CONCEPT PAPER

MUSA PLAN FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE (M-PLAN)

**AN INTEGRATED PLAN FOR ACCELERATED ADVANCEMENT AND MONITORING OF SOCIAL JUSTICE
A PROJECT OF THE LAW TRUST CHAIR IN SOCIAL JUSTICE, STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY**

"During apartheid, the pass laws were the barrier that limited your freedom. Today it is poverty that limits our movement. Poverty is today's pass that sets limits on what I can and cannot do and how high my children can rise in the social structure"[1] Palesa Musa, detained at the age of 12 on 16 June 1976.

Problem Statement

Poverty and inequality combined constitute the most visible setback in South Africa's journey towards healing the divisions of the past and establishing a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights as envisaged in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 ("Constitution").

Despite a Constitution that promises the freed potential of every person and improved quality of life for all, more than half of the people of South Africa live in poverty and one in every three in extreme poverty. Inequality along the contours of past unjust laws and policies is palpable in virtually all spheres of life. Systemic and structural disparities are starkly visible in health, education, housing, land, social life and mobility, community infrastructure, digital economy, wealth, and other aspects of the economy. According to Statistics South Africa ("Stats SA"), poverty and inequality have worsened making South Africa one of the most unequal societies in the world.

The fact that poverty and inequality continue to mirror the contours of apartheid and undermine the process of consolidating the healing of the divisions of the past poses a threat to sustainable peace and

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[1] Words of Palesa Musa at the Thuma Foundation's 2017 Women's Democracy Dialogue on '*Healing the divisions of the Past*'.

stability. Indeed, as protest in response to public service delivery failure has become customary, a growing number of poor people and disillusioned young people are increasingly questioning the value of democracy. The edifice of society is becoming increasingly fragile with violence, including public protest-related violence as was seen in the #FeesMustFall Protests becoming normative.[2] Sex and gender-based violence are also increasing and further undermining women's equal participation in shaping and enjoying the fruits of democracy. The structural inequalities also foster structural inefficiencies in the economy, which undermine the country's economic growth and sustainable development potential and related global competitiveness.

The Musa Plan for Social Justice ("Social Justice M-Plan"), is a social justice accelerator project, the aim of which is to catalyse the process of ending poverty and breaking the back of inequality by 2030 in pursuit of the global Sustainable Development Goals ("SDGs") and the National Development Plan ("NDP"), through disaggregated data-driven policy reform and mobilisation of a partnership for change. Named after Palesa Musa, a former child activist who was detained and placed in solitary confinement during the 1976 June 16 student uprising, the Social Justice M-Plan aims to advance equality and poverty eradication.

The theory of change behind the Social Justice M-Plan is that a significant impact in advancing equality and ending poverty requires a systems approach anchored in leveraging data analytics, social justice, impact policy design and law making, and a united front between government, business and civil society which is, in turn, anchored in resource mobilisation. A further underpinning of the Social Justice M-Plan is an acute awareness of the exponential nature of poverty and inequality, which, if not speedily arrested, will only get worse while undermining the healing of the divisions of the past and the sustainability of democracy.

The project seeks to establish a social justice think and action tank that leverages data analytics and technology to enhance the ability of law and policy to act as a healing force to advance social justice and peace. The thrust of the Social Justice M-Plan is engineering social justice impact conscious policy design and mobilising civil society and the global community around a partnership for change in support of government efforts seeking to end poverty and drastically reduce structural inequality.

Background

When American President, Harry Truman realised that the devastation, including hunger, left by World War II would sabotage efforts towards sustainable peace, he directed General George Marshall to devise a plan for rebuilding the infrastructure and damaged social fabric of Europe. When General Marshall delivered the plan he and fellow visionaries had painstakingly crafted, President Truman ensured that the

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[2] R Chikane *Breaking the Rainbow and Building a Nation: The Politics Behind the Fees Must Fall Movement* (2018).

resources it needed for effective and efficient implementation were immediately provided. That plan which came to be known as the Marshall Plan or European Recovery Plan saw Europe and its devastated economies being rebuilt and restored at record speed through contributions from the rest of the world, the key contributor being the United States of America ("US"). Worth noting is that not only was hunger defeated, but a worthy social life was restored and democracy anchoring institutions rebuilt. In the end, the sense of rage that would have followed among those left destitute by the war was averted.

A similar rebuilding endeavour did not follow the decolonisation of Africa. In South Africa, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission ("TRC") process and the Reconstruction and Development Programme ("RDP") were initiated under President Mandela's leadership, to help the country deal with the lasting socio-economic impact of apartheid violence and its race and gender-based social deprivation. These interventions sought to heal the divisions of the past and accordingly, establish the solid ground necessary to anchor sustainable democracy, the rule of law and peace. Unfortunately, the TRC process was not taken to its ultimate conclusion and in so far as reparations as part of justice were concerned, the handful of families that got something, received US$2000 per family, which did not do much to place them as close as possible to where they would have been, but for the police or state brutality, they or their loved ones suffered. Not much has since been done to follow on the TRCs recommendations to complete the healing and restoration process.

The RDP programme, whose major aim was to drive inclusive prosperity while eradicating colonial and apartheid disparities, was aborted within less than a decade ostensibly because it failed to yield intended results regarding reducing unemployment and related socio-economic challenges. In its preamble, the RDP states:

> "No political democracy can survive and flourish if the mass of our people remain in poverty, without land, without tangible prospects for a better life. Attacking poverty and deprivation must therefore be the first priority of a democratic government."[3]

The Growth and Redistribution Programme ("GEAR"), which replaced the RDP, did not yield the promised stellar results either and after much controversy, primarily characterised by labour union rejection, GEAR ceased to be a point of reference without a formal announcement of its abandonment. The Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa ("AsgiSA"), published in 2006, followed GEAR, but was also abandoned shortly thereafter.

The NDP entered the poverty and inequality combating arena with much fanfare and hope in 2010. The NDP, which was developed by a permanent National Planning Commission, proclaims that it seeks

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[3] The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP): A policy framework (1994).

"to eliminate poverty and reduce inequality by 2030" and continues to state that "South Africa can realise these goals by drawing on the energies of its people, growing an inclusive economy, building capabilities, enhancing the capacity of the state, and promoting leadership and partnerships throughout society".[4]

But the most recent poverty and inequality statistics from Stats SA do not show much of a needle moving because of the NDP, which is in its 7th year of implementation. According to Stats SA, little more than half of the slightly over 56 million people of South Africa live in poverty. Worse still, about two-thirds of those classified by law as African live in poverty compared to the 1% of those classified as white.[5] Statistics further show that poverty and inequality have been growing in recent years and that poor families such as Palesa Musa's are likely to be trapped in generations of poverty with no social mobility.

Those most vulnerable to poverty, hunger and malnutrition, according to the Stats SA Poverty Map of 2018, are children, particularly in child-headed households, women, black people, persons with disabilities and communities living in the Limpopo and Eastern Cape provinces. Similar disparities can be seen in income, asset distribution, and education outcomes.[6] It is worth noting that service protests flare up more frequently in very poor communities and that in such communities they tend to go hand in hand with violence and the looting of nearby businesses.

One of the defects in policy design and monitoring is the paucity of use of sufficiently disaggregated data in planning to predict the future and monitor the impact of policy implementation. This can be seen in the 2018 poverty map which is not sufficiently disaggregated by race despite the major pressing equality challenge namely, addressing the lingering shadow of apartheid and colonial dispossession, oppression, and exclusion. The data is further inadequately disaggregated to show the true picture of inequality and poverty in some of the 4 392 wards within affluent districts. This is in contrast with the systemic approach adopted in resolving the poor white problem following the Carnegie Commission Report of 1932.[7] It also flies in the face of the differentiation that transformative constitutionalism dictates for disrupting the hierarchical racial, gender and other legacy unequal relations as pronounced by the Constitutional Court in cases such as *Minister of Finance v Van Heerden*[8] and *Brink v Kitshoff*.[9] *In Van Heerden,* Moseneke DCJ states:

> "In this fundamental way, our Constitution differs from other constitutions which assume that all are equal and in so doing simply entrench existing inequalities. Our Constitution recognises that decades of systematic racial discrimination entrenched

[4] National Development Plan, 2010.
[5] Statistics SA 2018.
[6] M Mdlejyana "Policy incoherence, a function of ideological contestations" in U Pillay, G Hagg, F Nyamnjoh & JD Jansen (eds) *State of The Nation: South* Africa 2012-2013 (2013) 51-71.
[7] S Terblanche *The History of Inequality in South Africa 1952-2002* (2002).
[8] *Minister of Finance v Van Heerden* 2004 6 SA 121 (CC).
[9] *Brink v Kitshoff NO* 1996 4 SA 197 (CC).

by the apartheid legal order cannot be eliminated without positive action being taken to achieve that result. We are required to do more than that. The effects of discrimination may continue indefinitely unless there is a commitment to end it."

The Social Justice M-Plan is Marshall-Plan like social justice acceleration programme, aimed at fostering inclusive development and national unity to advance social justice while anchoring and safeguarding constitutional democracy. It was named in honour of Palesa Musa, an anti-apartheid activist who, at the tender age of 12, was one of the school children who were arrested and tortured for challenging the apartheid government and yet today she is counted among those who are poor with no assets despite economic efforts.

The M-Plan seeks to accelerate the process of healing the divisions of the past by catalysing the reduction of poverty and inequality in South Africa and beyond by focusing on three (3) key result areas. The M-Plan seeks to provide social justice impact analysis tools and competencies to design laws and policies; leverage civil society and global resources to plug the resource gap, and catalyse monitoring, evaluation and social accountability for policy implementation and public resources usage.

The United Nations and other multilateral institutions, including the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund ("IMF"), have identified extreme poverty and inequality as among key threats to a stable democracy and fuel for conflict and state fragility. Key among global efforts to combat poverty and inequality are the SDGs, a global agenda that is essentially a follow-through to Millennium Development Goals ("MDGS"). The World Bank's stated objective is to end poverty by 2030 and reduce inequality by promoting shared prosperity through fostering income growth of the 40% in the bottom economic rungs of every country. The importance attached to combating poverty and inequality to accelerate economic growth, while safeguarding democracy and peace, is also shared by other global platforms, including the World Economic Forum, which asserts in one of its publications that:

"Inequality is the defining social, political and economic phenomenon of our time. Just 1% of the world's population now holds over 35% of all private wealth, more than the bottom 95% combined. Bad as this may seem, trends suggest that the situation will only get worse."[10]

In South Africa, social injustice in the form of extreme poverty and inequality is among the key factors that stand in the way of consolidating the process of building the united nation envisaged in the Constitution. Building a united nation where everyone's potential is freed and life improved is at the core of the constitutional promise for a new South Africa. It is the essence of the dream that powered the

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[10] World Economic Forum- 05-06-2017.

actions of the architects of post-apartheid South Africa, among whom is the iconic Nobel Peace Laureate, Nelson Mandela.

An article by Peter S Goodman in the New York Times of 24 October 2017 declares: "End of Apartheid in South Africa? Not in Economic Terms". It further details persisting disparities along racial lines and a combination of race and factors such as gender and class. The article comes in the wake of a toxic, racially-divisive campaign that was run by a United Kingdom, Public Relations company as a classic dead cat strategy to sabotage an investigation into allegations of grand corruption referred to as state capture.

A key lesson learnt from the campaign, which was eventually defeated by collective action, was that the fact that poverty and inequality persist principally along the contours of apartheid is a key factor that undermines the process of consolidating the healing of the divisions of the past. According to Stats SA, more than half of the 56 million people of South Africa live in poverty while a third is trapped in extreme poverty.

This is despite a Constitution that entrenches social justice, with the achievement of equality specifically entrenched as one of the founding values in section 1 of the Constitution, in addition to a preamble that promises everyone a freed potential and improved quality of life.

The MDGS and SDGs have not dented these social challenges significantly either. This social injustice, which primarily mirrors the contours of past legalised racial, gender and disability discrimination, is contributing to increasing racial and gender polarisation. As long as there is injustice somewhere there can never be sustainable peace anywhere. The systemic inequality is also hampering the country's economic development, as a critical component of its human capital remains shackled. This creates a situation of structural inefficiency that hampers economic and social development for the entire country.

The Constitution entrenches the right to equality, which includes the prohibition of direct and indirect discrimination and the possibility of adopting positive measures to redress systemic disparities that are the legacy of past legalised injustices. Section 7(2) of the Constitution further enjoins the state to "respect, protect and promote and fulfil the rights in the Bill of Rights". This read with section 9 and the commitment to advance social justice and achieve equality as a founding value, clearly imposes a duty to advance equality, which duty should have been at the heart of policy design and implementation since the adoption of the Constitution. If we take section 237 of the Constitution into account, the duty to advance equality should, together with other constitutional obligations, trump any optional considerations in policy design and implementation.

Various laws have been passed to prevent discrimination in all areas of life since the dawn of democracy. Among these are the Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998, Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act, 53 of 2003 ("BBBEE Act") and the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act, 4 of 2000 ("PEPUDA"). These laws provide for positive measures for black people, women, and

persons with disabilities to redress historical race, gender and disability disparities and promote inclusivity. The most recent Employment Equity Report, the 17th, shows stagnant employment equity progress. The BBBEE Act has not significantly equalised fortunes either, in addition to being criticised for focusing on political empowerment as opposed to genuine broad-based black economic inclusion. It has further been criticised for reinforcing rather than disrupting historical racial and gendered structural inequalities in the mainstream economy.

Nearly two decades since the enactment of PEPUDA, Chapter 5 – which is the only part that deals with the identification and systematic eradication of inequality – has not been implemented. As a result, systemic racial, gender and disability disparities remain glaring in education, health, the legal system and property rights, including land, social life and economic inclusion, among others. There is growing racial polarisation, violence, particularly gender-based violence and scepticism about democracy.[11] New social spaces, such as the digital economy also show similar racialised and gendered exclusions, as well as disability exclusion due to the interplay of accumulated social and economic advantages and disadvantages as a result of past laws legalising land dispossession, job reservation, denial of property rights, unequal access to social amenities, and so forth.[12]

Except for provisions in the NDP, which would make an impact if mainstreamed, poverty and inequality-combating interventions appear not to adopt a systems approach, which appreciates that inequalities feed on each other leading to exponential growth and gap widening. For example, to access finance for business start-ups or growth requires collateral, usually in the form of immovable property, while land and related ownership remains racialised and gendered due to land dispossession laws and slow land reform processes. Health, poverty, and inequality are also linked. For example, poor people end up losing jobs or their micro or small businesses because of poor health or poor access to health services while some, mostly women, are trapped in caregiving for family members, due to inadequacy of government services. There is also seemingly no concerted state-sponsored effort to deal with the impoverishing impact of marginalisation on grounds such as sexual orientation, age, ethnicity, political affiliation and national origin, among others.

Inequality and poverty are further compounded by generic laws and policies that do not consider pre-existing disparities, with the unintended consequence of exacerbating poverty and inequality. An example in this regard is a decision by universities and some of the basic education departments in provinces to digitalise applications and registration. This good-intentioned development has the impact of leaving behind many poor people who already are in the margins of society. For example, many grandmothers looking

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[11] See T Madonsela and other essays in S Smith (ed) *Confronting inequality: The South African* Crisis (2018).
[12] See C Heyns, J van Der Westhuizen & T Mayimele Hashatse (eds) *Discrimination and the Law in South Africa* (1994) and *Daniels v Scribante and Another* 2017 4 SA 341 (CC).

after orphans living with HIV/AIDS have no access to the Internet. Even those who do, the digital literacy in South Africa is very low even among the middle class or white-collar workers. The situation is worse among blue-collar workers and unemployed people. Government services are also increasingly shifting towards e-governance, with the impact of leaving many behind. According to SES Digital, only 30% of the African population has access to the Internet, while the global average is said to be 50%.[13]

The M-Plan presents an opportunity for a partnership toward accelerating the achievement of the constitutional promise. It is designed in the spirit of the Constitutional Court's Cameron J's comments that:

> "The Constitution affords us a pathway to healing and integration. It offers our country what law in my lifetime has offered to me. If offers us a framework within which to repair our country, restore, redress and reconcile. It is up to us to claim the opportunities it offers."[14]

The M-Plan has four dimensions or key result areas. To:

1. enhance the state's capacity to pass and review laws to accelerate the reduction of poverty and inequality thus arresting the increasing racial polarisation due to persisting structural inequality, primarily on the grounds of race, gender and disability and other forms of human diversity;
2. mobilise societal and corporate resources to contribute more meaningfully towards the accelerated reduction of poverty and inequality;
3. foster social accountability by leveraging the people as the eyes and ears of government and employ more digital technology and data to advance accountability for implementation of all government policy aimed at reducing poverty and inequality; and
4. leverage international relations to promote support for the M-Plan through measures that include repatriating illicitly siphoned public funds in offshore accounts.

Stakeholder management

Stellenbosch University, which has established a Chair of Social Justice, is the main Project Stakeholder. Government, particularly the Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation, the South African Local Government Association and civil society, are key stakeholders. University counterparts such as the Harvard Advanced Leadership Initiative and local universities are to be implementing partners.

[13] SES CEO's presentation at the SES Industry Days Conference (iDConference) in Cape Town on 06 November 2017.
[14] E Cameron *Justice: A Personal Account* (2012) 284.

Government, lawyers, courts, political parties, lawyer's associations, academics, students, worker unions, business, human rights CSOs, faith communities, media, the general public, particularly groupings of systematically discriminated groups and the international community, particularly global social justice networks and multilateral bodies involved in equality and antidiscrimination work, particularly the African Union, UN Global Compact, World Bank, World Economic Forum and the UN Sustainable Development Goals Driver are all key stakeholders that have been consulted about and fully support the M-Plan.

The process of approaching the university, Business Leadership South Africa, key players in Corporate South Africa and applicable multilateral institutions, has already commenced. The response has been very positive.

Young people and women have been particularly targeted not only as vulnerable groups regarding poverty and inequality but also because of their enormous potential to play a meaningful role in healing the division of the past. Already three special Democracy Dialogues have been held with them in Johannesburg and Pretoria on 16 June and 9 August 2017, focusing on socio-economic inclusion and healing the divisions of the past as part of deepening and making democracy work sustainably. They endorsed the idea of the M-Plan resoundingly. The name M-Plan incidentally came from the August 2009 intergenerational women's Democracy Dialogue on *Healing the divisions of the Past.* The idea was that the plan should help people like Palesa become full and functional citizens in the new democracy. The participants, particularly the millennials from all walks of life, including colour, gender, class and political affiliation, were deeply moved when Palesa Musa said:

> "During apartheid the pass laws were the barrier that limited your freedom. Today it is poverty that limits our movement. Poverty is today's pass that sets limits on what I can and cannot do and how high my children can rise in the social structure."

The events were facilitated by the Thuli Madonsela Foundation (Thuma Foundation), a recently established democracy leadership empowerment social enterprise that seeks to foster sustainable peace by empowering the people to engage meaningfully with and shape democracy to make democracy work for all.

This moved the participants to adopt a declaration, the Constitution Hill Declaration which provides an elementary framework for the M-Plan. Many of the stakeholders will be further engaged collectively on the M-Plan during a Democracy Festival Scheduled to take place at Constitution Hill where the Constitutional Court is housed, on 9 November 2017.

Strategy for potential resistance

Possible resistance scenarios include business being concerned that more is expected of it with the possibility of increasingly being used as a scapegoat for government failures, including corruption, and being held responsible for failing to significantly reduce the legacy of poverty and inequality. Some business and community opinion makers might resist the plan on the grounds that it will exacerbate an already problematic culture of dependency and a sense of entitlement. Part of the selling point to business is an appreciation of the fact that if civil society does not step in to ensure there is a collectively informed transparent approach to socio-economic inclusion, nefarious plans may be put on the table with the impact of further derailing true socio-economic inclusion while contributing to the investor trust deficit that is emerging.

Some in government may see the initiative as a competitor to the NDP and related initiatives. Those peddling the White Monopoly Capital scapegoat and Radical Economic Transformation panacea, on the other hand, may not want any transparent socially accountable plan as that could expose the poverty of their dead cat narrative. That narrative has not been reduced to a plan that can be publicly scrutinised nor has it been democratically designed, as there have not been any public consultations on it.

In anticipation of the resistance and to maximise buy-in and ownership by key stakeholder groupings, Social Justice Champions are being identified among influencers in business and the community. The idea is to rely on them to influence their peers and to enrich and defend the M-Plan as a necessary and viable idea. The champions include influencers outside South Africa who will vouch for the necessity and efficacy of the M-Plan. A core group of the influencers will form a council responsible for mobilising and managing the resources mobilised from the public through various means, including digital retail technologies. Business as a key role player is being sensitised to appreciate that the plan seeks to help people help themselves and not to encourage dependency.

Elements within government may be further concerned that the process seeks to expose governance inadequacies regarding the advancement of social justice in addition to competing with the NDP. Tactical approaches are already in place to allay fears in this regard. Discussions have already commenced with the Gauteng government and an opportunity is on the horizon to broach the subject with the Treasury at a jobs summit gathering at which I am scheduled to present a keynote address. The clarification will also seek to ensure the M-Plan is not seen as competing with the National Development Plan and is embraced as complementary to the NDP, whose provisions are rather broad and not specific on how poverty and inequality will be reduced, in specific communities.

Global players, particularly opinion makers in the continent might also have their own reservations about one country deeming itself a Messiah, among other things. Consultations are already in place to

elicit views and clarify that each country will have to do its own M or similar plan but the idea is to trigger the process and assist with viable tools.

Stellenbosch University might be hesitant and consider the M-Plan as being too big. Already a wise and respectable Harvard Kennedy School Professor has cautioned against taking on something that is too enormous to be achieved. The M-Plan is indeed enormous. But it is an idea whose time has come. The theory of change behind the plan is that time is running out to prevent poverty and inequality from derailing South Africa's march along the path of inclusive democracy it chose for itself. Extreme poverty and inequality not only undermine the process of consolidating the healing of the divisions of the past, they further undermine substantive democracy in that the poor remain vulnerable to being bought by politicians with welfare services and monies looted from the public coffers. This undermines the formation of the constitution of a united front that is necessary for a resolute "Operation Overload"[15] against the corrupt forces that are threatening to derail constitutional democracy and ultimately peace.

The incremental approach seeks to facilitate manageability. Furthermore, to support the initiative a Transnational Think Tank with academic and other social justice activists from South Africa (Wits, Stellenbosch, Harvard, Oxford and independents) is in the process of being established. Members of a smaller steering committee are in the process of being confirmed. Women, young people, and businesspeople have been positively receptive to the idea and will continue to be leaned on as influencers and shapers of the conversation that will lead to a fully-fledged plan. Many business and professional women already undertook to host conversations on socio-economic inclusion.

Project Piloting

The social justice law and policy impact analysis aspect of the pilot project will initially be piloted in education and ICT sectors for 18 months. As part of that process, the laws whose impact will be assessed will be PEPUDA and the BBBEE Act.

- M-Plan to expand to all sectors and all municipalities (4392 wards) within 5 years.
- The rest of the M-Plan will be scaled to the rest of Africa within 10 years.

Process and Impact Indicators

Phase I: Project conception and scoping

[15] "Operation Overload" was the pseudonym given to the total onslaught operation that saw the Nazis being defeated bringing an end to the Second World War.

- Literature review on social justice in South Africa and beyond (ongoing research) **by the end of February 2019.**

- Review social justice provisions of the Constitution and NDP by the **end of February 2019.**

- Drafting a concept paper on accelerating the achievement of social justice in South Africa through law and policy impact assessment empowerment.

- Identification and evaluation of current initiatives aimed at fostering social justice in South Africa and beyond, including multilateral level initiatives at SADC, AU and UN Levels **by March 2019.**

- Review concept paper in the light of feedback **by February 2019.**

- Development of Integrated Project Plan.

- The digitalisation of Project Plan for efficient and effective implementation **by end of Feb 2019.**

Phase 2: Project Initiation and Establishment of Coordination Structures

- Stakeholder Mapping achieved by **2018.**

- Consultation of Strategic Stakeholders.

- Small Steering Committee members selected and appointed from South Africa **by March 2019.**

- Business, Community, Government and Global Influences identified, approached and appointed as M-Plan Champions and members of Social Justice Think Tank with four initial thematic committees (I Government Policy and Planning Capacitation; II Community and corporate Resource Mobilisation; III Social Accountability Empowerment and IV Global Support Mobilisation).

- Structural Review by end of December 2018.

Phase 3: Research and Public Consultations

- Poverty and Inequality Experts Roundtable by **27 October 2018.**

- Poverty and inequality database for selected South African Sectors (Education, Child Wellbeing, Economic Inclusion and Digital Connectivity) **to be completed by November 2019.**[16]

- Poverty, inequality and social cohesion perceptions survey **by April 2019 and thereafter annually.**

- Social Justice M-Plan Design Round Table **by August 2019.**

- Social Justice M-Plan Summit and finalised preliminary M-Plan by **September 2019.**

- Comprehensive National Poverty and Inequality Report, identifying causes and influencing factors and covering and giving specifics of every municipal ward finalised by June 2019.

[16] Priority to be given to children, women, black people and persons with disabilities in the light of revelations in 2015 National Poverty Report as released by Stats SA in July 2017.

- Social Justice M-Plan Revised by **October 2019** and to incorporate goals for 4392 municipalities.

Phase 3: Social Justice M-Plan Pilot Phase Implementation

Capacity Building for Legal and Policy Impact Assessment
- Social justice Impact Assessment of specialised equality legislation (Equality Act, Disability Policy, BBBEE Act) by June 2019
- Social justice Impact Assessment of Preferential Procurement Policy Framework Act by June 2019
- Social justice Impact Assessment of Disability Policy by October 2019
- Social justice Impact Assessment of general basic education laws and policies by December 2019
- Social justice Impact Assessment of ICT, particularly digitalisation policies by June December 2019
- Social Justice Impact of Health Services Laws and Policies by December 2019

Community and Corporate Resources Mobilisation
- Council of Champions established by November 2018
- A R3milion budget for a 3-person full-time Research and Coordination Secretariat secured by September 2018
- Research and consultations on appropriate crowdfunding avenues designed and executed by October 2018
- Framework for resource mobilisation designed and adopted by November 2018
- At least R560million mobilised for poverty and inequality reduction initiatives by August 2019 and R5.6billion by June 2020 and R56 billion annually by 2027
- Number of micro and small enterprises started
- Number of students financially and socio-psychologically assisted
- Number of schools provided with infrastructure

Social accountability
- Scoping of existing social accountability initiatives on social justice, their impact on social justice, SDGs and NDP goals on poverty and inequality and gaps finalised by October 2018
- Integrated Social accountability Programme to address the gaps, while strengthening synergies in the identified sectors designed and implemented in collaboration with the World Bank
- Young people encouraged and empowered to design technological innovations to expedite transparency in state programmes aimed at poverty and inequality reduction and enhance community

oversight over those including litigation when constructive engagement fail. At least one app designed by 2019 and annual reports on progress monitoring results in selected sectors

- Percentage improvement in the number of institutions with strategic plans that integrate NDP and SDG Goals on poverty and inequality with annual targets and milestones

Global support mobilisation

- A strategy to reach out to friends of South Africa to participate in the resource mobilisation for social justice – designed and implemented by November 2018[17]
- All research outputs and data on illicit capital transfers and work being done to address the problem compiled by October 2018
- Strategy to support work aimed at arresting illicit capital transfers and repatriate already siphoned funds completed by November 2018

<u>**Scaling**</u>

Capacity Building for Social Justice Impact Assessment of Law and Policy (2020 onwards)

- Evaluation of project impact and veracity of theoretical assumptions and theory of change by June 2010
- Review and redesign of social justice impact instruments, project structure and all aspects that need adjustment based on lessons learned by December 2020
- Various apps built for Social Justice Impact Assessment of Laws and Policies
- Scaling of the project to all levels of government and all sectors by January 2021
- Feasibility study on prospects for empowering academic institutions in the rest of Africa to conduct similar interventions conducted by October 2021
- Training designed and provided on social impact analysis by January 2022

Community and corporate resources mobilisation

- Systematised digital collection of donations through retail outlets and other digital opportunities
- Number of similar initiatives in other African countries
- No child unable to study simply due to financial reasons
- Number of business started, grown, and sustained

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[17] The idea of a Marshal Plan for South Africa was first suggested by an English former anti-apartheid activist at the Saltsburg seminar in response to an Annual Saltsburg Lecture presented by Thuli Madonsela in May 2017.

Social accountability

- Annual social justice barometer
- Number of laws reviewed and changed to align with social justice objectives
- Number of community social justice reports from Community Ambassadors
- Percentage of distribution of state contracts by political affiliation and other factors
- Percentage decrease in violent protests
- Global support mobilisation
- Number of countries that have pledged support for process

Monitoring and review

- Project to report to University via normal accountability channels
- Annual reports, written and submitted to all key stakeholder groupings
- Number of references to project work in media, including social media and other platforms
- Annual conference to keep track of progress
- Formal project review by an independent agent every third year

The Social Justice M-Plan is undoubtedly an enormous and intimidating leap into uncharted territory. Those who have expressed concerns about the scale have a valid point. However, history has shown that things shift significantly when a person or group dare to assign themselves a ground-breaking challenge with enormous prospects for both epic success in changing lives and dismal failure. That is the kind of challenge that President Truman and General Marshall assigned themselves. It is a humble portion of the risk that leaders such as South Africa's Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo undertook or that Lillian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph, Rahina Moosa and Sophia Williams braved when they organised a march, attended by 20 000 women, on the Union Buildings on August 09 1956, to protest a planned further curtailment of black women's freedoms and the oppression of others. The *status quo* is bound to undermine the stability of democracy and may ultimately contribute to state fragility. It will be challenging to implement the M-Plan but it has the seeds of making an enormous difference and being a midwife for the future Steve Biko had in mind when he said: "In time we shall be in a position to bestow on South Africa the greatest possible gift, a human face …"[18]

[18] Quoted in M Ka Jama *To Whom Much is Given* (2015) 11.