government would have to work with large organisations in cities to implement the plan. Also, there was an expectation that all the leaders of the ANC elected in Mangaung would be seen to “stand up and defend the NDP that is always under attack” (Mgaga, 2014). For implementation to occur, the plan would have to be perceived as the responsibility of all political leaders, not that of Trevor Manuel, Gwede Mantashe and President Jacob Zuma (Mgaga, 2014). The media’s role in communicating the plan also came to the fore in 2014. For instance, there was concern over the fact that the State of the Nation address was focused on the NDP and this barely featured on front pages of South African newspapers (The Star, 2014). So, the media would have to be included in the conversation on communicating the plan.

One of the Department of Treasury’s (The Star, 2014) complaints regarding the NDP was that it did not believe that ratings agency Standard & Poors had sufficiently acknowledged the government’s adoption of the NDP. The buy-in of rating agencies is essential to ensuring that South Africa maintains a good credit rating, as the effective implementation of the NDP would raise investor confidence. To increase the chances of implementation, the focus should not be on the NDP as a vision for the nation but on whether the document engages with the vision of ordinary citizens (The Star, 2014). Therefore, the NDP is expected to be communicated, not as vision statement, but more as a tool to aid people in achieving their individual visions. The NDP should hence be seen to take into consideration the collective present, past and future of citizens and what that would look like.

### 7.2.2.5 Explanation of 2015 newspaper article concept map

This section looked at the fifth year of newspaper article analysis – 2015. **Figure 7.16** is a summary of the concepts identified in newspaper articles in 2015.



**Figure 7.16: Concept map of newspaper article discussion on the NDP in 2015**

12 concepts were identified from the analysis of articles on the NDP: Need, country, sector, economy, goals, labour, growth, National Development Plan, ANC, government, NDP, police. The “National Development Plan” concept was the most important according to the Leximancer analysis and had the sub-concepts “National Development Plan”, “inequality”, “poverty”, “national”, “South Africa's”, “unemployment”, “country's” and “challenges”.

Transformation was a major political theme in 2015 (The New Age, 2015). The alignment between the NDP and other strategic development documents, such as the SDGs contained in Agenda 2030 and the African Union's agenda 2063 (Pretoria News, 2015) also came to the fore in this year. The link between the NDP and these documents should be communicated. Also, sharing reputation with these documents may be beneficial for the NDP's communication. According to Baets (Cape Argus, 2015), much of South Africa's hopes for job creation are pinned on Small Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMMEs) with the National Development Plan estimating that 90 percent of jobs would be created by this sector by 2030. This makes SMMEs important stakeholders for the plan's implementation. Also, the ANC intended to transform the structure of the economy through industrialisation and Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE). Therefore, the NDP's alignment to policies on industrialisation and BBBEE should be clearly communicated.

Ball (Cape Times, 2015) described the NDP as "another grandiose plan that so far has not even started its engine and will be remembered as a nice financial send off for Trevor Manuel. If only we could get competent people to run the country we could prosper and do something to reduce unemployment, but it will never happen". This indicates the impression that the NDP is good plan that will not be implemented (due to political and government issues) and that the document itself will be used only in reference to Minister Trevor Manuel's legacy. This calls into question programmes like the Medium-Term Strategic Framework which was described as a five-year plan to achieve the NDP (Goldman, 2015), because without demonstrable evidence of the plan's implementation programmes like this would be of no use. Although certain programmes are implemented, if their progress and achievements are not clearly communicated, they will be perceived as having failed. Leadership communication would play a role here. Leaders providing regular feedback on the plan's implementation is a matter of necessity for effective communication (Merten, 2015).

The fiscal policy conference held by the Department of Treasury in conjunction with the World Bank was mentioned as one of the platforms aimed at deepening public

engagement on South Africa's fiscal policy choices (Business Day, 2015). Government asserted that it was taking steps to speed up the implementation of policy reforms proposed in the National Development Plan (Business Day, 2015). Minister in the Presidency, Jeff Radebe, contextualised South Africa's commitment to addressing the nexus between the development of human capital and economic growth and development (Cape Times, 2015). Furthermore, he stated that "reducing South Africa's high levels of unemployment requires the economy to be on a labour-absorbing growth path, as well as the development of entrepreneurship among our youth, in terms of interest, skills and creation of opportunities... these factors are at the heart of the National Development Plan (NDP) 2030, the New Growth Path and the Industrial Policy Action Plan." This statement showed that even years later, the NGP and IPAP are mentioned in conjunction with the NDP but, how they interact is not clear.

Some of the contentions surrounding the NDP came from the relationship between Minister Manuel and political organisations like the SACP. The Cape Times (2015) noted that Manuel accused the SACP of "no longer being what it used to be, having abandoned its principles and now rather just picking random fights and stuff, with examples ranging from a mooted response to the report on the Marikana massacre to dithering about supporting the National Development Plan." These relationships have affected the perception and acceptance of the NDP. Another issue of contention is the NDP's statement on high profile appointments to government-affiliated institutions and state-owned enterprises (Saturday Argus, 2015).

Merten (Daily News, 2015) stated that the policing white paper was based on the National Development Plan and advocated that South Africa's single police service should be professionalised, demilitarised and that the national and provincial police commissioners should be appointed on objective criteria in a competitive process chaired by a selection panel. However, The Constitution states that the president should have the authority to appoint the national police commission (Cape Argus, 2015). This was one of the areas in which the NDP was perceived to be at odds with important documents like The Constitution. Also, the national and deputy national commissioners are appointed by the



president only once a selection panel has offered recommendations. Although it does not elaborate on the panel or its composition, the NDP makes it clear that it would be the panel's responsibility to select and interview candidates against objective criteria, following a transparent and competitive recruitment process.

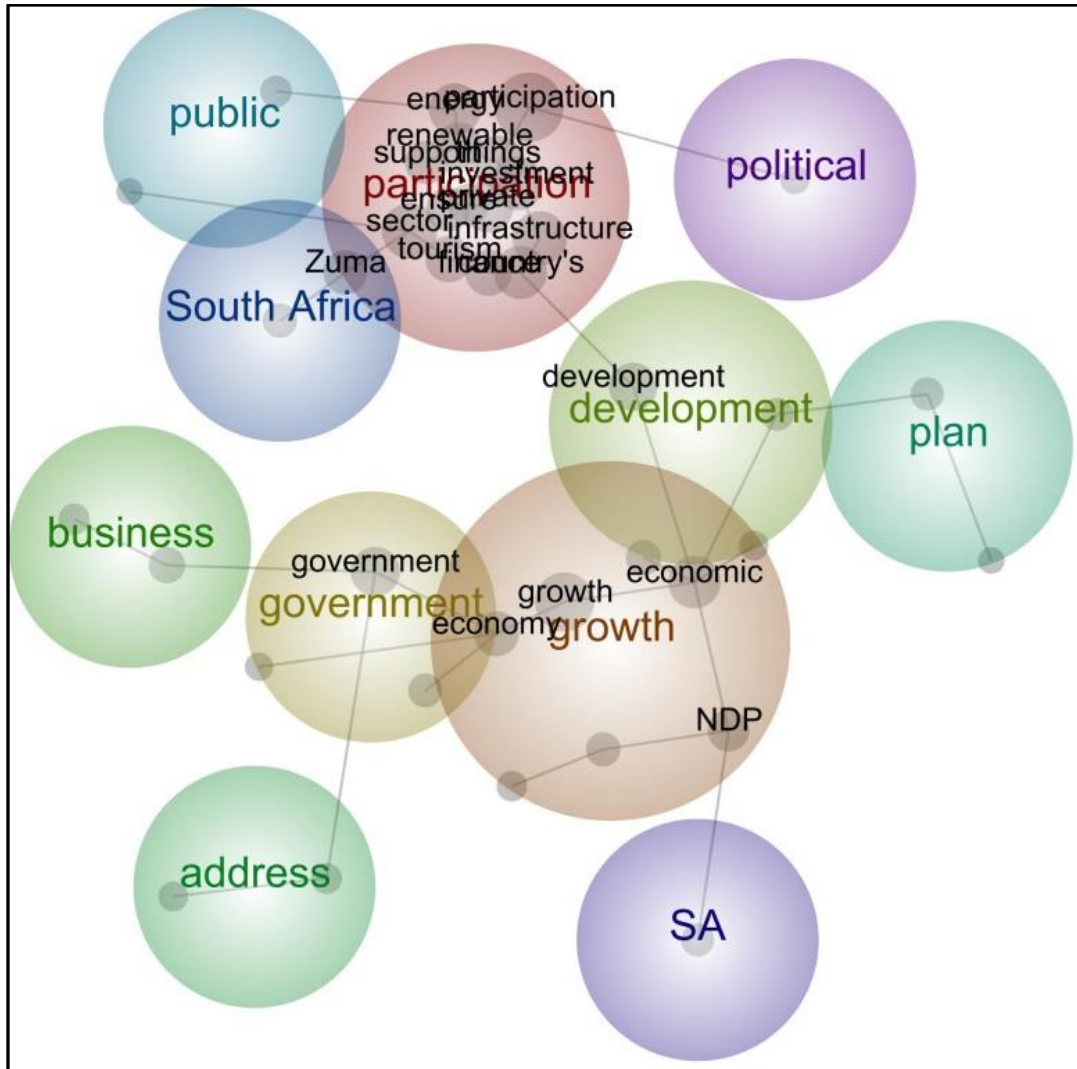
One perceived role of the National Planning Commission was stated in Business Day (2015) as the creation of private-public partnerships for economic growth. Additionally, its aim was to develop a small, medium and micro enterprises master plan linked to the NDP to build a robust and sustainable policy environment that placed SMMEs at the epicentre of accelerated economic growth and development (Cape Times, 2015). Nedlac could also be a potential partner for facilitating this process. Mahlakoana (Saturday Star, 2015) stated that the National Economic Development and Labour Council (Nedlac) annual summit heard from energy experts that government had missed opportunities to create more jobs through renewable energy in “an economy desperate for an increase in employment”. This would therefore be a good partnership for the NDP.

Small Business Development Minister Lindiwe Zulu's approach and attitude were lauded and “SA might just have a shot at achieving its 2030 National Development Plan (NDP) goals” if her approach is followed (Maqungo, 2015). “She appeared to hit the right notes in her recent budget speech for small, medium and micro-enterprises (SMMEs) on issues such as access to opportunities with 30% procurement set-asides allocated for SMMEs and a promise to compel government departments to pay them within 30 days or face punishment”. She was also perceived as a good potential champion for the NDP.

An article in the Pretoria News (2015) described South Africa as a developing country with a world-renowned Bill of Rights and a National Development Plan that, although noble, cannot be fulfilled because citizens do not have access to the information necessary for participation. It is also important to note that the NDP was perceived as a tool for branding the nation and creating a sense of national pride (Daily News, 2015).

### 7.2.2.6 Explanation of 2016 newspaper article concept map

2016 was the final year of analysis. **Figure 7.17** shows the conceptual map of the concepts identified in newspaper articles addressing the NDP in 2016.



**Figure 7.17: Concept map of media discussion on the NDP in 2016**

The following overall concepts were identified: public, participation, political, South Africa, development, plan, business, government, growth, address and SA.

The main concept addressed in 2016 was “growth” and had the sub-concepts “growth”, “economic”, “economy”, “NDP”, “implementation”, “budget” and “government”. Based on the data, for economic growth and development to take place the role of black business in the implementation of the NDP would have to be clarified. President Jacob Zuma hosted a high-level meeting with black professionals and representatives of black business groups to discuss their role in the economy. Key among the discussions was the implementation of government’s programme of action, in particular the National Development Plan (Citizen Saturday, 2016). Also discussed was the fact that South Africa could have achieved 5% economic growth in 2016 if more investment was made to infrastructure and aligning the country’s budget to the National Development Plan’s (NDP) goals (Business Day, 2016). Also, according to Maswanganyi (Business Day, 2016), the role of the NPC was better clarified in 2016, with it being stated that their role was to advise government on the implementation of the NDP.

Chris Campbell (Cape Times, 2016), the chief executive of CESA, said the government needed a strong focus on the implementation of more of its strategic infrastructure projects as detailed in the National Development Plan to mitigate the decline in the economy and improve investor confidence. This aligned with Public Service and Administration Minister Ngoako Ramatlhodi’s (Pretoria News, 2016) public lecture at Unisa with the theme “Building a capable, career-orientated and professional Public Service for a developmental state as stated in the National Development Plan Vision 2030”. The continued Saudi private sector investment in South Africa’s renewable energy sector in support of the National Development Plan, the petrochemical sector, banking and finance, and tourism infrastructure were perceived to be platforms for the rollout of Operation Phakisa (Pretoria News, 2016), which had not yet been implemented – five years after the launch of the NDP.

The role of rating agencies became more pertinent in 2016. This indicates the rising importance of managing investor relationships. Rating agencies want more detail and communication on growth and development plans (Sunday Times, 2016). President Jacob Zuma stated that government had decided to respond to pleas from business and take

steps the private sector saw as necessary to prevent recession and avoid a damaging downgrade to South Africa's sovereign credit rating (Sunday Times, 2016). Minister Pravin Gordhan was given the responsibility to show the world that South Africa would trim down its expenses, boost growth through the National Development Plan and build investor confidence in the country (Cape Times, 2016).

### **7.2.3 FINDINGS FROM INTERVIEWS: RESEARCH QUESTION 1**

The data indicate that the most contentious chapter of the plan is the economic chapter – especially from the left's perspective. A lot of the discourse on the plan focused on this chapter – which was expected considering its importance (Respondent 1). Based on this, from a left perspective, the first issue with the NDP is that it focuses on “growth now, redistribution later” (Respondent 1). This looks at the argument that the primary problem with economic development in South Africa is that the economy has not grown sufficiently – which is perceived to be untrue. Respondent 6 reiterated this stating that this was one of the reasons the RDP was not fully executed. Proof of this, is the “time where South Africa had its longest period of sustained economic growth between 1994 and 2004 that growth did not resolve socio-economic issues... health inequality and so forth” (Respondent 1). Therefore economic growth was not perceived by more left-leaning stakeholders as a solution for inequality. So, stakeholders with a leftist perspective do not believe in the “trickle-down” development model that the NDP proposes. The NDP is also perceived to promote less labour market rigidity. This is another area where it contends with unions. “Our labour laws are too tough and wages are too high... and those two assumptions are also incorrect for example if you see South Africa over the past 20 years we've had the restructuring of work and the expansion of precarious forms of work and an employment market that is not rigid in fact we have had the restructuring of work” (Respondent 1).

In addition to this, the NDP is perceived to uphold the existence of large monopolies. This is a point of contention. Respondent 1 stated that, “in terms of labours of concentration when you go to all South African sectors they are dominated by 4 or 5 companies... there

are massive barriers to entry... and so forth and they've built up linkages with other sectors so that's one of the problems as we can't just build small enterprises without looking at the structural impediments to the red tape of government... so it says let's just build small Enterprises without looking at the structural impediments of doing so and we reduce the structural impediments to just the red tape of government which is very reductionist." The perceived issues identified in this are as follows:

- The market is perceived to be dominated few companies
- The NDP upholds current barriers to market entry
- The NDP advocates for monopolised inter-sector linkages
- The NDP advocates for small enterprises to be built without addressing the structural impediments of government bureaucracy

All the above-mentioned issues validate the perception that trade unions hold, that the NDP will not benefit people at grassroots level. It also aligned with Respondent 7's position that "without the right government, the NDP just becomes another tool for state capture and for Zuma and his cronies to benefit..." and "with this government's corruption and maladministration the NDP will go nowhere... and I mean nowhere" (Respondent 9). Respondent 10 held to this same sentiment. These points also bring into question the intersectional power relations that impede small business' access to markets and gives rise to the debate about the link between SMMEs and employment, and how SMMEs create decent work. However, "you can see from the way that the document is written, that the main aim is just to get these entities up and running with less regulative burden as possible and for me there's a bit of a contradiction there with creating decent employment because in order to create decent employment you need to have regulation" (Respondent 1). Respondent 2 agreed with this point, stating that the macroeconomic, top-down nature of the NDP could not work effectively in an African context because of the issues at grassroots level that must be addressed.

The NDP was also perceived by stakeholders to have a narrow sectoral policy that focused primarily on tourism and the green economy but, lacks industrial policy (that is perceived to be very important). The NDP is perceived to lack clarity in its perspective on

industrial policy and this is important because industrial policy changes patterns of production and consumption in the economy. Therefore, without clarifying this, the perspective that the NDP is promoting an overreliance on the minerals and energy complex will continue. The preference of the left is that the plan should look at how value-added manufacturing can be promoted. This would require more investment in technology and state ownership for rapid industrialisation, by redefining and clarifying the role of State-Owned Enterprises. Government's focus on doing the opposite promotes the perspective that their main goal is the promotion of a "black capitalist class" (Respondent 1, 3 and 6).

Respondent 4 also shared this sentiment stating that "in the real world where it matters, the ANC cannot rapidly improve the lives of South Africa's poorest, because the Zuma faction has adopted the cause of 'radical socio-economic transformation' to justify policies designed to accelerate large-scale corruption". Therefore, due to the ANC's current reputation, government's actions are tainted by the assumption that all programmes (including the NDP) are promoted to benefit the interests of corrupt officials. The NDP's position on nuclear energy is an example of this, with Respondent 4 saying, "it is hard to be reassured by it when the actual nuclear deal process has been conducted in secrecy and looks set to bankrupt the country." So, this perception that government lacks transparency has affected stakeholder opinions of the NDP.

Respondent 2 agreed with this stating that "it's just communicated in Parliament and to the elite and not the people it claims it should assist and the communities it should develop ... then I would assume that it represents the interests of the people who are aware of it. I do agree with the document, I must say... but if only the elites are exposed to it... I must assume that it represents them and their political and economic interests". Respondent 3 agreed with this by saying "all these guys they are so worried about the ANC that they can't focus on what their main aim is, and that is to govern the country for the benefit of the people not for their own benefit. It's an obligation that they have... they are not there to get rich they are there to run the country and to keep the peace and to get the people educated". This indicates that the people who are aware of the NDP are perceived to have

their interests represented. Therefore communication seen as a tool for political and economic representation and should be leveraged as such.

The standards with which government communicates with public should be clearly determined to ensure communicative consistency (Respondent 3). So, citizens should play a role in deciding what the standards of communication should be between government and the public. To facilitate this process, the length of the document should also be considered. Emphasis was also placed on the role of communication as a tool of democratisation because it allows for people from all walks of life to become part of the discussion on the NDP. For this to take place effective leadership would also be needed to execute the strategies in the NDP vision. “To me the NDP represents a strategic vision for the future of this country. I don’t really see it as a plan but more as a vision... it does lack clarity though in some respects... and a vision should include the inputs of the stakeholders... they call it a plan and a vision at the same time... this just shows a lack of certainty on the part of government. This, to me, and I think to a lot of others just screams ‘we don’t know what we’re doing and we’re just trying to cover our bases and appease people’” (Respondent 4).

Respondent 5 reiterated this perspective of the NDP, stating that their party “never interpreted the NDP to be a policy but a country’s vision. We expected that the government would look into all the policies of all the state departments to check if they are in line with the NDP principles... I don’t think that process has taken place in all the state departments hence you find that the unions like COSATU and SACP are opposed to the plan”. This indicates the need for synchronicity and alignment between the NDP and the frameworks developed by government departments. This would require effective communication between stakeholders and the recommendations and feedback given by these stakeholders would have to be implemented. So, the NDP is not perceived as a policy document, but rather as a facilitator of policy development and alignment.

### 7.3 FINDINGS THAT ADDRESS RESEARCH QUESTION 2

*What are the underlying issues causing the contestation of the NDP?*

***“The document is too large... but too big is not just in terms of are people too lazy to read it or not, it’s that when anything is too big it illustrates that there’s no clear concise strategic vision around achieving goals and I think that’s the biggest problem here.”***

***(Respondent 1)***

The themes that were identified answering the research question that focused on the underlying issues causing the contestation of the NDP are as follows:

- Economic issues
- Planning
- Corruption and maladministration
- Policy implementation
- Service delivery
- Areas of contention
- Improved education
- Business involvement
- NDP document
- NDP Partnerships
- Development plans
- Employment opportunities
- ANC involvement

#### 7.3.1 FINDINGS FROM HANSARDS: RESEARCH QUESTION 2

Understanding the underlying issues will enable government to have dialogue on these issues and address them to facilitate implementation. According to the Speaker in



Parliament (2011), the NDP's Diagnostic Report highlighted important issues of focus for the economy. Political accountability and the focus on issues surrounding Parliamentary oversight are seen as key markers of democratic order. The report stated that political leadership should acknowledge and support the legislature's constitutional mandate to hold government to account. On the other hand, Parliament must ensure that it has sufficient research and analytical capacity to scrutinise legislation and policy implementation. The accountability of Parliament in such issues communicates that the public can trust their actions (Speaker in Parliament, 2011). In order to achieve this, the conversation surrounding the NDP should be focused not on economic growth alone, but also on the politics that affect growth (Swart, 2011). "The latest growth plans tabled by the National Planning Commission will also achieve nothing if a major shift in leadership attitude and political will does not become evident" (Swart, 2011). So, stating that this shift has taken place is not enough. Improvements and developments should be demonstrated and communicated to build faith and trust in governments ability to effectively encourage development.

James (2013) emphasised this point by stating that the policy environment is uncoordinated and lacks in presidential leadership in addition to promoting rising labour costs in the face of tight fiscal and monetary policies and falling tariff protection. Another issue surrounding the implementation of the NDP is the lack of clarity regarding how the New Growth Path and the National Development Plan fit together because they are perceived to be "ideologically opposed, despite the spin doctors' attempt to reconcile irreconcilable differences" (Rabie, 2012). This is said to be indicative of a problem of leadership, because lack of policy coordination is primarily a function of poor leadership (Rabie, 2012).

There is an expressed fear that South Africa's developmental agenda could fail because the state is incapable of implementing it (Marais, 2013). A capable state does not come about by way of a decree or legislation but by strong and decisive leadership, sound policies, skilled managers and staff, clear lines of accountability, appropriate systems and consistent, fair and unbiased application of rules and regulations. Added to that, a state

must be free from corruption, patronage and the enrichment of employees and friends (Marais, 2013). These issues are perceived to be characteristic of the current government and cause further contestation of the plan.

The Constitution creates the space for people to participate in the process of policy formulation and legislation. However, a different set of skills is needed for them to take full advantage of these processes and participate in development (Makunyane, 2013). To build an active citizenry, people should not only be united and mobilised, but should also be educated and trained in a way that provides them with information that will empower them to take charge of issues that affect their daily lives (Makunyane, 2013). Therefore all stakeholders should be educated on how to engage with government and accelerate development. Furthermore, “the importance of the citizens’ voice in monitoring performance cannot be overstated. We exist to serve the citizenry” (Deputy Minister in the Presidency — Performance Monitoring and Evaluation as well as Administration, 2013). To do this effectively, routine and systematic ways to measure government’s performance from the citizens’ perspective should be developed (Deputy Minister in the Presidency — Performance Monitoring and Evaluation as well as Administration, 2013).

According to a leader of the Democratic Alliance (2014), COSATU and the SACP are “joint opponents of this plan” and are “therefore the joint opponents of growth, and the joint enemies of job creation” and that without bold leadership this would not be resolved. This shows that government’s alliance partners are perceived as some of the greatest opposition to the plan. Infrastructure development requires appropriate policies and market structure frameworks, with clearly communicated roles and linkages between public and private-sector service providers (Minister of Finance, 2016).

According to the data from the Hansards, the economic chapter is the main source of contention as political stakeholders cannot agree on the economic philosophy and ideology. Also, there is a perceived lack of solidarity between members of the ruling party. There is a high degree of factionalism that makes stakeholders doubt the ability of a fragmented political party. Other sources of contention include the perceptions that:

- The NDP document is too long
- It is in conflict with past plans
- Politicians are not held accountable for corruption and maladministration
- The NDP encourages the growth of monopolies and isolates small business
- Government is corrupt
- The plan is unrealistic
- Government lacks the political will to implement the NDP
- Ideological conflicts remain unresolved
- The NDP holds conflicting views of how the energy sector should be run
- The NDP contributes to the increase of precarious forms of work
- The NDP is restricted by bureaucracy within government
- Stakeholders were not sufficiently consulted before implementation
- Failure of past plans indicate that the state is incapable of implementation

### **7.3.2 FINDINGS FROM NEWSPAPER ARTICLES: RESEARCH QUESTION 2**

There is a concern in the media that the NDP may be impractical and unrealistic. Basic Education Minister, Angie Motshekga criticised what she referred to as “Planning Minister Trevor Manuel’s National Development Plan”, calling it unrealistic and saying it can only be successful in an “ideal world” (Grobbelaar, 2011). When asked about performance-based pay for teachers, Motshekga said “areas in the plan are not informed by reality” and that “It’s things you want in your ideal world. It’s not done anywhere else. I’m not sure how they expect us to be able to do it.” This indicates a lack of clarity on how the plan would be implemented and how the goals would be achieved. It also shows that not everyone in the ANC is supportive of the plan or feels that it can be practically implemented.

Labour market issues are also perceived to be inconsistently addressed in the NDP. On one hand, it proposes various regulatory reforms and, on the other, it says monitoring compliance to statutory sectorial minimum wages needs attention to improve employment creation and labour protection. The meaning behind this is unclear, though it suggests the

plan “wants it both ways” (Kane-Berman, 2011). Factionalism is perceived to be the reason for this double-mindedness. “Different factions contend over party leadership, using the instruments of state to tilt the balance of power in their favour, including using patronage to reward those who are loyal to a faction in power and punishing opponents in all manner of ways” (Pretoria News, 2011). Therefore increasing the perception that the NDP was born from this factionalism. This makes communicating the plan more challenging. An example of this is seen in the implementation of Asgi-SA. Regardless of the fact that this development plan was created from what is described as “the most academically scrupulous assessment of the economy” conducted by the Harvard Group, the fact that it was associated with the former president Thabo Mbeki’s presidency it was replaced (Tim Cohen, 2011).

In line with this, Boyle (Daily Dispatch, 2011) stated that “despite the in-fighting at every level of the ANC, including our own metro administration, there are people analysing the challenges and devising strategies to address them”. As the Finance Minister, Pravin Gordhan, and the Minister of National Planning, Trevor Manuel, acknowledged, South Africa does not face a crisis of policy, but rather, a crisis of implementation (Daily Dispatch, 2011). Boyle (Daily Dispatch, 2011) further stated that there are people at every level of government who know what to do and want to start doing it without first having to “skim off a share of the funding for cronies of the political elite”. It is also believed that the NDP’s proposals on labour policy and public salaries, would be hard to enforce, but not impossible. Therefore the perception that these policies would be impossible to implement is not held by all stakeholders.

According to Cronin (The Star, 2012), the Democratic Alliance’s perception that the NDP is incompatible with other development plans is false stating that “You have to be suffering from a severe dose of ideological cretinism not to recognise the profound and complementary interconnections between all three plans.” However, disagreement on development plans is not a negative. The lack of openness and discussion regarding these disagreements is what affects implementation. Popular journalist Onkgopotse Tabane (Sunday Independent, 2011) emphasised this by stating that Minister of Public

Enterprises, Malusi Gigaba, should be applauded for being courageous enough to differ with Trevor Manuel on the focus of the National Development Plan. This would lead to a better dialogue on the NDP and facilitate implementation.

Although the NDP calls for collaboration between the private sector, public sector, and leadership from all sectors of society in tackling these challenges the following issues affect this: dismal education standards, poorly located and maintained infrastructure, widespread corruption, and sub-standard public services (Jardine, 2012). In addition to this, the Congress of SA Trade Unions (COSATU) reiterated its opposition to parts of the National Development Plan. In response, the Democratic Alliance (DA) warned that COSATU's stance could further fuel policy uncertainty and divisions within the ANC (Mohamed, 2012). In particular, COSATU's second-largest affiliate, the National Union of Metalworkers of SA (NUMSA) maintains the plan is in conflict with the Freedom Charter (Gernetzky, 2013). DA federal chairman Wilmot James said the ANC would be compelled to amend labour laws after the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the ruling party endorsed the NDP (Mohamed, 2012). However, James (The Citizen, 2012) stated that the ANC "is deeply divided and there is huge policy uncertainty, and paralysis in the party."

In the face of this, President Jacob Zuma is perceived to have failed at providing assurance that ANC alliance partners would not derail the plan (Hartley, 2012). The main reason for the alliance partner's apprehension was their perception that the NDP is market-oriented with little emphasis on developmental economics. This was regardless of the fact that the plan was the product of intense research by some of the best economic analysts and business leaders in South Africa, backed by extensive research and consultation with foreign experts (Daily Dispatch, 2012). To remedy this, George (Pretoria News, 2013) stated that South Africa has reached a crossroads that requires a transformational servant-leadership approach at all levels of society.

One of the biggest obstacles to implementation is the rampant corruption that is evident in government and business (Hoffman, 2013). In addition to this there is anger among union leaders that Treasury was stifling programmes that did not support the NDP or the

controversial youth wage subsidy, saying it had gone ahead implementing these programmes despite the ANC also rejecting them (du Preez, 2013). This indicates reluctance on the part of government to engage on the contentious issues surrounding the plan. It also gives the notion that the NDP is not fully accepted within the ANC as well.

Government's decision to proceed with the expansion of its nuclear project is another aspect that is perceived to be at odds with the NDP. The NDP calls for nuclear to be considered only as a last resort. This is significant because the NDP is supposed to be the basis for all government priorities and budget allocations. That the government is diverging from the NDP on the nuclear issue – with its potential R1 trillion impact on the fiscus – will have significant implications for the NDP in its totality when one considers that funding nuclear will limit resources available for the implementation of the rest of the plan (Mackay, 2015).

The involvement of the private sector in leadership of the NDP's implementation is necessary. According to le Roux (The Citizen, 2015), "the private sector has to be prepared to provide leadership. Policy is too important. We have to be involved as the private sector." This means that ways should be devised to improve and manage the private sector's relationship with government. "We need a social compact, not just between business and government, but also labour and society at large. Everyone has to pull together" (le Roux, 2015). One difficulty is that business and government have similarities but are often not run in the same ways. For instance, more outspoken and fearless CEOs joined politicians in calling for President Zuma's resignation. Saki Macozoma, president of Business Leadership SA, said that there are divergent views among the 80 companies that make up his organisation (Rose, Smith and Shevel, 2016). Macozoma (Financial Mail, 2016) further stated (with regards to President Zuma) that "if such a ruling was made against a CEO, the likelihood is that he or she would have resigned" but, politics are handled differently. He further stated that a CEO would have been fired before the matter went to the Constitutional Court, but in the political realm the rules and consequences are different. "A company in the private sector would have had a succession plan in place that would have been communicated to the market [so that]

investors would know who would take over” (Financial Mail, 2016). Involving the private sector in the implementation of the NDP would therefore need effective communication to navigate the relationships between the various stakeholders.

In addition to this, government has been criticised for the way in which the South African Police Service was “remilitarised” with changes in rank terminology in contradiction with the Constitution and the recommendations of the NDP (Hartley, 2016).

### **7.3.3 FINDINGS FROM INTERVIEWS: RESEARCH QUESTION 2**

The length of the NDP document was considered negative for implementation – not just because its length reduced the possibility of people engaging with the document but also because a large document is symbolic of a lack of clear strategic direction. Respondent 1 reiterated this by stating that “Yeah, the document is too large... but too big is not just in terms of are people too lazy to read it or not, it’s that when anything is too big it illustrates that there’s no clear strategic vision, concise vision around achieving goals and I think that’s the biggest problem here”. Therefore the simpler the document, the clearer it is to understand and implement. This lack of clarity is perceived to be visible in the contradictions between the NDP and the policies of government departments. One contradiction is in the ecological section of the NDP. The NDP in one section speaks of lowering carbon emissions while government focused on expanding the coal mining sector and introducing nuclear power. Also, people do not understand how the NDP relates to their immediate socioeconomic context and interests (Respondent 1).

The NDP’s perspective of unemployment being wage-related is not supported by trade unions. They believe that the unemployment in South Africa is structural, not wage-related. Unemployment in South Africa increases the need for social grants. Respondent 1 stated that “I know people argue that the grants aren't productive but that is not true because they create demand in the economy. Two, there’s also strong proof that grants made good steps in alleviating food insecurity and poverty yeah they're a good thing it's just that we must start to link the grants to other areas of human development”. Linking

grants to other areas of human development could be the trade-off between the leftists and the capitalists. “For example, if you create a grant then you must make sure that a child is immunised we must link the grants to local economic development for example you can say that if you get money from a grant you can only use it in local enterprises and that spears on development” (Respondent1). To start this process, an honest conversation would have to take place regarding social security and its role in reducing inequality. The NDP is perceived to be silent on the importance of universal access to social security.

For instance, the NDP’s discussion on issues relating to national health insurance is perceived to be problematic and the NDP does not address the financial liberalisation that allowed large firms to move their primary listings to overseas stock exchanges easily because of the lack of capital controls that prevent sufficient taxes from being paid on large-scale transactions. This led to capital flight. The NDP is seen to be silent on the question of financial regulation and this is important because it is linked to the volatility of the land (Respondent 7). This also led to currency volatility and “it is wrong to reduce the issue of currency volatility to political decision-making. There are structural factors to currency volatility and this in fact if you read the Economic Commission for Africa’s report on South Africa of 2015 it clearly points that one of the issues, one of the causes is financial liberalisation because it's easy to move money in and out of this country” (Respondent 7). So, these are some of the issues causing the contestation of the NDP. In addition to this, the NDP is perceived place SMMEs at the centre of development without looking at the structural impediments that cause many of these businesses to fail. This brings another issue to the fore – the NDP’s perceived weakness as it pertains to industrial policy.

Also, the NDP is perceived as being a set of self-mandated government goals (Respondent 2). This calls into question whether stakeholders feel they were part of the process of creating the document. Furthermore, the clarity of the plan with regards to implementation was called into question. “We have government officials who know about the sort of cloudy aspects of the NDP but they don’t actually know how to implement, they



don't have the proper training for implementation and that they need to start achieving these goals... also corruption. I know that sounds very crass, but I mean corruption is a very big thing in major departments" (Respondent 2).

South Africa has a divisive past and bringing people together to implement the plan can be challenging. For instance, post-apartheid, the Afrikaner community continued to perceive itself as self-governing (Respondent 3). This desire for autonomy makes the implementation of the plan challenging. Respondent 3 further stated that this comes from a fear of that total assimilation would lead to a loss of identity. However, without a sense of unity, difficulty will be experienced in implementing the plan. Lack of clarity with regards to government vision is one of the reasons attributed to the South Africa's state capture. "You just you can't just carry on otherwise you get other people who want to give you a plan like Guptas... they come around and they influence and then things just happen" (Respondent 3). Respondent 6 and 9 agree with this sentiment, with Respondent 6 stating that "the conversation on the NDP has pretty much been overshadowed by the state capture situation". Respondent 7 reiterated this stating that "unfortunately, the plan isn't discussed as being a solution to some of the issues we're facing in this country... the discussions around scandalous government actions are crowding people's eyes... crowding their judgment... just look at state capture..."

To enable the process of clarity surrounding the NDP, regular discussions would have to take place to determine the areas of the plan that may need to be revised. Private institutions would also have to be included in the conversation. So, government communicating an openness to learning from the private sector, and taking that feedback into consideration, increases the possibility of implementation (Respondent 3). However, even though political parties, such as the DA, agree with the NDP they believe that increased state control is needed. "But the ANC is incapable of implementing this interventionist, developmental state agenda. They have failed to create a capable state. As the DA we believe that the document is promising. It's the people in charge of implementation that are the problem" (Respondent 4).

The perceived internal squabbles, money politics, corruption and poor performance in government conspire to undermine the NDP's legitimacy in the eyes of the broader public (Respondent 4). Respondent 8 stated that "government hasn't done the best job of using the NDP as a way of keeping people's attention on the vision for SA's growth. There's too much else going on". One respondent had harsh words for the ruling party stating that "People are too distracted by the uselessness of this government to even think about that NDP document. It will just gather dust. The document itself is good... but not this government. They are the problem... and ha ba boni [they don't see]" (Respondent 10).

The NDP is perceived to be rooted in the same analytical framework that underpins the DA's own political philosophy. It is believed that the ANC's alliance partners would almost certainly block the implementation of the plan for reasons of ideology and self-interest (Respondent 4). The perception is that a lot of them believe the NDP is incoherent and could not be implemented. To them it represents a "business as usual" approach to development and is problematic in terms of job creation because it creates what are perceived to be menial jobs outside the core section of the economy (Respondent 4). However, Respondent 5 indicated that COSATU's opposition to the NDP was not evident initially. COSATU was perceived by other political stakeholders to have supported the NDP before elections and "castigated the NDP" after elections concluded. What would have been expected from government and trade unions is a meeting of stakeholders that could address the most contentious parts of the NDP. For instance, the section that deals with the economy. A consultative process on policy could then take place once the different facets of the NDP have been agreed up (Respondent 5). Consultation would create the mutually beneficial relationships needed for the NDP to be implemented. Respondent 5 further stated that "government wants to hold all the power but to implement the NDP it can't work like that". Consultation with stakeholders is a perceived to be a form of power-sharing between government and stakeholders to implement the plan.

## 7.4 FINDINGS THAT ADDRESS RESEARCH QUESTION 3

*How does communication facilitate the implementation of the NDP?*

***“The grand plans contained in the National Development Plan will not be realised there is no central, unifying idea communicated to South Africans to overcome some of their narrow interests for greater national and social good.”***

***Business Day (2012)***

The themes that were identified relating to the research question that focused on communication as a facilitator of policy implementation are as follows:

- Active citizenry
- Policy implementation
- Political discourse
- Government relations and relationship-building
- Story-telling
- Nation-building
- Communication to imbed democracy
- Communication strategy
- Stakeholder communication
- ANC involvement
- Leadership communication

These are perceived as important components regarding the use of communication to facilitate the implementation of the NDP.

### 7.4.1 FINDINGS FROM HANSARDS: RESEARCH QUESTION 3

Due to the NGP and RDP being the predominant development plans in 2011, they were discussed regularly and perceived as transitional documents towards the end of 2011

when the NDP was introduced. The RDP was seen as a plan that conceptualised democracy as being based, in large part, on widespread popular participation in decision-making processes (Ndabeni, 2011). Therefore the use of communication and dialogue to fast-track the policy implementation process is not a new one. Furthermore, in order to foster participation, there is an expectation that government should “work with people as closely as possible to empower them to participate in and benefit from the process of reconstruction and development” (Nesi, 2011).

The National Planning Commission’s Diagnostic Report fostered this culture of public participation, through communication, by launching a period of public engagement aimed at uniting South Africans to develop solutions to national challenges (Minister in the Presidency: National Planning Commission, 2011). Also in alignment with this, the Minister of Economic Development (2011) stated the importance of government being committed to developing partnerships to achieve the NDP goals. These partnerships require communication for their formation and maintenance. Ngonyama (2011) emphasised this by stating that “the New Growth Path is premised on skills development, smart government and better communication and co-ordination. That is the New Growth Path on the dream side.” So, better communication and coordination in government is an ideal, or a “dream” in this case and indicates that the possibility of better co-ordination is not seen as probable. Furthermore, Rabie (2011) stated that the communication and co-ordination between local and provincial government should improve to aid the implementation of policies. Regardless of this, the Leader of the Opposition (2011) stated that past development plans received the attention briefly, only to be frustrated by internal divisions and lack of communication in the ANC and by the government’s perceived inability to co-ordinate implementation.

One area in which the NGP is extolled above the NDP is its ability to communicate clear direction (Gona, 2011). The alignment between a development plan and different government programmes is perceived as an area of importance and is perceived to not have been done effectively (Minister of Energy, 2011). Furthermore the need for clear and effective stakeholder communication of development plans was emphasised. Matladi

(2011) reiterated this by stating that there was a need for departments to communicate the New Growth Path, at the time, effectively with stakeholders and generally with the public. The lack of detailed communication breeds an environment for misunderstandings and fear (Matladi, 2011), which reinforces the lack of support for development plans. Also, the communication by government is perceived to be “the spin doctors’ attempt to reconcile irreconcilable differences” (Rabie, 2012) between the NDP and other government policies. This creates the impression that government communication in the midst of policy inconsistency leads to lack of trust and the perception of “spin doctoring”. This further demonstrates a problem of leadership, which is seen by a lack of policy coordination and communication (Rabie, 2012).

There is an expectation that Members of Parliament (MPs) should work with government to engage with the NDP and increase conversation and engagement on the plan (Van der Merwe, 2012). Also, in order to communicate the NDP effectively, the messages regarding the NDP would have to be communicated centrally and by few individuals. This is seen in the Leader of the Opposition’s (2012) statement that there are “too many voices saying too many things” regarding the NDP and centralising the messaging on the plan may reduce stakeholder confusion.

The use of communication to facilitate the implementation of the plan is seen in the Minister in the Presidency’s (Performance monitoring and evaluation, 2013) statement that communication between government and the media, led by the Cabinet Spokesperson and GCIS CEO, is important and is being enforced. To aid in this, the GCIS and Brand SA “will work together to ensure effective communication and marketing of the plan” (President of the Republic, 2013). In order to do this, purposeful dialogue and deliberation are emphasised.

The National Development Plan and its Diagnostic Report are perceived to be documents that spurn conversation that could be a source of constructive engagement. Currently, South African citizens do not believe that engagement on economic issues will change their lives (Koornhof, 2013). The NDP can enhance this process by facilitating dialogue

about the past, which can be part of this country's "healing process" (Morutoa, 2013). To foster this, the importance of the citizens' participation in monitoring performance of the plan is emphasised (Deputy Minister in the Presidency — Performance Monitoring and Evaluation, 2013). Therefore a constructive dialogue between government and communities about their experience of the plan's implementation is necessary. This will lead to improved service delivery, as well as increased citizen participation in governance and developing a more active citizenry (Deputy Minister in the Presidency — Performance Monitoring and Evaluation, 2013).

The rhetoric on the plan increased in 2014, with statements like "We will rely on all South Africans, including those in this Parliament, to support us in getting our ducks in a row to ensure that we effectively implement this plan. Getting our ducks in a row is an effort to heed the call that our icon, Nelson Mandela, made to our mother, Mrs Adelaide Tambo, namely that we should allow fate to disturb our plans only on our own terms. Our department is ready to engage with all South Africans on the issues of implementation that will unlock the vast potential that the NDP presents to our nation" (Minister in the Presidency, 2014). In line with this rhetoric, the NDP is referred to as building "on the early successes of our young democracy... shaping a new story about ourselves" (Minister of Science and Technology, 2014). This shows the importance of story-telling and creating an appealing narrative for stakeholders to engage with. This "story" also tells stakeholders where the fit within the context of the NDP (Matladi, 2011).

The role of communication in long-term growth investment in the NDP is said to be steered by shared vision, trust and co-operation between government, labour and business (Swart, 2015). In line with this, engagement with social partners should be intensified (Minister of Finance, 2016).

#### **7.4.2 FINDINGS FROM NEWSPAPER ARTICLES: RESEARCH QUESTION 3**

According to Pascal Moloji (The Star, 2011), a member of the National Planning Commission, the most challenging thing regarding the NDP has been to improve relations

between the different parts of government. This lack of communication and coordination also increases the impression that “government is too often at war with itself. A lack of clarity about who does what and how different spheres of government work together has created a significant degree of confusion” (The Star, 2011). This clarity and coordination cannot be achieved without effective communication. However, there is perceived to be a gap between policy discussions and delivery (Vollgraaff, The Star, 2011). This gap should be narrowed through continued dialogue and communication (Vollgraaff, The Star, 2011).

According to Habib (Business Day, 2011), “the problem is we’ve got too many polarised conversations by the economists who don’t understand politics, and by the political activists who don’t understand business”. These conversations therefore should not take place in silos but should be coordinated and properly facilitated to reduce confusion (Business Day, 2011). The six-month consultative process that the NDP went through helped with starting this conversation, but was not repeated (Kirsten, Farmers Weekly, 2011). Dialogue should be fostered as a tool for monitoring the progress and precision of implementation (Business Day, 2011). The contradictory communication seen by political leaders is perceived to be a form of defence and a hindrance to the implementation of the plan (Sikhakhane, Pretoria News, 2011).

Vollgraaff (The Star, 2011) further stated that the biggest problem with the NDP is that the implementation has to be communicated and negotiated in government to get it approved – this can take up to three years. With facilitated dialogue, the process would be expedited (The Star, 2011). This demonstrates the importance of constructive communication surrounding the NDP to facilitate the negotiation process within government. Anderson (Business Day, 2011) stated through his discussion on Fedusa’s assertion that broad, open, social dialogue is needed for the implementation of the NDP. This is challenging with South Africa’s history of political division (Butler, Business Day, 2011). There are challenges with getting stakeholders to work together. For instance, the private sector supports different policies from those supported by trade unions. Dialogue facilitated between the two could aid the negotiation process needed for partnership to occur. The NDP’s implementation requires political leadership that can communicate in a persuasive

manner (Anthony Butler, Business Day, 2011). The plan would also require political leaders who can be seen as champions for the plan (Jooste, Cape Argus, 2011). To do this, a similar slogan to “The American Dream” developed after the Great Depression in 1933, by Pulitzer prize-winning American historian and former stockbroker James Truslow Adams, would be needed to inspire the action required for the plan to be implemented (Pretoria News, 2011). In alignment with this, Zibi (Business Day, 2012) believes that the grand plans contained in the National Development Plan will not be realised if “there is no central, uniting idea communicated to South Africans to overcome some of their narrow interests for greater national and social good”.

According to an article in the Business Day (2011), the problems surrounding the implementation of the NDP are based on structural issues in government and an inability to facilitate dialogue that resolves issues regarding:

- Ideological conflict: The greatest challenge to the NPC’s plans is not poverty or corruption, or weak infrastructure, but the government itself. The promising recommendations in numerous previous documents have not been implemented because of ideological stand-offs between broadly centrist cabinet ministers and those ministers aligned to the ANC’s alliance leftist partners.
- Coordination: Many of the proposals made by the NPC require active implementation by numerous government departments. Their success is dependent on the ability of these departments to play their constituent roles, and on the presidency to provide transversal management and ensure departmental coordination.
- Unclear objectives: The NPC’s proposals are a confusing mix of long-term planning objectives and detailed policy recommendations. To have an impact, the NPC needs to define much more clearly what role it wishes to play in government and communicate this role.

Communication is imperative to resolving ideological conflicts, improving coordination between stakeholders, as well clarifying the objectives of the NPC (Business Day, 2011). Honest dialogue on the incompatibility of the NDP and other policy is necessary for



implementation (Business Day, 2011). Trevor Manuel is the one Minister said to see this clearly however, he has been “forced to contort the message in a way that makes the plans seem compatible regardless of the fact that the contradictions are clear” (Bruce, Business Day, 2012). Honest dialogue on these discrepancies is necessary to reduce the perception that government only communicates for “spin doctoring” (Mail & Guardian, 2015)

Former Governor of the Reserve Bank, Tito Mboweni (The Star, 2013) urged government to communicate its policies in a better, more centralised fashion, stating that “if I was in charge, only the minister of mines and the president could speak on mining, only three people could speak on the exchange rate – the governor of the Reserve Bank, the minister of finance and the president... only two people could speak on industrial policy – the minister of trade and industry and the president.” He said there were too many voices and too many messages and that this would have a negative effect on stakeholders. Therefore there is an apparent need for a combination of wide social dialogue, as well as more centralised disbursement of messages on the NDP. Notwithstanding, the political rhetoric and unhealthy social discourse that has been prevalent for which the NDP is seen as a channel for bringing structure to political communication (Kruger, Financial Mail, 2016).

The active citizenry enforced by the NDP requires leadership beyond the political (Manuel, Daily News, 2015). The launch of the Nation Development Plan (NDP) was an opportunity for the private sector to engage with the government by identifying constraints that affected business and also sharing solutions with the government, according to Business Leadership SA chairman Bobby Godsell (The Star, 2013). The NDP should therefore be used as a tool for the development of a relationship between government and its stakeholders. This relationship-building would fuel citizen participation and implementation (Mail & Guardian, 2015). One of the advantages of the discourse on the NDP is that “in 40 years there has never been a time when business was so needed and recognised by politicians,” (The Star, 2013). The opportunity to make use of the NDP in a way that facilitates the important relationships between government and its stakeholders has thus far been missed (Karl Gernetzky, Business Day, 2015). This further fuels the

narrative that government is hostile towards the private sector, further alienating them (Karl Gernetzky, Business Day, 2015).

Regardless of the fact that the implementation process has begun, the public knows little of what the commission and its technical support team have been doing since 2012 (Lagardien, Mail & Guardian, 2015). This gap “should be closed not with platitudes or spin, but with demonstrable achievements” (Lagardien, Mail & Guardian, 2015). Communication around what the plan has achieved is lacking and this resulted in the assumption that the NDP has not been implemented at all (Leoka. Business Day, 2016). Furthermore, five major issues that require the attention of the commissioners are listed as follows (Lagardien, Mail & Guardian, 2015):

- The establishment of a social contract or compact between government and society
- The professionalisation of the public service
- The strengthening the commission’s technical support
- Reflecting on a theory of change
- Developing a more effective communication strategy

This further emphasises the importance of an effective communication strategy in implementing the NDP. This strategy should, according to the data: lead to the development of a social contract between government and stakeholders; promote honest dialogue on uncomfortable issues; and facilitate relationship-building through the NDP.

### **7.4.3 FINDINGS FROM INTERVIEWS: RESEARCH QUESTION 3**

According to Respondent 1, the NDP is as a tool to enhance policy implementation. To ensure that this happens, the debate on where communication is located in relation to democracy would have to take place. Respondent 6 reiterated this, stating that “people should be empowered to communicate with government... this is not a one-way thing. That’s where the false rhetoric and spin-doctoring by government becomes an issue.” Therefore the NDP, if communicated effectively, can not only be a tool to enhance the implementation of policy, but also a tool for embedding democratisation because, the

better the plan is communicated, the more people know about it and can take active steps to be part of decision-making and implementation. In addition to this, it is important to identify the key social actors in the South African System that need to communicate more effectively, as well as the language that is used to communicate the plan. This can be done by giving people access to policy and to dialogue on policy (Respondent 8).

Creating platforms for dialogue on the NDP allows the public to take ownership of the NDP and “make the NDP their own” (Respondent 1), which feeds into the notion of active citizenry discussed previously. When speaking about the concept of access to policy dialogue, on the NDP specifically, the importance of power comes to the fore. To emphasise this, Respondent 1 stated that “We need to develop the theory on communication as a source of power in society... this would open up the information on why certain things are implemented and other things are not implemented and why certain policies are most successful.” Respondent 9 also placed emphasis on the importance of the NDP “belonging to the people, and not to government alone... we are a party for the people.”

To ensure that power is more evenly distributed, through allowing dialogue on the NDP, the plan would have to be communicated and promoted in a way that the lay person would also be able to interact with it (Respondent 2, 7, 10). Respondent 10 stated that “not enough South Africans are engaged with government or its policies on a sufficient level. Dialogue and communication on real issues is important. Involve the people and they will support you”. This will ensure that people understand what the NDP means practically to them, within their social context, and what the plan means for the country as a whole. Furthermore, in order to appeal to the lay man, the size of the NDP as well as the complexity of the language would have to be addressed (Respondent 2). The NDP is perceived to be directed towards the elites and addressing the language issue would help to negate this perception (Respondent 2).

Respondent 3 criticised the NDP for its top-down approach to development and the fact that it does not encourage meaningful engagement (Respondent 3). Respondent 4 reiterated this point by stating that, “when you look at the NDP a lot of people believe that it reflects a product of no meaningful engagement. The Treasury reintroduced ideas they

knew labour would reject in Chapter 3 of the NDP and without the buy-in of labour, the NDP will be rejected”. Therefore meaningful engagement is perceived as the solution to some of the issues surrounding the contestation of the NDP. “Better, more effective and clear communication can bridge the gap between and answer some of the questions that people have about the economic aspects of the NDP... especially to get the support of the trade unions... without them, the plan is literally at a standstill. As far as I know, I’m not a communication specialist {laughs} but I know that communication is also about listening... and government {laughs}... they just don’t listen.” So, listening and working with feedback are seen as indicators of meaningful engagement. Respondent 7 agreed with this point. Respondent 8, from the ANC, stated that “we listen to our people”.

In addition to Adam Habib, Trevor Manuel’s name also came up several times in relation to the NDP. Although he was responsible for spearheading the NDP project, his name was mentioned primarily in the context of the NDP’s need for a champion to stand as a representative for the plan’s implementation. For instance, Respondent 5 stated that, “I think the most important thing is that this plan should have a champion... Trevor could have been, but he’s not really involved in this whole thing anymore... a champion humanises the plan and shows that it has support.... No champion... no support...”. This statement indicates a champion’s role in personifying the NDP and making it more relatable, with the purpose of encouraging meaningful engagement on the plan.

## 7.5 FINDINGS THAT ADDRESS RESEARCH QUESTION 4

*Who are the key stakeholders in the discourse on the NDP?*

***“It’s important that government make an honest assessment of the stakeholders that are most important for the implementation and communication of this plan... Yeah, and this is why I’m trying to push you towards this idea of communication also as power because the way that policy communicated reflects the interests that the policy is trying to preserve. Yeah, so if I want to push the idea that the***

***only reason that we don't have cooperative small enterprises in townships and rural areas is because people don't have the skills then the language which I use in the document will only be about supply-side. So, it will only be about developing business skills... training people. It will never be about reconfiguring power to allow people to actually be successful... when you speak about understanding you must always place it within the context of power relations and social relations and policy implementation."***

***(Respondent 1)***

The themes that apply to this research question are as follows:

- Active citizenry
- Government relations and relationship-building
- Nation-building
- Communication to imbed democracy
- Improved education
- Business involvement
- Communication strategy
- NDP Partnerships
- Stakeholder communication
- ANC involvement
- Leadership communication

The previously discussed research objectives provided the information needed for the identification of the key stakeholders in the discourse of the NDP displayed in **Table 7.3**.

| <b>Table 7.3: Key stakeholders in NDP discourse</b> |   |                               |
|---|---|-------------------------------|
| <b>The South African public</b>                     | Tourism industry                                  | Agriculture                   |
| <b>Religious groups</b>                             | Trade unions                                      | Champion                      |
| <b>Operation Phakisa</b>                            | Government  | Entrepreneurs                 |
| <b>Private sector</b>                               | SOEs  | Transport industry            |
| <b>NPC</b>  | Opposition parties                                | ANC                           |
| <b>Minerals and energy sector</b>                   | Health sector                                     | Sport sector                  |
| <b>Organisations related to land reform</b>         | Youth organisations                               | President                     |
| <b>Women's organisations</b>                        | Organisations supporting people with disabilities | Alliance partners             |
| <b>COSATU</b>                                       | DA  | EFF                           |
| <b>Constitutional Court</b>                         | Government departments                            | Ecological organisations      |
| <b>Local government</b>                             | South African Revenue Service                     | Higher education and training |
| <b>NGOs / Community-level projects</b>              | Volunteer / Mentorship programmes                 | The media                     |
| <b>SACP</b>   | Ministers   | Proudly South African         |

Each of the people and organisations in this table have been identified by political stakeholders as necessary for the communication of the NDP. Therefore communication programmes should be created with these stakeholders in mind.

Engaging with these stakeholders will inform the creation of future communication policy and allow the NDP to tap into currently existing human resources for implementation. As stated in the previous section, communication can be a source of power-sharing and tool for democratisation because the way policy is communicated reflects people's interests. Including the most important stakeholders in the discussion would lead to different stakeholder's interests being represented, hence fuelling implementation. If different stakeholder groups are represented, the language used in communicating about the plan

would be reflective of this. This opens up the conversation on communication as a source of power reconfiguration. It is about communication that takes the power relations context, social relations context, and policy implementation context into consideration (Respondent 1, 3, and 7). Communication must therefore be contextual and informed by the context in which it takes place.

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# CHAPTER 8

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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Chapter 8 outlines a discussion of the conclusions derived from the theory, specific theories, and findings. It also outlines recommendations for future research.

### 8.1 RESEARCH QUESTION 1

The first question focused on describing the political discourse surrounding the NDP. This discourse helps the implementers of the plan to understand the issues surrounding its implementation, as well as people's perception of the plan. To address this question the researcher gathered and analysed data, focusing on the discourse surrounding the NDP.

#### 8.1.1 Conclusions and recommendations: Research question 1

The NDP is a vision for South Africa's economic development, however it is perceived by many to have proposals that are impractical to implement. Based on the findings, the following issues have been identified from the discourse on the NDP:

- Active citizenry
- Economic issues
- Planning
- Corruption and maladministration
- Policy implementation
- Service delivery
- Political discourse
- Government relations and relationship-building
- Areas of contention
- Story-telling



- Nation-building
- Communication to imbed democracy
- Improved education
- Business involvement
- NDP document
- Communication strategy
- NDP Partnerships
- Development plans
- Employment opportunities
- Stakeholder communication
- ANC involvement
- Leadership communication

These play an important role in the implementation of the plan and should be addressed in its communication.

The researcher looked at the discourse surrounding the NDP from 2011 to 2016. The discourse in 2011 indicated that the RDP and NGP continued to dominate the conversation on development. The NDP was perceived as being prematurely implemented because of the lack of adequate communication and dialogue before it was introduced. Stakeholders were not informed that a new plan was being introduced, or what would happen to the NGP once the NDP was launched. Lack of adequate communication and notice gives the impression of lack of preparation and thorough thought regarding implementation. It indicated that government was not ready for implementation. Additionally, the NPC (who were responsible for developing the NDP) were not perceived to have the same level of legitimacy as other departments. The commissioners of the NPC would have to be provided with platforms to communicate the plan's progress and garner stakeholder support, in much the same way that traditional departments do. This will assist in ensuring that people take the plan more seriously.

The main narrative in 2012 was around the mechanisms necessary to monitor the NDP's implementation. Strategic communication is necessary for the co-ordination needed for monitoring and implementation. Also, the importance of meeting stakeholder expectations through the NDP, came to the fore. This was seen as a way of restoring trust in government. Dialogue an important tool for restoring trust as, based on the dialogic theory, it ensures that each individual sees value in the other and perceives the other as an "end" rather than a "means to an end" (Kent & Taylor, 2002:22). Government should assess and seek to understand stakeholder expectations (also with regards to their rights and responsibilities) as pertaining to the NDP and communicate in alignment with that. This would build trust in the plan, and government as a whole and communicate the plan as a tool for promoting nation-building and facilitating social dialogue.

The RDP and the NGP continued to be discussed in 2013. The tangible benefits of the RDP were perceived to be well-communicated, which led to its longevity. In line with this, the practical and tangible benefits of the NDP would have to be communicated. To aid in this process, organisations such as COSATU would have to be perceived as being supportive of the NDP. COSATU expressed support for the Industrial Policy Action Plan (IPAP), the Infrastructure Development Programme, the RDP and the NGP but made no mention the NDP. This is part of the reason for the NDP being met with scepticism. To avoid the narrative of enmity between the NDP and past plans, the contribution of past plans should be acknowledged in the NDP's "story" and criticism of the plan should be allowed and encouraged to create meaning. "The process of making meaning is inherently creative. Dialogic communication does not find truth but constructs it" (Bentley, 2012:2).

2014 saw an incline in the discussion on how the NDP would be implemented and people were interested in the strategies devised to do so. This was expected to feature in communication on the plan. It indicates that stakeholders are interested not just in the rhetoric but also in the practical steps necessary for implementation. This, as well as the rationale behind the strategies should be communicated clearly in a way that stakeholders understand. This will also increase confidence in the practicality of the plan (especially as it pertains to issues of land reform), which was questioned in 2014. The NDP continued

to be perceived as incompatible with IPAP and the NGP, even though the ANC asserted their compatibility. Stakeholders require government to be honest about the incompatibilities and inconsistencies, and to address these clearly. This would assist in restoring trust in messages from government.

To implement the plan, stakeholders should be allowed ownership of it. It was long referred to as “Trevor Manuel’s plan” or “the ANC’s plan”. This language impeded other political stakeholders’ participation in implementation. Also, the NPC asserted former President Jacob Zuma’s role as champion for the plan. In 2015 his reputation was perceived to negatively affect perception of the plan and the intentions behind it. This perceived lack of leadership continued in 2016. Finding an endearing, trusted champion for the plan would improve the likelihood of stakeholder support. Stakeholders also expect government to have passion and zeal when communicating on the plan and its benefits. This emphasises the importance of using the three rhetorical appeals of ethos, logos and pathos (Branham, 2015; Aristotle trans. Roberts, 2008; Hoffman & Ford, 2010) to connect with stakeholders and receive support. Leveraging stakeholder relationships to increase policy coherence and communication of policy also came to the fore in 2016. Relationships, created through communication, are important and play a role in fortifying social capital (Toth, 2006; Perkins, Hughey & Speer, 2002; Rothstein & Stolle, 2008).

The findings indicate that when the NDP was released, the NGP was still the most discussed plan. At this time the NDP was not discussed in relation to land, housing, poverty and jobs. These were perceived to be addressed by the NGP. A clear distinction is required between the NDP and past development plans. This reduces the confusion surrounding implementation. For instance, facets of the RDP are still implemented so, clarity regarding how the NDP and the RDP can be implemented together is necessary. Also, the RDP was a popular development plan because its benefits were perceived as tangible by the public. So, the NDP’s tangible benefits would have to be communicated to increase its legitimacy.

The following can be concluded regarding the overall discussion on the NDP between 2011 and 2016:

- Communicating the link between historic inspirational documents, like the Freedom Charter, to the NDP would positively impact on its perception.
- The NDP should be the theme for political events such as the ANC National Conference where different facets of socioeconomic development are discussed.
- Clarity is required in all government communication on matters affecting economic development. Also, the alignment between the NDP and other government policies should be clearly visible.
- Citizens rallying together for social and economic justice was a popular part of the narrative surrounding the NDP. This indicates the growing trend of citizens taking government's role in providing services seriously. This speaks to the importance of active citizenry and that government should not be intimidated by this increase in active citizenry but rather leverage it by increasing strategic communication with its stakeholders.
- Contradictions in government's communication cause a deterioration of the public's perception of government's authority and indicates lack of clear vision. Without communicative clarity, authority is diminished.
- The use of personal language (e.g. "our growth plan") communicates an affinity for the NDP amongst political leaders and displays a sense of ownership yet to be seen for the NDP. There's a need for the public to hear this manner of language being used when political leaders discuss the NDP.
- For a plan to be accepted it has to be perceived as being linked to other important Parliament documents – primarily those related to legislation and implementation. The NDP's effect on legislation and policy implementation should be communicated in Parliament.
- Corruption with regards to the implementation of development plans (primarily the RDP) was an important part of the narrative. Government's current stance on corruption, as well as the steps it is taking to mitigate it in the implementation of the NDP should be injected into the conversation. Similar to the RDP, government would have to interact with the private sector with regards to the tendering process.

During the implementation of the RDP, this process was perceived to be plagued by corruption. So government would have to communicate the ways in which this would be prevented in the implementation of the NDP.

- In relation to the above point, government is also expected by stakeholders to take responsibility for its short-comings and not rely on “spin doctoring” to evade controversial issues. The findings indicate that stakeholders are interested in having facilitated dialogue on controversial issues.
- There are discrepancies in what is said in the plan and the way that members of the ANC communicate the plan. This indicates a need for a more centralised approach to the dissemination of information. So, a “script” would be needed to ensure that government communicates with a single voice as it pertains to the NDP. The individuals responsible for communicating on certain issues should also be identified.
- Innovation is required for the implementation and communication of the NDP. People are looking for something different to differentiate the NDP from past plans. Also, for the public to support and rally behind it, it would have to demonstrate and communicate its uniqueness.
- The role of the Presidential Infrastructure Co-ordinating Commission (PICC) in implementing the plan at grassroots level should be clarified. They developed projects for the NDP to be implemented at grassroots level. Making stakeholders aware of this would reduce the notion that the NDP does not focus on grassroots issues. This is a commonly-held perception.
- Linking messages on the SDG’s and the African Union’s agenda 2063 to the NDP can be used to leverage communication on the plan.
- Communication on the NDP should be tailored to stakeholder expectations. The plan is currently perceived to be communicated to the elite and does not appeal to stakeholders with grassroots concerns. Future communication plans and strategies would have to consider this.
- Consistency is required in the plan’s communication. Standards to ensure communicative consistency should be agreed on by government and its stakeholders. There is also an expectation that government should devise a social

communication contract with stakeholders that encourages two-way communication (Dozier, Grunig & Grunig, 1995) and informs stakeholders of what to expect when engaging politically. The above would be incorporated into any plans and strategies to effectively communicate the NDP and aid in its implementation.

### **8.1.2 Recommendations for future research: Research question 1**

This was a qualitative study, which makes applying the results to larger contexts challenging. A quantitative study on the political discourse surrounding economic development could be conducted in future. This study focused on the perceptions of political parties however, understanding what ordinary citizens think of development in South Africa could assist with communicating on a larger, broader level. Additionally, future research could answer the following questions to provide more knowledge on the discourse affecting development:

- How can active citizenry be encouraged?
- What is the perception of the South African economy?
- How do people perceive the planning surrounding development?
- How is economic policy perceived?
- What do people think are some of the issues affecting service delivery?
- What is the perception of the public regarding the implementation of development plans?
- How are internal government relations perceived?
- What is the current state of South African government relations?
- How can the areas of contention surrounding development plans be addressed?
- How can story-telling be used to better communicate development plans?
- How can development plans be used to promote nation-building?
- How can communication be used to imbed democracy?
- How can communication help the private sector to get more involved in development?
- What areas of the NDP need to be refined for development to take place?

- How can communication be used to manage the partnerships necessary to implement the NDP?
- How can communication increase access to employment opportunities?
- What is the perception of the ANC?
- How can leadership communication facilitate development?
- What affects the clarity of a government policy and how can clarity be ensured?

The above questions are in reference to some potential areas of research that could provide more detail on how the identified themes could be better understood in a way that facilitates economic development.

## **8.2 CONCLUSIONS: RESEARCH QUESTION 2**

The second question looked at the underlying issues causing the NDP's contestation. As indicated in the literature chapter, underlying ideological issues have an impact on whether the plan is accepted and implemented by stakeholders. Communication by politicians demonstrates that ideologies are negotiated, and power relations influence this process (Bhatia, 2006:174).

### **8.2.1 Conclusions and recommendations: Research question 2**

The issues causing contestation are primarily centred around the NDP as a vision for South Africa's future, and how this vision is often in ideological opposition to how other political parties believe the country should be run. The length of the NDP was also an underlying issue, as it affected people's willingness and ability to interact meaningfully with the document. However, the length exposed a deeper issue. It was perceived to illustrate the lack of clarity regarding the strategic vision. A concise, clear, focused document is perceived to indicate an achievable, well thought-out economic plan. While a long document indicates the opposite and affects stakeholders' trust in government strategic intent, and its ability to implement it. Strategic intent looks to decrease the gap

how the organisation wants to be perceived (vision) and the current perception of stakeholders (reputation) (Cornelissen, 2011:107-111).

Based on the literature and themes identified from the three data sets, the following has been determined:

- The economic chapter and policy of the NDP is the most contested and disputed due to ideological discrepancies between parties.
- Political stakeholders did not feel they played a sufficient role in planning how implementation would take place. The consultation process undertaken before the NDP's launch was perceived as shallow and lacking depth. The vision was created but the plan for execution is unclear.
- The NDP's plan for service delivery is perceived to lack detail and clarity.
- The political ideologies underlying each party's operations are a source of contestation because ideology determines how a party is run. It also affects perception of the NDP and its intentions. If this ideology is opposed to the party's, complete implementation would be impossible. This confirmed the researcher's suspicions.
- Government relations was one of the underlying issues causing the plan's contestation. The way government relates to its internal and external stakeholders was questioned. The standard with which government and its officials should communicate is unclear. There is also perceived lack of clarity regarding how stakeholders can communicate with government and make their voice heard.
- The role of the private sector in implementing the plan was an area of contention. This was primarily due to the corruption that took place in implementing the RDP, and the perceived role that private contractors played in perpetuating it. This also increased the perception that development plans can be used to fuel corrupt practices. Government is expected to deal with this perception by holding corrupt officials to account and communicating how government is doing so and will continue to do so. Seeing the image of corrupt officials being held to task is important for stakeholders. They want to see visual representations of accountability.



- The internal issues, ideological discrepancies, and corruption within the ANC were perceived to negatively affect the plan's implementation. This factionalism is part of the reason for the double-mindedness in the NDP and its desire to please several stakeholders with conflicting ideologies.
- Communication on the benefits and achievements of the NDP is insufficient without a quantification of these benefits. So, the successes of the plan should be quantified. This avoids the perception of "spin-doctoring" in government.
- The image and reputation of presidential leadership, as well as the expectations for how the president should communicate would have to be determined. Goals should therefore be set regarding the image and reputation of leadership.
- To address stakeholders with different ideologies, the findings indicate that the way the NDP has met practical stakeholder needs should be communicated. The link between plans should also be clear. The outcome of the plans implementation and its positive effects on specific stakeholders would have to be clearly communicated. Stakeholders want contextual communication that shows them how the NDP feeds into the "bigger picture".
- Effective government communication should counteract the perception that the NDP is self-mandated by government. This perception came from political stakeholders not feeling that they were sufficiently involved in creating the plan. This negatively impacts on democratisation because stakeholders feel that the plan was imposed on them without their consultation or approval. Including them in dialogue on the implementation process would mitigate this.

Political accountability is important for increasing people's trust in government. It also draws attention to issues surrounding Parliamentary and government oversight. This in turn is perceived as a key marker of democratic order, and a promoter of active citizenry.

This is also part of government's Constitutional mandate and upholding it would positively impact on the NDP's reputation and implementation. So, although the NDP is an economic plan, communication on the plan should not only be economic in nature but it should also address the politics that affect economic growth.

## **8.2.2 Recommendations for future research: Research question 2**

This question focused on the underlying issues causing the NDP's contestation. This is highly linked to ideology, which was discussed in the literature and findings of this study. For more information on ideology, the researcher was familiarised with Van Dijk's (1995; 2006; 2011; 2012) work on discourse and ideology. Future research could look into ideology and policy implementation. A study could also be done further investigating how implementation can happen when stakeholders hold differing ideological views. Additionally, future research could answer the following questions raised in this study:

- How does government communicate an economic strategy in an appealing manner?
- What standards are necessary for effective government relations with internal and external stakeholders?
- How can communication be used to resolve issues of factionalism within the ANC?

Answering these questions through quantitative or qualitative means could improve communication in a way that promotes policy implementation and socioeconomic development.

## **8.3 RESEARCH QUESTION 3**

The third research question aimed to describe how communication facilitates the implementation of the NDP.

### **8.3.1 Conclusions and recommendations: Research question 3**

Although not all political stakeholders agree with the contents of the NDP, it is an important part of the development narrative. The findings indicate that communication is necessary to drive the conversation surrounding development. It is also important for addressing the apprehensions surrounding the implementation of the NDP. Without dialogue, the issues preventing the plan's implementation cannot be identified or addressed. Political

stakeholders are increasingly evaluating government actions, policies and strategies to determine whether or not they are aligned to the NDP. Alignment leads to total stakeholder support, which is the strongest sign of alignment (Van Riel, 2012:1). A Minister in the Presidency who forms part of the NPC stated that “we have the country talking about the plan, but what about action?” (2013). So, to facilitate development, the conversation on the NDP would have to be consciously structured and deliberate, with the goal of development in mind.

The themes identified for this research question indicate the following:

- 1) Strategic communication promotes active citizenry
- 2) Strategic communication can facilitate policy implementation
- 3) Strategic communication can imbed democracy
- 4) Political stakeholders have influence on implementation
- 5) Leadership communication is necessary for implementation

Communication clarifies issues that impede implementation. The following results were expected by the researcher:

- Strategic communication can facilitate policy implementation
- Political stakeholders have influence on implementation
- Leadership communication is necessary for implementation

Political stakeholders playing an important role in promoting the implementation of the plan, or impeding this process was the basic premise of this study. The findings confirmed this premise. However, the important role of communication in promoting active citizenry and imbedding democracy was an unexpected result. South Africa is still considered a young democracy and the encouragement of dialogue between government and its stakeholders is important for ensuring the continuance of equality and democratic rule. In this way, it also promotes active citizenry and encourages citizens to actively participate in policy implementation. This indicates the link between democracy and active citizenry. When dialogue is encouraged, democracy becomes more deeply imbedded and people participate more actively in ensuring the success of that democracy. This is necessary for

the implementation of the NDP because stakeholders need to be inspired to participate in its implementation, and communication facilitates this process.

The overlap between plans was considered an issue because the role of one plan, once another was introduced, was not clarified. So there was uncertainty regarding which plan should be supported. Strategic communication is necessary to ensure that people know which plan is relevant. If more than one plan is relevant at a time, the connection between the plans, as well as how citizen participation would take place would have to be clarified. This can also be done through a visual representation of the plans and how they fit together. The rationale behind the plans would also have to be explained. In addition to this, communication is perceived by political stakeholders to facilitate development in the following ways:

- It promotes the creation of the social partnerships necessary for the NDP to be implemented. For instance, it can connect economists (with knowledge on economic matters) to politicians (with knowledge on political matters) in order to implement the plan in a sustainable fashion.
- Implementation requires negotiation between stakeholders. This negotiation allows for a creation of meaning within the arena that encourages stakeholders to take ownership of the plan.
- Knowledge of the contents of development plans empowers people to participate in and benefit from them.
- Encouraged communication and dialogue foster a culture of public participation.
- Communication can improve co-ordination between local, provincial and national government.
- Communication maintains people's attention and promotes top of mind awareness (ToMA) regarding the NDP.
- It ensures that internal divisions are addressed before they impact on government's ability to co-ordinate implementation.
- It promotes clarity of socioeconomic direction.
- Clear communication addresses misunderstandings. Misunderstandings lead to fear, which reinforces the lack of support for development plans.

- Strategic communication ensures the creation of platforms to address policy inconsistency. Communication in the midst of policy inconsistency leads to lack of trust and the perception of “spin doctoring”.
- It improves trust in leadership.
- Constructive and purposeful dialogue between government and communities about their experience of the plan’s implementation would lead to improved service delivery, as well as increased citizen participation in governance and developing a more active citizenry.
- It helps to address South Africa’s history of political division.
- It resolves ideological conflicts, improves coordination between stakeholders and clarifies objectives.
- It promotes leadership beyond the political.
- It develops the relationship between government and its stakeholders.
- Dialogue on the NDP allows the public to take ownership of the plan, which encourages active citizenry.
- It promotes power-sharing between government and its stakeholders.
- It allows the plan’s champions to personify the NDP and making it more relatable, with the purpose of encouraging meaningful engagement on the plan.

The above also provide a basic understanding of some of the areas that could be the basis for future research.

### **8.3.2 Recommendations for future research: Research question 3**

Future research could be done regarding the extent of political stakeholder’s impact on policy implementation. To do this, a quantitative study may have to be conducted regarding the perception that the public have of political rhetoric and ideology and how that affects their acceptance or rejection of economic policy. Research could also be done on:

- The communication methods needed to promote active citizenry
- The communication methods needed to imbed democracy

Since this study looked at political stakeholders, future research regarding communication as a facilitator of economic development could focus on other important stakeholder groups, such as the private sector and citizens at large.

## **8.4 CONCLUSIONS: RESEARCH QUESTION 4**

The fourth question focused on the identification of the specific stakeholders in the discourse on the NDP. Identifying and understanding these stakeholders ensures a more targeted approach to stakeholder engagement.

### **8.4.1 Conclusions and recommendations: Research question 4**

The findings indicate that politicians acknowledge the need for both internal and external stakeholders in the implementation of the plan. To engage effectively, government would have to make an honest assessment of the stakeholders and what their communicative needs and expectations are. Meeting these needs facilitates the process of power-sharing. Policies communicated are perceived to reflect and represent the interests of certain parties. The parties represented are empowered by this representation. Therefore communicating to all stakeholders and providing platforms for them to communicate on policy creates a culture of “power-sharing” between government and stakeholders. This further promotes democratisation and active citizenry necessary for implementation.

The findings also indicate that communication strategies and plans to communicate the NDP should:

- Be research-based
- Be geared at promoting active citizenry
- Focus on improving perception of government relations
- Improve overall government relations
- Promote nation-building through effective public relations
- Communicate in a way that imbeds democracy
- Educate people on the contents of the plan

- Honestly address ideological issues
- Include ways of engaging the private sector in the conversation on implementation
- Include ways of relationship-building and maintaining positive relationships with NDP partners
- Address issues of leadership communication and the way people expect leaders to communicate

Through this study, 39 stakeholders were identified who are important for the communication and implementation of the plan: the South African public, the tourism industry, the agricultural sector, religious groups, trade unions, champions of the plan, Operation Phakisa, government, entrepreneurs, the private sector, SOEs, the transport industry, NPC, opposition parties, ANC, minerals and energy sector, health sector, sports sector, organisations involved in land reform, youth organisations, the president, women's organisations, organisations supporting people with disabilities, alliance partners, COSATU, DA, EFF, the Constitutional Court, government departments, ecological organisations, local government, the South African Revenue Service, higher education and training, NGOs/Community-level projects, Volunteer/Mentorship programmes, media, SACP, Ministers, and Proudly South African.

#### **8.4.2 Recommendations for future research: Research question 4**

The recommendations for future research for this research question are as follows:

- Future research would have to focus on an assessment and further understanding of each stakeholder group.
- Stakeholder needs and expectations would have to be determined. Each stakeholder group is different. Understanding this would facilitate more targeted communication, which would improve the effectiveness of communication efforts. Incorporating Maslow's hierarchy (1943) and stakeholder mapping would aid in this process.
- Research is required on the role of communication in power-sharing and overall power relations.

The issue of power-sharing and its importance in addressing many of the issues affecting the plan's implementation featured often. This was an area of research that the researcher found interesting and possibly very important within the context of government relations. Past research on power-sharing focused primarily on its use in conflict management (Hartzell & Hoddie, 2003; Sisk, 1996) and authoritarian leadership (Boix & Svolik, 2013; Svolik, 2009). Understanding its impact on the implementation of government policy, as well as democratic rule, may also yield benefits.

## **8.5 CONCLUSIONS: FRAMEWORK OF COMMUNICATION PRINCIPLES FOR THE NDP**

The goal of this study was to use the answers to the above research questions to formulate a framework of communication principles for the NDP. This study culminated in the development of a framework of six communication principles for government.

### **8.5.1 Principles included in framework**

The researcher recommends the following principles be implemented in the communication of the NDP:

1. Know your stakeholders
2. Address ideological conflicts
3. Set standards for how government should communicate
4. Decide on the narrative and commit to it
5. Craft leadership image
6. Create alignment

This study concludes with a final chapter (**Chapter 9**), which includes a display and discussion of the entire framework as well as some concluding remarks.



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# **CHAPTER 9**

## **FRAMEWORK OF COMMUNICATION PRINCIPLES FOR THE NDP**

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This chapter presents a discussion of the framework of communication principles for the NDP. This addresses the main goal of this study which was to suggest a framework of communication principles to facilitate the implementation of the NDP.

The framework consists of six principles that should be considered when communicating on the NDP. The principles are as follows:

1. Know your stakeholders
2. Address ideological conflicts
3. Set standards for how government should communicate
4. Decide on the narrative and commit to it
5. Craft leadership image
6. Create alignment

### **9.1 TWO-WAY SYMMETRICAL COMMUNICATION AND ARENAS OF MEANING**

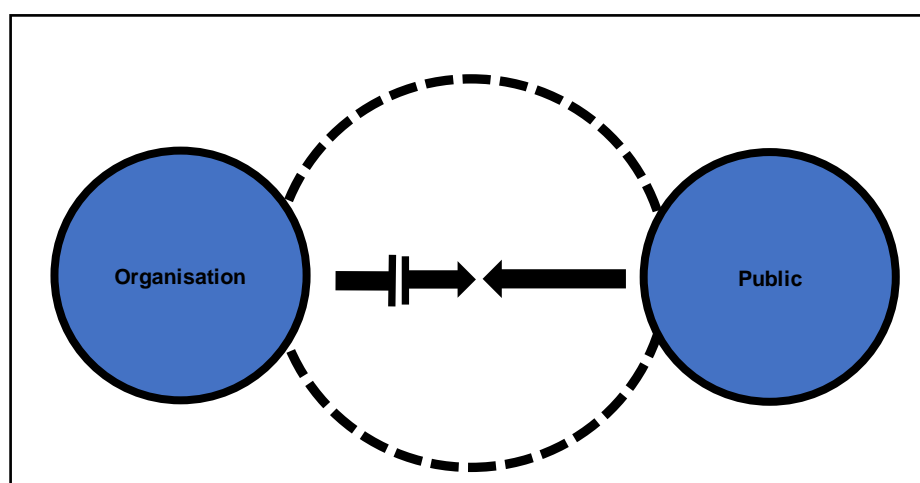
These principles are implemented within a particular arena. According to Aula and Mantere, an arena is anyplace where discourse takes place and shared-meaning is created (Aula & Mantere, 2008:62). The arena determines how the two-way communication between government and stakeholders should take place to ensure shared-meaning and facilitate understanding. Understanding the arena will dictate how government and its stakeholders will execute the six communication principles and create shared meaning. According to Tubbs, Moss and Papastefanou (2011:10), the

transactional model focuses on shared meaning and the relationships that result from communicating and interacting with stakeholders.

The four elements in two-way symmetrical communication are necessary for this process because of their promotion of transactional communication that facilitates the negotiation and creation of shared meaning between stakeholders. These elements are: sender, receiver, message, and channel (Dozier, Grunig & Grunig, 1995; Skinner, Mersham & Benecke, 2013; Van Vuuren, 2014). They indicate that for two-way symmetrical communication to be achieved, government should clearly define:

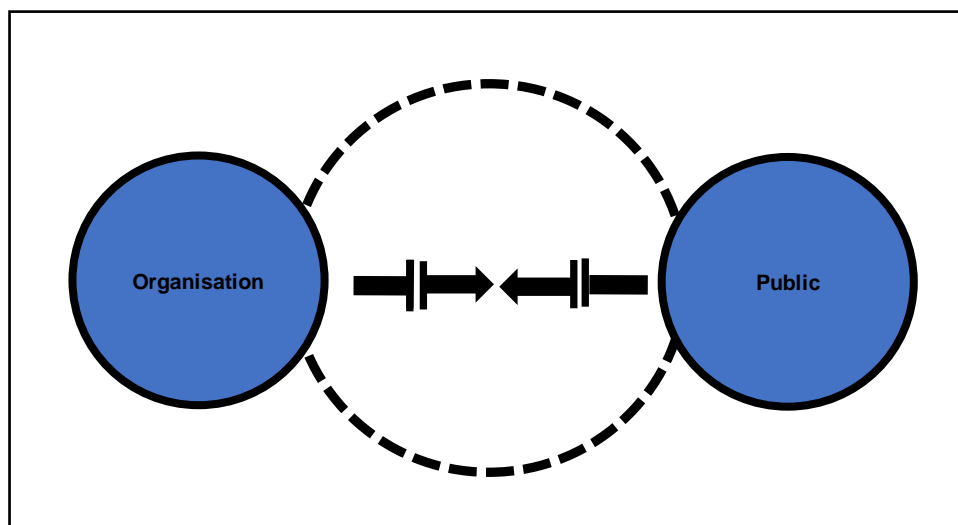
- Who will communicate the NDP?
- Who will receive messaging on the NDP?
- What message will be communicated?
- What channels will be used to communicate?

This should occur before the principles are executed. Based on Aula and Mantere's Arena Model (2008:86), discussed in the literature chapters, to engage effectively with stakeholders within its arena, government should use an offensive communication strategy (**Figure 9.1**). The findings indicate that this is the best strategy for government. This strategy is used when there is conflict in the arena and the organisation chooses to be on the offensive in order to change the current narrative. In this case, government wants to change the narrative on the NDP.



**Figure 9.1: Organisation involved in offensive battle (Aula & Mantere, 2008:87)**

If the relationship between government and stakeholders continues to disintegrate, the riot strategy may have to be implemented (**Figure 9.2**). This occurs when both parties are interested in changing perceptions within the arena, and there are fragmented perspectives on both sides (Aula & Mantere, 2008:87). It presents the opportunity to completely change the image and narrative of the NDP. So, conflicting messages are not always negative. If leveraged correctly, they can be a spring-board for the creation of a new image.



**Figure 9.2: Riot breaks out in reputational arena (Aula & Mantere, 2008:89)**

Once this has been determined, the principles in the framework (**Figure 9.3**) can be implemented.

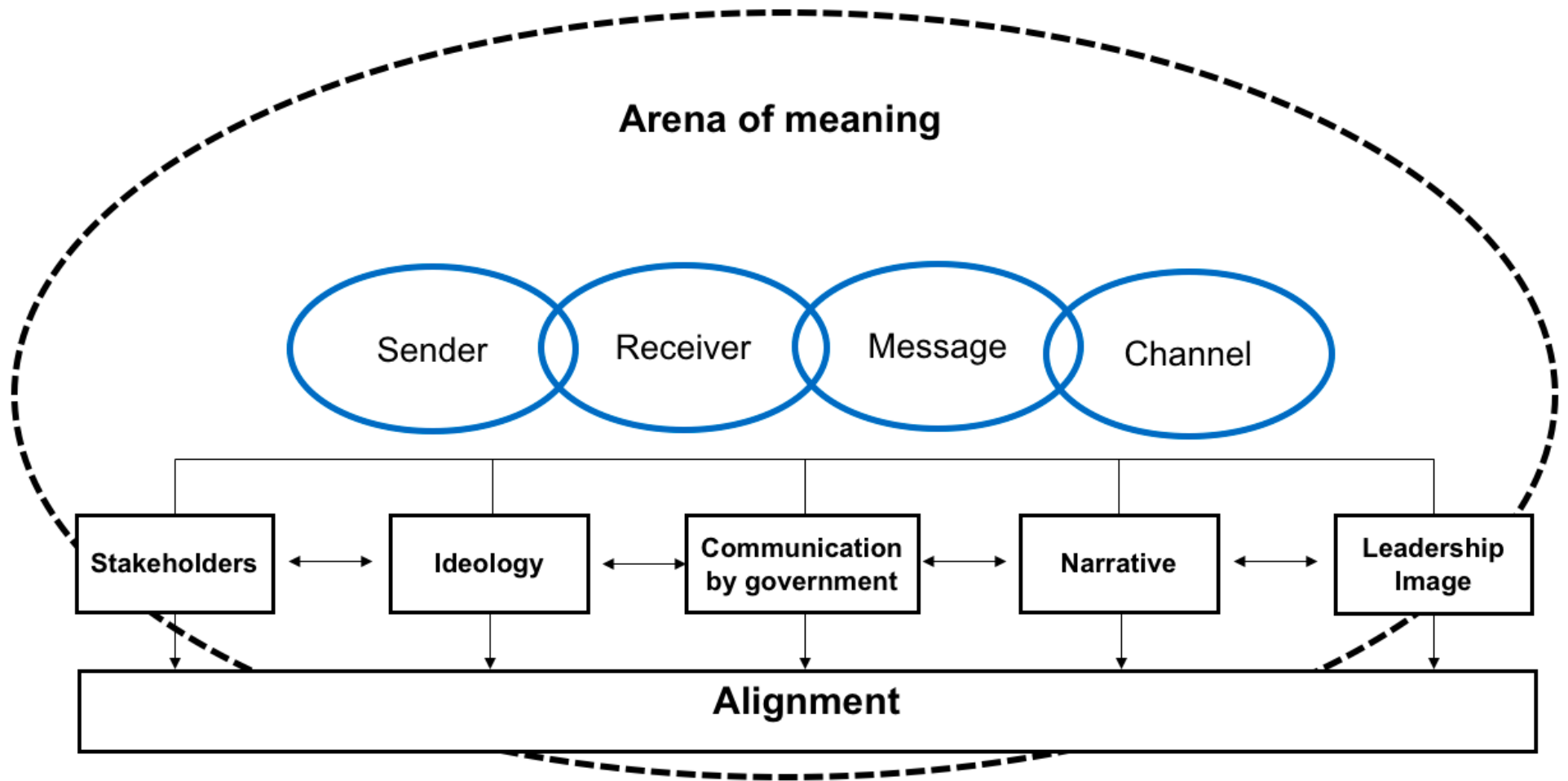


Figure 9.3: Framework of communication principles for the NDP

## 9.2 PRINCIPLE 1: KNOW YOUR STAKEHOLDERS

The first principle is “know your stakeholders”, which urges government to conduct a stakeholder analysis to know who their stakeholders are, and map them correctly (Mathur et al., 2007; Walker et al., 2008; Van Vuuren, 2014; Van Riel, 2012). This principle encourages the following:

- Stakeholder analysis and mapping
- Government should communicate and highlight stakeholder rights and responsibilities
- Determination of stakeholder expectations
- Determination of stakeholder evaluation and perception of NDP
- Creation of social partnership platforms for people to create networks for implementing the plan (e.g. website)
- Communication of stakeholder rights and responsibilities
- Active relationship-building
- Stakeholder representation in communication

The NDP’s stakeholders differ. This principle is dedicated to understanding those differences and communicating in a way that takes them into consideration. It also ensures that stakeholders are represented in communication efforts. It is aligned with the second principle which is “address ideological conflicts”. Understanding stakeholders would allow the communicator to determine their ideological convictions and ensure as much alignment as possible.

To put this principle into practice, government would have to perform a complete stakeholder analysis and map. The main stakeholders of the NDP were identified in the previous chapters and can be seen below (**Table 9.1**).

**Table 9.1: NDP stakeholders**

|   |   |                               |
|---|---|-------------------------------|
| <b>The South African public</b>             | Tourism industry                                  | Agricultural sector           |
| <b>Religious groups</b>                     | Trade unions                                      | Champion                      |
| <b>Operation Phakisa</b>                    | Government  | Entrepreneurs                 |
| <b>Private sector</b>                       | SOEs  | Transport industry            |
| <b>NPC</b>                                  | Opposition parties                                | ANC                           |
| <b>Minerals and energy sector</b>           | Health sector                                     | Sport sector                  |
| <b>Organisations related to land reform</b> | Youth organisations                               | President                     |
| <b>Women's organisations</b>                | Organisations supporting people with disabilities | Alliance partners             |
| <b>COSATU</b>                               | DA  | EFF                           |
| <b>Constitutional Court</b>                 | Government departments                            | Ecological organisations      |
| <b>Local government</b>                     | South African Revenue Service                     | Higher education and training |
| <b>NGOs / Community-level projects</b>      | Volunteer / Mentorship programmes                 | The media                     |
| <b>SACP</b>                                 | Ministers   | Proudly South African         |

Each of these stakeholders and their specific needs and concerns should be included in a concise stakeholder analysis and map. The findings of this analysis will determine how each stakeholder group should be communicated with and involved in the communication and implementation of the NDP. It would ensure that stakeholder expectations are identified and government can determine the extent to which they are able to meet these expectations and communicate adequately. This reduces the possibility that government would over-promise and, in effect, break stakeholder trust.

An analysis of stakeholder perception would be conducted to regularly determine their perception of the NDP. This study already provides an overview of the perceptions of political stakeholders that could be used as a basis for future evaluations of perception. Using this, government can actively take steps to build stakeholder relationships. One way to do this would be the creation of platforms for social partnership. For instance, a social partnership campaign for the NDP may be created

that links various platforms (e.g., a website, social media platforms, events, roadshows, etc.) where NDP partners can communicate their concerns and solutions with one another and with government. This keeps a pulse on stakeholder concerns and builds relationships between them that otherwise would not exist. Ordinary citizens can also join this network and contribute to development.

Also, the rights and responsibilities of stakeholders, as indicated by The Constitution (and the Bill of Rights in particular) should be clarified to stakeholders, and ordinary citizens (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). The NDP can be communicated, in line with citizen rights and responsibilities. This can be seen as a conduit for imbedding democracy. Knowing ones stakeholders also exposes ideological conflicts within stakeholder groups and makes it easier to address them.

### **9.3 PRINCIPLE 2: ADDRESS IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICTS**

The second principle is “address ideological conflicts”. As indicated by the literature and findings, ideological conflicts are commonplace in the political arena (Van Dijk, 1995; 2006; 2011; 2012; Lemke, 2012; Fairclough, 2012; Chiapello & Fairclough, 2000; 2002; Bhatia, 2006). Understanding these and openly addressing them is necessary to implement the NDP. This principle encourages the following:

- Government should identify and address ideological conflicts
- Platforms to address ideological conflicts should be created
- Factionalism within the ANC should be addressed

The findings indicate that ideological conflicts impact on the implementation of the NDP. The conflict exists, not only between political parties, but also within the ANC that initiated the process of compiling the NDP. Regardless of the consultation process that was undertaken prior to the plan being released, the NDP was opposed by people within the ANC. This is seen to be as a result of factionalism within the ANC. Popular ANC representatives spoke against various aspects of the NDP, after its release. This indicates that regardless of the consultation process, many did not agree with the document. To the surprise of the public, some of the plan’s opponents were Ministers, who would be responsible for implementing the aspects of the plan

that they opposed. Such issues would be better discussed and agreed upon within the ANC because doing it publicly created a perception of disunity within the party. If the party that devised the NDP is not united, external stakeholders may find it difficult to unite for its implementation.

A proposed way of dealing with this would be for the ANC to come together and decide on a vision for the party, which includes the party's ideology. At this point the ideology is fragmented. The new ideology would have to be agreed upon and emphasised. The level of alignment between the NDP and the party's ideology would then be communicated within the party.

The ideological issues between the ANC, DA, EFF and COSATU are evident in the literature and findings of this thesis. The authors on ideology (Van Dijk, 1995; 2006; 2011; 2012; Lemke, 2012; Fairclough, 2012; Chiapello & Fairclough, 2000; 2002; Bhatia, 2006) indicate the importance of understanding it. Platforms should be created to negotiate an ideology of "common ground" between stakeholders. The aspects of the NDP that align with the "common ground" that serves all stakeholders would be communicated and emphasised. Although various stakeholders are involved implementation, they have a common goal. Emphasis should be placed on the common goal.

#### **9.4 PRINCIPLE 3: SET STANDARDS FOR HOW GOVERNMENT SHOULD COMMUNICATE**

The third principle is "set standards for how government should communicate". Various literature were consulted regarding how government currently communicates (Howlett, 2009; Pasquier's, 2012; SA Government, 2018; GCIS, 2018; Thornhill, 2012; Pasquier, 2012), as well how they should communicate (Skinner et al., 2013; Steyn & Puth, 2000; Farwell, 2012; Cornelissen, 2011; Gregory, 2010). The third principle encourages government to:

- Determine their communication needs
- Set communication goals
- Communicate the actions taken towards implementation



- Create a communication agreement with stakeholders
- Develop communication strategies and plans
- Regular consultation with stakeholders
- Ensure clarity in communication
- Develop shorter version of NDP
- Address common misunderstandings
- Create demographically-appealing messaging
- Communicate intentions
- Ensure communicative consistency
- Develop communication checklist
- Communicate with 'single voice'

Determining the need for communication, as well as what it hopes to accomplish, should be decided on before a message is crafted or communicated to stakeholders. The vision and goals of communication should be determined (Steyn & Puth, 2000). Government should ask itself what it hopes to accomplish by communicating the NDP and create campaigns that address this. These goals would also determine the rules for the development of communication strategies and plans, as well as what they should include. Stakeholder satisfaction regarding communication would have to be regularly assessed. If the NDP has a social media presence, monitoring the comments on it would assist with keeping a pulse on how people feel about the plan. A media monitoring agency may be appointed for this purpose.

A document would have to be developed stating what the standards are for how government should communicate with stakeholders. It would be a guide of standards for government communicators. The standards should be negotiated and agreed upon with stakeholders, as the messaging would be demographically appealing. This would lead to a communication agreement with stakeholders that assists government with communicating in a consistent, clear, 'single voice'. To demonstrate the seriousness of government as it pertains to the NDP, the action steps that have been taken thus far to implement the plan should be communicated on political platforms, with the achievements of the plan being emphasised and quantified. Government

should consider the development of an “NDP communication checklist” for communicators, to promote communicative consistency.

One of the main issues with the NDP was the length of the document. The over 400-page document garnered criticism for its length. Some stakeholders viewed the length as an indication of lack of vision. A shorter, more concise version should be developed. Government could also opt for more creative depictions of the plan – such as, in the form of an infographic that addresses some of the common misunderstandings on the NDP, identified in the findings. This messaging would also have to communicate the overall intentions of government for devising this plan.

## **9.5 PRINCIPLE 4: DECIDE ON THE NARRATIVE AND COMMIT TO IT**

The fourth principle is “decide on the narrative and commit to it”. This deals with the NDP story that would be crafted by government and communicated through PR and communication campaigns. The principle encourages government to:

- Create a development narrative/story (i.e. “The South African Dream”)
- Create PR campaign to communicate the story
- Create social media campaigns to communicate the story
- Drive conversation on NDP
- Inspire active citizenry
- Imbed democracy to empower stakeholders
- Encourage dialogue
- Explain rationale behind NDP
- Encourage Top of Mind Awareness (ToMA)
- Create visual depiction of positive future South Arica post-implementation
- Personify the NDP
- Create a nation-building project or partner with currently existing projects
- Quantify NDP benefits and communicate them
- Contextualise NDP goals
- Communicate in creative fashion

Consistency is key if government is to garner the trust and support of its stakeholders. It would therefore be necessary for government to craft a narrative that would serve as the foundation of all NDP communication. This would consist of a slogan and “NDP story”. So government would have to craft a story for the NDP similar what American’s refer to as “the American Dream”. The NDP story would incorporate “the South African Dream” that captures the ambitions of everyday South Africans. The personal stories of how the NDP has already impacted citizens may be effective. This would form the basis of several PR and social media campaigns for the NDP. Additionally, it would drive conversation on the NDP, personify the plan, and give it a “human face”. The findings show that in the final year of analysis (2016) conversation on the NDP had dropped. So, using social media and PR campaigns is necessary to create Top of Mind Awareness (ToMA) for the brand. This NDP narrative could also be expressed in pictorial form, showing what a South Africa with an active NDP would look like. This would be the basis for a nation-building project that all South Africans would be encouraged to participate in.

Stakeholders expect government to communicate the rationale behind the plan clearly, and creatively. Creativity should not be excluded from government PR and communication campaigns. For people to support the plan, its past, present, and future benefits would have to be quantified, and its goals contextualised. The NDP story would also encourage dialogue and active citizenry as it would demonstrate how other South Africans are contributing to the plan and achieving their own goals in the process. Once active citizenry is increased, democracy would be more imbedded in the fabric of South African culture. This was a concern for many political stakeholders. Democracy is not only demonstrated on election day, but stakeholders should be encouraged to actively participate in governance.

## **9.6 PRINCIPLE 5: CRAFT LEADERSHIP IMAGE**

The fifth principle is “craft leadership image”. The image and reputation of leaders is an important determinant of whether stakeholders align with the NDP. This principle encourages government to:

- Appoint NDP champions

- Craft personal brands for NDP champions
- Encourage involvement of leaders in consultation on the plan
- Determine image and identity champions (including president)
- Determine goals for leadership image and reputation
- Assess current leadership image
- Determine stakeholder perception of leadership honesty and integrity
- Encourage communication that ‘humanises’ leaders
- Validate the role of the NPC in government
- Promote government accountability
- Communicate NDP with passion

When the NDP was first released, it was often referred to as “Trevor’s plan” in reference to then Minister in the Presidency for the National Planning Commission, Trevor Manuel. Stakeholders place emphasis on having leaders to associate with the plan. So, government would have to appoint champions for the NDP. Currently, it is perceived to have no champion to support it and lead in its implementation. Personal brands would be developed for each champion, in line with the leadership image that stakeholders find most appealing. The champions (including the president) would have a study of their leadership image and identify conducted. This would be the basis for the formulation of a personal brand for each. It would also include an analysis of stakeholder’s perception of the leader’s current image.

These leaders would be involved in consultation on the plan and interact with the public as it pertains to the NDP. They would be encouraged to receive media training and work with an image consultant. The media training would help them communicate passionately about the plan and connect with the audience. It would be an effort to ‘humanise’ the champions and make them more appealing to the public. Also, none of these leaders should have any accountability issues. The members of the NPC may also be appointed as sub-champions of the NDP. This would further legitimise the NPC and the work they contributed towards the plan.

## 9.7 PRINCIPLE 6: CREATE ALIGNMENT

The sixth principle is “create alignment”. This principle encourages the following:

- Alignment between five prior principles
- Continuous research
- Alignment between The Constitution and Freedom Charter
- Alignment between past development plans
- Communicative alignment between local, provincial, and national government
- Alignment between SDG’s/Agenda 2063
- Alignment between ANC National Conference discussion
- Alignment between themes of government events

Alignment is important for successful communication (Van Riel’s, 2012). The five prior principles would have to be aligned. For instance, the leadership image should be in sync with the narrative developed for the NDP. Based on **Figure 9.1**, each of the principles feed off one another. To ensure alignment, regular research would have to be done to monitor how receptive people are to communication efforts. Also, stakeholders placed emphasis on alignment between the NDP and important documents like The Constitution and the Freedom Charter.

Past development plans are regularly mentioned. However, there is no clarity on which plans are being implemented concurrently with the NDP, and which ones have been completely phased out. This should be clarified and the alignment between them, communicated to stakeholders. Also, the NDP should be the main development plan communicated on and referred to. Additionally, the messages on the NDP should be aligned (even between local, provincial, and national government) to prevent confusion.

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), enforced by the United Nations Development Programme are a “universal call to action to end poverty, protect the planet and ensure that all people enjoy peace and prosperity” (UNDP, 2019). The goals are (UNDP, 2019):

1. No Poverty

2. Zero Hunger
3. Good Health and Well-being
4. Quality Education
5. Gender Equality
6. Clean Water and Sanitation
7. Affordable and Clean Energy
8. Decent Work and Economic Growth
9. Industry, Innovation and Infrastructure
10. Reduced Inequality
11. Sustainable Cities and Communities
12. Responsible Consumption and Production
13. Climate Action
14. Life Below Water
15. Life on Land
16. Peace and Justice Strong Institutions
17. Partnerships to achieve the Goal

These were developed by the United Nations and aligning the goals with the NDP improves the perception of the plan and indicates its seriousness. Also, government would have to pay attention to the conversations that take place on important national platforms like the ANC National Conference. The NDP would have to be the basis of discussion on platforms such as this.

## **9.8 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH**

In future, a framework of principles may be developed for other stakeholder groups, as this framework focused primary on political stakeholders. Also, other platforms (i.e. social media) may be used for data collection.

## 9.9 CONCLUDING REMARKS

At the beginning of this study, it was evident that the plan was contested but the main reason behind this contestation was unclear. Based on the findings and literature on past plans and the South African political environment, it can now be concluded that failure of past plans, ideological conflicts and lack of clarity regarding implementation formed the main basis for the NDP being contested. Also, the stakeholders of the NDP “increasingly depend on someone who has the expertise to communicate with and build relationships with these stakeholder groups” (Grunig, Grunig & Dozier, 2002:2). Effective strategic government communication is needed to build and maintain the relationships (Grunig, Grunig & Dozier, 2002) necessary to address the failure of past plans, existing ideological conflicts within the NDP, and clarify aspects of the plan that lead to contention.

Political discourse provides an indication of how people believe society is, or ought to be (Kietäväinen & Tuulentie, 2013:847). This aligns the interpretivist/constructivist paradigm evident throughout the thesis, which allows for the existence of multiple stakeholder realities as well as a consideration of how these perceptions of reality can impact on the implementation of a development plan, like the NDP – hence the importance of considering reality as constructed within arenas of meaning (Aula & Mantere, 2008; Fredriksson & Ihlen, 2018). This indicates that meaning is negotiated and created over time. The framework developed is necessary to determine how government can work with its stakeholders to create meaning in a way that encourages socioeconomic development through the implementation of the NDP. The six principles within the framework guide this process.

Regardless of the unhealthy social discourse that is prevalent, the NDP can be a channel for bringing structure to political communication (Financial Mail, 2016). Using this framework would facilitate that process and not only lead to the implementation of the plan but, would also encourage active citizenry and imbed democracy – both of which are necessary to complete the NDP’s “Cycle of Development”, introduced in Chapter 1. This was done by addressing the underlying political stakeholder concerns affecting implementation and providing government with an informed framework to

communicate with stakeholders in a way that encourages them to be active citizens. Thereby promoting the social cohesion needed for implementation.



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# **Annexure A**

**Combined letter of introduction and informed consent**



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA  
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA  
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Faculty of Economic and  
Management Sciences

## Letter of Introduction and Informed Consent

Dept. of Business Management

Towards a communication framework for South Africa's National Development Plan (NDP)

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Cell: 073 076 9968

Dear Participant

You are invited to participate in an academic research study conducted by Olebogeng Selebi, Doctoral student from the Department of Business Management at the University of Pretoria.

The purpose of the study is to develop a framework for the communication of South Africa's National Development Plan. This is done through an analysis of the discourse surrounding the plan.

Please note the following:

- This is an anonymous study. The answers you give will be treated as strictly confidential.
- Your participation in this study is very important to us. You may, however, choose not to participate and you may also stop participating at any time without any negative consequences.
- Please answer the questions as completely and honestly as possible. This should not take more than 60 minutes of your time.
- The results of the study will be used for academic purposes only and may be published in an academic journal. We will provide you with a summary of our findings on request.
- Please contact my supervisor, Prof Ronel Rensburg ([ronel.rensburg@up.ac.za](mailto:ronel.rensburg@up.ac.za)) if you have any questions or comments regarding the study.

In research of this nature the supervisor may wish to contact respondents to verify the authenticity of data gathered by the researcher. It is understood that any personal contact details that you may provide will be used only for this purpose, and will not compromise your anonymity or the confidentiality of your participation.

Please sign the form to indicate that:

- You have read and understand the information provided above.
- You give your consent to participate in the study on a voluntary basis.

---

Participant's signature

---

Date

# **Annexure B**

## **Interview schedule**

Dear Interviewee

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study.

As was explained before, this interview should last between 45 – 60 minutes and will be recorded digitally.

Thank you for your time.

### **Section A: Demographic details**

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Organisation: \_\_\_\_\_

Job title: \_\_\_\_\_

### **Section B: Interview questions**

1. What is the political discourse surrounding the NDP?

1.1. What does the NDP mean and represent to you?

1.2. What are some of the political conversations surrounding the NDP?

1.3. Do you think the NDP is sufficiently communicated in political circles?

1.4. In what context is the plan usually communicated?



2. What are the underlying issues causing the contestation of the NDP?

2.1. Do you agree with the document itself?

2.2. What do you think are the underlying issues causing the contestation of the NDP?

2.3. How can these issues be addressed?

3. How does communication facilitate the implementation of the NDP?

3.1. How should government communicate the National Development Plan?

3.2. What do you think is the role of communication in implementing the NDP?

4. Who are the key stakeholders in the discourse on the NDP?

4.1. Who are the key political actors needed for the communication of the NDP?

4.2. How can these individuals and organisations work better at communicating the NDP?

# **Annexure C**

**CD-ROM**

