Towards connecting green economy with informal economy in South Africa: A review and way forward

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The informal economy is a vibrant and growing phenomenon, offering both opportunities and lessons on resilience and innovation. When considering global social, economic and environmental challenges, resilience and innovation are valuable response strategies. The notion of a green economy has similarly inspired a number of ideological, geopolitical and institutional responses, yet a review of the dominant approach indicates the propensity to undervalue or ignore the informal economy. Within the context of sustainable development and poverty eradication, connecting the informal economy with the green economy is imperative. This paper explores possible connections between the green economy and the informal economy in South Africa and argues that by engaging the informal economy in discussions on the green economy, a more informed policy and planning environment may ensue, resulting in more socially equitable and environmentally sustainable development.

- **Keywords**: green jobs; inclusive green economy; green growth; informal economy;
- second economy; South Africa

1. Introduction

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Though difficult to define, the informal economy is visible in different guises ranging from survivalist business activities being run from pavements, pedestrian malls, transport interchanges and homes, to agrarian activities found in both urban and rural areas. The informal economy relates to 'economic activities by workers and economic units that are – in law or in practice – not covered or insufficiently covered by formal arrangements' (ILO, 2003). Various terminologies are used synonymously with the term 'informal economy', including informal sector, second economy, informality and shadow economy (Rogerson, 2007). The informal economy plays an important role in the overall economy of a country. In fact, for many countries across the globe, the informal sector employs more persons than the formal sector (ILO, 2012). For instance, in sub-Saharan Africa, the informal economy accounts for up to 72% of employment, rendering it significant in the context of sustainable development and poverty eradication (Dawa & Kinyanjui, 2012). In Brazil and India, the proportion of persons employed in the informal economy is 42.2% and 83.6% respectively. This is much higher in comparison with South Africa, which is 37.2% (ILO, 2012). However, the sector still plays an important role in the share of employment in various economic activities (ILO, 2012). The importance of the informal economy to the urban and rural poor, and especially to women, is also acknowledged (Chambwera et al., 2011).

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Despite the above benefits, the informal economy poses a number of social, economic, environmental and political challenges worldwide; many of which remain under-unexplored (e.g. Dreher & Schneider, 2010; Buehn & Schneider, 2012). Of particular interest to this paper are the recent discussions on the need to acknowledge

41 the informal economy in the green economy agenda (e.g. Dawa & Kinyanjui, 2012). 42 Solutions need to be found to questions such as: Can the informal economy contribute 43 to a green economy? or Can the green economy be planned in such a way that it will 44 help provide solutions to the challenges that dominate in the informal economy? 45 46 As a starting point to addressing the above questions, the authors undertook a critical 47 literature review to (i) provide a macro perspective and understanding of the green 48 economy landscape; (ii) understand the reality of a green economy in South Africa; 49 (iii) trace various perspectives and approaches to 'managing' the informal economy; 50 and (iv) identify the role and value of the informal economy to sustainable 51 development and a green economy. 52 53 2. Global perspectives and pathways for a green economy 54 The transition to a green economy is well on its way, yet several issues hinder its 55 conceptualisation and implementation (UNDESA, 2014). These issues also impact the 56 realisation of an 'inclusive green economy' and are expanded on in the following 57 section. 58 59 2.1 Issues of divergent definitions and principles 60 The many definitions for 'green economy' are indicative of the myriad of approaches 61 to and perspectives on what should be 'greened' and how that could be done. Initial 62 definitions of the green economy indicated little emphasis on the social dimension of 63 sustainable development (Allen, 2012). To address emerging concerns, the concept 64 was redefined at Rio+20, expanding the concept to 'inclusive green economy' and 'inclusive green growth', whilst situating the green economy 'in the context of sustainable development and poverty eradication' (Allen, 2012).

2.2 Aspects of power and participation

Despite efforts to redefine the green economy, concerns remain as to how the social dimension is interpreted and applied. Cook et al. (2012), for example, problematise narrow interpretations of stakeholder engagement. The green economy is also criticised for generally disregarding, undervaluing or overlooking the informal economy (Dawa & Kinyanjui, 2012).

According to Cook et al. (2012), further contestations about the green economy relate to geopolitical, ideological and disciplinary disparities. Clapp & Dauvergne (2011) identify four leading approaches to the green economy. Cook et al. (2012) expand on these by connecting them to current major transition pathways (see Table 1). These approaches are not necessarily distinct and there are some overlaps. However, the market-liberalist approach championing green growth is recognised as dominating the international stage (Clapp & Dauvergne, 2011).

Table 1: Dominant approaches and transition pathways to a green economy

	Green Growth	Strong Sustainability	Social Economy	Limits to Growth
Worldview	Market liberal	Institutionalist	Social green	Bioenvironmental
Social	Green jobs Social protection for vulnerable groups Equality of opportunity Stakeholder consultation Green consumerism	Global cooperation Redistribution (income) Stronger institutions Inter- and intra- generational equity Capacity building Social dialogue	Redistribution (income, wealth and power) Rights-based Social justice Equality of outcomes Empowerment Citizen action	Radical decrease in consumption and population growth Inclusivity Needs

Environmental	Eco-efficiency Technology transfer Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD)	Eco-regulation Strengthen global governance regimes REDD+	Environmental justice Agro-ecology Grassroots action	Eco-centric valuing of nature for its own sake Enforced regulation of global commons
Economy	Green growth Voluntary Corporate Social Responsibility (CRS) Carbon markets, Payment for Ecosystem Services (PES) Production focused Private governance	North-South trade reform Green finance Green taxes State Governance Clean Development Mechanism (CDM)	De-globalization Localization Institutional reform Regional solidarity	No-growth/de- growth Measures beyond GDP
Indicative organizations	World Trade Organization (WTO), International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD)	UNEP, United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), Global Environment Facility	World Social Forum Third World Network	World Watch Institute, Pachamama

Source: Compilation by Cook et al. (2012) drawing on Clapp and Dauvergne

For Söderbaum (2013), the dominant approach appears problematic, as it is underpinned by neoclassical economics that tend to be intolerant of alternative modes of thinking, thus negating true democracy. Söderbaum (2013) accordingly argues that a broadened dialogue and a 'pluralism of perspectives' are required to confront issues of power and participation.

2.3 Issues with related concepts

The concepts of green economy, green growth and low-carbon development have diverse origins, yet over time their meaning and use have become analogous in economic decision-making and planning (Allen & Clouth, 2012). However, these concepts are contested on several fronts. The first one relates to relying on market

based solutions for the green economy. These have been criticised for reinforcing inequalities and power structures (Smith, 2011; Cook et al., 2012); commodifying the commons and creating corporate capture (Boehnert, 2013); and for creating disincentives for reconfiguring unsustainable production and consumption patterns (Smith, 2011; Cook et al., 2012). The second one relates to certain assumptions underpinning the logic of the green growth approach that are considered to be integrally inadequate and weak (Smith, 2011). Green growth is viewed as a solution to poverty (Allen & Clouth, 2012) and while acknowledging the importance of economic growth for any large-scale poverty reduction, Dercon (2012) warns of the existence of trade-offs that increase social costs. Hence, if not explicitly addressed, green growth may not be good for the poor. Thirdly, is the continued use of gross domestic product (GDP) as measure of progress. Several authors suggest that GDP is an inadequate and inappropriate measure for sustainable development, and therefore should be adjusted, supplemented or replaced (Schepelmann et al., 2010; Daly, 2011; AtKisson, 2013).

2.4 Issues of design, implementation and review

Few nations have created national green economy strategies as many are challenged by institutional capacity, financing and integration issues (Allen, 2012; AtKisson, 2013). Countries that pursue a green economy as prompted by their National Sustainable Development Strategies (NSDS) indicate similar challenges (Allen, 2012).

120 3. The South African green economy perspective 121 South Africa recognises the green economy as a pathway to sustainable development 122 (DEA, 2014). It is party to several international conventions and agreements that are 123 related to sustainable development, and has successfully engaged with multiple 124 international green economy initiatives (Allen, 2012; Montmasson-Clair, 2012). 125 126 At national level, a number of key texts are identified as guiding the development of a 127 green economy in South Africa (Montmasson-Claire, 2012; DEA & UNEP, 2013). 128 There are also a number of sector- and time-specific policies, as well as provincial 129 and local government initiatives and plans that support and complement the South 130 African green economy framework (Montmasson-Claire, 2012; Sustainlabour, 2013; 131 DEA & UNEP, 2013). 132 133 Furthermore, the New Growth Path released in 2010 prioritises the green economy as 134 a 'job-driver' and as including activities that 'must provide an important entry point 135 for broad-based black economic empowerment, addressing the needs of women and 136 youth entrepreneurs and offering opportunities for enterprises in the social economy' 137 (EDD, 2010). 138 This would suggest that South Africa considers the green economy as an opportunity 139 to simultaneously address several socio-economic issues related to poverty, social 140 justice and equality; therefore aiming to achieve an 'inclusive green economy'. The 141 transition to an 'inclusive green economy' in South Africa however presents two main 142 challenges. Firstly, the institutional arrangements regarding the green economy are 143 complex and they involve a range of national and sectoral departments and 144 institutions. The complexity of these arrangements is indicative of the challenges to 145 creating coherent responses to the 'what', 'how' and 'by whom' of the green economy 146 transformation. In particular, the responses tend to be fragmented and uncoordinated 147 (Montmasson-Clair, 2012; Nhamo, 2013), thus calling for efforts to systematically 148 coordinate both horizontal and vertical governance structures. 149 150 Secondly, there are vested interests, power relations and hegemonic regimes involved. 151 Numerous stakeholders influence how the green economy is conceptualised and 152 implemented. These forces and regimes operate at various levels and are influenced 153 by, for instance, internal party politics (Southall, 2010) and the minerals-energy 154 complex (Peter & Swilling, 2011). Such influences ultimately limit the interpretation 155 and implementation of the green economy in South Africa to a narrowly focused, 156 market-liberalist approach. 157 158 Given the above constraints and challenges, there is a need for greater participation in 159 and a wider formulation of what an 'inclusive green economy' for South Africa may 160 be. The country's green economy transition thus should be analysed in terms of 161 'what' or 'whom' is included or excluded, and 'where' efforts are focused. 162 163 At first glance, the country seems to promote extensive social participation in the 164 development of the green economy. However, the level of public participation in 165 drafting the key texts that guide the implementation of the green economy vary from 166 limited to extensive (Montmasson-Claire, 2012), indicating lapses in consistency. 167 168 Several reports track the progress and potential of green jobs and the green economy 169 in South Africa (Maia et al., 2011; Montmasson-Claire, 2012; DEA & UNEP, 2013; Sustainlabour, 2013). The general focus of these reports and their conceptualisation of green jobs are limited to specific economic sectors in the formal economy. These reports indicate very little engagement with the informal economy, thus implying that future policies and plans for a green economy may also be limited in their consideration of the informal economy.

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4. Perspectives on the informal economy

Conceptually, the notion of the informal economy has a number of different definitions and interpretations that impact upon data collection and measurement of its size and monetary value. The economic activities taking place in the informal economy are mostly unrecorded and therefore difficult to measure (Chen, 2012; Wills, 2009). Further issues affecting accurate estimates of the size and contribution of the informal economy to for example GDP relate to definitional debates over what needs to be included within such measures as well as methodological debates over how it should be calculated (Chen, 2012; Kanbur, 2009; Ligthelm, 2006; Saunders & Loots, 2005). For this reason, estimates of the size and monetary value of informal activities that contribute to a green economy are not forthcoming, falling outside of the scope of this paper. Furthermore, perceptions about the informal economy influence its conceptualisation and 'management'. Chen (2007; 2012) distinguishes between four schools of thought pertaining to the nature and composition of the informal economy, whereas Williams problematises dominant paradigms regarding (2007)the 'formalisation', 'commodification' and 'globalisation' in terms of their estimation of and approach to informal livelihood activities. Globally, perspectives regarding the informal economy have changed progressively (see Table 2).

Table 2: Changes in perspectives on the informal economy

The <i>old</i> view	The new view
The informal sector is the traditional	The informal economy is 'here to stay' and expanding with
economy that will wither away and	modern industrial growth.
die with modern, industrial growth.	
It is only marginally productive.	It is a major provider of employment, goods and services for
	lower-income groups.
	It contributes a significant share of GDP.
It exists separately from the formal	It is linked to the formal economy-it produces for, trades with,
economy.	distributes for and provides services to the formal economy.
It represents a reserve pool of surplus	Much of the recent rise in informal employment is due to the
labour.	decline in formal employment or to the informalisation of
	previously formal employment relationships.
It is comprised mostly of street	It is made up of a wide range of informal occupations-both
traders and very small-scale	'resilient old forms' such as casual day labour in construction
producers.	and agriculture, as well as 'emerging new ones' such as
	temporary and part-time jobs plus homework for high tech
	industries.
Most of those in the sector are	It is made up of non-standard wage workers as well as
entrepreneurs who run illegal and	entrepreneurs and self-employed persons producing legal
unregistered enterprises in order to	goods and services, albeit through irregular or unregulated
avoid regulation and taxation.	means. Most entrepreneurs and the self-employed are
	amenable to, and would welcome, efforts to reduce barriers to
	registration and related transaction costs and to increase benefits from regulations; and most informal wage workers
	would welcome more stable jobs and workers' rights.
Work in the informal economy is	Informal enterprises include not only survival activities but
comprised mostly of survival	also stable enterprises and dynamic growing businesses, and
activities and thus is not a subject for	informal employment includes not only self-employment but
economic policy.	also wage employment. All forms of informal employment are
	affected by most (if not all) economic policies.
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Source: Chen (2007:5).

The informal economy manifests heterogeneously, ranging from small and micro survivalist business activities in public and private settings, such as pavements, pedestrian malls, transport interchanges and homes, to agrarian activities found in both urban and rural areas (Chen, 2012; Devey *et al.*, 2003; Du Toit & Neves, 2013; Horn, 2011; Kanbur, 2009; Skinner, 2008; Wills, 2009). Although the informal economy cuts across divisions of race, class and gender, several studies have shown that the majority of actors are black, impoverished and female (Du Toit & Neves, 2012; Horn, 2011; Skinner, 2008). This has led authors such as Musyoki (2012) and Chambwera, MacGregor, & Baker (2011) to suggest that the informal economy offers

vast opportunities for sustainable and 'just' development as interventions in the informal economy may help to uplift the poorest and most disenfranchised.

Chambwera *et al.* (2011) suggest that the informal economy offers much value in delivering sustainable development ideals, including the green economy. Government planners, donors and nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) therefore need to consider the informal economy alongside the formal economy if they plan to "help lift up the wellbeing of the poor and address global challenges such as climate change" (Chambwera *et al.*, 2011).

The South African approach to the informal economy, however, indicates reluctance in recognising this value (Smit & Musango, Forthcoming).

5. The informal economy in South Africa

The South African government defines the second economy as the 'range of activities that are often marginal, outside the regulatory net and survivalist in character' (EDD, 2013). The notion of two economies was first introduced by former President Thabo Mbeki in 2003, who recognised the 'structural disjuncture' between the modern, first-world economy and the underdeveloped third-world or 'second' economy (Mbeki, 2003). The divide between the 'two economies' is systemic and associated with several key apartheid legacies that relate to the (i) centralised monopoly structure of the core economy; (ii) distorted nature of asset distribution, including capital, land and human capital development; and (iii) spatial legacies of bantustans and apartheid cities (TIPS, 2009).

The second economy is recognised as having several debilitating characteristics, giving rise to the perception that it requires fixing, elimination or formalisation (Mbeki, 2003; Gumede, 2008). South Africa's response to the informal economy includes the *Second Economy Strategy* released in 2009, which headlines 11 priority areas (TIPS, 2009). Additionally, the New Growth Path focuses on growth (including 'green growth') as a means of addressing poverty, unemployment and inequality in South Africa.

The Economic Development Department was established to coordinate the development of the New Growth Path and to promote coherent economic development (EDD, 2013). Under this mandate, the Department's programme for Economic Policy Development includes the second economy as a sub-programme, which aims to 'develop policies that will transform second economy activities into dynamic, competitive activities that are part of the economic mainstream' (EDD, 2013).

In contrast, the green economy is considered to be a sub-programme of a separate programme related to Economic Planning and Coordination (EDD, 2013). This separation of the second economy and green economy as detached sub-programmes may be indicative of the general disconnect between policies and plans related to the green economy and the informal economy.

6. Connecting the green and the informal economy

The informal economy is 'an important component in the social, economic and political arenas of Africa' (Dawa & Kinyanjui, 2012) and several traits are recognised

257	as being significant to creating an 'inclusive green economy'. These include the
258	following:
259	
260	(i) Formal-informal linkages
261	The majority of informal economy operations are connected to the formal sector
262	through a range of forward and backward linkages and complex interactions (Davies
263	& Thurlow, 2010; Chambwera, et al., 2011; Chen, 2012). These linkages include
264	individual transactions through open market exchanges; production and exchange of
265	goods; value chains (Chen, 2012:12); and the flow of raw materials, equipment and
266	finance (Chambwera et al., 2011).
267	
268	(ii) Regulating for economic diversity
269	The formal regulatory environment in general often ignores entire categories of the
270	informal economy, leading to a number of adverse effects, as described by Chen
271	(2012). Chen subsequently argues for a more comprehensive approach to formalising
272	the informal economy. Such an approach would also require reconsideration of
273	macro-economic policies specific to the informal economy, as described by Saunders
274	& Loots (2005):
275	the results of the causality test suggested that macro-economic policies
276	aimed at the formal economy will not necessarily 'trickle down' to the
277	informal economy, while macro-economic policies aimed at the informal
278	economy may well have a profound effect on the formal economy.
279	
280	The informal economy offers an alternative to the neoliberal economic model, having
281	a broader range of objectives, including being reproductive; sustaining household
282	survival; and facilitating social connectedness (Du Toit & Neves, 2012).

Chen (2012) suggests that a new economic paradigm or 'hybrid economy' is needed that is open to such duality; embraces both 'the traditional and the modern, the small scale and the big scale, the informal and the formal'; addresses power imbalances; and protects the vulnerable.

Samers (2005) in contrast, suggests that informal economies do not always lend themselves to systems of reciprocation and obligation, and at times even involve exploitative and illegal activities. Indeed, the informal economy constitutes a broad spectrum of activities ranging from legal to illegal (Chen, 2012) and can be a source of both environmental restoration (Blignaut et al., 2008) and destruction (Biswas et al., 2012). However, these issues cannot be ignored, and policies and plans that tie green and informal economies together should aim not only to maximise environmentally protective or restorative activities, but also to minimise environmentally destructive and exploitative activities.

(iii) Employment potential

Chen (2012) describes informal employment as a growing reality in the global economy, constituting the main source of income for most people in the developing world. It is thus argued that the informal economy should be better recognised and integrated into economic planning and legal frameworks (Chambwera et al., 2011; Chen, 2012; Dawa & Kinyanjui, 2012).

Although the size of the informal sector is markedly lower for South Africa (Davies & Thurlow, 2010), its role in providing a buffer between employment and

307	unemployment in times of financial crisis cannot be underestimated (TIPS, 2009;
308	Chambwera, 2011).
309	
310	(iv) Complex social networks
311	Informal economies produce networks of 'trust and morality', which are embedded
312	within the socio-cultural environment (Du Toit & Neves, 2012). Informal actors are
313	also closely linked to their communities, hence 'providing valuable networks for
314	resource management, energy requirements and climate change' (Chambwera, 2012).
315	
316	Whilst such networks may induce conflict, tension and skewed exchanges, they are
317	also significant in enabling the poor 'to mitigate poverty and the effects of
318	vulnerability', acting as a form of 'private social protection' (Du Toit & Neves, 2007).
319	
320	An 'inclusive green economy' would require greater networks of dynamic interaction
321	and collaboration that transcend the formal-informal divide, as described by
322	Torgerson (2001).
323	Green thinking need not consider formal and informal economies to
324	be either/or alternatives. The two can be seen as potentially
325	complementary aspects of a complex, political process of radical
326	reform beyond the control of any single agent responsible for
327	achieving a green economy.
328	
329	(v) Sites of resilience and opportunity
330	Informal actors leverage and supplement their meagre domestic resources to cope
331	with shocks and sustain informal economic activities (Du Toit & Neves, 2007),

332 thereby acting as sites of resilience and possibility. Vermeulen et al. (2008) illustrate 333 how impoverished local communities found innovative ways of coping with changes 334 in weather patterns. This led Vermeulen et al. (2008) to suggest that supporting such 335 local initiatives and institutions may be a more effective strategy for adapting to 336 climate change than relying on top-down initiatives only. 337 338 (vi) Connection with ecological services 339 There is a deep connection between rural livelihoods and ecological services 340 (Musyoki, 2013). In most instances, areas of high ecosystem goods and services 341 provision in South Africa have strong association with 'pockets of poverty' (Blignaut 342 et al., 2008). 343 344 Rural and poor communities may also benefit from the development of markets for 345 ecosystem goods and services (Blignaut et al., 2008). Linking the ecosystem services 346 'supply' activities performed by the rural poor to the demand in urban environments 347 may result in employment opportunities, whilst positively impacting conservation 348 efforts and reducing demand for social welfare (Blignaut et al., 2008). 349 350 (vii) Green jobs and livelihood activities 351 The actors, agents and entities operating in the informal economy are neither shielded 352 from nor indifferent to the effects of climate change; instead producing alternative 353 coping strategies (Dawa & Kinyanjui, 2012; Raghupathy & Chaturvedi, 2013). A 354 number of households and communities in Africa are implementing green livelihood 355 strategies, which include the adoption of household scale energy technologies, organic 356 waste management, and urban farming (Acey & Culhane, 2013). Smit and Musango (Forthcoming) identified green activities that are recognised by several green economy practitioners and policy advisors as contributing to an 'inclusive green economy' in South Africa. These include among others bioprospecting and biotrade; recycling and waste picking; and the use of green infrastructure, technology and construction.

These informal green activities are recognised as coping strategies, which are also akin to green jobs (DEA, 2014). However, current debates about 'green jobs' are silent about the 'everyday practice of green livelihoods carried out by the urban poor', instead focusing on large-scale, formal sector responses (Acey & Culhane, 2013). Such approaches are considered to be problematic as they obscure the transformative value of small-scale technologies and ignore the contribution of the informal economy.

A further issue concerning green jobs relates to the conditions and quality of the employment (Montmasson-Claire, 2012). 'Green' employment is not decent by definition and therefore will 'require careful stewardship from public authorities to ensure workers are able to exercise their rights' (Cunniah, 2012). Waste pickers for example reportedly operate in 'hostile' social environments, are vulnerable to exploitation by middlemen, and are exposed to tremendous health and safety risks (Jones, 2013). Such challenges need to be addressed by national policy strategies in order to build 'a just transition towards an environmentally respectful and socially empowering economy' (Olsen, 2012).

381	7. Policy approaches and intervention criteria towards connecting the green
382	economy with the informal economy
383	The formulation of policies and plans to connect the informal economy with the green
384	economy requires an understanding of the informal economy that extends beyond
385	assumptions that informal activities are unorganised and chaotic in form or practice.
386	Policy interventions taking this stance have often resulted in disaster as they negate
387	the value of the community structures that are in place (Guha-Khasnobis et al., 2006).
388	For this reason, Guha-Khasnobis et al. (2006) advocate an approach that recognises
389	complexity and contextual realities, and suggest that several evaluative criteria be
390	incorporated when planning for the informal economy in general, including:
391	
392	(i) Subsidiarity in a multi-level system
393	Rather than engaging in the dialectic between the centralisation or de-centralisation of
394	government agency, each intervention should be located 'as close as possible to where
395	it is meant to influence markets or groups' (Guha-Khasnobis et al., 2006). At the same
396	time, interventions should be embedded within a larger system of government.
397	
398	(ii) Balance between 'formal' interventions and 'informal' practices
399	There is a need for balancing 'formal' rules with the 'fine-tuning' of 'informal' rules
400	and norms; a process that necessitates an in-depth, participatory approach.
401	
402	(iii) Implementation capacity
403	Interventions need to be designed to match both the implementation capacity of
404	government and the absorptive capacity of the recipients. In some instances this may

405 require building the desired capacity before implementation (Guha-Khasnobis et al., 406 2006). 407 408 (iv) Complementary interventions 409 Successful interventions require the support of a strong institutional framework and 410 are generally delivered as part of a package of complementary measures, served by a 411 network of different actors (Guha-Khasnobis et al., 2006). 412 413 The practice of excluding and marginalising informal workers is related to a lack of 414 'voice, visibility and validity' (Chen, 2012). Policies and plans for an 'inclusive green 415 economy' would therefore need to address these challenges. Giving 'voice' to the 416 informal economy would involve increased participation in rule-setting and policy-417 making processes and the empowerment of workers by strengthening and supporting 418 informal worker organisations (Chen, 2012). 'Visibility' may be addressed through 419 improved measurement and representation in statistics, whereas 'validity' involves 420 recognising the potential of the informal economy to contribute to sustainable 421 development and actively engaging the informal economy in discussions on the green 422 economy. 423 424 8. Conclusion 425 The notion of an 'inclusive green economy' is highly contested, with interpretations 426 ranging from narrow to broad. Narrow interpretations limit participative and 427 transparent processes, and continue to reproduce and exacerbate inequality and 428 injustice. In contrast, broader interpretations value the social dimension of sustainable

development and incorporate democracy and transparency into its processes.

Moreover, such broader interpretations engage with institutional issues of power and
participation and focus on resilience and the creation of sustainable livelihoods. It is
argued that a broader interpretation of the green economy in general, and green jobs
in particular, is required for the transition to an 'inclusive green economy' to
transpire.

For South Africa, such a transition implies an approach that engages with its contextual realities, whilst at the same time addressing issues such as vested interests, institutional arrangements, and poor policy integration and implementation. For the South African green economy to be inclusive and socially just, it would need to engage with the mass of disenfranchised individuals in a way that empowers and reinforces participation and sustainable livelihoods. Furthermore, it may be argued that a more open and enabling policy environment could greatly assist the transition to an alternative economic model, which may be more conducive to socially equitable and environmentally sustainable development. The literature review in this paper provided the basis for empirical analysis, which is found elsewhere in Smit and Musango (Forthcoming).

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