

THE RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIAL POLICY AND PUBLIC DIPLOMACY: BLACK ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT STRATEGY AND TURKEY-SOUTH AFRICA RELATIONS

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Sosyal Politika ve Kamu Diplomasisi İlişkisi: Siyah Ekonomik Güçlendirme Stratejisi ve Türkiye-Güney Afrika İlişkileri

ABSTRACT

Geçmiş 19. Yüzyılın başlarına kadar giden Türkiye-Güney Afrika İlişkileri, 2000 sonrası dönemde yeniden gelişme sürecine girmiştir. Türkiye ve Güney Afrika birbirini ekonomik ve siyasi yönden destekleme potansiyeline sahip iki ülke olmakla birlikte ilişkiler istenilen düzeyde değildir. Türkiye bu yeni dönemde geçmiş yıllardan farklı olarak dış politikada Afrika açılımı çerçevesinde iki ülke ilişkilerinde kamu diplomasisi araçlarını yoğun biçimde kullanmaktadır. Güney Afrika'nın geçmişten gelen eşitsiz toplum yapısını değiştirmeye yönelik politikaları ve bu politikaların istenilen performansı gösterememesi iki ülke ilişkilerinde Türkiye tarafından uygulanabilecek kamu diplomasisi için uygun hatta gereklilik doğuran bir alan olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu nedenle Türkiye'nin Güney Afrika'nın 1994 yılından bu yana uyguladığı siyah ekonomik güçlendirme politikalarını, bu politikalarla ilgili sorunları anlaması ve bu sorunlara yönelik uygun kamu diplomasisi araçları geliştirmesinin iki ülke arasındaki ilişkilerin gelişmesine katkı sağlayacağı düşünülmektedir.

Keywords: Siyah Ekonomik Güçlendirme, Kamu Diplomasisi, Türkiye-Güney Afrika İlişkileri, Sosyal Politika, Afrika.

The Relationship Of Social Policy And Public Diplomacy: Black Economic Empowerment Strategy And Turkey-South Africa Relations

ABSTRACT*

Turkey- South Africa relations that the history goes to back the beginning of the 19th century, enter into the process of development again in the post of 2000 period. Turkey and South Africa are two countries which have the potential to support each other economically and politically but their relations are not the desired level. Turkey intensively uses the public diplomacy facilities in relations the two countries within the scope of Africa initiative in foreign policy as different previous years in this new period. The South Africa Policies which change the unequal social structure from the past and the failure of these policies to show the desired performance emerge as an appropriate and even necessary field for public diplomacy that can be implemented by Turkey in the relations between the two countries. Therefore, it is considered that of Turkey Turkey's understanding of the black economic empowerment policies of South Africa since 1994, the problems related to these policies and the development of appropriate public diplomacy tools for these problems will contribute to the development of relations between the two countries.

Keywords: Black Economic Empowerment, Public Diplomacy, Turkey-South Africa Relations, Social Policy, Africa.

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Introduction

The bilateral relations that started between Turkey-South Africa at the beginning of the early 19th century it has experienced a continuous process of transformation and reformation due to the radical changes in the political and economic conditions of the two countries during the two centuries that passed.

Turkey-South Africa relations enter into the new restoration process in consequence of changing in South African foreign policy with the official falling down of the Apartheid regime in 1994 and the more liberal policy of the justice and development party government and its special approach towards Africa in international relations in 2002.

Turkey and South Africa are two countries which support and complement each other in economic and political matter, however the communication and relation between these two countries developed slowly due to the problems in the past, especially it is developed slowly in terms of Turkey. The reason is that lack of communication of Turkey.

Turkey has started to use public diplomacy facilities intensively along side of traditional diplomacy facilities in the relations it wants to redevelop with South Africa in 2000s years. This situation can also be seen as a step towards establishing a relationship focused on solidarity and cooperation, instead of the interest-oriented relationship that was maintained in the period until the collapse of the Ottoman Empire after long time. Both the two countries has the discourse of "the world is bigger than five" in the international relations. This discourse and their support for the freedom of Palestine in their foreign policy approach, both of them being societies that have fought against the imperialists in the historical past, both of them taking place in the G20 economic basket and sociologically multicultural structures are the features which complement each other. Sub Saharan Africa is in one up position for reach the other parts of Africa for Turkey, due to the dominance of South Africa in its region, its priorities in regional organizations, and its geopolitical and geostrategic position. The membership of Africa to the BRICS and being one of the non permanent/ temporary member states of the UN Security Council offers important opportunities for Turkey.

There are realities as all countries have mutual advantages and weaknesses, which determine the need of two countries for each other between Turkey and South Africa in international relationships. The discriminatory-racist policies that took place in South Africa's past but shaped its current socio-economic structure is one of them. The discriminatory policies which is implemented by the European colonialists in South Africa caused the black indigenous population to remain in an economically disadvantaged position, and these inequalities were tried to be eliminated during the democratic regime that started with the Blacks taking over the government in 1994. The policies implemented for this purpose are called Black Economic Empowerment.

It is necessary that come up with a brief explanation about economic empowerment for the listener and reader outside the field of social policy due to the interdisciplinary nature of the study. Economic empowerment is a conception for the more specific and narrow form of social empowerment in general. The Social strengthening fact that starting with the African-Afroamerican Civil Rights Movement of ideological background can be defined as process of social action that aimed at improving the skills and capacities of disadvantaged individuals, groups and communities in order to improve their quality of life, have control over their own lives and be self sufficient. In this manner,

the economic improvement can be defined as policies for the disadvantaged groups to have financial, human and social capital resources that will enable them to participate in economic processes.

It is aimed that participation for blacks to in economic life in proportion to their population, as in politics with the economic empowerment programs implemented since 1994. However, it has not been reached to the desired targets. Although the Black Economic Empowerment Strategy was aimed at achieving the goals that the black population's century old liberation movement at last, unfortunately, the failure to achieve the aims has created great disappointment in the black community. Because the political power gained without economic power has created new social and political problems so it has not completely ended South Africa's economic dependence on the white population.

For this reason, Turkey's understanding of the problems South Africa and developing appropriate public diplomacy tools for them, will contribute to the development of relations between the two countries. The study aims to make an interdisciplinary contribution by making use of the comparative social policy field which has emerged as a new field of social science (May, 2011:543-544).

About Turkey-South Africa Relations

The case history of Turkey and South Africa Relations started in the form of commercial relationship between the British Empire and the Ottoman Empire in the first half of the 19th century it is also acquired diplomatic qualification in 1950s. The people of the region helped Turkey in the last wars of the Ottoman Empire and the War of Independence due to the support of the Ottoman Empire to the Muslims in the region. The result of the abolition of the caliphate during the Republic of Turkey, the relationships between the two countries have dropped to almost non-existent levels in consequence of decreasing in the interest of the Muslims, racist policies of South Africa, and Turkey's introverted policy. In result of the neoliberal economic policies which were implemented to get rid of the economic bottleneck in the post of 1980 period, Turkey has developed a relationship with the apartheid regime on the basis of economic interests, regardless of the current international relationships. This situation was one of the reasons for the negative starting of post Apartheid relationships (Bilgin ve Karaman, 2020:257-261).

Turkey and South Africa have complementary potentials in bilateral and multilateral relations. Because of this, there has been a tendency to improve relationships between the two countries in the 1990s (Bilgin ve Karaman, 2020:255).

The steps were taken to improve relations between the two countries and a new era, which is considered as a period of restoration in relations (Bilgin ve Karaman, 2020:269), began as a part of Turkey's proactive strategy to improve its relations with African countries in 2005 years (Orakçı, 2018:161,168). Nevertheless, the problems between the two countries due to unknowing each other and lack of information have reflected on the relationships and have led to the slow development of relationships until recently (Bilgin ve Karaman, 2020:256).

The South African government acts more slowly in this new process which Turkey started in 2005 the development of relationships remains below the desired and potential level (Bilgin ve Karaman, 2020:256). The manipulation of South African politics and public opinion by marginal segments has a share in the formation of this situation. At this point this explanation should be made: nominately, it is subject that the PKK wanted to use South Africa as a support zone for itself before and today it is the case that FETO tries to use this country as an area of undertaking. South Africa is so sensitive

about its government and society based upon the colonial and discrimination experiences in their past. It is one of the requirements of keeping the relations between the two countries warm that its stance, which supports all segments of the society, is open to manipulation and abuse by organizations such as the PKK and FETO by creating unrealistic public opinion. Turkey has had a comprehensive strategy in almost every field particularly the tools of public diplomacy by increasing the interest to Africa in the new period. While trying to develop relations with mutual high-level visits, Turkey has started to use public diplomacy tools besides classical diplomacy tools. First of all, the Yunus Emre Institute in the context of cultural diplomacy, then TIKA as a technical assistance organization, and then the Turkish Maarif Foundation in the field of education started its activities in South Africa in this context (Bilgin ve Karaman, 2020:272).

The Formation Process of Inequality in South Africa

The indigenous black people of South Africa have been subjected to political, economic and social discrimination and exploitation since the 1800s. The Apartheid Regime started in 1948 years, and both institutionalized the previous colonial and post-colonial policies with stricter laws and expanded their scope (Öztürk, 2020:4027). The black population, who was excluded from economic and social life with the laws enacted from the fields of land, trade, circulation, employment and education before and after 1948, and became deprived of all kinds of material and human capital over time (Öztürk, 2014: 128-130). The black peoples, who started a freedom movement against this discrimination and exploitation systematically since the early 1900s, were victorious against the Apartheid regime with the supporting of the international community, and the African National Congress ANC came to power in 1994 with the first democratic elections (Öztürk, 2020:4028).

The Implementation of the Black Economic Empowerment Strategy

The black government's first job which aiming to balance economic power and create a just society by providing blacks with access and property rights to factors of production, was to implement the Black Economic Empowerment strategy under the name of the Reconstruction and Development Program in 1994. This program, which was quite radical for white capital and was not fully implemented, was replaced by the Growth Employment and Redistribution Program in 1996, which was in line with more moderate and liberal policies (Öztürk, 2014: 132).

It has been argued that black economic empowerment practices should be reconsidered after 1997, as the first generation empowerment practices focusing on property ownership in the narrow sense could not achieve the desired transformation except for the enrichment of an elite black minority and the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment strategy, which does not only focus on property transfer, but also focuses on human resources and human capital development and business development, was adopted with the law enacted in 2003 years (Öztürk, 2014: 135-137).

According to the law, the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment means that “the economic empowerment of all black people through a variety of but integrated socio-economic strategies, including but not limited to:

- Increasing the number of the blacks who run, own and control businesses and productive assets;
- facilitating the ownership and management of businesses and productive assets by communities, workers, cooperatives and other collective enterprises;
- development of the human resources and skills;

-ensuring fair representation of all occupational categories and levels (sections of society) in the workforce;

-The investment in the businesses owned or managed by black people and preferential purchasing” (Öztürk & Jarbandhan, 2020:3).

The Land Reform initiatives should also be evaluated within the scope of economic empowerment, even implemented as a separate category (Öztürk, 2014: 139).

The Performance Evaluation of the Black Economic Empowerment Strategy

The evaluations which made by taking into account different performance criteria show that the Black Economic Empowerment Strategy has not been able to achieve its intended goals at the end of 25 intervening years.

These criteria can be classified as (Öztürk & Jarbandhan, 2020:5-8):

The wealth transfer and ownership black property

Fair representation in employment

Development of small business

Land reform

Education and general social welfare indicators

The Wealth transfer and ownership (including land reform) and development of small business remain areas of least progress. These matters require serious financial effort and great compromise with white capital. The capital gain and equal representation areas in employment are areas which gains are made more easily. On the other hand, performance indicators in these areas are far from the targeted rates.

The biggest problem with businesses operating under Black Economic Empowerment is the difficulty of obtaining good datum. It is stated that less than 20% of transactions are submitted with all necessary documents in the 2019 report. Among the organizations offering B-BBEE credentials with this datum, and the percentage of black people's ownership increased from 48% on an indicator basis to 60% in 2018/2019, while the black voting rights dropped sharply from 46% to 32% (B-BBEE COMMISSION, 2020: 5).

It is shown that the representation rates of occupational positions by population groups on table 1. Accordingly, while whites, who make up % of the population, constitute 65,6% of senior management positions in 2019, blacks, who make up 80% of the population, constitute 15,2% of the senior management. The blacks are represented by 63,2% in technically skilled positions. It should be known that these rates are public and private sector averages, and these rates in the private sector are lower to the detriment of blacks. It should be taken into consideration account that there are also black executives used as showcases in the private sector. The blacks account for 80% of unskilled employment in the private sector, compared to only 1% for whites (RSADL, 2020: 74).

Table 1: Representation Rate of Population Groups in Occupational Positions (%) – Year 2019

Vocational Position	White	African	Black	Asian
Top Management	65,6	15,2	5,6	10,3
Senior Management	53,7	23,5	8	11,4
Qualified Professional	34,7	43,2	10	9,4
Technical Skilled	18,1	63,2	11,6	5,4

Source: RSADL- Republic Of South Africa Department Of Labour, (2020), 20th Commission For Employment Equity Annual Report 2019/20, Pretoria, s. 6

The black economic empowerment seems to have lost its social legitimacy today, on the grounds that the strategy still has not achieved the desired goals and resources are wasted because it only enriches an elite black segment. For this reason, it is widely recommended that programs aimed at creating human capital and employment, rather than programs for property transfer and creating a new capital class, should gain weight in black economic empowerment (Öztürk, 2020:4034).

The Need for Policy to Build Human Capital

In South Africa, where unemployment is structural, the unemployment rate did not fall below 20%, but approached the level of 30%. The unemployment is largely originated low education-skilling, which reduces the employability of the workforce (Duval, Shibata & Ji, 2021: 5-6).

The black population maintains its most disadvantaged position in education outcomes, as in income and wealth distribution inequality (Vally, 2019). Especially the fact that there is a hidden market system in education in the country shapes this situation.

Therefore, improving the quality and efficiency of formal education, apprenticeship and vocational education programs and making them more inclusive are issues that will contribute to the employability of the workforce (Duval, Shibata & Ji, 2021: 25).

The low quality of education originated the insufficient infrastructure, quantitative and qualitative inadequacies of teachers, and regional inequalities in resource distribution. In this manner, the trainings which aimed at closing the personnel gap are among the necessary areas to improve the quality of vocational education Duval, Shibata & Ji, 2021: 26; Field, Musset & Álvarez-Galván 2014:12; Draper, Hofmeyr & Johnston, 2017:1).

The main active labor market programs to increase employment in South Africa are (Duval, Shibata & Ji, 2021: 29):

Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP): It is provided that temporary job opportunities for young people in the public sector with this programme.

National Youth Service Program (NYSP): It is aimed to develop the personal and habits of young people through technical and on the job training for one year in this programme.

Youth Employment Service (YES): It is aimed to create one year paid employment areas for young people by collaborating with the private sector with this programme.

The programmes which become existing active labor market can be operation about educate trainers for these programmes and made to Exchange by examining mutually.

The bilateral exchange programs signed with other countries by the National Youth Development Agency, the executive of the National Youth Service Program, have a potential to develop public diplomacy between Turkey and South Africa. (<http://www.nyda.gov.za/Products-Services/National-Youth-Services-Programme>).

There is also teacher shortage in numerical fields in formal education (Hofmeyr & Draper, 2015:25). so It can also be seen as a potential field for public diplomacy the cooperation to train teachers in these fields

Conclusion

On the basis of good-willed strategic partnership (Orakçı, 2018: 169), the use of public diplomacy in international relations, based on the principles of mutual aid and solidarity, increases the importance of fields such as comparative social policy. In this context, current analyzes on South Africa's social problems will be useful in enriching and activating public diplomacy tools for Turkey.

At this point, the expectation is not that one country solves another country's problems alone, on the contrary, it is to give the most appropriate support to meet the needs within its own capacity.

The black economic empowerment strategy expresses the desire of the black population in South Africa to getting a fair share of the economic resources welfare monopolized by the predominantly white population. The economic property transfer dimension of this strategy is a matter which can be resolved by the own internal dynamics of the country. On the other hand, the development of human capital stands out as an area which can be the subject of cooperation between the two countries in the field of education and it will make a high contribution to the South African black population and the relations between two countries

Finally, if there is need to be contribution to the field of social policy and international relations, the aim of social policy is to provide social peace. The structural and deep inequalities in South Africa also threaten social peace in the country. Especially the political power (black population) in poverty is destroying the welfare mechanism.

The disturbance of the social peace in the country will be negatively affect Turkey-Africa relations more than the whites in the country. This situation can happen over the two channels. The first is through instability and increased xenophobia; the second is the potential of South Africa's Muslim community to be more affected than the wealthy segments of society of European origin in this environment of instability and chaos. The Muslim population in the country is a strong reference in Turkey and South Africa relations, and if this segment is damaged as a result of the radical politics produced by poverty and social injustice, it will be a loss for Turkey.

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