



*Policy Development in the Tripartite Alliance, 2007-2012: An application of the
Multiple Streams Framework*

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Abstract

Policy Development in the Tripartite Alliance, 2007-2012: An application of the Multiple Streams Framework

The tripartite alliance is an unusual structure of governance which consolidates the rule of the African National Congress (ANC) as a dominant party through three parties each with a unique ideological trajectory and constituency base. The structure is a unique space for policy formulation and agenda setting and often finds itself in conflict about policy approaches and directives. In 2012 the National Development Plan (NDP) came into fruition and the period prior to its production saw policy consensus on developmental policy approaches within the Tripartite Alliance as a structure. Using this instance of policy making within the Tripartite Alliance this thesis asks: How does policy happen within in the Tripartite Alliance. To answer this question, the public policy scholarship framework known as the Multiple Streams Framework as founded by John Kingdon, breaks policy processes into three distinct themes, analysing exactly how policy occurs in the structure. This analysis will therefore test the theory of the Multiple Streams Framework on the case study of development policy making within the tripartite alliance between 2007 and 2012, discerning how useful it is in answering how policy happens within the structure.

Key words:

Tripartite Alliance, National Development Plan, South African Public Policy, Multiple Streams Framework, Policy and Decision-Making.

Relevant Abbreviations:

ANC - African National Congress

NDP - National Development Plan

NDR - National Democratic Revolution

NPC - National Planning Commission

RDP - Reconstruction and Development Program

GEAR - Growth, Employment and Redistribution

AsgiSA- Accelerated Shared Growth Initiative of South Africa

COSATU - Congress of South African Trade Unions

NUMSA - National Union of Metalworkers South Africa

SACP-South African Communist Party

MSF- Multiple Streams Framework

DPME – Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation

UBIG – Universal Basic Income Grant

PCAS - Policy Co-ordination Advisory Services

Chapter 1: Introduction

The Tripartite Alliance is a unique governance structure influencing the public policy agenda of the African National Congress (ANC). The ANC is the dominating party within the Tripartite Alliance which includes the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). The production of public policy in South Africa requires the endorsement of various political actors in order to ensure a policy gains a status of priority on the public policy agenda. The complex policy environment left by the transition from apartheid to the new democratic dispensation has created a specific set of conditions for policy making. The Tripartite Alliance was a body constituted during the transition, meant to represent the broad church of constituencies which constitute the ANC's political support and express the constituent base's political interests. In order to understand how policy is developed within in the Tripartite Alliance it is necessary to investigate policies developed within the alliance. The National Development Plan (NDP) is the most recent attempt at broad policy making within the structure, resulting in fundamental strides towards the policy's development and in policy development overall. It is useful for public policy scholarship to use of the NDP as a case study of policy making in the tripartite alliance. This thesis tests the analytic power of the Multiple Streams Framework (MSF) when it comes to explaining changes in alliance policy making.

This brief introduction will state the research question, followed by an outlining of the location and context of this thesis. This will be followed by a summary of the methodology used in this thesis, the research problem, importance and a general overview of the chapters in this thesis.

Research Question

In 2012 the NDP was adopted by the ANC as a cohesive policy framework meant to address poverty, inequality and slow economic growth and overall development in South Africa. The shift towards developmental state strategies and policy frameworks within the Tripartite Alliance is a relevant case study for exploring policy-decision making within the Tripartite Alliance overall. A forementioned case study is used to test the MSF theory as an appropriate way of analyzing policy-decision making in the tripartite alliance. In this way this thesis answers the following question:

How does policy development happen within the tripartite alliance?

Location and Context of this Thesis

Primarily, this thesis is in the scholarship of public policy, both in the context of international and local scholarship. The use of a public policy framework that originated in North America informs the analysis of this thesis and the material used for this thesis is in the political history of the ANC. Using party communications, media and press statements, and official documents it seeks to explore policy processes within the tripartite alliance. The analysis is built on the scholarship of American scholar John Manuel Kingdon (Kingdon, 1984:212) and policy scholars who have challenged and refined his work since its production in 1984 (Zahariadis, 2013; Beland & Howlett, 2016; Jones *et al.* 2016). These two bodies of literature are bolstered by political analysis in the South African context which outlines the history of the party and changes in the alliance as part of a critique.

The Tripartite Alliance referred to in this thesis is the three-party political structure including the SACP, the COSATU and the ANC which made up parts of the anti-apartheid liberation front and later became a governance structure attached to, and at the core of, the ANC (ANC, 1969:10-15). The alliance existed in the discourse of the ANC prior to the 1969 Morogoro conference, which happened whilst the ANC was in exile, where the collaboration of alliance partners first emerged in the conference documents of the ANC at the time. The alliance, however, became a political structure after the unbanning of the ANC in 1990 where, through the transition, it was constituted formally as a political structure. COSATU's history as a federation of trade unions actions towards ending apartheid, qualified it within the alliance as a labour partner of politically motivated unionists, lobbying for workers' rights in the face of an apartheid economy.

The body hoped to bring the political concerns and ideologies of their respective voter constituencies to the policy making process of the ANC, who in 1994, became a ruling party. This arrangement also relied on the transferal of policymaking expertise between partners collapsing the power imbalance between policy experts and political actors. The alliance is constituted of the following bodies: COSATU represents several trade unions across the country who are believed to hold the interests of the working-class. The SACP represents the historical left, those whose constituencies lean towards socialist tendencies in their political organising and the ANC as part of the alliance represents the party holistically with all the various factions and traditions, who can contest for power at the national congresses held by the party (Southhall, 2003:55).

The role of the Tripartite Alliance has arguably diminished over time. As the alliance partners competed for positions in power and shifts in the political landscape influenced the potency of the partners in relation to the ANC as a dominant party, the influence of the alliance structure diminished

(Pillay, 2011:57). This shift, politically, alongside the nature of development policy has meant that less policy is formulated and produced at the level of the tripartite alliance.

Considering these changes and the case study at hand, this thesis focuses on the period of 2007 and 2012 in which political shifts occurred within the alliance and a developmental policy came to be. The NDP is identified by this thesis as the most recent and relevant policy framework generated within the alliance structure and this thesis does well to plot the discourses from within the alliance surrounding it as well as its endorsement by the structure overall. This formulation occurred between 2007 and it was drafted in 2012 by a body constituted in 2010 known as the National Planning Commission (NPC). The National Development Plan, which is the outcome of the policy process described in this dissertation, addresses economic growth as well as unequal economic and social development. The is a broad framework was made up of a mixture of social and economic policy recommendations (NPC, 2012:5).

The NDP joins a history of grand-scheme economic frameworks — which describes some aspects of the NDP — within the ANC. This history began prior to 1990's unbanning of the ANC, to a period in which the ANC was a liberation movement (Naidoo & Maré, 2015:410). In May 2010, the NPC was established with a broad mandate to provide a policy framework able to address development challenges within South Africa. The NPC was led by Trevor Manuel, a Minister in the Presidency at the time and Cyril Ramaphosa, who would become deputy president of the ANC during the launch of the NDP in 2012. The NPC operated, in part like a think-tank and in part like a nation-wide fact-finding mission (NPC, 2010). It involved stakeholders from varying sectors of civil society and the political elite who contributed to a collective blueprint for sustainable economic growth and transformation in South Africa. In 2011, the NPC presented the NDP to the presidency and the document was formally adopted by government at the 2012 Mangaung ANC's 53rd national conference. In doing so it was declared the cornerstone of government planning from that point forward and the ANC's leading plan for economic reform and transformation. The commitment and endorsement of the NDP was outlined in *Umrabulo* by Minister to the Presidency and chairman of the Commission, Trevor Manuel (Manuel, 2013).

The literature posits that the NDP follows a long tradition of policymaking endorsed and politicised by the Tripartite Alliance. Together with the Tripartite Alliance, the ANC build an ideological position for policy related to growth and economic inequality through the production of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR). The NDR is a charter outlining a comprehensive plan for transforming and empowering the poor and working class to take power in South Africa.

The NDR seeks to align the interests of parties within the Tripartite Alliance. Members of the NPC and those who endorse the NDP in the public discourse believe that as a policy framework it corroborates the collective vision of the future development of South Africa spelt out in the NDR (NPC, 2012). This thesis suggests that the NDP is a case study which could outline how decisions are made within the Tripartite Alliance. Despite contestation, the NDP was adopted by the ANC and the alliance at the 2012 ANC National Congress (ANC, 2012) This adoption reflected a cohesive policy-decision within the alliance, and this makes it a relevant place through which to orientate this thesis.

Theoretical framework

This thesis is based on the analytical and theoretical framework known as the Multiple Streams Framework. The MSF is a tool used to understand policy processes and agenda-setting through three separate streams. Kingdon used the framework to make sense of agenda processes within the fragmented US political system. This application of the streams model within a Western context where policy processes happen in many complex areas produced ideas around policy windows and entrepreneurs for which the MSF is widely known (Beland & Howlett, 2016:222)

Through this analysis, this thesis explores how policy is developed within the Tripartite Alliance, drawing together key findings made through the analysis process. This thesis identifies the NDP as a paragon for decision-making within the structure and at the apex of a long trajectory of decision-making in the alliance and the ANC making it an appropriate case study. The MSF was arrived at after a testing of various public policy frameworks through which the MSF stood out as able to make appropriate divisions for the policy processes in various spaces in the structure.

In this study MSF is meant to assist in arranging the spaces in which policy is developed within the Tripartite Alliance, in order to identify how policy is made within the structure. In this sense, this thesis is theory testing, as it works to test the abilities of the MSF as an analytical tool. Through this process this thesis will expose the strengths and weaknesses of the MSF's application to the specific context of the tripartite alliance. The MSF is tested on the case study of the NDP and policy development in the tripartite alliance, as this is a theory testing study.

Research Problem

The Tripartite Alliance is a unique political structure representing the interests of three separate policy interest groups and their constituencies. The alliance as a structure was used to develop policy after 1994 bringing together various constituency and policy resources from the liberation front in a unique and specific governance structure (Southhall, 2003). Over time, the room for the

Tripartite Alliance to influence policymaking begun to decrease in place of policy bodies hosted closer to the state. Developmental policy as developed in the global policy context calls for policy to be centralised within the state. This begun to occur to the exclusion of the Tripartite Alliance (National Executive Committee, 2001). It is therefore relevant to ask just how much influence the alliance had on the policy steps towards the creation of the NDP. There exists an extensive body of literature documenting changes in the alliance which this thesis relies on to outline problems within the structure.

This thesis is interested in understanding how the NDP arrived on the policy agenda of the tripartite alliance, as a policy framework which was supported and endorsed by its members. Although developmental policy is influenced by both the international context and its applications as well as motivations beyond the political, this thesis would like to identify why developmental policy was chosen by the Tripartite Alliance as appropriate for alliance wide consensus leading to a comprehensive state response centered on a developmental path. It is also worth making sense of how policy researchers, thinkers and developers begun to envision the NDP. Specifically, under which conditions they elected a policy response with a high level of public participation, enlisting a variety of actors, with a broad-based approach to policy influence and making. Considering the above, the problem which informs this thesis, is to make sense of policy agenda setting within a contested space, specifically, the Tripartite Alliance (NPC, 2012).

As mentioned in the thesis makes use of a public policy framework developed by an American policy scholar Kingdon, in order to make an analysis of policy making in the tripartite alliance. The MSF has not widely been used to assess the policy making processes within political parties or complex alliance structures like the tripartite alliance. It has also yet to be used to make sense of how policies arrive on the agenda of dominant political parties and movements which have strong influence on governmental policy agendas. To use the MSF as a framework through which to understand how policy arrives on the agenda of political parties is to draw out the different spaces in which policy develops in alliance structures broadly (Mukherjee & Howlett, 2015).

The problems which the NDP attempts to address, including slow economic growth, poverty and inequality and overall development, are historical for the ANC and adopted during the transition from the apartheid government. In 2007, the idea of “development planning” became a politically motivated policy position and efforts to address slow economic growth and consequent poverty and inequality came to the centre (Naidoo & Maré, 2015). However, for the NDP to be developed as a policy framework, policy experts from within the alliance had to begin laying out development orientated solutions and redirect policy resources towards a more centralised approach to policy making. At the same time, politically, development had to garner support as a policy approach to

allow for the NDP's adoption and measured implementation. Analysing the development of the NDP in this way and through the MSF provides insights into the policy surrounding decision-making within the tripartite alliance. This process could ideally produce lessons on how policy is made within complex structures.

The research problem of this dissertation posits that policy making in the Tripartite Alliance is evolving and overtime it has been less empowered to make policy decisions as a structure.

Relevance of this Thesis

South Africa faces a significant unemployment crisis, and this crisis is only exacerbated by the conditions of the Covid-19 pandemic but persisted long before it. It is an unemployment crisis which is built on a history of exclusionary and exploitative labour practices in which labour was valued according to a racist division of society. Under the apartheid government a crisis of skills emerged through the Bantu Education Act and the vast majority of black South Africans were faced with excruciating labour conditions and staggering poverty and inequality (Nattrass, 1994:354). The ANC government was faced with the challenge of transforming this exploitative labour structure so that more South Africans could participate and grow the economy, two processes envisioned to occur simultaneously. This was a challenge which, overtime, characterized the political agenda of the tripartite alliance. The constituencies which underpinned the alliance were concerned with the economic direction of the country and solutions for sustainable, inclusionary growth was foremost in their political concerns (Nattrass, 1994:343-359).

In 2021, the terrain for the alliance has shifted, schisms and changes in unionism in one instance, has meant a significant loss of support and political power for COSATU. Additionally, to this, although bodies like NEDLAC still hold negotiating power on behalf of the unions, that power is limited. The SACP and the ANC both have considerable challenges in the building of sustainable branches. The political orientation of SACP members has changed over time and the posturing for positions in the state has caused a loss in support for the leadership. In all senses the alliance is losing ground and influence on policymaking.

What this means for everyday South Africans is that the terrain of policymaking and the calls which influence it, are no longer emerging from the broad church which constitutes the ANC. This practice has begun in the context of the NDP. This in turn has influenced the policy framework's implementation and the slow-up take and lack of success regarding it have left economic policy planning in a critical condition.

Chapter Outline

Chapter two, literature review:

This brief introduction and overview are followed by a **literature review** outlining the relevant libraries which underpin the analysis in this thesis. The literature review is divided into public communications, magazine contributions and academic papers which outline the subject matter of this thesis. The literature review also contains a **methodology** section which unpacks the literature outlining the public policy scholarship framework defining the analysis of this research.

Chapter three, four and five comprise of the analysis sections of this thesis, applying the three streams which emerge from the MSF.

Chapter three, the problem stream:

Chapter three is an analysis application of the problem stream, defining it through the MSF literature and applying it to the case study of development within the tripartite alliance. Chapter 2 further defines the period of approaching a developmental economic plan from within the tripartite alliance.

Chapter four, the policy stream:

Chapter four applies the policy stream, defining the formation of a developmental economic plan from within the tripartite alliance. Chapter four applies the policy stream reflecting on the policy communities which formulates solutions towards a broad development framework within the tripartite alliance. Chapter four also frames the distribution of policy research resources which led to a cohesive development of a developmental plan.

Chapter five, the political stream:

Chapter five makes application of the political stream which analyses the political spheres in which a developmental policy was arrived at, argued within and propagated within the Tripartite Alliance making specific references to the policy entrepreneur and policy window.

Chapter six, Conclusion:

As previously stated, **chapter six** is a conclusion drawing the analysis to a close and highlighting key conclusions drawn out throughout, this chapter and will also declare whether the MSF is an appropriate framework to apply to policy making within the tripartite alliance.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter will work to outline the sources relevant to this thesis alongside academic literature which defines and elaborates on the MSF expanding on the literature framing the methodology. The primary sources which work to answer the research question include official press statements and congress resolutions, conference papers as well as alliance magazine outputs. These publications frame public iterations of policy making within the Tripartite Alliance and how it is presented outside the party. The literature review chapter will lay out the relevant publications which assist this thesis in answering its research aims, which is to analyze policy decision making within the tripartite alliance. The literature review will also work to situate this thesis amidst other literature about similar questions in this thesis. In order to do this, this thesis also takes an introspective look into the MSF as a framework reviewing literature which interrogates the framework, outlines its intellectual development and more.

Literature Overview

The question of how policy develops in the Tripartite Alliance is situated in the center of the intersection between public policy and the political history of the ANC. A secondary field, supporting this thesis, is that of economic development and research within the state and within the party. Furthermore, individuals who contribute to the development of the argument within this thesis, both through official communications and academic literature include local economic scholars and officials such as Alan Hirsch (2005), Joel Netshitenzhe (2008, 2011), Trevor Manuel (2012) and Vishnu Padayachee and Robert Van Niekerk (2019).

There are scholars, in the field of political science who provide more context around the history of economic development in the party and the formation of the tripartite alliance. These include Devan Pillay (2011), Patrick Bond (2013), Nicoli Nattrass (1994), Susan Booysen (2011) and William Gumede (2008 & 2016). These scholars are among the few that can provide a sense of the unfolding landscape surrounding the tripartite alliance.

The public policy research aspects of this thesis are entirely placed within the understanding of the MSF and the scholars who developed it into the framework relevant enough to apply to this dissertation. These include Kingdon (1984) as the creator of the MSF framework, Zahariadis (2013, 2016, 2019) as the scholar who has consistently carried out the process of review for the MSF and its empirical implications and Cairney's 2017 public policy website post breaks down the concepts which make up the MSF and is a starting premise from which an application of the MSF developed for this thesis. Other scholars in the public policy field who have executed an application of the MSF

to local contexts are also referenced in the methodology section of this literature review providing a greater sense of how applications of the MSF occur in a variety of contexts.

The culmination of these fields, academic contributions and sources provides the basis on which this thesis attempts to answer how policy develops within the tripartite alliance. What is added to this review is documentation founding the National Development Plan (NDP) and literature specifically focused on development politics in the alliance.

Statements, Launches and Summaries

The NDP as a development policy framework builds into a trajectory of development policy making within the ANC. Policy in the Tripartite Alliance was expressed through alliance conferences, where policy ideas are debated and presented these include: the national policy conference, economic summits and ANC congresses. The library of congress papers are useful to define policy making in the state alongside the products of the NPC.

In order to understand the development of the NPC and subsequent production of the NDP, it is necessary to consult official documents which mark the public release of the NDP and formation of the NPC. The library provided by press statements, official presentations, executive summaries and endorsing speeches, provide insight into how the NDP was envisioned and supported. The development of the NDP began with the establishment of the NPC appointed by President Jacob Zuma in 2010. However, as the literature will further demonstrate, there is a longer history involved in the production of a developmental framework which includes the broader political context. According to the official press statements, the commission's core responsibility was to develop a response to inequality and slow economic development and by 2012, the NDP was drafted, released and in the implementation phase (NPC, December 2012).

In the foreword of the *National Development Plan's 2030 Vision Statement*, chair person Trevor Manuel states that the NPC is unique as a planning committee plotting a way forward for development and inequality because it comprises of a variety of individuals, from varying sectors building towards a developmental state (NPC, 2012). The commission was also led by Manuel who was deputised by Cyril Ramaphosa, both who had extensive experience in previous macroeconomic planning efforts. To this end, the vision document outlines that the NDP is a continuation of the vision underpinning the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP) and utilised a broad policy approach dependent on processes of mass-based consultation and public support garnered through a publicised implementation process (NPC, 2012).

From the onset the NPC had to account for public endorsement of the plan through civil society partners within and outside of the tripartite alliance. This meant that the NDP and its objectives were launched explicitly and publicly (Manuel, 2012; Jacob Zuma 2012). This public approach to the policy attempted to make interventions to the conventional procedures surrounding policy making in the ANC.

Literature Defining the Tripartite Alliance

Lodge (1999) outlines the start of economic policy making with the ANC leading the Tripartite Alliance (Lodge, 1999:5-15). The paper analyses the period following the party's unbanning in 1990 and the policy processes which are developed within the tripartite alliance. The paper further goes on to track these changes in policymaking beyond 1994 and the fundamental shifts in power which would define future policymaking. Lodge highlights that the generalised experiences of coalition and policymaking in Western democracies have shown that a diversity of voices often leads to tensions within the administration slowing down government action (Lodge, 1999:5-30). Lodge considers this alongside the alliance model whilst re-iterating that the power of the ANC is consolidated by a broad church, mass base formalised through the Tripartite Alliance (Lodge, 1999:5-15). Lodge predicts a rupture in the alliance, if not through COSATU's departure, through weakening of individual alliance partners as they remain divided by political ideologies.

Butler (2005) reflects on the National Democratic Revolution (NDR), as the document which solidifies the interests of those who form part of the tripartite alliance. The article focuses on the democratic nature of the NDP and the different spheres of democratic expression. It identifies that the NDR is a consolidation for democratic practices within the movement and alliance. The article identifies that the NDR was an attempt at consolidating the reaches for socialist tendencies within the organisation held by leaders and communist intellectuals within the SACP and anti-colonial, liberation-based efforts within the same alliance (Butler, 2005:725-740). The economy is identified as the core to liberation and democracy. Furthermore, the NDR consolidates the forces and interests within the organisation by promising a future or second phase revolution in which economic growth, poverty and inequality are dealt with and power of the state is transferred to the "masses" in the nation. However, the article identifies that governments were limited in their ability to change the trajectory of economic growth as it remains determined by international and market forces. Butler also identifies that often; economic policy is determined by the finance ministry at the centre of the Executive Branch. The NDR is therefore only an attempt at an analytical approach to the alliance and its many ideological compromises (Butler, 2005:726-750).

Building on to the broad view of the alliance is the body of literature which defines the African National Congress (ANC) in a broader sense. The ANC has historically existed as both a liberation

movement and political party. This existence is underpinned by an alliance of stakeholders, emerging from the liberation movement, who invested their pursuit of freedom in one organisation in the interest of representing the diverse voices of those who fought for liberation from the apartheid regime (Butler 2007: 61-68). Structurally, this makes the ANC unique as a governing party which produces unique institutional arrangements in the policymaking processes. However, in 2007, the party became defined by factionalism surrounding changes in the dominating party. There are divergent factors which contribute to factionalism within the ANC that include changes in leadership, the development of patronage networks and disagreements around economic policy. Economic policy and its ideological orientations can shape conflict in the alliance. These political influences on policy making are important to consider in the broader literature surrounding the Tripartite Alliance and the public policy agenda (Butler 2007:61-70).

In order to zoom in on how the alliance specifically influences the policy process, Mosala, Venter and Bain's article: *South Africa's Economic Transformation since 1994: What Influence has the NDR (NDR) had?* provides an extensive review of governmental efforts towards economic transformation from 1994 to 2017, a twenty-three-year period (Mosala *et al.*, 2017:327-340). In particular, the article highlights the effects of the NDR as it was drafted as a collective vision for the Tripartite Alliance on macro-economic policy frameworks in South Africa (Mosala *et al.*, 2017: 327-340) This reading of the NDR carves out a particular role for the Tripartite Alliances structure central to developing development policy.

Outside of Mosala, Venter and Bain's attempts to assess the impact of the NDR on economic transformation, there are texts which attempt to make sense of instability in the alliance, which further influences economic policy. Adam Habib's *South Africa: Conceptualising a politics of human-orientated development* primarily attempts to make sense of disputes within the ANC and argues that the uncertainty produced by these disputes allows for a "humanisation" of development policymaking processes (Habib, 2008:41-61). Within this text Habib connects the question of policymaking to party instability. Contextualising Habib's text places it before the production of the National Development Plan and thus characterises the period following the 2007 Polokwane conference. This period following the 2007 conference and the launch of the NDP in 2012 is when the policy was developed and built. This is the period most relevant to this dissertation as it is when the differing policy processes took place across and a lurching towards the development framework outlined in the NDP occurred. Habib's reflections on the conflict within the alliance provides a relevant and well-placed context for the nature of the Tripartite Alliance (Habib, 2008:41-61).

Tensions within the alliance exist amidst several lines and conflict exists within alliance partners as individual party bodies, this is particularly true for the unions which form part of the alliance. The

history of social movement-based unionism in South Africa which has subsequently transformed through the formalisation and politicisation of unions in 21st century South Africa is explored in Ashman's 2016 article, *The social crisis of labour and the crisis of labour politics in South Africa* which outlines how labour politics in South Africa has transformed creating a dissonance between social movements and politicised unions (Ashman, 2015:47). The article expresses the political terrain which led to the expulsion the National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa (NUMSA) and broader fragmentation of COSATU, the largest union federation in South Africa. The article inserts internal conflicts within COSATU into the global context of neoliberalism and a socioeconomic crisis. This "crisis" as described by the article creates challenges to the founding ideals and ideologies of the NDR (NDR) which hold the alliance together (Ashman, 2015:57). The article predicts that a fracture in COSATU could develop a new left movement, organising itself outside of the federation. Although published in 2015, the article grants insight into the landscape surrounding alliance partners which defines how these shifts within partners reflects in policy making processes.

Devan Pillay further contextualises the conflicts central to the alliance in the period surrounding the establishment of the NPC and deliverance of the NDP. Pillay outlines the SACP-ANC vs COSATU divide (Pillay, 2011:58). Pillay demonstrates that the ANC under the Zuma regime leaned towards democratic developmental policy-decision making, often side-lining policy directives emerging out of COSATU which were more focused on unemployment and industrialisation. Pillay also details political and ideological shifts in the SACP and an overall break from social movement unionism in COSATU (Pillay, 2011:58). The NDP consolidates Pillay's view on democratic developmental policymaking demonstrating how policy directives emerge out of the alliance partner politics. This demonstrates that the formulation of the developmental policy framework emerged outside of the traditional policy cycles present in the ANC at the time and instead occurred in different quarters under different political conditions.

The articles and texts provide a necessary basis from which to understand the nature of policy making with in the Tripartite Alliance and the ANC. For the purposes of this thesis, these texts build the scaffolding for what defines the tripartite alliance's policy processes and attitudes towards these processes in order to place their influence on forming a developmental policy framework and the NPC.

The Umrabulo, Shopsteward and Umsebenzi

The Umrabulo is a quarterly periodical published for the ANC, for its membership. The periodical hosts articles written by members of the party of all rank and is edited by an editorial collective. The collective changes regularly and is underscored by leadership within the party. *The Umrabulo* is seen

as a space for robust discussion and debate of policy and governmental issues but often reads as biased towards majority views within the party. *The Umrabulo* hosts opinion pieces framing the discussion around the ANC adoption of the NDP, a broad framing of the second phase of the NDR and particularities around schisms between Tripartite Alliance partners (Umrabulo, 2012-2018). Beyond *The Umrabulo* there were several other alliance partner, specific publications like *The Umsebenzi* (by the SACP) and *The Shopsteward* (by COSATU).

This thesis relies on discussion documents which outline the NDR as a binding document for the tripartite alliance. The review of the NDR, reflected in strategy and tactic documents emerging out of ANC policy congresses, purports the ideological efforts towards a developmental framework. As a body of literature of primary resources, these documents provide necessary context for how policy is made cohesively within the alliance.

In the period surrounding the launch of the NDP, Trevor Manuel stood as the chairperson of the NPC. As he mentions in his *Umrabulo* featured paper, Manuel considers the NDP a reflection of the NDR as imagined by the Tripartite Alliance (Manuel,2013:16). During and surrounding the 2012 Manguang conference, there was a reimagining, reinterpretation and launch of the second phase of the NDR expressed through the strategy and tactic documents reviewed at ANC Congresses (ANC, 2012). This shift and disputes surrounding this shift led to extensive discussion within the alliance partners. The discussion documents represent statements from within the party which outline the contention surrounding the alliance which includes contradictions between the NDP and NDR (Manuel, 2013:16).

In order to review the nature of the alliance it is important that this thesis consults the ANC's *Strategy and Tactics document* published in 1969 which outlines the alliance (ANC, 1969). It is also in the interest of this thesis to analyse the revisions of the Strategy and Tactics document of 2017 (ANC, 2017). Through an analysis of where the critiques and analysis of the alliance overlaps with the discussion documents related to the NDR, this thesis will begin to unpack how the NDR affects policymaking adding to the work of Mosala, Venter and Bain.

Through announcing the second phase of the NDR a clear set of challenges was put forward in terms of economic transformation and growth. The NDR set out to put the economy in the hands of the working-class masses through policy agenda setting focused on the working-class. The lack of growth in the economy however meant that the state capacity for these changes was limited and this led to a call for a centering of economic growth and more developmental approaches to economic transformation. Development was sought out for its ability to create more jobs and use state

intervention to create a more effective economy which could then be transformed in accordance with the NDR (COSATU, 2018:3-33).

Publications of *The Shopsteward* between the periods of 2007 and 2012 focused on the further development of the NDR, a reparation of the relationship within the Tripartite Alliance's well as the framing a industrialised development plan which could shift the economic tide towards increased employment and solidified labour rights. To be specific, within the resolutions of COSATU's 8th National Congress the federation notes ruptures in the Tripartite Alliance and highlights a silencing of voices from alliance partners outside of the ANC. The resolution's emerging from the Ekurhuleni Summit, name fractures in the alliance as a key issue. The solution to this fracture, propose amongst other things, was seen to be a restructuring of the alliance which they had hoped would take place at the ANC's 2007 congress (COSATU, 2003). In many ways the resolutions of the 8th and 13th COSATU congress provide details into the conflict surrounding the alliance approaching 2007. They also provide insights into fissures within the federation of COSATU itself, leading to the expulsion of Zwelinzima Vavi and the departure of COSATU's strongest union affiliate the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA).

A core text, describing how the ANC relates to the NDP is hosted in the 38th issue of the *Umrabulo* to which Nathi Mthethwa, Chief Whip of the ANC in 2008, was Editor in Chief. Other members of the editorial collective on this issue included Netshitenzhe and Godongwana who historically protected economic policy making within the ANC. In the same issue, issue 38 – meant to commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the formation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) – Trevor Manuel argues for why the ANC endorsed the NDP (Manuel, 2013:16-23). He asserts that the NDP seeks to address poverty and inequality through a policy framework meant to address the gaps in economic policy of the past. Manuel argues that the ANC historically founded policy through expert panels and research, and that the NDP marks a shift towards policy consolidated by mass participation and endorsement (Manuel, 2013:16-23).

When attempting to argue for why precisely the ANC endorsed the NDP he argues that the NDP speaks to the values and principles outlined in the NDR (NDR) which underpins the tripartite alliance. In 2012 at the ANC's conference in Manguang the party marked what they called the second phase of the NDR which sought to redistribute of the ANC as actions of leadership towards the NDR (Zuma 2013: 9-12) This contribution presents the ANC as dominating the alliance and manage to make the principles the NDR vague enough to accompany the actions of the ANC during Zuma's presidency.

Understanding ANC Congresses Policymaking Processes

In order to contextualise outcomes of ANC National Conferences this thesis relies on the writings of Susan Booyesen (2016) and William Vusi Gumede (2016) who cover the outcomes of this thesis. These texts are read alongside the congress papers and official statements from 2007 Polokwane to 2016 at Nasrec, Johannesburg (ANC1912 Online) in order to discern how alliance partners debates policy ideas within the political structure. Official statements which are released by each alliance partner after congresses present political positions on policy questions.

Beyond the bibliography which outlines the specific nature of the alliance and politics within the ANC, this thesis also relies on several other texts to detail shifts in the policymaking process within the state and the political processes surrounding it. Natrass (1994) sets the stage for understanding the practices of policy making within the ANC, describing policymaking in the alliance as a political process. This work is continued in Hirsch (2005) focuses on the practice of economic policy making after the unbanning of the ANC and under the Mbeki presidency, in which policy research was centralised within the state (Hirsch, 2005). This thesis also leans on Turok (2011) provides context about the political nature of economic planning within the state and the tussle between traditional forms of policy planning and state centralisation towards developmental planning (Turok, 2011).

Additional Literature to Consider

There are other sources of literature that are relevant to consider in attempting to answer the research question of this project. These include perspectives around economic development which consider the fracturing of the Tripartite Alliance and the mounting pressure of slow economic development in an unequal economic landscape. This includes *Shadow of Liberation: contestation and compromise in the economic and social policy of the African National Congress, 1943-1996* (2019), which retrospectively provides context for some of the misgivings around the policy developed under the ANC (Padayachee & Van Niekerk, 2019). *The Economy on Your Doorstep: The political economy that explains why the South African economy 'misfires' and what we can do about it* by Ayabonga Cawe also reflects on the current political context to diagnose where economic growth was lost amidst grand-economic planning (Cawe, 2021). These retrospective texts provide an overview of the economic planning processes relevant to this thesis and their outcomes, although this does not work to answer the research question, it is relevant once again, for situating this thesis within its importance and relevance overall.

Methodology

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, this thesis applies an analytical and theoretical framework. This theoretical framework is the MSF. It undertakes a case study of developmental planning within the Tripartite Alliance between 2007 and 2012.

This thesis began as a probe into policy agenda-setting within the tripartite alliance. What guides this thesis is an interest in what makes a problem relevant enough to find itself on the policy-agenda of the ANC. The endorsement of the NDP and the contributions towards it from within the alliance and the ANC, provides a case study with which to interrogate these policy and decision-making processes within the alliance structure. The alliance — although it endorses policies — experiences push-back against policy positions which results in schisms within the alliance and party. It is useful then to use analytical tools such as the Multiple Streams Framework (MSF) to define the intricacies in the agenda-setting process within the tripartite alliance. The MSF is a metaphorical, analytical and theoretical framework which provides for compartmentalising the different processes which leads to a policy's development and political endorsement. This section therefore seeks to answer what the MSF is and aims to discuss the literature surrounding this framework the applications and critiques related to it. Lastly, this chapter will argue as to why the MSF fits an attempt to analyse agenda-setting within the Tripartite Alliance through the NDP case study.

Case Study

This thesis undertakes a case study, outlining a contained set of conditions in order to outline policy development in the tripartite alliance. The case study in question is that of the development planning in the Tripartite Alliance between 2007 and 2012, which resulted in the formation of the NPC and the release of the NDP. This case study was selected because it is marked as the most recent attempt at broad-based policy making within the Tripartite Alliance and marked considerable shifts in how policy developed within this contested context. The case study will assess whether the MSF sheds light on policy development in contexts like the tripartite alliance. It also assesses, overall, the strengths and weaknesses of the MSF as theoretical framework, and the degree to which it can be applied outside formal government structures and beyond the agenda setting part of the policy process.

The case study forms an integral part of the research design of this thesis as it provides an opportunity to test the relevance and application of the theoretical framework in order to draw out new perspectives on policy making within the Tripartite Alliance. The NDP is one of the most recent and

extensive policy frameworks to emerge from the structure and is therefore a very relevant case study to apply the framework to.

Literature Defining the Multiple Streams Framework

The core principle of the MSF is that a problem does not reach the policy agenda simply because it is a problem. For something to reach the agenda, both a policy solution and the problem need to be brought to the attention of policy actors at the same time (Zohlnhöfer & Rüb, 2016). This constitutes Kingdon's problem and policy stream as derived from Olsen, Cohen and March's garbage-can model of choice theory (Cohen *et al.*, 1972). The politics stream is identified as the political expediency with which a problem arrives on the policy agenda. The point at which an opportune moment for policy-decision making on a particular issue arrives, is what Kingdon describes as the policy window. Those who are able to command the streams through resources, expertise and political posturing are known as policy entrepreneurs. This makes up the core of Kingdon's framework and can be translated across contexts. The framework is however limited in its theorisation of the institutional role or what constitutes an institution and role player within the MSF model (Zohlnhöfer & Rüb, 2016).

In order to understand the MSF, it is useful to further contextualise it, the MSF was formulated by public policy scholar Kingdon, who tried to make sense of policy choices, and in particular agenda-setting, through a metaphorical framework (Kingdon, 1984). Kingdon's initial usage of the framework provided a motivation as to why particular policies make it onto the policy agenda in the context of policymaking within the United States, despite an endless number of competing interests endorsed by varying actors in the agenda setting process. This model fed into his research around policy making in transport and health and so in the beginning was limited in its application. What Kingdon draws from Cohen, March and Olsen's 'garbage can model' is how competing interests within an organisation can garner support and influence decision-making to build a method of organising interests into three distinct streams (Cohen. *et al.*, 1972). Although Kingdon's framework has had several applications since its inception, it has primarily been applied in order to understand the agenda-setting phase of policy decision-making. Later it became applicable to decision-making and has been used across several states in the global north and in some instances multilateral organisations such as the European Union.

In definition, the MSF metaphor speaks about the varying spaces in which policy decision-making and agenda setting occurs as separate and individual likening it to streams (Kingdon, 1984). These streams are destined to meet at a particular point, at which the policy interests they represent become explicitly the same and all resources, energy and decision-making is geared towards one policy problem and its solution. The point at which the streams meet is expressed as a policy conclusion

both in terms of the problem and a cohesive solution. The three streams are identified as the problem, policy and political stream.

Kingdon's (1984) posits that the three streams are as follows: the problem stream identifies an outcome in which policy problem reaches the policy agenda through moments of crisis, a shift in national mood due to a break in the problem or rather a disturbance in the policy making cycle which brings a particular issue to the attention of policy makers (Cairney & Jones, 2016). The policy stream is identified as a process in which policy experts and researchers begin to show interest in a particular policy solution, investing resources into possible solutions, contrasting those solutions and as a group — outside of the politics stream — decide on one program or policy solution which is brought forward to decision-making bodies and the public. The final stream is identified as the political stream, this stream takes note of the policy implications brought forward by election cycles, the national sentiment or mood in a political sense and the powers of a policy to influence the political and electoral processes within the state (Cairney, 2017).

As mentioned above, conceptually the MSF includes other elements such as the "*policy window*" and the "*policy entrepreneur*" which have individually held great influence on the policy field of study (Béland & Howlett, 2016). The policy window refers to the point at which interests align all at the same time and a particular policy problem and resolution can reach the top of the policy agenda. This policy window results in all the states problem-solving resources and capabilities being aimed at resolving one policy problem utilising one specific approach (Howlett, *et al.*, 2017). The concept of a policy window — as an opportunity for public policy issues to be ranked at the top of the policy agenda — provided policy scholars with the ability to make some conclusions around when a certain policy problem could be elevated on public policy agenda by identifying the opening of a policy window and monitoring the varying streams with this particular window in mind (Béland & Howlett, 2016). The policy entrepreneur is another translatable concept developed by Kingdon through the MSF which builds on the idea of the policy window and is loosely defined as those who are able to activate the three streams to create a policy window. Put simply, policy entrepreneurs are identified as influential actors who challenge the agency of actors across the streams. These entrepreneurs are able to in particular identify the problem stream, channel resources towards the policy stream and conduct the politics stream in order to create a policy window through which to push a problem and resolution to the top of a policy agenda. (Howlett, *et al.*, 2017).

For the purposes of this thesis, the aforementioned provides a working definition of what the MSF is and the relevant concepts attached to it. A deeper understanding of the streams within the MSF as well as the ways in which they are characterised and broadly defined will assist in the conceptual

analysis of the development and adoption of the NDP from within the Tripartite Alliance (Béland & Howlett, 2016).

Periodisation

At the 2007 ANC National Conference, incoming ANC President Jacob Zuma announced the need for a longer-term planning towards development and an overarching framework. This marked the beginning of a process towards development planning in the Tripartite Alliance (ANC, 2007). In 2012 the NDP was launched, released and began implementation at this point it received mixed reception within the Tripartite Alliance but a consensus vote for its implementation. This marked the end of development towards a development plan and a conclusion of a shift between Tripartite Alliance policy decision-making and decision-making by the NPC, an apex structure. This defines the periodisation in which the case study occurs (National Planning Commission, 2012).

Defining the Streams

The three streams definitively are categorised within the MSF as: *the problem, politics and policy stream* (Kingdon,1984). The *problem stream* seeks to define a policy issue and problem which is brought to public attention through crisis or incidental outcomes. In these cases, the problem is front and centre to the policy agenda due to its urgency and importance. This may emerge after the crux of an economic crisis, natural disaster or an overwhelming public demand for change. The actors for the problem stream are uncertain but are defined as those who can identify the importance and urgency of a problem with in the state and private sector problem-solving community (Kingdon,1984). The problem stream is defined by what is called “focusing events” these can include natural disasters, a collapse of institutions or infrastructure and prolonged public frustration with a particular problem. This stream is also influenced by indicators which can predict the importance, relevance and urgency of a problem.

The *policy stream* speaks to the inputs to the policy issue by professionals, researchers and policy experts who asses a range of problem solutions in order to find the most viable and applicable one according to their findings. These experts, once articulating a coherent and agreeable outcome work on proposing this solution broadly to be taken up by the state. This scientific and expert knowledge often operates as a resource of the state and is influential for setting some of the policy agenda due to their position as experts (Cairney, 2016). Definitively the policy stream speaks to the science, research and professionalized aspects of a policy process. Within the policy stream, policy is formulated, and problems are defined through evidence and empirical research. The resources which underpin this stream are costly to the state and independent actors and therefore are not applied at will to policy

problems. It requires Kingdon's policy window to channel policy stream actors towards one policy problem. The policy stream is also defined by its accessibility and feasibility: if a policy problem and resolution is unfeasible, this is determined within the policy stream. This stream is important for defining a problem resolution by its access, mode, size and capacity (Kingdon, 1984:200).

The final stream is the *politics stream*. The politics stream speaks to the influence of advocacy groups, political organisations, public sentiment and interest. In this stream, calls for policy reform and change taken up by advocacy groups in one instance and the broad public in another has the capabilities of pushing a public policy on to the agenda. If identified by these groups as a problem, particular policies are politicised and yields power over political processes. In an instance where an issue is highly politicised, it could affect voting campaigns and shifts in political power structures. A further scenario within the politics stream includes power struggles within political parties around particular policy issues which leads to the prioritisation of certain policy problems over others (Kingdon,1984). In this stream factors such as a party's ideology, the balance of forces and the national mood play a role in giving a policy problem the spotlight.

Intensifying Kingdon's framework are the external and internal factors which he identifies as able to lead to the opening of policy windows (Howlett., *et al*, 2017). These include "focusing events": public events which force problems into the attention of policy actors and are identified in the problem stream. This also includes the active inclusion and exclusion of policy entrepreneurs in the policy decision making process. These factors can also include arbitrary markers such as policy and budget cycles, planning periods and the prelude to national elections (Howlett., *et al*, 2017).

Critiquing the MS Framework

A point of departure for the literature surrounding the MSF is Jones *et al's* review of the MSF published in 2013 (Jones *et al.*, 2016). What the review reveals is the several applications of the framework and the general gravitation towards it in the policy studies field because of its ability to make sense of policy rationality. It is evident that it is not enough to have a policy problem and a policy solution for it to emerge on a policy agenda but rather streams of policy processes and activities account for how policy emerges on an agenda (Jones *et al*, 2016). Through its applications, the framework has begun to lend itself towards defining decision-making. Jones *et al.*'s meta-review argues that the framework alone does not make sense of policy agenda setting but in conjunction with ideas such as bounded rationality and advocacy-coalition frameworks, it produces sound insights into agenda-setting and decision-making.

Outside of the reviews of Kingdon's framework, it is important to note the scholars who have evolved the MSF and its relative concepts. Zahariadis's work constitutes a great number of the applications

of Kingdon's model and can be attributed with developing it into how it is understood in the field today (Jones *et al.* 2016). The conceptual framework experienced much of its formulation, streamlining and application through Zahariadis's, who conceptualised it from its primary streams model to the multiple streams which is identified as core to the theoretical framework of this thesis. In doing so, the framework was made more appropriate for the public policy applications which works to organise the agenda-setting processes of high-level government and state decision-making (Zahariadis, 2009, 2016, 2019). Through the scholarship of Zahariadis the framework was carried through the 90s'and early 00s and travelled across contexts.

As Sætren (2016), indicates in an article which asks for a return to the original principles uncovered by Kingdon in his translation of Olsen *et al.*'s garbage-can model, there is a mistranslation of some of the core concepts of Kingdon's model (Sætren, 2016). It is evident that Kingdon's framework — despite its critiques — is most useful in its applications towards understanding ambiguity in the policymaking process as well as in instances where a policy emerges on the agenda, beyond what is understood as a problem in the public discourse. It also assists in making sense of the motivations of actors within a veto-actor setting (Sætren, 2016).

In Béland and Howlett (2016) investigates the basic premise of the MS framework whilst assessing its applicability to comparative policy studies The article argues that the MSF provides a way to analyse how policy processes prioritise and center certain questions on the policy agenda but only in conjunction with other more elaborate policy study theorems. The article further indicates how it has been used in predominantly western contexts where scholars have meshed the use of institutional analysis and the MSF/MSA processes to understand how policies are added to the agenda in a way that breaks from path-dependency or planning cycles. The framework is fundamental to understanding public policy and to some degree accounts for the irregularities, broad stroke trends and interactions which traditionally inform policy (Beland & Howlett, 2016:30). Across the literature the question of agency of actors comes up as a dominant critique of Kingdon's models. In Zohlnhöfer, Hub and Herweg's 2015 article they outline the actors within parties who act with in the politics, problem and policy stream. The article outlines the agency from within the parties to form policy windows and take up the role of a policy entrepreneurs on behalf of the party members or actors (Zohlnhöfer & Rüb, 2016:233-240).

Mukherjee & Howlett (2015) paper critiques Kingdon's framework by asking "Who is a Stream?". The paper principally asks about the agency of stakeholders in policy making processes in the light of the streams model. It also argues that policy entrepreneurs cannot be seen as a definitive way to

engage agency as a framework (Mukherjee & Howlett, 2015:130). The article further investigates the idea of subsystems as actors who comprise of the streams defined by Kingdon, this investigation into subsystems allowed for a reinterpretation of the streams to envision the actors which characterise the streams. In this reinterpretation the actors who comprise of the problem stream is seen as the epistemic communities, the policy stream actors are seen as the instrument constituencies and the advocacy coalitions are seen as the actors within the politics stream (Mukherjee & Howlett, 2015:130). This probe into actors allows for an interrogation into the actors who produce policy windows. This holds particular importance for the application of the MSF within the context of policy developed from within a party as opposed to on a national and governmental scale as it dissects actors which might have contradicting interests from within a body which makes decisions based on consensus (Mukherjee & Howlett, 2015:130). This therefore weighs the varying actors influence to conclude which might have pushed a particular policy problem to become important for those who govern the agenda setting process. The critique of Kingdon's consideration around the question of agency and who exactly commands or forms a stream is important because it does not allow the model to argue that policy happens at the mercy of policy entrepreneurs alone but rather as a culmination of different actors each with a varying degree of power over how decisions get made within the problem, policy and politics stream (Mukherjee & Howlett, 2015:130).

Applications of the MSF

As reviews of the application of Kingdon's frameworks suggest the MSF is relevant to most contexts and able to glean at which point the problem, policy and politics stream meet resulting in policy action (Jones *et al.*, 2016). Historically however, the multiple streams framework/approach has been useful for analysing how particular policies enter policy agendas and gain political expedience in heavily bureaucratised contexts such as the United States and the United Kingdom (Zaharidis, 2019). It has also served as a useful tool of analysis for understanding trends in policymaking and assessing the policy agenda in unilateral organisations such as the European Union. It however requires enough actors within the policy making process and paradigm in order to be relevant. In contexts where there is a one-party and dominant party system, an application of the streams framework to the policymaking processes of parties is necessary. This is especially true in contexts where policymaking within parties affects policy on a state level (Zohlnhöfer & Rüb, 2016:230).

The framework has been diversely applied in contexts because of its applicability to science-based policies related to environmental and health policy problems. Used in this way, it has often been applicable on both the African continent and South East Asia. It is useful to identify what can be

considered the problem, policy and politics stream within the African National Congress and the associated tripartite alliance.

As the 2016 meta-review of the multiple streams framework and approach has revealed, the framework has been used across differing contexts. The MSF has been used both in terms of spheres of power and geographic scope (Jones *et al.*, 2016). The paper does not reveal whether the framework has been instrumental in making sense of agenda-setting in the context of political movements or parties specifically. For the purposes of this thesis, the framework will be used to make sense of decision-making within the Tripartite Alliance (Ackrill, *et al.*, 2013).

Czechoslovakian scholars Novotný and Polášek apply the MSF to political parties within Czech's social democracy (Novotný and Polášek, 2016). In Novotný and Polášek's 2016 article, *Multiple streams approach and political parties: modernization of Czech social democracy*, the MSF is applied in a context where the party has a major influence on agenda-setting, a role this thesis identifies the Tripartite Alliance as having (Novotný & Polášek, 2016). The project of modernisation is dominant in this article and its political motivations and relevance in the policy and problem stream, resembles the efforts towards a National Development Plan. As a policy framework with political power and some degree of ambiguity.

What Novotný and Polášek reveal in their application of the MSF to a party setting, that the MSF needs to account for changes and shifts which happen at different levels of power that overlap. The historical application of this model to systemic organisations or organised anarchies has limited its ability to account for contexts where different models of power might exist. This reading by Novotný, and Polášek (2016) of Exadaktylos & Zahariadis (2009) exploration of the framework in the context of different models of power, provides this thesis with insights about the boundaries of the application of this framework to parties, however influential (Zahariadis & Exadaktylos, 2016).

The MSF framework is subject to critique. The MSF concept of a "policy entrepreneur" creates challenges to the idea of agency within the decision-making process (Zohlnhöfer & Rüb, 2016). Furthermore, the very evolution of the MSF framework has come under critique, with scholars working towards returning to the original ideas surrounding the MSF as much was lost in translating it from Olsen, March and Cohen's organisational theory popularly known as the garbage can model. Through the several applications and translations of the framework have lost the intricacies of some of the streams. This is especially true for the political stream, which previously in Cohen's initial interpretation, was split into two. Kingdon's political stream hosts problems in its interpretation, as it limits the decision-making process between political actors into one stream, losing the nuance of opposition within the stream (Rawat & Morris, 2016).

The MSF accounts for the fact that within the tripartite alliance, a democratic institution, there are several actors with varying policy interests. As a political institution with several interests and actors a framework is necessary which can define exactly how a policy consensus, such as broad endorsement towards the NDP, is reached.

In the process of applying the MSF to the case study of this thesis, this thesis would hope to draw out how the MSF could be improved upon and make rudimentary suggestions for how the framework might be put into action in contexts like that of policy development in the complex tripartite alliance.

The research question asks how policy is developed within the tripartite alliance. Through a process of research and locating the question, the use of the developmental economic planning as a policy solution arrived on the policy agenda of the tripartite alliance. In specific, this line of research led to an enquiry of the development of developmental economic planning as it contributed to the NDP. This resulted in the NDP being a sufficient case study for assessing this policy process as it unfolds within the alliance. In further efforts to answer the research question, this thesis works to analyse the policy processes by using the MSF as a political framework as it provides a way through which to separate out the various spaces in which policy is formulated both within and outside the structure. The use of this framework will assist in answering questions around how policy is made within the alliance and what influences policy-decision making within the alliance.

The literature review outlines fields of research which were necessary for investigation in order to establish the research question. The literature reveals much about how policy is conceived within the tripartite alliance. The literature review also closely investigated the MSF within public policy as field of study this characterised the MSF as it were to be applied throughout this study.

Chapter 3: Problem Stream

This chapter begins the application of the MSF to the question of development policy in the Tripartite Alliance by applying the problem stream as envisioned by public policy scholarship. To expand on this, the problem stream and the elements related to it are applied to the emergence of slow economic growth and inequality as a policy problem in need of a state response which resulted in the development of the NDP within the tripartite alliance. It also reflects on the overall adoption of developmental theory by alliance partners. It considers how the NDP — as a broad framework for enforcing developmental policy principles on policy making — became a plausible definition of the problem of development. This chapter is the first in the application of three separate streams and is followed by the politics and policy stream. Additionally to an application of a particular stream, this chapter will provide a broad definition of the subjected stream drawing out how it is understood with in the literature and how it is applied.

The Problem Stream: Broad Overview

Cairney defines the problem stream as a “lurching” towards a specific policy problem. This characterises a period in which policy stakeholders attempt to make sense of a problem and iterate it along ideological lines, defining what they see to be a challenge to the state and governance (Cairney, 2017). The process through which the alliance cohered on developmental approaches to the state of the NPC and production of an overarching framework such as the NDP, is linked to both the formation and solidification of the Tripartite Alliance as the problem stream begins to demonstrate. This grants us insights into what holds the structure together and how development is considered within that. It can also be argued that the question of poverty and inequality and social development which underpins the drive towards increasing economic development is marked as important to the political legitimacy of the alliance who established itself under the belief that the economy needs to be transformed as well as grown for South Africa to achieve its political goals.

The problem stream demonstrates that in a policymaking environment there are several problems on the public policy agenda which require attention and urgent responses. For instance, in the context of the South African economy, the question of economic transformation often competes with development as an issue urgently in need of a policy response on the policy agenda (Manuel, 2014). The schisms of economic development versus economic transformation often oscillate between minor and major issues within the political context of the alliance who hold different understandings of the question. This dilemma illustrates how the problem stream comes about; a problem needs to be defined by stakeholders in order to be addressed.

The MS framework provides a tool of analysis to understand how a particular problem succeeds in a competition for a policy response, and how certain iterations of a problem succeeds over others. The problem stream also defines what is problematic about a particular set of conditions, providing an analysis through which policy makers can approach the problem. Aforementioned, in order to develop this analysis the problem stream makes use of methods of identification and monitoring by outlining focusing events, indicators and policy making cycles (Jones; *et al*, 2016:15). This chapter will argue that in the case of the national development plan, the problem stream goes as far as defining the ideological basis of the policy solution based on external and internal influences.

Defining a problem

Kingdon defines a problem as a set of conditions that challenge the values, ideals and aspirations of a state. Kingdon's definition is not all encompassing, as a problem could be produced through more ambiguous terms outside of exacerbated conditions (Cairney & Zahariadis, 2016). A problem could also be defined through a comparison of one state's performance in relation to another. An instance relevant to this these is that, in a global sense, a lack of development in one context compared to another in a similar region could be considered a problem with development (Kingdon, 1984).

The problem stream attempts to characterise the problem definition phases of policy making and give it equal importance to the political and policy streams, arguing that the definition of a problem deeply defines policy approaches as it arrives on the public policy agenda (Kingdon, 1984). Beyond this, the problem stream defines how something arrives on the public policy agenda. Put differently, it defines how a condition garners the attention of policy actors and results in the formation of policy proposals (Knaggård, 2015).

Kingdon considers the problem stream to be made up of focusing events, that trigger key indicators and the results (failures and successes) of enacted policies as identifiers for the problem in the problem stream (Knaggård, 2015). Media attention and policy cycles also trigger the shift from a condition to a problem. Other aspects which define a problem include the role of activists, the prevalence of proposals to resolve a problem, and perceptions of indicators (Kingdon, 1984:10

The Problem Framing in the context of the NDP

At its core, the NDP seeks to address poverty, inequality and slow economic growth, it also seeks to address the legacy of apartheid through transforming the economy, although this is not a core aim of the policy. Transforming the economy is an objective carried over from the work of the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP) and the NPC, through communications surrounding the

NDP's launch, established that it sought to expedite these economic processes as part of the RDP's goals rather than develop new strategies towards it (NPC, 2012).

Aside from transformation, a lack of development set up the conditions of a problem. Economic development, although not the only problem addressed by the NDP, arrived on the policy agenda with urgency by 2010. To start, the transition between the apartheid regime and ANC leadership occurred whilst the South African economy was fiscally challenged and 1992 is marked as a year of GDP deficit, the ANC would later adopt an economy in deficit requiring the intervention of broad development frameworks, which influence policy, in order to repair it (Nattrass, 1994:323). The principal job of the ANC during the transition and 1994 was not only to resolve the problems segregation-based economics brought but also to restore the economy which suffered under sanctions as well as state-based corruption within the apartheid regime. These challenges characterised the policy frameworks at the time and resulted in policy interventions such as the RDP and Gear (Bhorat *et al*, 2004).

The move towards building a developmental state is identified as political, which is further elaborated on in the political stream. The political nature of the developmental state meant that the problem was defined within the alliance along ideological lines. These lines created the motivation for the formation of the NPC as a body independent from these lines. Therefore, the drafting of the NDP, emerges from a definition of the problem of inequality as iterated through development theory (Bond, 2008).

Developmental policy also fell in line with the global trends surrounding state development in the period. On the continent and Southeast Asia, experiments with developmental policy in a variety of aspects projected the possibilities for developing countries who applied developmental theory resulting in structural changes of society and the economy (Bond, 2008). These successes, in comparison to development in the South African context, defined the problem in the parameters of the problem stream's understanding of problem definition (Zahariadis, 2016). Developmental policy in other contexts, like that of the Asian tigers greatly influenced the conceptualisation of development within political discourse and adds to the ways in which the alliance defined development problems. In the case of the NDP, the roll out of national development efforts in Uganda, Namibia, China, Malaysia, Ethiopia and Rwanda prompted policy action as the plans and frameworks produced positive responses and created an example of how a developmental approach can be achieved in developing settings. This comparison between states and a close review of these policy responses were strong motivators for the alliance to propose developmental planning (DPME, 2018).

Earlier policy attempts to address development and inequality related challenges such as the Reconstruction Development Plan (RDP) the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy that followed it, the AgiSA and the National Growth Plan (NGP) all created policy environments which did not address economic development sufficiently. Although orientated towards reformation of the post-apartheid economy and therefore a subsequent directive towards development, there remained a gap for policy reform towards a developmental state which can compete in the global economy (Naidoo & Maré, 2015). The contradictions between the RDP and GEAR policy frameworks presented two differing approaches to economic development, with the RDP focusing strongly on redressing inequality. GEAR focused on encouraging private sector investment and austerity in public programs in the interest of economic growth (Naidoo & Maré, 2015). This intersection of inequality versus real economic growth was politicised within the alliance and enters into the politics stream discussed later on in this thesis. During the development of the RDP it became apparent that the ANC needed a plan to address stabilisation of the economy, to meet this need GEAR was produced (Terreblanche, 1990:20).

This historical understanding of the problem does not however reveal the indicators which brought economic growth and slowed development into the problem stream and led to the subsequent development of the NDP. These indicators towards the NDP also include an economic decline towards the end of the Mbeki presidency and at the height of the Zuma presidency, demarcating a particular policy making cycle, which bring the interests of the policy to the surface (Terreblanche, 1990:19). This decline was in the inability to garner private investment in the state as well as a growing unemployment rate. Development was also seen as staggered as returns on initial policy shifts in 1994 reaped limited success. This came in conjunction with calls from labour-based activists within the Tripartite Alliance who felt the pressure of the unemployment problem intensify as it held political power amidst its constituency base (Terreblanche, 1990:19).

Building towards the problem of development, the state of inequality in South Africa also became increasingly concerning by the end of 2010. Increasing youth unemployment and the limited impact of massive infrastructural investment for the 2010 World Cup, presented a state which was not achieving its developmental goals through infrastructural investment. At the same time, service delivery protests had become a language through which the underclass responded to their living conditions and the social wage ensured by the RDP policy framework created development challenges and bureaucratic breakdowns on a municipal level (Bohlmann & Van Heerden, 2008).

Problem Contexts for the NDP

1991-1994 marked an important period for policy approaches towards economic growth within the African National Congress (ANC). During this period, the development of a “mixed economy” approach emerged as alliance attempted to meld the goal of economic growth and economic transformation. A shift from ‘growth through distribution’ to ‘redistribution through growth’ emerged and economic policy became increasingly neoliberal, shifting away from the socialist approaches underpinning economic policy in the ANC as a liberation movement. This was done through two ANC based policy making processes namely that of; the *Draft Resolution on ANC Economic Policy* (ANC,1991) in which they ANC addressed approaches to economic growth; and the *Ready to Govern: ANC Policy Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa* (ANC, 1992).

In 2006, chairperson of the SACP Blade Ndzimande declared that the NDR was the glue which held the Tripartite Alliance together. The NDR is a theoretical approach towards the end of apartheid and colonisation developed at the 1969 Morogoro ANC conference’s *Strategy and Tactics document of 1969*, mentioned in the literature review of this dissertation (ANC, 1969). In 2010 the SACP identified the challenge posed to the NDR through developmental policy making to be an investment in capitalist interests. In the *Umsebenzi 9 (18): 15 September 2010* an article which reflects on the National General Council statement surrounding the NDR in 2010 relays a reflection by the SACP on the NDR, in which the SACP distills its mandate as one which aims to meet the basic needs of the masses (National General Council,2010). The primary consensus on the NDR is that it relies on the idea that inequality in South African society is based on colonialism of a special type and that the NDR is a process of transforming that society towards equality. The context under which the NDR was developed in 1969 was specific and vastly different to the one in which the formation of the National Development Plan occurred. Yet the NDP mentions that it intends to meet the needs brought forward in the NDR and upon the release of the NDP, alliance partners worked to compare the outcomes of the NDP to that of the NDR. The NDR was reviewed at various policy conferences within the ANC as part of the revision of the Strategy and Tactics documents of the party. This process of revision is noted in communications across the SACP, COSATU and ANC spectrum as one in which the terms of the Tripartite Alliance are disputed and the varying positions on the NDR and economic growth policy is put forward. It is within these conferencing spaces and within that review that policy proposals around economic development prior to the NDP emerge (Ndzimande, 2008).

It is evident that by 2007, the SACP and COSATU are pushing for economic growth based on a re-industrialisation effort. At the forefront of this economic growth effort was Ebrahim Patel which was encapsulated by IPAP, the Industrial Policy Action Plan (Patel, Media Briefing:2010). For this reason, COSATU pushed the narrative that a development plan should consider this proposal for economic

growth and the IPAP policy. This was at the centre of contradictions within the policy approaches to development within the alliance.

Although the NDP is broad and addresses several policy questions such as cohesive policy development with state and non-state actors, investment strategies and infrastructural development, overall economic development is a core interest of the policy framework. This broad stroke approach to policy was in accordance with a shift in 2000, where policy development in South Africa moved away from sectoral specific drafting processes and became more cross-sectoral leading to the development of broad based policy frameworks (Naidoo & Maré, 2015:410). This shift meant policy formulation no longer occurred to serve specific problems but rather spoke to broad approaches to conditions which contribute towards problems. This is more in line with the kind of problem formulation seen within the MSF's problem stream (Pillay, 2011). This left room for alliance partners such as COSATU to see existing policy proposal for economic growth as a part of the development of the NDP and its approaches. The NDP exemplifies this shift: as a policy framework towards development of the state and the economy rather than a policy which addresses specific problems.

In 2007, following the Mbeki presidency and election of Jacob Zuma, the ANC's election manifesto framework presented an interest in re-establishing the NDR and outlines a shift towards a developmental state in order to achieve the outcomes within the NDR. This renewed interest in the values of the NDR presented the view that Zuma would consider the interests of the ANC's left and therefore preserve the Tripartite Alliance through giving leaders in SACP and COSATU power over developmental policy efforts. Therefore, in Polokwane, Zuma stated that the key to achieving the priorities outlined in the NDR was through establishing an effective developmental state (ANC, Strategy & Tactics: 2007). The core interest in the developmental state was the view that an investment in the public sector and a more cohesive relationship with business could lead to economic growth and therefore more grounds on which to transform the economy and the state towards the aims of the NDR. This spoke towards the consensus for "transformation through economic growth" found within the alliance prior to 2007 (ANC, Strategy & Tactics: 2007).

In 2013's first quarter edition of *The Umrabulo*, Jacob Zuma outlines and reiterates how the Strategy and Tactics document of 1969 in which the NDR was founded would be revised to address problems facing South Africa. He calls these problems "the triple challenge" namely poverty, unemployment and inequality (Zuma, Umrabulo 2013:7). He points out that the NDR stipulates socio-economic growth should be people driven and based on the development of the masses. This, he suggests, would be done through the implementation of programmes which tackle industrialisation, skills development and training and business development. These strategies towards development were already being upheld and spear headed by leadership within COSATU and the SACP and so

represented a coherent policy response to development within the tripartite alliance, even if only symbolically. As the South African Communist Party's (SACP) Jeremy Cronin, concurred, the left's agenda at the time was to move away from particular limitations and to support a developmental state with state interventions which could assist towards overall socio-economic growth and therefore transformation (Cronin, Media Statement: 2011).

As mentioned above, the "left" - namely those who follow socialist traditions in South Africa - were focused on industrialisation, efforts towards transformation of the dependent-development accumulation path of our economy and the chronic underdevelopment that a dependent-development accumulation path reproduced.

Although the developmental approach produced ideological contradictions for the intellectual left of the ANC, these contradictions were measured with the belief that a mobilisation of private capital towards the goals of the NDR would result in economic transformation if kept within specific parameters by the state. The state was encouraged to enforce a relationship between itself and private capital in which "parasitic" practices were limited and worker democracy on the shopfloor was encouraged. In effect, coherence on the developmental approach to economic policy rested on the belief that the nature of private capital in South Africa could change (SACP, 2006:24).

At the same time COSATU was focused on industrial policy, it also focused on the development of decent work. The alliance partner sought out power within key government institutions such as treasury and the cabinet in order to push forward these ideological principles and concerns for the structure of labour in South Africa. Decent work and industrial policy however still fell within the ambit of a developmental state or agenda and therefore was captured in the broad approach towards the NDP at the time, which included the formation of a multiple stakeholder national planning committee.

Despite this policy coherence, within the *Umsebenzi* (11):46 of the 13th of December 2012, Jeremy Cronin pointed out the lines perceived to be drawn around the NDP. Ebrahim Patel's New Growth Path (NGP) and Rob Davies Industrial Policy Action Plan (IPAP) were seen to be preferred by the SACP and COSATU. Trevor Manuel's approach to the development plan was seen as incrementalism and Davies and Patel's as interventionism. Cronin clarifies that the SACP contests the National Planning Commission as an apex structure able to make policy decisions as opposed to one which makes policy suggestions regarding development but concedes that overall, the NDP sufficiently speaks to the ideological mandate of the party, seeing society as stakeholder in its outcomes. Cronin criticised journalists who he perceived to have created fake divisions around the policies and sees the NGP, NDP and IPAP as coherent and cohesive. He outlines that the NGP and IPAP apply to

government while the NDP applies to all. The media statements at the time suggest a political shift on positions around the NDP as a framework governing developmental approaches (Patel, 2011).

Defining Indicators

Often indicators are numerical, statistical, and research based. A change in these numbers create assumptions around the stability of a state and therefore drastic changes in the numbers collected through, data define a problem (Kingdon, 1989:84). The problems addressed through the NDP policy framework are defined by economic cyphers. The state of the GDP, Gini co-efficient and the unemployment rate, created the conditions under which the question of development became a problem to the state. Focusing events such as the 2008 Global Financial Crisis and overall lack of transformation, meant that development and recovery became central to the policy agenda. The consequential increase in unemployment and adverse effects on the National GDP created an economic challenge for the state. These conditions added to existing challenges brought about by the economic legacy of apartheid.

The end of apartheid, left the ANC with the challenges of a segregated economy which suffered boycotts, sanctions and anti-apartheid activism which required focused recovery efforts aimed at growth and equal development (Bhorat, *et al.* 2016). The end of apartheid, and the state of the economy in the period following it, are a great definer of the problem overall. The ANC and alliance had already begun to define the problem with development around the conditions of the state prior to the negotiation, positing how they needed to transform the state in order to achieve developmental goals. The weakened economy, together with the disproportionate distribution of wealth along colour lines was a problem for policymakers within the alliance.

These pre-existing developmental challenges and inconsistencies met with a need to respond to the effects of the economic crisis produced proposals and oppositional proposals towards economic policy shifts within the tripartite alliance. The relationship between transformation and development staged a debate within the alliance, with some of the belief that growth was necessary for transformation and others viewing transformation as a limitation in achieving growth. Efforts towards defining the problem around developmental challenges which centred growth was opposed by those within the Tripartite Alliance who believed inequality and economic transformation belonged at the centre of the agenda and believed that macroeconomic policies should speak to the ideologies founded within the NDR (Pillay, 2011).

Key Indicators towards the NDP

The key indicators which turned the conditions surrounding development into a problem to be resolved through policy occur through several spheres. Development became a universal challenge following the 2008 financial crisis, although, credit controls undertaken by Trevor Manuel prevented total annihilation of the economy due to market failures (Bhorat, *et al.*, 2004).

Outside of this, policy frameworks developed during the transition and implemented shortly after the 1994 election were not yielding returns with respect to the redistribution of capital as envisioned by the alliance in formation of the NDR. The end of policy cycles added to the urgency of developing a new development plan which catch the short falls of previous economic policy driven frameworks and account for changes in the economic realities (Turok, 2008).

The economic status and success in the post-apartheid period is a key indicator which led to the development related policymaking in South Africa. Two economic indicators are of interest to the development of the NDP. The first being the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) which had reached a deficit by 1992 at the start of the transitional period and negotiations, following this the GDP would gradually increase and the years, 2005, 2006 and 2007 would be some of the most successful in terms of GDP before the 2008 financial crisis which would universally affect economies and lead to a deficit growth in GDP (StatsSA, 2019).

A second economic indicator, relevant to the policy goals outlined in the NDP, are changes in the labour market and unemployment which became a growing problem in the post-apartheid dispensation. The growing unemployment rate garnered extensive media coverage. The media's focus on growing unemployment had effects on the political stream as unemployment mobilises unionised labour to make demands of the state (Bohlmann & Van Heerden, 2008).

Focusing Events

There are several focusing events of mention. Outside of the 2008 financial crisis, increasing public protest around "bread and butter" issues, such as service delivery in Alexandria and other townships added pressure on the state to make changes. On the continent, similar "bread and butter" protests in Tunisia sparked regime change and protest in neighbouring Arabic states. This brought to the centre, during the key development years of the NDP, the urgency for resolving inequality and unemployment.

Focusing events such as the 2008 Global Financial Crisis, meant that development and recovery became central to the policy agenda universally. The consequential increase in unemployment and adverse effects on the National GDP created an economic challenge for the state. These conditions added to already existing challenges brought about by the economic legacy of apartheid. A segregated

economy which suffered boycotts, sanctions and anti-apartheid activism required focused recovery efforts aimed at growth and equal development.

Another focusing event, which slips into the political stream, is the shifts in leadership within the ANC in 2007 and 2008, leading to renewed political commitments towards change within the party and the re-emergence of political ideas as alliance partners battled for power and legitimacy within the party (Pillay, 2011).

Policy Cycles

Policy frameworks developed during the transition and implemented shortly after the 1994 election were not yielding returns with respect to the redistribution of capital as envisioned by the alliance in formation of the NDR. The end of policy cycles added to the urgency of developing a new development plan which catch the short falls of previous economic policy driven frameworks and account for changes in the economic realities (Turok, 2008). Try to give page ranges wherever possible to help your reader find the precise source

The ANC, makes policies in relation to its power structure, hosting policy conferences shortly before their political congresses. The policy conference then becomes a space in which problems are iterated, defined and expressed and creating an integral cycle defining policy problems in the process. Congresses form an important policy cycle within the organisation. Congresses become a space for lobbying, where policies seek endorsement from the broader party and its stake holders and are often defined by prevailing ideologies. This environment leads towards the stages in which the problem and politics stream, as articulated by the MSF, collide.

A last but critical policy cycle to consider, defining the problem towards developmental approaches and policy, is that of the ANC policy making cycles in relation to the end of apartheid and the transitions. As of 2004, ten years since the end of apartheid, the ANC had achieved some degree of developmental and transformational success but five years later, 2009, the ANC is faced with significant transformational and developmental backlog (Bond, 2016). By 2010, the ANC had hoped to have reaped the successes of the policies put in place after the transitions (ie. Gear and the RDP) yet, through the financial crisis faced the reflection of their failures worsened by the global economic climate. This policy cycle and timeframe, which reflects the successes since the end of apartheid produced pressure to perform and achieve the outset goals influencing how the alliance approached and the development question.

Summarising the Problem Stream

The development problem which leads to the production of the NDP is defined by some within the Tripartite Alliance as an ideological one (COSATU Congress Papers, 2007). The efforts to build a developmental state, through which economic growth and investment could be realised is one born out of both international pressures as well as a shift in thinking around the problem of the economy in South Africa. To this end there are two notable focusing events which frame the problem stream in this regard. The first is the end of apartheid and start of the democratic dispensation in South Africa which calls for economic growth and transformation to support this change and the second is the 2008 financial crisis which reveals the real cracks and pressures on the South African economy through a global economic crisis. The indicators framing the problem stream remains the changing GDP and the fluctuating unemployment statistics which implore action. Policy review periods and a shift in the presidency also mark renewed efforts towards the developmental plan, defining the problem stream.

Within the tripartite alliance, between alliance partners the focusing events tend to differ. The first focusing event which garnered specific policy positions on economic development was the production of the NDR and its subsequent revisions, this process created an ideological position on economic growth and its outcomes. It also created a mandate for the ANC to fulfil the ideological vision of the NDR in order to uphold the tripartite alliance. A second focusing event on policy positions within the alliance is that of the competition of ideas within the alliance surrounding economic development which emerge once the ANC begins to consider a “mixed economy” approach to economic growth and transformation, in moving from the ideological line, particular positions emerged within the party and were up for dispute and led to the formation of a broad framework encapsulating all interests (Booyens, 2011:23).

In conclusion, the problem stream which supports the development of the NDP occurs through an economic problem which sweats or rather boils over after a global financial crisis. Policy attempts to resolve the problem prior to the NDP reveals a contest in policy solutions which are further defined in the policy stream. Events which reveal the problem with inequality and uneven development coincide with these policy cycles and provide political motivation for a structured framework to be developed.

The problem stream in conclusion, is a process of definition. It takes a closer look at the conditions surrounding the emergence of a particular problem accounting for indicators, focusing events and policy cycles. In doing so, the problem stream can outline the proposals to resolve a particular problem whilst also providing an answer as to how a question arrived on the policy agenda.

Chapter 3: Considering the Policy Stream

The policy stream operates separately from the problem and political stream. Analysis of this stream focuses on the proposals for solutions produced by the policy communities resourced to craft policy proposals and advocate for them in the public domain. This stream focuses on changes in the way policy solutions were produced prior to the NDP and the histories of policy communities in the ANC. It reflects on the policy stream and its application to the case study of this thesis. In order to do this, it defines the policy stream and the elements which define it, outlines who the policy community surrounding the NDP and the Tripartite Alliance and applies the core elements of the policy stream to the context of developmental approaches to policy.

Elements of the Policy Stream

Cairney describes the policy stream as the moment in the policy making cycle when the solutions are available to resolve a problem. In the policy stream solutions are expanded upon practically through a variety of proposals and a more careful consideration is made about how a policy might be received by political actors. In this process different agencies are tasked with “softening” a policy approach for public consumption. The process of softening ensures better reception from political actors. Softening could include changing certain elements of a policy in order to fit it into grander narratives of policymaking and the greater context in which the policy is produced or aligning it with approaches that are more appealing to political actors. Overall, the policy stream tends to refer to a process of drafting and sharpening of policy solutions in relation to the context in which it is delivered to resolve a problem (Cairney & Jones, 2016).

Kingdon’s *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies* presents a broader definition of the policy stream in the chapter titled *Policy Primeval Soup*. In this expansion, Kingdon, compares the selection of policy proposals to a primeval soup. In this soup natural selection occurs, meaning the best ideas survive continued rounds of public debate to prevail as a core response to a problem, floating to the top. The ideas floating within the primeval soup also need to survive a test of feasibility which gives some indication to political actors how the implementation process might go once underway (Kingdon, 1984:122-130).

The policy community, in the context of the policy stream, is defined as experts, researchers, academics and monitoring and evaluation practitioners. These individuals engage on policies through publishing articles, circulating papers, public hearings and drafting proposals. In the South African context this includes policy-research agencies linked to approaches like those attached to unions or political organisations who are known to be located on the politically “left” - advocating for Marxist or socialist policies. These communities are characterised by how fragmented or un-fragmented they

are, with fragmented policy communities resulting in a competitive environment for policy development according to the theory underscoring the policy stream. Through this competitive environment (primeval soup) policy solutions are short listed and the options are narrowed down so that only a few require the lobbying of support to survive the policy selection process. On the contrary an un-fragmented policy community is subject to domination by particularly impactful policy making firms who can lobby with the power of consensus build into their policy community (Herweg *et al.*, 2018).

At some point of the primeval soup the short list of proposals might have one idea which the policy community might have a consensus on and only a few strongly motivated ideas placed alongside it at the top of the list. At this stage of the shortlist, policy scholars, experts and the community at large will work to pursue a consensus on what should be considered the best solution. Often this consensus is garnered through diffusion. Diffusion describes a process where an idea begins in one quarter and through revolving discussions and debates it filters through varying sectors building a common place consensus across the board. This leads to greater coherence in the policy proposal stage (Kingdon, 1984:144). The process of diffusion operates based on building a consensus through two things: an awareness of the problem and an agreement on a solution proposal. Once consensus is built through the spread of awareness for a problem and a particular solution, a consensus can be build (Herweg *et al.*, 2018).

Applying the Primeval Soup

The policy stream is defined by the metaphor of a primeval soup, in this soup, a range of policy ideas and solutions are offered up to solve a problem. Through a process of natural selection, the better ideas surface to the top and are chosen through a consensus. This process often produces a criterion for policy, creating a set of demands or expectations of a particular policy question in order to reach the consensus within a policy community (Herweg *et al.*, 2018).

As outlined in the prior chapter reflecting on the problem stream, through different iterations of the problem facing the economy with regards to economic growth, several policy suggestions were produced within the tripartite alliance's policymaking community. The alliance partners are often characterised by policy research bodies which exist as research unit's periphery to unions. Some approaches to economic growth and development, brewed within these bodies. Pushes towards industrialisation to stimulate employment and the overarching attempt to apply the NDR (NDR) through policy related to development are some of the policy solutions floating in what could be considered the primeval soup of policy making in South Africa. Within corporate policy stakeholders, ideas to liberalise the market and reduce state intervention were standard but an increasing interest in

economic policy without socio-political influences began to emerge. Within the factions of the African National Congress a belief in the policy making practices which were built through the building of the RDP created contestation for the establishment of the NPC, factions within the ANC believed that the capabilities for producing policy was within the party itself. These attitudes towards the policy making process created tensions which could broadly define the primeval soup of the policy stream prior to the development of the NDP (Turok, 2008).

The Policy Community in South Africa

After the unbanning of the ANC and the SACP, the ANC was responsible for building a policy community able to answer some of the policy questions posed by the precarious economic circumstances following the end of the apartheid. The first iterations of a policy community were a formation known as Economic Research of South Africa (EROSA), which was based in London and consisted of academics and professionals, interested in investigating economic models for the newly liberated South Africa. EROSA formed part of the overall culture policy investigation and study at the time (Hirsch, 2005: 41-45).

Outside of EROSA, the incumbent ANC intellectuals and leaders met with business and researchers through a range of seminars, conferences and public platforms. These were attempts at formulating a policy community which could attend to the question of an economic model for South Africa. Yet the establishment of units such as the Economic Trends group led by Stephen Gleb, which did research around economic models and sanctions under COSATU, under the leadership of Alec Erwin, began to diversify the efforts towards a diverse policy community (Hirsch, 2005: 45).

The developments in the policy community in the early 1990s was even further developed by the establishment of the Department of Economics and Planning (DEP) which would become the Department of Economic Planning (DEP). This body, led by Max Sisulu, worked at developing economic models which could resolve the question of inequality, unequal wealth distribution and economic sanctions. This body included individuals such as Tito Mboweni and Trevor Manuel, who would form part of the policy community during the development of the National Development Plan (NDP) (Hirsch, 2005:50).

Following 1994 and well into the Mbeki Presidency, dynamics around the policy community, namely, those responsible for drafting policy, had begun to exclude the broader community of ANC members. In 1997, Tito Mboweni, began to warn against this shift, urging the ANC to activate its alliance partners as policy influencers, integrating them as part of the policy community (Gumede, 2008:39)

This shift, away from the ANC occupying integral roles in the policy community, gave rise to a community of policy entrepreneurs, those with influence, through links with the presidency, political sway and research capacity, dominating the policy making space (Gumede, 2008:39).

The Mbeki presidency actively pursued the centralisation of power in relation to the formulation of policy in order to encourage efficient policy formulation and implementation. Mbeki, after assuming presidency, moved the ANC's policy unit into the office of the presidency, under his guidance in order to streamline the policy community. Individuals such as Kgalema Motlante flagged that the policy unit was poorly staffed and therefore insufficient for policy making, implementation and delivery (Gumede, 2008:40).

This process of "presidentialising" the ANC, a term used to describe the centralisation of power within the presidency, giving the president absolute control over policy making processes, is seen as part of the shift towards a developmental state. A streamlined, centralised policy community, located within the presidency and separate from the politics of the party, was an identifiable aspect of development states in East Asia (Gumede, 2008: 41). The NDP was, to a large extent, a continuation of the process with opportunity for widening its access to involve more social partners whilst maintaining no political involvement.

The body leading policy making from within the presidency at the time, run through Joel Netshitenzhe was known as the Policy Co-Ordination and Advisory Services (Hereafter PCAS), this was a unit which vetted all policies together with the president.

The importance of the Tripartite Alliance as a policy centre diminished under these new stringent measures and at the 2002 ANC Conference, the question of the alliances role in policy making came into question. Furthermore, questions of control within the alliance also began to destabilise the role of the alliance in policy making. Alliance partners begin to call for the development of a think tank or institute for policy decision making in the ANC and the alliance in order to decentralise the ANC as the dominant partner in the alliance when it came to policy decision-making (Gumede, 2008:41). This formulation of a policy community, which is characterised by a gathering of expertise, research capacity and academic contributions was envisioned to include alliance partners on equal footing, with policy proposals encountering equal and fair consideration.

This elongated history of policy community development within the ANC and the alliance broadly produced the NDP. The NDP came from a further push away from the politics of policy making whilst at the same time representing more of the think-tank/institute type policy making envisioned in the alliance. However, it excluded the alliance partners and the ideological debates put forward around the development question to begin with. It could be argued that a development plan was

already decided upon when Mbeki began to centralise power within the presidency and that the waves that decision made within the policy community fundamentally shaped the NDP, without the alliance.

In 2007, following the Mbeki presidency and election of Jacob Zuma, the ANC's election manifesto framework presented an interest in re-establishing the NDR and outlines a shift towards a developmental state in order to achieve the outcomes within the NDR. This renewed interest in the values of the NDR presented the view that Zuma would consider the interests of the ANC's left and therefore preserve the Tripartite Alliance through giving leaders in SACP and COSATU power over developmental policy efforts. Therefore, in Polokwane, Zuma stated that the key to achieving the priorities outlined in the NDR was through establishing an effective developmental state (ANC, 2007). The core interest in the developmental state was the view that an investment in the public sector and a more cohesive relationship with business could lead to economic growth and therefore more grounds on which to transform the economy and the state towards the aims of the NDR. This spoke towards the consensus for "transformation through economic growth" found within the alliance prior to 2007.

Building Consensus on Developmental Approaches

In the development of the NDP a very precise approach is taken to reach consensus. The establishment of the National Planning Commission (NPC) was done in order to build a consensus for the NDP. The mandate of the NPC indicates the need to build a policy consensus for the eradication of poverty and a resolution to inequality, the committee would be tasked with consolidating the varying proposals, sifting out the best proposals and testing it for feasibility in the South African context. However, the very development of the NPC was met with contestation for being depoliticized and for operating outside of the ANC (National Planning Commission, 2010).

In 2010, Zuma announced that a commission would be established to tackle national development. In the period prior to its establishment there was a position developed that the committee would approach the question from the perspective of developmental economics, believing that an investment in business, a targeted approach to investment and a focus on infrastructure would allow for overall economic growth and a strengthened economy. The arrival at developmental approaches to economics, formed from perceptions of the approach in the international community with successes for it occurring in East Asian contexts. The ideological position also developed because of historical experiences of economic planning, in which less structured approaches found negative reception (Gumede, 2016).

The NDP is a clear application of development approaches through a multi-sectoral policy framework. What is made evident through the literature is that the policy decision-making process

which led to a development approach to economics occurred prior to the establishment of the NPC. The establishment of the NPC occurred entirely to implement the ideal of development economics in the South African context and therefore only the vehicle for this planning had to emerge through policy approaches within the tripartite alliance. Although the entire development approach to poverty and inequality was contested within the tripartite alliance, with some contesting that it was a failure to fulfil the vision laid out in the NDR, it was agreed upon as a response to the problem based on it encompassing most of the approaches presented in the alliance (Manuel, 2013).

What is seen as the “left” within the tripartite alliance, namely those who advocate for the unions and factions within the South African Communist Party, as well as those with key positions in the African National Congress who advocate for socialist policy praxis, had a particular stance on state planning between the periods of 2007 and 2012. There was a strong belief in the capacity for the states planning and an interest in flexing the capabilities and capacities build up since 1994 during the production and development of the RDP. This belief in the states planning and dominance of the left within this role meant that many of the more radical approaches to growth and development were hosted within the tripartite alliance. The Tripartite Alliance was also, through interpretations of the NDR, viewed as a body which could align the interests of the broad-church of South African society and the working-class masses, in order to make policy and advise on planning. Gaining a consensus on approaches to policy within the alliance was a challenge for the NPC but apolitical appointments to the NPC allowed for more measured viewpoints on economic development to gain reception within the policymaking process.

To elaborate on the above point, the planning commission, in its inception, included stakeholders outside of the state, researchers who could be largely viewed as “depoliticised”. Despite this approach, the same commission was led by the fiscally conservative policy entrepreneurs within the ANC who were displaced by the shift in power between Mbeki and Zuma in 2007. These figures who held power in either the treasury or presidency prior to Zuma’s election, were influential in the policymaking community and produced policies such as GEAR and the AgiSA.

The NPC, including the stakeholders of both depoliticised thinkers and empowered political figures, was mandated to reach a consensus on planning and policy proposals across South African society and its stakeholders. More than just the tripartite alliance, these stakeholders included business, civil society and political actors within the state. The NPC was also tasked with finding more long-term planning solutions, ones that resulted in the Vision 2030 resolutions, that could outlive current policymaking cycles and provide for a continuity in policymaking cycles. This was argued to be more effective if done in the interest of achieving development goals which the NPC argues, should outlive power structures (NPC, 2010).

The NPC, through the production of the NDP, also identified its goals clearly as eradicating poverty and reducing inequality. This became the core mandate of the body, considering high level planning towards economic development as an approach.

The decision to develop a body for policymaking went against those within the alliance who believed the capacity lied within and had proposals for development at the ready. However, the NPC was tasked with reaching a consensus in order to draw out the more successful policies for economic growth and change. In this way, the policy stream is applicable in the case of the NDP, which build a consensus by lobbying through an apex structure such as the NPC. This could be a seen a restructuring of policymaking entirely, marking a shift away from socially and politically motivated policy towards more evenly considered policy. This was not the only form of change which occurred at in the 2007 period, the establishment of the Department of Performance, Monitoring and Evaluation (DPME) also marked a shift which build onto the culture developing around policy planning in this period.

Developing the DPME

The DPME marks some of the shift in policy making and the policy community in the development of the NDP. The DPME would have, in the Mbeki period, existed within the presidency as part of a planning unit located within the presidency. In the period following Mbeki, namely, the Zuma presidency, monitoring and evaluation was separated form a process of planning. Planning formed part of the NPC and the DPME was developed to carry out the work of monitoring and evaluation.

To reiterate, 2008-2009 there was a considerable shift in policy development and the politics which underpin it in the ANC. The development of a ministry for policy monitoring and evaluation formed part of this shift. The shift was one which moved policymaking away from a politically collaborative processes with few experts towards a bureaucratic process led by experts. The establishment of the DPME also saw the resourcing of the policy stream through the state. The NPC also existed with resourcing from the state and was constituted by state actors, namely the presidency. Due to this both bodies are either, to an extent politically influenced by policy actors brought about through the alliance or able to maintain an autonomy from political processes. In the case of the DPME a continued push to appoint alliance partners within government, influenced the development of this ministry which could assess the efficiency of policy from a politically neutral ground not affected by figures within the alliance. This shift was indicative of fragmentations of the policy community within the tripartite alliance. This fragmentation of interests and powers created a troubling environment in which to build consensus. Bodies such as the DPME and NPC were built with the purpose of gaining that consensus.

The DPME reflects a process of diffusion as it is understood through the policy stream. Through a decentralisation of power and a division of labour in the policy processes, a forum for consensus was built because of the diffusion the process created.

“Softening”

According to Cairney, building a consensus and ensuring a particular policy reaches the top of a primeval soup, includes a process of softening. Softening refers to a process of clarifying and reduction of a particular policy in order to ensure a consensus among policy stakeholders. This process of softening also forms part of the policy stream and includes political maneuvering towards a consensus. Where a policy includes non-favorable elements, it is presented differently, or these elements are rationalised by the softening process (Cairney, 2016: 45).

In many ways the NPC existed as a body for softening a national framework for development which applied developmental economic models to the policy problem of poverty and inequality. The Tripartite Alliance held an existing consensus around developmental approaches in the form of the NDR as it was expanded upon in the Strategy and Tactics documents of the alliance, drafted at ANC national conferences (ANC, 2016). Therefore, the NPC had the responsibility of softening the elements of the NDP as an approach, which divert from what is outlined in the NDR.

The NPC also had the responsibility of catering to the broad church of views on what could contribute to positive economic development and in so had to develop the NDP in a way which encouraged stakeholder engagement at each step of the implantation process (NDP, 2012).

Outside of viewing the NPC as a body responsible for the softening process, in the development of the NDP, the very development of the NPC as a start to the policy making process, underwent a degree of softening. The NPC was introduced by the presidency as a response to the need for a development framework and in its formation attempted to represent the interests of society at large. In order to do this, the NPC comprised of “depoliticised” public actors in both business and academia and individuals from the ANC, located on both side of the factional divide in the ANC, apparent in 2007 (The Presidency, 2010). This will be further elaborated on in the section dealing with and elaborating on, the political stream.

A Brief History of Policy Communities within the Alliance

In order to strengthen the argument that the NPC was a body build with the purpose of diffusion and “softening” of developmental policy it is important to discuss the ways in which policy communities within the alliance exist. To some degree, the NDP operates outside of these policy communities. A

brief history of these community's outline whether they were fragmented or un-fragmented in the view of the policy stream and what this meant for developmental policy development.

Lodge (1999) and Naidoo & Mare (2015) outline approaches to policy making with in the ANC and Tripartite Alliance in two articles. Lodge's article titled: *Policy processes within the African National Congress and the Tripartite Alliance* specifically produces a picture of the policy communities which exist around the Tripartite Alliance (Lodge, 1999). In reviewing the development of the Reconstruction and Development Policy (RDP) as a policy drafted prior to 1994, Lodge highlights that during this period the policy drafting expertise of the alliance was held within organised labour and that COSATU as a confederation of unions held the ability to strongly influence these policy outcomes although it faced challenges within the politics stream (Lodge, 1999:8). Not only did COSATU hold within its resources policy experts who formed through the union tradition, it also invested in the development of think tanks, research forums and departments. Its links to international labour organisation also produced a space through which policy proposals could be drawn. These confederation and union associated research departments would also produce a class of individuals who would have the capabilities of influencing policies and ANC-aligned research organisations, by passing political reservations, and tending to the need of technocratic policy development. Institutions such as the Macro-economic research group (MERG) developed through the resources provided by organised labour.

The development of the RDP is largely influenced by a process of compromise rather than consensus among alliance partners (Lodge, 1999:10). The RDP both in its development and implementation stages was influenced by unionists such as Jay Naidoo and figures like Alec Erwin who held the interests of organised labour but the skills to draft sections of the policy which would inevitably be influenced by their political orientations. This is how a contestation such as the need for social welfare and support would prevail over the overall need for economic reform and recovery (Lodge, 1999:12). In this way, one could perceive individuals, such as Jay Naidoo as a policy entrepreneur, someone uses their command of policy drafting skills and resources to influence policy proposals in a direction specific to his ideological orientations. His capabilities as a policy entrepreneur were best demonstrated by his appointment as the Minister of Reconstruction and Development Policy in which he yielded the power of a policy entrepreneur to guide and implement RDP policy and implementation.

Prior to the development of the NDP and a product, primarily of the unions within the tripartite alliance, was the National Growth Plan or (NGP). The focus of the NGP was the promotion of jobs and job creation and a focused attempt at eradicating unemployment. The NGP stipulated that to achieve its goals it required collaboration from the private sector. It laid out clear plans for

intensifying the need for labour in the private sector through state collaboration (Government of South Africa, 2010).

The National Growth Plan, championed by Ibrahim Patel in 2010, is an earlier or initial attempt to deal with the question of poverty and inequality through broad development. The NGP focused on job creation, making a promise to create jobs. The policy was not received well on the bases of it being too broad and loosely defined. It required the cohesion of the private sector, policy actors and political parties in order to actualize (Patel, 2010). Its policy community was that of those working in departments and ministry's focused on economics, development and labour and in some senses marked the beginning of policy drafting in these specific sectors.

In later years, COSATU's National Labour and Economic Development Institute (NALEDI) had a responsibility for producing development policy which surfaced the needs of those in the labour unions. This structure which was established in 1993 and is funded by COSATU, directly impacts how leadership approaches policy questions by doing research and drafting of policy proposals which respond to modern policy problems (NALEDI, 2013). Proposals surrounding stimulation of employment and industrialisation emerge from the research established by NALEDI.

The SACP's policy community is strongly defined by individuals like Jeremy Cronin, Blade Ndzimande and Patrick Bond who publicise their positions on policy questions, debating through publications. In the development of the NPC as well as the NDP, these figures within the SACP kept a public debate alive, which revealed the shifts in the drafting of the NDP as a grand development scheme.

At universities all over the country political science departments were investing in the question of development economics, establishing varying departments and specialised programs at institutions like Stellenbosch University and the University of Cape Town, how this influenced the NDP as a policy could only be demonstrated as the development expertise made available after this period of development. Furthermore, the NPC was built up with individual academics for a variety of centers and institutes who were able to make sense of formulating a development plan in an unequal context like South Africa.

Finally, it is important to make mention of individuals or rather policy entrepreneurs who boast positions of power within the ANC which they can use to push for policy viewpoints. Joel Netshitenzhe, Trevor Manuel and Cyril Ramaphosa host very precise views on developmental economic approaches to policy and through their varying positions of power within the party were able to influence the reception and production of a developmental policy approach.

Outside of these specific approaches to policy making in different policy communities, the NDP follows a long tradition of development policy making beginning during the transition and the unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC).

Fragmented or un-fragmented policy community

The formulation of expert policy communities and actors is discussed in Kraak (2011) and Naidoo & Mare (2015). The political lines drawn around policy communities contributing towards the frameworks like the NDP are largely fragmented according to their policy orientation. Within the tripartite alliance, experts have formed in the areas of development and economics. This development has led to alliance partners maintaining their own unique approaches to development which often contest the development of approaches like the NDP, developed by a few policy experts and the political expediency of a few. These contrary approaches focus more decisively on the question of labour and unemployment and do not take the broad approaches presented in the NDP, depending on public participation and incorporating social development within the framework. This division could also be largely attributed to the political orientation of alliance parties as COSATU remains a left aligned trade union and the SACP represents the communist party revealing that the political antagonisms within the alliance exist on the basis of economic models and differing positions around the methods of development (Kraak, 2011).

These divisions are reconciled by a process of consultation. Each party has a policy research division which meets at the policy conferences of the ANC, which precede the congresses. These conferences draw the lines for lobbying and garnering support for policy positions within the alliance. This is true for particularly risky policy positions such as those calling for a universal basic income grant (UBIG). Outside of this the policy community is divided according to the allocation of resources. Although there are policy research centers placed at institutions of higher education who could advocate for better researched policies with wider consultation processes, these are often influenced by funding outside of these institutions. The same could be said about policy research developed by Non-Profit Organization's divisions within the policy community are directly aligned with divisions within the ANC and contesting ideas within broader society.

Considering Feasibility

Beyond simply reaching a consensus with a particular policy approach, the natural selection process also includes a set of standards for a policy which could dictate whether it is feasible as a policy solution. These include technical feasibility, public accountability, normative acceptability and receptive decision making. If a policy proposal meets this criterion, it often is receptive to a policy community consensus (Herweg. *et al*, 2015).

The technical feasibility refers to the ability for a policy to be implemented. In this sense it considers the practical concerns around a policy approach outlining resources, processes and roll-out. Unlike the NGP which was questioned for its technical feasibility due to its unclear framing, the NPC was given a clearly outlined mandate and sufficient resources for its implementation.

Public accountability refers to the ways in which the policy process is transparently brought forward to the public. In the case of the NPC, much of the process was publicised through a targeted public campaign which included launches, public reports and press statements (NPC, 2012).

Normative acceptability, in this sense, a policy tries to fit cyclical approaches to policy making. Normative acceptability accounts for a policy not being radically different from the norm, interrupting current policy process or disrupting norms set within the policy community. In this sense the NDP follows onto a long tradition of grand-scheme policy development such as the RDP, GEAR and AgiSA (Naidoo & Maré, 2015:410).

Receptive decision-making this often refers to whether decision-making was receptive to critiques, limitations and public suggestions put forward for a policy. In this sense, the NPC and subsequent NDP came directly from the presidency and was not receptive to suggestions put forward from within the alliance for how development policy should be addressed or developed. These were made apparent in some of the critiques of the policy, made apparent after its publication in 2012 and at a later review of its implementation.

Conclusively, this chapter reflected on what defines the policy stream, in doing so it analyses the development of the NPC and developmental policy approaches through softening, consensus building and diffusion. It also considered how fragmented the policy community was and whether developmental policy held feasibility. It spoke about the reception of proposals surrounding the NDP and the varying contestations within its formulation. It revealed a complex set of dynamics in which policy had moved away from the traditional processes of formulation experienced through the development of the RDP, towards a policy formulated with dedicated policy communities emboldened within the presidency.

Chapter 4: The Political Stream

The political stream refers to the period in which a policy resolution has been established for a policy problem and needs to gain momentum through the court of public and political opinion in order to gain a priority status on the policy agenda. This chapter will seek to outline the political sub-system and community within the alliance to further define the political stream within in the context of this thesis (Zahariadis, 2016). This chapter will outline the three elements of the political stream as it relates to the development of the NDP. These elements, drawn from the definitions of the problem stream outlined by Kingdon and other policy scholars, creates the parameters of the problem stream. These parameters formulate the definition of the problem stream and the dynamics they reveal this chapter will examine the policy formulation of the NDP, through the establishment of the NPC, as previously stated. This chapter will achieve this through a reading of political actors during the period of 2007 and 2012, in the buildup to the NDP and the reception of the policy in the public arena. This chapter will also draw out some of the political positions around developmental policy as expressed through congress documents and media statements.

Expansions on the Political Stream

The final stream to analyse in relation to the developmental economic approaches to policy within the Tripartite Alliance is the political stream. In the MSF, each stream activates a particular community and subsystem within the policymaking process, just like the policy stream operates within the policy subsystem and community, filled with researchers and policy drafters, the political stream operates within the political subsystem, a system which consists of political actors within positions of power and political parties (Zahariadis, 2016).

The political stream speaks to the action in the political community which surrounds the formulation of a policy. It is concerned with public debates, attitudes and campaigns surrounding a particular policy but also speaks for the political context in which a policy is decided upon or developed. The political context would include where decision-making power lies to make a particular decision and what the motivations might be behind endorsing one policy solution over another. Unlike the problem stream, it doesn't consider the conditions under which a public issue becomes a policy issue but rather considers the actors involved and the political will to add an issue on to the policy agenda.

Zarharidis, Cairney and Kingdom outline that the political stream is influenced by three distinct elements: the "national mood", interest groups, campaigns, government and legislature (Zarharidis, 2019). Of the three listed elements, government and legislature can achieve popularity for a policy resolution without the interactions of interest groups and campaigns and so have the power to dominate the political stream. Although this dynamic exists, a policy which captures the national

mood and is advocated for by interest groups outside of the state is notably better received during the implementation process and an holistic view of these actors, achieved through a multiple streams framework is useful (Cairney, 2016).

Zahariadis (2016) and Zohlnhoffer (2015) outline that the political stream is the most influential of the streams emerging out of the MSF framework, although several policies might engage the process of the problem and policy stream, very few are chosen to undergo the scrutiny of the public arena brought forward in the political stream. In understanding the political stream, it is useful to return to the “garbage can theory” which does not see policy making as a linear thought process or progression, but rather identifies that the process of identifying the problem is uniquely separate from the process of building a policy resolution and later employing political power in to gain popularity in the political stream. In this way there are three processes happening, either simultaneously or within different time frames. “The garbage can theory” is like the primeval soup in that it identifies policy making to represent several varying interests which compete for the top of the policy agenda.

In assessing the elements through reviews of the MSF after multiple applications, it is established that the element of “national mood” is empirically illusive. Interest groups and campaigns are limited to their notoriety and consensus and government and legislation is structured around changes in these sectors which are manipulated by political entrepreneurs. This reading of the political stream reveals that there are no sequences in which this stream plays out and that in a sense each element could be interpreted as a stream.

Elements I: National Mood

The “national mood” as an indicator for the political stream is believed to be limited empirically. How “national mood” is measured or recorded is disputed by policy scholars and reveals an area which requires further research and support in the field of political science. That is to say that there are no tangible ways to measure the national mood and that creates limitations for its applications within a framework attempting to analyse policy formulation (Jones *et al.*, 2013:67). How the public consensus around a particular policy issue is reached or found is not something that can be tested on scales of traditional scientific methods. Despite the disagreement around methodology, there are ideas amongst, those in the process of reviewing the MSF within the political science field, that opinion polls used in competitive politics could be considered useful as a tool for assessing national mood (Zohlnhoffer, 2015).

There is disagreement on this question by those critical of opinion polls considering competitive elections and politics but in some sense opinion polls can provide some degree of empirical findings for what popular opinions are around particular policy questions and flighted resolutions.

South Africa does not have effective access to opinion polls. Despite the expansion of access to news and journalistic publications due to social media, there is little participation in public polling processes and information around citizenry is limited to voting data and the national census, for this reason the broad applications, through which public opinions and activism is considered, of the “national mood” can be used for defining the political stream surrounding the development of a national development plan.

Beyond opinion polls it is part of Kingdon’s (1984) development of the MSF that some political actors can sense national moods and take advantage of them to produce results with regards to policy. These political actors form part of a representative of public constituencies and are aware of what is occurring in communities and within the public arena, making direct contact with popular movements which represent these constituencies. To this end it is worth mention that the founding of the Tripartite Alliance occurred with an intention to represent the broad constituencies which supported the African National Congress under one structure. With the power to influence policy. This structure was emboldened to carry the mandate of their constituencies, the broad left and trade unionists, into the chambers of policy making, with a sense of where consensus lied within the populous, around specific issues (ANC, 1969). In a sense this makes members of the Tripartite Alliance the political actors outlined in the MSF to have a sense of the national mood and the readiness for policy ideas. There is much reference to “public readiness” and national mood when alliance partners discuss socialist policies such as the Universal Basic Income Grant (UBIG) or an average wage (Patel,2011), illustrating the role of the alliance in assessing national mood.

Due to the tripartite alliance’s ability to ascertain national mood, congresses of COSATU and the SACP were able to reveal that jobs and unemployment were key issues on the national policy agenda, and that there was an interest in seeking resolutions for these issues across the political spectrum. These same congresses revealed that the rate at which economic growth and transformation was occurring was slow, creating a disillusioned voting constituency, willing to head to protest (SACP, 2006).

In terms of the establishment of a body tasked with providing a national development plan, the national mood surrounding this decision is framed by two things. The first, is that the decision to form an NPC emerged from the presidency and formed part of an effort to centralise planning in the state. Similarly, so, the decision to produce a development plan, was established by the presidency at the ANC national congress (ANC, 2007). This public announcement, and top-down establishment of the national development plan influenced its reception by the public. It is difficult to ascertain whether this influenced its reception in a positive or negative way, but it is evident that in the context of the Tripartite Alliance it introduced a degree of politics particular to factional dynamics within the ANC

in 2007. The second remarkable aspect affecting the national mood surrounding the development plan revolves around the fact that it was largely influenced by international trends in economic growth policy, pushing for an agenda pursued by successful economies such as those associated with the Asian Tigers. The developmental approach to economic development evolved from both international trends and influences within the stat which purported developmental efforts to be effective in eradicating poverty and slow economic growth (Gumede, 2016:69).

As the problem stream highlighted, there were other mechanisms for uncovering the national mood. Public protest and its evolution in the period running up to 2007, outlined a discontent with economic approaches to development or at the very least, uneven development and service provision. Additionally, changes in the election results and a decreasing majority African National Congress vote, echoed the need for drastic change regarding development in South Africa. Through the ballot, the public revealed that they were not enthused about voting, as voter turnout dwindled and the majority began to shrink, shrinking ANC power in parliament (IEC, 2012).

Considering the, the national mood could be defined as embroiled in politics within the alliance whilst also, in the public arena, being directed by the degree to which information was provided surrounding a developmental approach and to which extent. Developmental approaches to the economy operate on increased government intervention in the public market and an expansion of infrastructure. It is also defined by a scaling back of social interventions in the interest of growing the economy through business, commerce and investment. The developmental approach requires the state to become very involved in growing businesses in the interest of economic growth, which is not achieved in the short term but rather over a prolonged policy process. For those in the public arena who understand this application of developmental economics these shifts were not welcomed as it moved away from some of the more socialist approaches to public policy in favour of growth.

Beyond this the establishment of a NPC with limited political representation, or representation of elected officials, created conditions for the public to question appointments in the commission. The appointments projected as apolitical, and this decision was openly debated. A depoliticisation allowed the NPC to both make decisions with limited resistance and pushed the NPC to advocate for public support through public consultation and public debate.

Elements II: Interest Groups and Campaigns

After 1994 there was a massive investment in non-governmental organisations by foreign philanthropic organisations and the broader human rights community. This investment was in the interest of reinforcing the democratic principles outlined within the peaceful transition but also interfered with local politics having an influence on public opinion around particular policy questions.

The formation of interest groups and movements and small political structures like lesser-known unions within the broader COSATU framework highlighted inequalities left by a history of dispossession and the apartheid regime. This development occurred expeditiously in the first 10 years following 1994 (Hirsch, 1996).

These interest groups and campaigns did not, at start of the democratic dispensation, focus on the question of economic development. Unions were exceptional in this case, focusing specifically on the question of economic transformation and industrialisation of the economy between the periods of 1990 and 2010. This focus, attempted to influence the making of economic policy through the proposal of policy solutions put forward in the national congresses of unions such as COSATU and its affiliates. These solutions would later emerge in national campaigns and days of protests as slogans of demand.

Notably, the developmental approach had been discussed in public forums since the transitional period to compete in the international arena and transform the apartheid regime economy and its inequalities. However, a macroeconomic effort, needed to consider the historical implications of colonialism and dispossession in order to make changes within the economic sphere. Therefore, those in public interest groups, such as the unions and those apart of the social movements which formed part of the Tripartite alliance, consistently advocated for redress within economic approaches.

Elements III: Government and Legislature

Government and legislature refer to changes within government power or legislature which affect the public susceptibility for a particular policy resolution. This also, however, speaks to the political actions surrounding a policy resolution with the government and legislature environment. Where resolutions represent party viewpoints or ideologies, the political stream outlines these with the interest of revealing the structure of power around policy resolutions (Zaharadis, 2016)

Development policy and the interest in a development framework existed within factions of the ANC, those who held positions within treasury and the presidency, who saw the international implications for deviating from the development economic model. Where redistribution was flighted by some as a solution to poverty and inequality, developmental centric policy makers argued for growth through investment and public advocated for this. This could be further condensed into individuals who held power, political entrepreneurs.

There are a few political shifts that are important to note when considering the move towards a developmental framework for policy. The removal of Thabo Mbeki in 2007 and the election of Jacob Zuma could be considered the most impactful to produce a developmental framework and the process behind it. As Thabo Mbeki's presidency was marked with the efforts to change what he saw as the

“two economies” through macro-economic policy, the production of a developmental plan had begun through the work of PCAS located in the presidency since 2001. Mbeki’s approach to a developmental framework focused heavily on centralising the policy research and development process within the state and had less focus on the democratisation of the process as emerged through the planning commission appointed by Jacob Zuma (Netshitenzhe, 2011).

The shifts between presidencies also revealed deepened factional disputes within the Tripartite Alliance as left leaning parties of the alliance voted for Jacob Zuma in the interest of finding more room for policies with socialist tendencies, developed within the union space (Gumede, 2007). On the other side of the factional divide, those who had found political expression of their policy positions prior to 2007 and had taken dominance within the executive now held lesser sway in terms of the macroeconomic policy making. There was a marked effort to try and renew the ANC and the alliance through joining the differences within opinion around grand-scheme economic frameworks that emerged through the differences in processes between the RDP and GEAR. In some ways, appointing dominant figures such as Trevor Manuel in the planning processes of the NDP was an attempt to bridge these divides and ensure the expression of policy making as it existed within the Mbeki period. This method of appeasement attempted to build continuity in the policy drafting processes although to a lesser extent (Gumede, 2007).

Furthermore, power shifts within the Tripartite Alliance partners would affect reception of the NDP. As NUMSA broke away from COSATU in 2016 due to disputes around key positions and corruption within the ranks, COSATU began to lose the voice of labour. The SACP also, embroiled within key positions of the ANC and the race to occupy them, no longer iterated the left positions it was founded on. This shift in identities for alliance partners weakened their voices in the development of a developmental framework and international successes for developmental theory became more influential than the NDR and the Tripartite Alliance as a policy-decision making body (Bond, 2016). These shifts in the dynamic within the Tripartite Alliance are brought up in congress papers of both the SACP and COSATU through which the bodies called for a reassessment for the terms under which the partook in the alliance and a renegotiation of their power to influence policy within the ANC (SACP, 2006). Furthermore, the Strategy and Tactic documents of the ANC national congresses seemed to mark attempts for re-engaging the relationships of the alliance with the interest of maintaining the relationships within the alliance whilst setting new goals for the ways in which policy was drafted and planning occurred within the party (ANC, 2007).

The establishment of an ultra-left, emerging out of the ANC Youth League, calling for Economic Freedom had some bearing on the public reception of a developmental plan. The emergence of the Economic Freedom Fighters introduced a host of policy proposals for economic transformation which

were radical, as radical as proposals could be when they emerge from a newly formed party which would not achieve state power soon and so would not be held accountable for their proposal's shortcomings. With the EFF came renewed public calls for the nationalisation of mines and resource-based industries as well as the expropriation of land. As these proposals began to circulate around the public through the EFF and its political endorsement of Zuma, the more moderate approaches to economic transformation put forward through a planning commission and developmental approaches were not as well received by the public (Gumede, 2016).

In terms of legislature, there were few notable changes which had direct impact on the development of the NDP except for a tightening of regulations on the market in the interest of encouraging local production. This shift was an interventionist approach by the state to encourage economic growth which found expression later in the NDP as part of a broad framework for growth.

Deciding on a “Developmental State”

Amidst the power shift brought about by the 52nd National Conference of the ANC, held in Polokwane, which brought about the ousting of President Thabo Mbeki and marked the ushering in of President Jacob Zuma in his place was a lasting debate around policy development in the organisation. The tripartite alliance's economic summit of 2007, partners discussed the need for longer-term planning and overarching frameworks. This call directly led to the production of the NDP. The alliance's economic summit is a space for policy contestation and development in which a policy consensus is pursued (Netshitenzhe, 2008). In the 2008 summit, the alliance reflected on economic growth and policy, this reflection produced shifts in policy surrounding development. In a sense, this terrain is where policy decision-making occurs and the shifts in power had a sufficient influence on this policy outcome. This shift was reflected in congress papers of all three alliance partners, reflecting on the summit (ANC 2007, COSATU 2012, SACP 2008a.).

Despite the policy process mentioned above, the decision to pursue a developmental state was heavily influenced by international shifts in macro-economic policy making. For the Tripartite Alliance in particular, a developmental state needed to be responsive to the needs of “the people” providing for economic transformation and the deliverance of the economy into the hands of the masses. This is outlined in the NDR which binds the Tripartite Alliance but is also revealed in the *Report of the Strategy and Tactics* document of 2007 (ANC, 1969, 2007).

Part of the strategy to build a developmental state is the centralisation of decision-making and the strengthening of state planning capacity. This process had begun as far back as 2004 in the ANC, led by Thabo Mbeki who build bodies such as the Policy Co-ordination Advisory Services (PCAS)

appointed by the presidency. This body would later exist as a supporting structure for the Planning Commission (Gumede, 2019:8-10).

The formulation of the Planning Commission was politically envisioned to be led by the Deputy President. The deputy president was notably, Cyril Ramaphosa at the time of its inception. The planning commission would have the power to allow for long-term planning and stability in prolonged policy processes and frameworks like that proposed in the National Development Plan. In 2007, PCAS was however disbanded, changing the political power associated with the Planning Commission, envisioned to be supported by centralised power within the state by a body from within the presidency (Gumede, 2019: 12-14).

In reaching for a developmental approach to growth and inequality, a decision made very early on in the history of policy planning within the ANC in both their early policy iterations (RDP, GEAR and AgiSA) and the congress documents of 1991, 2002 and 2007 (ANC, 1991, 2002, 2007), there was also a notable shift towards centralising planning and an emboldening of the planning institution of the state.

Applying the Political Stream

The elements which define the political stream under Kingdon's MSF are limiting for thinking about the shifts in power which work to define how a policy is structured, received and envisioned. There are limitations in the application of the political stream. When attempting to analyse the policy processes within the Tripartite Alliance which resulted in the creation of a developmental framework and the planning within it, there are several power dynamics at play which do not firmly express themselves within Kingdon's iteration of a problem stream (Cairney & Zahrariadis, 2016). National mood is a vague element which is not applicable in the South African context as it is not measured outside of the public media perceptions of policy published by those who write about policy on public platforms. In terms of interest groups and campaigns, a national development framework addresses such a broad number of social issues, it is difficult to pin down whether campaigns and interest groups at the time took a particular stance on how economic growth should occur and whether it was the actions of movements, activists and interest groups which seemed to position it on the policy agenda. Finally, in government and legislature there are power shifts which are worth marking and noting which provide a more historical context for how the development policy was addressed. The political stream provides limited scope for drawing out the intricacies of the debates around policy formulation at the time, however, together with the policy stream there is a more complete picture of the proposals put forward and suggestions for developmental policy developed in the NDP as a developmental framework.

What the political stream lacks is room for discussion around the international influences and power dynamics which led to the establishment of a developmental framework. The successes of other economies in the global south with developmental methods was a strong motivator for the emergence of a NDP, with most policy advisors citing the successes of Singapore, South Korea and India's economies as a reason to pursue a developmental state. Furthermore, the establishment of multilateral alliances in 2010 such as BRICS created a standard for the South African economy and political motivations situated in foreign relations for which macro-economic policy needed to shift and accommodate. In this way the political stream as it is understood within the multiple stream's framework is limited (Butler, 2007).

Conclusion

The MSF's political stream identifies various political actors in the policy making processes within the tripartite alliance. It identifies interests and influences of various bodies which contribute to the elevation of a particular policy proposal to the top of the public policy agenda through the tripartite alliance. However, the political stream is limited in that it makes use of elements such as the national mood which do not accurately apply in the context of the alliance which is constituted of a concentration of ideological positions finding its broad expression within the alliance.

Chapter 5: Concluding Remarks and Observations

The research question at the heart of this thesis sought to identify the processes by which policy decisions occur within the tripartite alliance. As mentioned in the literature review, this study brings together the fields of public policy and the political history of the ANC. In doing so, it identified that the NDP was a sufficient case study for attempting to make sense of policy decision making within the structure. This resulted in the research covering a specific time period, specifically that which led up to the establishment of the NPC and launch of the NDP as well as the subsequent period of policymaking and implementation within the ANC and Tripartite Alliance since the party's unbanning in 1990. This contextualized the research question, leading to a more focused literature review and overall analysis. The literature review gave a greater insight into the politics governing the tripartite alliance. It furthermore outlined the launch of the NDP and the documents which framed its outcomes and intentions.

This thesis also sought a policy framework through which to understand the development of developmental policy ideas within the tripartite alliance. To do so, it tested some broad understandings of public policy frameworks and processes, ultimately arriving at the multiple streams framework because of its ability to weigh up differing actors and divide the different spaces in which policy processes and decisions occur and are influenced. The MSF offered three spaces as a lens for policy analysis in relation to the research question (John, 2003: 482-483).

Through the *problem stream*, this thesis found that the question of economic development was produced through conditions such as economic decline in the early 2000s and unequal economic distribution during the apartheid period. It also recognised that — in trying to address this problem — the ANC and the Tripartite Alliance had engaged in a process of ideological framing around this idea of a developmental state since its unbanning in 1990 and that this contributed to defining the problem in the time period relevant to this study. The problem stream also outlined indicators which characterised the problem stream, such as a financial crisis, changes in the GDP due to market failures, and unemployment rates. Through identifying focusing events, the problem stream analysis indicated that the global financial crisis and key shifts in power within the Tripartite Alliance had effects on policy development.

The *policy stream* attempted to draw out the policy community and how solutions based on policy research emerged as the precursor to the NDP. This identified that there was, over time, a tendency towards a developmental economic approach and therefore, in line with developmental economics, shifts in the location where policy was being formulated. A process of “presidentialising” policy under Mbeki and the establishment of units such as PCAS meant that the alliance had less of an

impact on *how* policy was developed but rather *where* it came into being. This was a core shift in the policy community surrounding the state. This chapter spoke to the influences beyond the alliance on policy making, with specific reference to policy aimed at developmental approaches.

The *political stream* chapter outlined the fields of political action and actors which sought to push a developmental approach onto the public agenda. This chapter addressed a national mood as well as public sentiment as it was put forward by alliance partners towards certain strategic interventions around developmental economics, as mentioned in discussion around the policy stream. It further identified a “public entrepreneur” and the “policy window” as concepts in the MSF. The political stream revealed that there were individuals within the alliance empowered to structure thought around developmental economics but were ultimately limited by the varying strategies advocated within the alliance, seen in the ideological framing discussed in the problem stream. It was also made apparent that a consensus on a policy direction was far more important politically within the alliance than holding positions on the intricacies of the policy direction, thereby strengthening the preference for an overarching framework rather than individualised policy interventions. Legitimacy of individuals within the Tripartite Alliance dictated how alliance partners directed their political willpower. These choices — to prioritise political power over taking up mantles with regards to an economic development framework — exemplified the influence of the political stream on policy-decision making within the alliance.

Through an application of the MSF, an analysis was arrived at that could identify the varying forces at play when policy is developed within the tripartite alliance. From this a set of key observations could be made.

From the research conducted in this study, policy within the Tripartite Alliance is very dependent on what occurs in the political stream. Whilst the political influences often direct how a policy consensus is reached within the party, the policy stream reveals an interest from within the alliance to address inequalities of influence on policy decision-making as alliance partners each invest in developing policy communities who can research and echo their voices on the public policy agenda. The problem stream revealed the long history related to policy making within the alliance and the hopes for the alliance structure to maintain its identity as a structure for policy decision-making. Although this thesis reveals an erosion in the alliance’s power in this regard, it is evident that without a policy consensus — built on fair and equal contributions from alliance partners and across the problem, policy and political streams — a policy would not reach the public policy agenda or be received with enough enthusiasm for effective implementation.

Notable Observations

A caveat around the supporting literature of this study and a critique thereof must be made considering the outcomes of this analysis. This thesis relied on communication documents from the NPC, government, the ANC and members of the tripartite alliance. These communications seek to further the work of solidifying the role of the Tripartite Alliance despite tangible shifts in its position in relation to policymaking, thus rendering them somewhat biased in their position on the alliance itself. Although Congress resolutions and statements might portray unity on a particular policy position, public statements, reporting, and political analysis reveal cleavages in which the developmental policy approach is viewed differently from within the alliance.

Working from the caveat, there are some conclusions brought forward from the analysis. The first is that the role of international conditions and policy communities as contributing to a developmental policy framework is central to understanding how the policy was arrived at. These factors occurred outside of the policy development practices within the tripartite alliance. This meant that often the alliance was reactively responding to policy proposals around developmental economics rather than putting it forward from within the alliance and through its own internal policy processes.

Another conclusion — broader and answered within the problem stream — is that the Tripartite Alliance forms part of a much wider history of policy making within the ANC as both a liberation front and a political party. This has meant that there are pervasive cultures around lobbying for policy positions which lead to a consensus on policy questions. This was especially true for policy surrounding economic growth. Therefore, for instance, how the RDP and GEAR were developed as policy frameworks and the role that the difference in policy approach had on impressions of the RDP is central to answering the research question of this thesis. Where the RDP advocated for inclusive approaches to policy making driven by the tripartite alliance, GEAR worked to exclude whilst building on policy cultures developed within policy-decision making towards the RDP.

Furthermore, this thesis identifies something particular to developmental policy overall. Within the very fabric of developmental policy is the call for centralised policy development. This principle is contrary to the practices existent within the Tripartite Alliance and creates a schism in policy development approaches between alliance partners. What this practice of centralisation also achieves is the creation of policy entrepreneurs, or what might be defined as bodies of policy scholars and experts able to override the powers of individual alliance partners and bring Kingdon's streams together to achieve a policy consensus without having to resort to the policy processes of the alliance. This was true both in individuals like Trevor Manuel who was empowered within both Treasury and

the NPC, and policy making bodies like PCAS, which was placed within the presidency and advised to guide the NPC in its development of the NDP.

Considering the National Democratic Revolution

A thread throughout this study is the connection the Tripartite Alliance attempts to make between developmental approaches to the economy, and the mandate binding partners together in the National Democratic Revolution outlined in the Strategy and Tactics (1969) document and its revisions over time. The NDR speaks about an economic transformation through which the state would reappropriate capital and wealth in the country to the working-class masses. This call was based on socialist principles and solidified the alliance as it created a collective vision for economic development in South Africa, endorsed by the principles of each alliance partner.

The formulation of the NPC was regarded by some within the alliance as a defeating the proposed goals of the NDR. The idea that policy — related to economic development and transformation — should be formulated outside of the alliance structure, signified a lack of commitment to and trust of the principles held within the NDR (Cronin, 2011). The NDP in its final form responded to this call by reflecting the NDR as part and parcel of its principles at the 2012 launch (NDP Executive Summary 2012). This relationship between the NDP and NDR signifies a different role for the Tripartite Alliance in policy formulation.

In future, the posturing of ideological positions within the alliance can prove to be a destructive element in the realisation of a fair and equitable policy environment. Put differently, the alliance's bark may be far worse than its bite.

In the present

In 2022, the NDP is approaching 10 years in existence and as this thesis revealed had existed as a policy in circulation for several years prior to its launch in 2012. In 2017, President Cyril Ramaphosa called for a revisitation of the core goals outlined in the NDP and reaffirmed the ANC's belief in a developmental framework as something that can direct policy in the ANC. What is evident are several changes to the problem stream as outlined by Kingdon, the international influences and the economic conditions have not become affable to development and a change in key indicators do not provide hope for a realisation of the NDP and overall economic growth. The Covid-19 pandemic only exacerbated the limitations of the economy but also speaks to a set of conditions unfriendly to a developmental framework.

There has also been a notable shift in the political position of the tripartite alliance. A weakening of alliance partners like COSATU and the SACP politically, has meant that the dynamics which existed

in the approach to the NDP, no longer stand and policy is now formulated by the few with proximity to the presidency and his cabinet. With regards to the policy stream, this has since been the area of the most sustained development as the establishment of a Department of Planning and Monitoring and Evaluation (DPME) has done much to centralise policy processes within the ANC. This has strengthened the research capabilities of the state with regards to policy production but has led to less of a reliance on the research divisions of alliance partners, once again compromising their influence on policy-processes overall.

It is clear that economic growth and redistribution of the economy is a political question able to fuel factionalism within the ANC as well as unrest in civil society broadly. More recent calls for a Universal Basic Income Grant (UBIG), a policy which emerged as early as 2004 within the discourses of alliance partners as a mechanism for alleviating poverty and stimulating economic growth, has found a resurgence as the overarching conditions of the economy pervade citizens. There are new problem, policy and political streams to reach for in relation to the Tripartite Alliance as it disappears as a structure for policy development and consultation. What is apparent in relation to the tripartite alliance, is its transient nature. The alliance may have been strongly situated within its history and relevance to the ANC at a particular moment, but that moment is fleeting now.

How Does Policy happen in the Tripartite Alliance?

The research question at the center of this dissertation asked how policy happens in the tripartite alliance and applied the MSF to analyse policy processes within the structure. The various streams revealed that policy happens in several different spaces related to the alliance, governing structures, research centres and the public sphere. It also revealed that there are spaces within the governance structures of the ANC dedicated to policy processes such as the policy and national congresses of the party.

The problem stream analysis posited that the problems framing policy in the tripartite alliance, specific to developmental frameworks are often defined by historical and international factors. Key shifts like the 2008 financial crisis and shifts in power within the party produced the conditions for the problem identified in the drafting the NDP as a development policy. The policy stream revealed where resources are located regarding policy making within the structure but also described a shift in policy making influenced by policy cycles, as well as policy making structures specifically in the interest of developmental policymaking. The political stream demonstrated the contestations which surround policy processes in the structure. This process revealed complications in public reception of policies developed around development, focused on development theory

The Relevance of the MSF to the Research Question

The MSF as a framework, goes a long way in defining the various spaces in which policy relate processes occur within the tripartite alliance. There remain limitations in that the MSF is not able to accommodate for the broader, international community which influences policy formulation in addition to internal processes of policy-decision making specific to the tripartite alliance. Where the MSF lacks applicability is the ability to define actors in a complex governance structure who do not occupy the more traditional policy making roles.

The weakest stream from the perspective of our research question is the problem stream. As economic growth is a policy issue which is often universal and all-encompassing there are ways in which the problem does not emerge in a systematic way on the public policy agenda but rather the policy emerges as part of the very identity of the ANC forming part of its party mandates and identity and therefore consistency occupying a space at the top of the public policy agenda.

Notably, there is also more to explore with regards to the policy entrepreneur as it does not account for the location of such policy actors within governance structures. A policy entrepreneur is limited to those who are leaders in the policy field, whereas within the ANC these roles are constantly evolving, and policy entrepreneurs become those with a proximity to power rather than those who could fully be identified as actors of the state.

Despite the above reservations, the MSF provides a birds'-eye view, away from the factionalism and politically complex terrain of policymaking within the Tripartite Alliance to provide a view through which to perceive the impact of the alliance on policy ideas. For this reason, it has proven illuminating as a framework of analysis in response to this thesis's research question.

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