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EDITORIAL NOTE

The South African Association of Public Administration and Management (SAAPAM) Limpopo Chapter had its 5th Annual Conference during 26th to the 28th October 2016. The Limpopo Chapter Conferences annually marked the growth of national and regional academic debates on public administration affairs. In its 5th annual conference successfully hosted at Mokopane, The Ranch Hotel, the Limpopo Chapter remains one of the significant academic platforms in South Africa where knowledge is generated and shared with the entire academic globe. In its 5th Annual Conference the Chapter crafted the theme “20 years of South Africa’s Post-Apartheid Local Government Administration” as a way of provoking debates on issues of Local Government Politics, Administration and Service Delivery.

The papers received for publication in these Conference proceedings addressed the theme of Local government from a variety of perspectives. Indeed many papers talked about Local Government Administration in post-apartheid South Africa from the perspectives of Local Governance, Local Government Finances, Developmental Local Government, Service Delivery Problems and Local Government Elections. Of utmost importance about the theme of the Conference was that it coincided exactly with the 4th South African democratic Local government elections which were held on August, 3, 2016. And for that purpose many papers addressed the critical challenges of how for the very first time in the history of the African National Congress, that power can be lost to what used to be called minority oppositions. The August 2016 Local Government Elections in South Africa will remain historical symbol of how South Africans for the first time communicated through their ballot of their dissatisfaction about how they perceive their public resources to be mismanaged by those they have given their proxy of political authority.

All papers that are published in this Conference Proceedings went through a quality scholarship verification of Triple Blind Review process by Specialists in the subject of Public Administration and Management as well as in the field of Local Government Administration. Papers which were accepted with suggested revisions were sent back to the authors for corrections before a final decision could be made by the editorial Committee to publish them. The review process which determined the publishability of each paper contained herein was compiled in accordance with the editorial policy and guidelines of the Journal of Public Administration (JOPA) published by the South African Association of Public Administration and Management (SAAPAM).

The SAAPAM Limpopo Chapter is the Provincial Chapter of the well-established and esteemed academic association of the South African Association of Public Administration and Management (SAAPAM) which draws together experts from the subjects’ fields of Public Administration, Development Management, Human Resources and Local Government among others.

This compilation provides only 44 papers out of 205 papers received and read at the 5th Annual SAAPAM Limpopo Chapter Conference held at Mokopane, South Africa from October, 26-28, 2016. Indeed only 85 papers were received for double blind peer review in which 69 received favourable review reports and 16 were rejected and two papers never submitted for publication. While 44 papers from this conference were published in the 5th Annual SAAPAM Limpopo Chapter Conference Proceedings 2016, 10 other quality papers from this conference were selected for publication in the book titled “Local Government Elections, Politics and Administration”. The other ten papers were never submitted back by authors for publication. This Conference proceeding is published online (ISBN no. 978-0-620-71693-2) and print (ISBN no. 978-0-620- 71692-5) in order to be accessible to as many academics, researchers and practitioners on Local Government Administration as possible.

This publication consists of 44 scientific papers contributed by authors from 10 South African Universities, 6 public and Semi-public institutions. The Volume consists of 60% of papers published from varying institutions as per the requirements of the Department of Higher Education and Training Research Output Policy guidelines published in March 2015.

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THE IMPACT OF AUDIT COMMITTEES ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT GOVERNANCE

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the impact of audit committees on local government governance. The audit committee is a key governance structure that provides an oversight role in the areas of financial reporting, internal controls and audit matters. Hence, its role is to ensure the effective and smooth running of governance activities. However, inconsistent processes in the recruitment and appointment of audit committee members remain a challenge, as the responsibilities of recruitment and appointment are frequently delegated to the administrators instead of being undertaken by the council or the executive structures of governance. And in addition, audit committees still have only limited roles at the council meetings in that the speakers of the councils have become the spokespersons for the audit committees in council meetings, by reporting on the activities of the audit committees. This paper reports on research that used semi-structured interviews as the data source for its qualitative research methodology. The intended participants were the members of the audit committees in South African local governments. The paper finds that audit committees are predominantly comprised of independent external members who have little influence in the governance of their local government entities. The paper concludes with recommendations on how to strengthen the role of audit committees in the governance of local government functions, and the findings are therefore also the avenues for further research.

Keywords: Municipal council, Accountability, Audit committee, Governance, Independence Local government.

1. INTRODUCTION

For a few years now, the presence of audit committees in the South African local government arena has

been seen as a key component and indicator of good governance. The audit committee's role is prescribed and described in section 166 of the Municipal Finance Management Act 56 of 2003 (RSA, 2003) (MFMA) and is thus integral to municipal councils' efforts to demonstrate good governance. An effective, operational audit committee is also recognised as a function that supports municipal councils' efforts to govern effectively (SALGA). The problem is that audit committees are not fulfilling their responsibilities in the manner required by the MFMA. All municipalities in South Africa now do have audit committees and the structures associated with the function. However, the performance of these committees is not uniformly effective: some municipalities have strong committees while others are struggling, burdened with politically connected committee members that lack financial expertise, and inappropriate appointments and poor recruitment processes (AGSA, 2014; Presidency, 2014). This has occurred primarily because the audit committee appointments and the recruitment processes have been delegated to administrative officers (who lack the training and/or experience to take these decisions). Ideally, the municipal council itself should be championing the processes. Thus, a result of this inappropriately delegated recruitment process, the political heads of the municipalities usually recruit and deploy their own preferred audit committee members, a process that impairs their independence and frequently leads to a conflict of interests with respect to other businesses and operational units within the municipality. The audit committee is a key component of governance (Karim, Robin and Suh, 2016; Pollanen, 2015; Hegazy and Stafford, 2016; Tonelli, Bermejo, Dos Santos, Zuppo, and Zambalde, 2015) within the local government arena. It has an impact at every level of government, through its understanding of governance processes (Alzeban & Sawan, 2015). Thus, the presence of audit committees should be

indicative of effective and well-functioning local governments (Bansal and Sharma, 2016). But, while the significance of the audit committee has been recognised as important in achieving effective functioning of local government (RSA, 2003), it is only its demonstrable independence that enables the audit committee to play this important role in governance (Institute of Directors, 2009). In this paper the aim is to explore the present role and practical impact of the audit committee in local government governance efforts, and it does so by examining audit committee appointments, reporting structures, and remuneration packages. In addition, the roles of the municipal council, municipal manager and the speaker of council are examined to determine how they support (or compromise) local government's governance efforts. Thus, the focus of this paper is on the avenues of cooperation that exist between the audit committee, municipal council, municipal manager and the speaker of the council. The next two sections of the paper explore some of the components of these collaborations and the effect they have on the quality of governance within local government structures.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Audit committees in local government organisations in South Africa have enjoyed relatively little academic investigation due to their often highly charged and complex political environments. As identified in the previous section, the audit committee in local governments operates within a formal legislative framework that includes the Municipal Finance Management Act, 56 of 2003 and the National Treasury Regulation. In this section, pertinent literature is reviewed relating to the appointments of the audit committee members, their reporting frameworks and remuneration packages, and the roles and functions of the municipal council, municipal management and the speaker of the council as these are the core components of effective local government.

2.1 Appointments

The audit committee provides a "formal communication channel" between management, internal auditors, external auditors and other assurance providers (Bradbury, Mak & Tan; 2006:61). The committee members are appointed in terms of section 166(5) of the MFMA (RSA, 2003). According to Van der Nest *et al.* (2008:549), audit committees in the public sector are collectively an important

"tool of governance". Hence, as this paper argues, the selection and appointment of the members of audit committees (and the committees' subsequent effectiveness) has a significant impact on their independence. In South African local government structures the appointment of the members of the audit committee must be done by the municipal council (RSA, 2003). If (as frequently occurs) the audit committee is recruited and appointed by the accounting officer and the management team, it cannot be said to be independent. It is a well-researched and accepted fact that the audit committee's independence is directly correlated with the transparency of the appointment process (Hepworth & De Koning, 2012). Hence, anything less than a fully transparent appointment process raises doubts about the independence of the audit committee and the validity of its reporting.

2.2 Reporting

The audit committee's reporting has the potential to enhance stakeholder's confidence in an organisation (Ernest & Young, 2013). Thus, the characteristics that enhances the authority of an audit committee's reporting in the South African public sector (RSA, 2003) are the effectiveness of the internal control systems, the effectiveness of the internal audit function, the identification of risk areas facing the organisation's operations; the adequacy, reliability and accuracy of financial information, the timely reporting and rectification of accounting and auditing concerns identified as result of internal and external audit, the organisation's compliance with legal and statutory provisions, and the activities of internal the audit function, including its annual work programme, coordination with external auditors, its reports of significant investigations concluded, and the responses of management to specific recommendations. In addition, the above list should form the core of the audit committee's charter as this will strengthen their independence and publicly establish what is expected of a public sector audit committee. The audit committee in local government is viewed as a governance structure that enhances and strengthens financial management through the independence, integrity and effectiveness of the audit activities it initiates and oversees (Institute of Directors, 2009). According to Morrell and Kopanyi (2014:270), it is also important that an audit committee is established in such a manner that enables it to work with independent auditors and to review their reports.

2.3 Remuneration

According to National Treasury (2012) the public sector audit committee members may be remunerated, taking into account the tariffs determined by the South African Institute of Chartered Accountants, and in consultation with the Auditor-General. Although National Treasury recommends the tariffs, this paper argues that its "one size fits all" approach is not ideal. The remuneration of the audit committee members should be based on the knowledge, skills and technical competencies of each individual – in other words, based on what they actively contribute to the effective functioning of the audit committee. Remuneration has been identified by the Public Sector Audit Committee Forum (2013) as a challenge in that it invites political influence and nepotistic appointments. As this paper identifies, such problems cannot be resolved easily by an individual municipal or provincial department, since there is no public sector-wide guidance stipulating audit committee remuneration processes and limits.

2.4 Municipal Councils

According to Siegel (2010:141), local government leadership consists of the municipal council and elected officials. Municipal councillors are the elected political leaders who then delegate the administrative leadership to the municipal manager (Giroux, & McLelland, 2003; Zhang, 2014). The MFMA (RSA, 2003) recognises the municipal council as the highest authority in the municipality; the council's power is strengthened by significant powers of approval and oversight vested in it by provincial and national government departments. Municipal councillors thus have a duty to provide the critical political linkage between the executive mayor and executive committee, and the community (Siegel, 2010; Zhang, 2014; RSA, 2003). A good relationship between municipal leadership and the community brings with it hope for effective implementation of policies (Giroux, & McLelland, 2003; Zhang, 2014). Sancino and Castellani (2016) in their analysis of new developments of direct elected mayors to create the strength of leadership in local government in Italy, concluded that the quality of leadership has a greater influence on their roles and responsibilities in governance. According to Giroux and McLelland (2003) and Zhang (2014), the effectiveness of municipal leadership depends on the councillors' political powers and their abilities to advance policy decisions. This means that the political leadership has a responsibility to provide

political guidance regarding policy formulation and implementation, and the budget and financial affairs of the municipality.

2.5 Municipal Manager

The leadership role of the municipal manager is quite a complex and difficult one (Siegel, 2010:169). Municipal managers are required to serve two masters, one political and the other administrative. Their roles are thus influenced by political dynamics and they are expected to take responsibility for policy implementation (Giroux, & McLelland, 2003; Zhang, 2014). At the administrative level they are expected to exercise leadership over the full range of their control (Siegel, 2010). It is thus a position that requires multiple skills, accountability and leadership (Van Baalen, Schutte, & Von Leipzig, 2015). As a result, the municipal manager, acting in a leadership capacity, is expected to be able to provide the mayor, councillors and senior administrative officials with appropriate guidance and advice on finance and budget issues (RSA, 2003). This is an administrative leadership position in which the municipal manager is also expected to prepare the annual financial statements for the audit. Hence, it requires an advanced level of financial management skills and knowledge to exercise such a leadership role effectively (IFAC, 2014:24). According to Nelson and Svara (2015:51), the role of a municipal manager has been largely invisible, despite performing an active, if not pivotal role in administration (Siegel, 2010). Guda, Ismajli and Ferati (2015) argue that leadership plays an important role in improving the quality of financial reporting, which is a vital component of the audit quality (IFAC, 2014). As a result, it is expected of such a leader that he be fully aware of the role of the auditor (both internal and external) and the effect of their findings and recommendations on the municipality and its local citizens (Guda *et al.*, 2015:8; AGSA, 2011/12).

2.6 Speaker of Council

Van der Waldt (2010) identifies that leadership in local government comprises the municipal council, executive committees, mayoral committees, and the office of the speaker, party whips, and the office of the municipal manager. Sancino and Castellani (2016) acknowledge that local government leadership is defined according to political settings. In the context of municipalities in South Africa, The Constitution provides that each municipal council must elect a chairperson, which person is then designated the

Speaker of Council (RSA, 1998). As a result, the Speaker of Council is responsible for the legislative arm of the municipality and for discipline of the councillors, both inside the council chamber and in general. The Speaker is also expected to work with the oversight committees of the municipality that are responsible for ensuring effective governance in the municipality's functions (SALGA, [sa]). Among others, such governance committees include the municipal audit committee. Thus, the Speaker of Council should recognise the audit committee as a key structure that supports municipal council governance efforts (SALGA). However, this paper argues that the audit committee, in its management of governance within local government, is not regarded as integral to municipal council governance. This is occurring because the primary oversight responsibility of the audit committee – its reporting – is being diverted to the Speaker of Council. The audit committee frequently does not even form part of the organisational oversight structure of the municipalities (PWC, 2010:14).

3. METHODOLOGY

The aim of this paper is to examine the impact of the audit committees on the governance functions within local governments, using a qualitative research method. A qualitative study is described as a method that seeks to promote a deep understanding of social activities (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2012:27). A qualitative research approach was deemed appropriate for this study as the objective was to develop this deeper understanding of the impact of the audit committee on governance in local governments. Since this paper makes use of a qualitative study approach, participants' unquantified views on the impact of the audit committee on governance in local government are used. Thus, a qualitative research approach requires individual, person-to-person interaction (Gay, Mills & Airasian, and 2006:411). Owing to the nature of the qualitative research approach, semi-structured interviews were used to gain a clear understanding of the participants' beliefs about the impact of the audit committee on governance in the local government environment. The participants/interviewees were the chairpersons of audit committees of municipalities in the Limpopo province of South Africa. Semi-structured interviews were used as the research instrument, because, as De Vos *et al.* (2005) maintain, semi-structured interviews provide a detailed picture of a participant's beliefs about a particular phenomenon.

3.1 Data Collection

Qualitative data was collected by means of semi-structured interviews, and the participants were required to answer all of the research questions (Babbie, 2013). The questions used to initiate and focus the data-gathering process were: what is the role of audit committee in local government governance, do you think the audit committee is independent in the local government, what are the good things that the audit committee does in the local government (over the challenges), and what are the recommendations to mitigate the challenges faced by the audit committee in the local government? This was done in order to gain a better understanding of the impact of the audit committee on governance in local government. Data was thus collected from primary sources, through semi-structured interviews.

3.2 Ethical Considerations

In qualitative research, ethical considerations are of the utmost importance. This is because the people with whom the interviews are conducted could conceivably be negatively affected by their participation. Issues of confidentiality and informed consent are thus obligatory. According to Aluwihare-Samaranayake (2012:76) "qualitative research is used as a means to explore and capture persons' subjective experiences, meanings, and voices and can result in ethical challenges for participants and the researchers". Qualitative inquiry thus demands fullest respect for ethical consideration (Creswell 2013:174). The appropriate ethical considerations for qualitative research were taken into account in preparing this paper: specifically, the obtaining of the informed consent of the participants and the giving of assurances of confidentiality were followed. The informed consent took the form of a signed consent letter from each of the participants, and the researcher provided each with an assurance that their participation was voluntary and they were made aware that they could withdraw from the interview at any time.

3.3 Data Analysis

The process of data analysis required the researcher to play a significant role in constructing the meaning of words, identifying the themes, and thereby bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data (De Vos *et al.*, 2005:333). Personally performing all these tasks enabled the researcher to decide on the meaningfulness of the words and concepts that the

participants used in their responses to the interview questions. It also removed the need to accommodate the inevitable variations that arise when multiple interviewers conduct the conversations. Thus, the researcher organised the themes according to the research questions as follows: the role of audit committee in local government governance, the audit committee's independence in the local government; the good things that the audit committee does in the local government; and the recommendations to mitigate the challenges faced by the audit committee in local government.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

This section of the paper presents the results and a discussion of the findings arising from the semi-structured interviews in relation to the research objective. The semi-structured interviews were analysed using a descriptive research approach. The participants were the chairpersons of the audit committees of the municipalities of the Limpopo province of South Africa. The findings are presented in accordance with the themes identified above.

4.1 The Role of Audit Committee in Local Government Governance

The sentiments shared by the chairpersons of the audit committees are encapsulated in the following quotations:

"I suppose the role of AC is to provide oversight over the audit (both internal and external audit), accounting, [and] control and risk management processes of the Municipality on behalf of a Municipal Council."

"The most critical challenge of the AC in local government, unlike in the private sector, is the lack of understanding by both the political office bearers and administrative official of the significance and the importance of the audit committee. This is often evident on the poor (or lack of) implementation of audit committee resolutions by administration and poor (or lack of) interrogation of audit committee reports by Council (i.e., political office bearers)." An analysis of the above quotations (and the other respondents' associated responses) indicates that the participants see the audit committee as a key proponent of governance, and that its role in supporting (championing) governance in the local government environment is crucial. From an analysis of the findings, it appears that the audit committee

chairs appear to recognise that they have a very important position and influence in the governance structures in local government. The responsibilities of the audit committees in their oversight of governance processes are such that they contribute significantly to the effectiveness of governance of the organisation.

4.2 Audit Committee Independence in the Local Government Arena

The views of the participants on the audit committee's independence are summarised in the following quotation: "Well, I would like to guess that the structure of the audit committee is such that it consists of external members who are all expected to be independent. However, the independence thereof in my view could be highly compromised through the appointment process. The audit committee is a subcommittee of Council. However, often the recruitment process is delegated to the administrative officials without the involvement of Council. This creates a loophole for the accounting officers to appoint people who may be sympathetic to the accounting officer as they discharge their oversight responsibility." It should be remembered that the audit committee is an independent advisory body, which must advise the municipal council on matters relating to: internal financial control and internal audits, risk management; accounting policies, the adequacy, reliability and accuracy of financial reporting and information; performance management, effective governance, compliance with the MFMA, Division of Revenue Act and any other applicable legislation, and conduct performance evaluations (RSA, 2003).

4.3 Good Things That the Audit Committee does in the Local Government (Overcoming the Challenges)

The audit committee participants viewed the good things that they perform. One of the audit committee respondents had the following to say in this regard:

"You know. The good thing is that there is a legislative mandate for the audit committee to report to Council on a quarterly basis. However, the unsettling issue is that these reports are often not given the attention that they should be receiving."

According to Morrell and Kopanyi (2014:270) it is important to establish an audit committee that is able to work with independent auditors and review

their reports. In South African local governments, the audit committee has been recognised as a proponent of good governance (National Treasury, 2014), and its roles and responsibilities are set out in section 166 of the MFMA (RSA, 2003).

4.4 Recommendations to Mitigate the Challenges Faced by Audit Committees in Local Government

The following recommendations summarise the sentiments expressed by participants when discussing the challenges facing audit committees in local government:

"And my understanding of the legislative framework is that the recruitment and appointment of AC members should be driven by Council and Council members should form part of the interview process, supported by the Administrative Officials".

"Otherwise, Audit Committee Chairpersons should be given the platform to present the Audit Committee Reports during all Council meetings and highlight areas that should be interrogated by Council. That is the recommendation I think should stand out clear."

Based on the empirical data collected in this study, it would appear that the audit committee participants are all concerned about the processes of recruitment and appointment of audit committee members in that they are championed by the administrative officials instead of the municipal council.

5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This paper has reported on the impact of the audit committee on governance in local government. Respondent were almost unanimous in confirming the significant impact the role the audit committee has in local government governance; the need for the audit committee to be independent of local government officials' influence, and the good things that the audit committee does in the local government. There was also agreement on recommendations to mitigate the challenges faced by audit committees in the local government arena. This paper reported on research that was undertaken to identify the views of the chairpersons of the audit committees in the municipalities of the Limpopo province in South Africa. The author of this paper holds the view that the audit committee chairs recognise that

they are expected to advice and also report to the council on issues, including risks facing the local government controls, and significant audit findings raised by both internal and external auditors (AGSA, 2011/12). The fact that the research was conducted in a single province is a limitation as the situations in other provinces (particularly the wealthier Western Cape and Gauteng provinces) might be significantly different.

As this paper reports, respondents recognise the weaknesses of the appointment and recruitment processes involving the local government audit committee member; it further indicates that the deployment by management and political heads of inappropriately qualified candidates impairs the audit committee's independence. A conflict of interests is introduced by this process in relation to other businesses within the municipality, and this will always negatively affect the committee's independence. Thus, this paper recommends that the Provincial Treasuries should centralise the appointments of audit committee members, so as to promote their independence. This may then strengthen the role played by audit committees in the governance of the municipalities across the country. And as a consequence, if audit committee members are seen to be independent in both mind and activity, they will be able to raise constructive issues without fear of losing their contractual appointments.

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BOLT AND NUT OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION: COMMUNITY RESTLESSNESS DISPLAYED THROUGH SERVICE DELIVERY PROTESTS

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ABSTRACT

The period of more than two decades of democratic local government has been characterised by significant developments of public protests. The paper argues that this outcry is attributed to the failures of service delivery. This period is marked by escalating violence where public and private properties are continuously torched as if these acts signify what democratic local government has envisaged. At the top of these observations, the instrument underpinning democracy is viewed as public participation. The fundamental line of enquiry is whether the restlessness in the communities is a reflection of failures of the democratic local government system to master the bolt and nut of public participation? This paper is a conceptual analysis of a desk top literature that critique the effectiveness of public participation. The paper will attempt to recommend possible design of public participation that is suitable to take the community into confidence in managing the affairs of a democratic local government. The paper is focusing on conceptual analysis of public participation, participatory democracy, good governance, political stability and/ or anarchy, corruption and service delivery protests. The conceptualisations of these entire concepts are measured against the analysis of the political principle statement from the freedom charter that "People shall govern". The paper would then provide an in-depth of who is governing local government in South Africa. The paper is then concluded and a recommendation of a model of public participation is provided in order to contribute to the scientific knowledge and practical solution of democratic local government in South Africa.

Keywords: Public participation, Participatory democracy, Good governance, Anarchy, Corruption, Service delivery protests.

1. INTRODUCTION

The existence of public participation affairs a consistent communication link between the elected local government leaders and the community, which constitute a guarantee of participatory democracy in principle. Rowe and Frewer (2000) states that a variety of public participation procedures exist that aim to consult and involve the public, ranging from the public hearing to the consensus conference. The scientific evidence of the public participation discourse, yet dummy in nature is that the community represents the "bolt" and the leadership represents the "nut". The two are fundamentally working together to hold an object that represent "service delivery". Therefore, the paper notes the existence of service delivery that is a collective ownership of both the leadership of local government and community. Cleaver (1999) states that despite significant claims to the contrary, there is little evidence of the long-term effectiveness of participation in materially improving the conditions of the most vulnerable people or as a strategy for social change. Whilst the evidence for efficiency receives some support on a small scale, the evidence regarding empowerment and sustainability is more partial, tenuous and reliant on assertions of the rightness of the approach and process rather than convincing proof of outcomes. Cleaver (1999) further argues that participation has therefore become an act of faith in development. The paper in the midst of the analysis of public participation argues that on the basis that 'participation is an act of faith in development' as cited earlier, over two decades of no material change in some parts of the local government service delivery discourse, the signs of it is agitated by the service delivery challenges, which is demonstrated through service delivery protests 'a sign of restlessness in the communities'. In the quest to illustrate these challenges, another scientific argument, but yet dummy, is the fact that

if a pair of scissors is not jointly well tightened, it will not be able to cut even a piece of paper. Depoe, Delicath, and Elsenbeer (2004:14) postulate that the demands for inclusive public involvement, public participation processes, or the lack of them, are often flashpoints among competing perspectives resulting in the escalation of conflict. The paper would provide a scholarship review of the literature and observation and seeks to provide a scientific approach to public participation in order to advance the challenges of a modern local government discourse, in particular service delivery protests.

2. PUBLIC PARTICIPATION CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF DEMOCRACY

The conceptual framework of public participation signifies the governance regime that values the community in the affairs of local government, and therefore maximise the potential of the relevance of the democratic government. Pahl-Wostl (2009) states that the influence of formal and informal institutions, the role of state and non-state actors, the nature of multi-level interactions and the relative importance of bureaucratic hierarchies, markets and networks are identified as major structural characteristics of governance regimes. Tadesse, Ameck, Christensen, Masiko, Matlhakola, Shilaho and Smith (2006) argue that if a democracy is limited to only periodic elections in which people vote for those who govern them, or recall those who under-perform in office, which means that public participation in policy processes is limited to specific timeframes. This is exacerbated by the tendency to hand over responsibility to a dominant political party that seldom represents the interest of all of those on whose behalf it makes decisions. The paper argues the application of democratic centralism that seeks to dominate, liquidate and destroy public participation in a form of party political supremacy over the will of the people that is rapidly changing. Angle (2005) posits in the international analysis of the contradictions of democratic centralism by examining the possibility that a reformed democratic centralism—the principle around which China's current polity is officially organised—might be legitimate, according to both an inside and an outside perspective. The inside perspective builds on contemporary Chinese political theory; the outside perspective critically deploys Rawls's notion of a "decent society" as its standard. Along the way, this phenomenon pays particular attention to the kinds and degree of pluralism a decent society can countenance, and to the specific institutions in China

that might enable the realisation of a genuine and/or decent democratic centralism.

It is argued that the application of the democratic centralism in the local government service delivery discourse, the more possibility of the service delivery protests due to inability of the maximisation of public participation as a fundamental model for entrenchment of democracy beyond the elections of local government leaders. Tadesse, Ameck, Christensen, Masiko, Matlhakola, Shilaho and Smith (2006) further argue that a growing body of knowledge on democracy, service delivery and human security underscores the significance of public participation in providing long-term institutional assurance for the survival, livelihood and dignity of human beings. The paper views sustainability and institutional memory of democracy depend on the effectiveness of public participation. Smith and Vawda (2003) postulate that public involvement is only effective in changing how government operates if the mechanisms within the bureaucracy are set up to implement such changes. The question is whether there is the space within the bureaucracy for changing decision-making processes to accommodate public participation. The paper in a conclusive scholarship assertion views public participation as an effective governance instrument that would ensure that "the people are governing" and takes the ownership of service delivery and its challenges, and therefore circumvents service delivery protests.

3. PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The effectiveness of public participation constitutes breaking ground to advance participatory democracy in the context of local government as the closest level of governing the community affairs. Democratising development requires moving beyond a representative democracy to a participatory democracy (Swilling 1990; Bond 2000b see in Smith and Vawda, 2003). Building a dialogue between municipalities and their communities facilitates an active participation of citizens in the day-to-day management of their lives. The creation of ward committees, for instance, can encourage community participation in council decision-making and involves incorporating community-based actors in the system of local governance (Pycroft, 2000 see in Smith and Vawda, 2003). Such an approach strengthens the community's ability to control the city council and increase pressures for effective transformation of service delivery. The contemporary governance

system of premeditated democratic local government in South Africa represents a democratic process that constitutes a will of the communities in demarcated wards. Fung and Wright (2001) in conformity with the assertion of the paper view "democracy" as a way of organising the state has come to be narrowly identified with territorially based competitive elections of political leadership for legislative and executive offices. Yet, increasingly, this mechanism of political representation seems ineffective in accomplishing the central ideals of democratic politics: facilitating active political involvement of the citizenry, forging political consensus through dialogue, devising and implementing public policies that ground a productive economy and healthy society, and, in more radical egalitarian versions of the democratic ideal, ensuring that all citizens benefit from the nation's wealth. Teorell (2006) proposes an agenda for political participation research aimed at providing empirical answers to questions derived from normative political theory. Based on a threefold distinction between responsive, participatory and deliberative models of democracy, Teorell (2006) first distinguishes three conceptions of political participation: as influencing attempts, as direct decision making, and as political discussion. Second, it is argued that each of the three models is associated with different desired consequences of political participation: equal protection of interests, self-development and subjective legitimacy. Third, a procedural standard is identified from which to evaluate the mechanism generating the three types of participation. The paper argues that participatory democracy is a matured public participation in which it manifests from a political process of a majority narrative political theory. The service delivery protests at the local government discourse in the context of governing the aspirations of the majority of the population signify the failure of the governance system to adhere to the will of the people and therefore it marks a fundamental dilemma for public administration.

4. GOOD GOVERNANCE IN MODERN LOCAL GOVERNMENT DISCOURSE

Smith and Vawda (2003), in laying the scholarship basis for arguments state that good governance is central to ensuring the state can meet backlogs in delivering second generational rights and guarantee access to basic needs in the long-term. The literature review of scholarship of good governance in the context of the paper posits the principle that good governance in local government service delivery

discourse is the ability of the government to adhere to the needs of the community and therefore, this logical principle finds a fundamental conform in the political principle of the freedom charter that says "the people shall govern". The notion of good governance in local government requires civic engagement and collaborative efforts as a sign of matured governance. Cooper, Bryer, and Meek (2006) postulate that civic engagement and collaborative public management are concepts that are defined broadly, making theoretical explication challenging and practical application of empirical research difficult, and therefore the empirical to adopt definitions of civic engagement and collaborative public management that are centered on the citizen and the potential for active citizenship. The paper identifies the contradictions of good governance on the phenomenon of people-centered governance, which emerges as a basis of public participation against the impression that, it will liquidate and swallow the leadership role into co-management of local government affairs. Berkes, (2009) states that co-management can be considered a knowledge partnership. Different levels of organisation, from local to international, have comparative advantages in the generation and mobilisation of knowledge acquired at different scales. Bridging organisations provide a forum for the interaction of these different kinds of knowledge, and the coordination of other tasks that enable co-operation: accessing resources, bringing together different actors, building trust, resolving conflict, and networking. Berkes, (2009) further argues that social learning is one of these tasks, essential both for the co-operation of partners and an outcome of the co-operation of partners. It occurs most efficiently through joint problem solving and reflection within learning networks. Through successive rounds of learning and problem solving, learning networks can incorporate new knowledge to deal with problems at increasingly larger scales, with the result that maturing co-management arrangements become adaptive co-management in time.

One of the challenges of the democratic local government is a lot of corruption that found a diplomatic expression in the public administration discourse. Newland (1974) argues that a recent much publicised bankruptcy case has by chance revealed a number of instances of corruption in local government. Whether these instances are isolated, or point to malpractices more widespread, it is impossible to say. Corruption denies the ordinary citizen the basic means of livelihood, it worsens

unemployment and erodes our image as a nation and as individual (Danjuma Goje, 2010:1 see in Adeyemi, 2012). It has undermined Nigeria's economic growth and development potential, with a per capital income of \$340, Nigeria now ranks amongst the least developed countries in the World Bank League table (Salusi, op.cit see in Adeyemi, 2012). The paper highlight in brief that all these corrupt acts are noted in this section to support the argument of what delays the developmental local government to prosper due to corruption, and therefore the society is failing to hold local government given acts that violate the premeditated systems of local government. The paper in an attempt to conclude the question of good governance in local government argues that corruption circumvents efforts to adhere to good governance and this argument represent dilemma of local government administration.

5. POLITICAL STABILITY AND ANARCHY

The paper in its conceptual scholarship analysis states that public participation signifies stability in the governance and political process in the local government discourse. The South African political enterprise has matured drastically given the ideological discourse and regime change within the context of better strategies to deliver services to the communities. Stoker (1988:xv) states that local government has become a focus for some wider conflicts between the left and right as well as an arena for political completion between business, trade union, environmental, community action, women and ethnic minority. The paper argues that the fundamental contradiction and cause of conflicts in the modern local government is a manifestation of fighting for power to share the local government social capital and opportunities. Grootaert (2001:10) argues that the term social capital has found its way into economic analysis only recently, although various elements of the concept have been present under different names for a long time. The economic literature on the role of institutions, which goes back at least to the 1920s, is especially relevant and therefore the focus on institutions has been revived recently in the new institutional economic literature. In the context of the paper, consistent instability of the local government agitates the state of anarchy in which is argued that the democratic liberal institution creates the platform for such anarchic phenomenon. Wendt (1992) postulates that the debate between realists and liberals has re-emerged as an axis of contention in international relations theory. Revolving in the past around

competing theories of human nature, the debate is more concerned today with the extent to which state action is influenced by "structure" (anarchy and the distribution of power) versus "process" (interaction and learning) and institutions. Does the absence of centralised political authority force states to play competitive power politics? Can international regimes overcome this logic, and under what conditions? What in anarchy is given and immutable, and what is amenable to change? The paper argues that the democratic nature of South Africa has not being defined in terms of the leadership of the local government contradictions of competing ideologies and strategies for service delivery. This phenomenon has created a serious grandstanding in the political space without a basic support of the communities, yet it observed that the hording of power by the political leaders had overtime created yet a new disjuncture in the relationship to govern local government, and therefore all these contradictions have manifested into the state of anarchy in the modern local government discourse. Allan and Heese (2011) argue that while the violence and criminality often associated with service delivery protests is unacceptable and should be condemned out of hand, it is worth remembering that the communities living in informal settlements are essentially excluded from society – they have access neither to economic nor social opportunity and find themselves on the outside looking in.

6. CORRUPTION AND SERVICE DELIVERY PROTESTS

The local government has always been at the center of the contemporary debates in as far as corruption is concerned. This phenomenon is always exposed by service delivery protests. The paper argues that one of the failures of service delivery is apportioned to corruption, which where there are services, there is poor workmanship and it manifest into violent protests that have confronted democratic local government in South Africa. Any government has the responsibility of providing basic services to its citizens, and such services should be provided "... at the highest possible level of responsiveness and efficiency" (Johnson, 2004:77 see in Mpehle, 2012). However, most governments in the world are faced with service delivery challenges, and South Africa is no exception. As stated by Manning (2006:23) cited in Mpehle, 2012, "... (service) delivery troubles are not unique to South Africa. They occur worldwide, in both business and the public sector", and therefore a public service that performs well have good policies

for fighting corruption. However, having good policies do not guarantee good service delivery, but the successful Implementation, monitoring and evaluation of such policies do. Nleya (2011) states that the notion of service delivery protests has perhaps become a cliché in South Africa. While there was a lull in protest activity (excluding industrial action) in the first decade of democracy, the second decade has been characterised by increased militancy reminiscent of the anti-apartheid struggle days, with many of these diagnosed as so-called service delivery protests. To be sure, service delivery issues are often mentioned as part of a blend of issues that have caused the different communities to protest in media reports. The protest waves in poor urban areas that is generally recognised to have started in 2004 has been attributed to failures in service delivery (Booyesen, 2007, 2009; Marais *et al.*, 2008; Alexander, 2010; Habib, 2010 see in Nleya, 2011). It contains a host of assumptions, policies, attitudes and promises – which are starting to haunt a government which has built its promise entirely on the notion of improving service delivery. They did not promise better opportunities, better access or better support in getting services, as these did not make ringing election slogans. They promised delivery, simple and straightforward (Harber, 2009 as cited in Nleya, 2011). For the past few years, violent service delivery protests have been spreading across South Africa over access to basic services, such as water, electricity, housing and job opportunities (Langa, and Kiguwa, 2013). The paper argues that the delay in the delivery of these services is also a scientific reflection of the government that is unable to adhere to the promised targets and the commitment of fiscal resources of the government to feed corrupt tendencies in the local government service delivery discourse.

Concern about corruption—the abuse of public office for private gain—is as old as the history of government (Shah and Schacter, 2004), further argue that although statistics on corruption are often questionable, the available data suggest that it accounts for a significant proportion of economic activity. For example, in Kenya, "questionable" public expenditures noted by the Controller and Auditor General in 1997 amounted to 7.6 percent of GDP. In Latvia, a World Bank survey found that more than 40 percent of Latvian households and enterprises agreed that "corruption is a natural part of our lives and helps solve many problems." In Tanzania, service delivery survey data suggests that bribes paid to officials in the police, courts, tax

services, and land offices amounted to 62 percent of official public expenditures in these areas. Corruption is not manifested in one single form; indeed, it typically takes at least three broad forms (Shah and Schacter, 2004).

6.1 Petty, Administrative or Bureaucratic, Corruption

Many corrupt acts are isolated transactions by individual public officials who abuse their office, for example, by demanding bribes and kickbacks, diverting public funds, or awarding favours in return for personal considerations. Such acts are often referred to as petty corruption even though, in the aggregate, a substantial amount of public resources may be involved.

6.2 Grand Corruption

The theft or misuse of vast amounts of public resources by state officials—usually members of, or associated with, the political or administrative elite—constitutes grand corruption.

6.3 State Capture or Influence Peddling

Collusion by private actors with public officials or politicians for their mutual, private benefit is referred to as state capture. That is, the private sector "captures" the state legislative, executive, and judicial apparatus for its own purposes. State capture coexists with the conventional (and opposite) view of corruption, in which public officials extort or otherwise exploit the private sector for private ends. The paper in a conclusive argument assert that corruption constitute the societal raise against poor service delivery while babysitting corruption that has dominated public service without the improvement of the lives of the community, and therefore service delivery suffocates under the auspices of corruption and the political will has since vanished in thin air.

7. ACCOUNTABILITY AND BUILDING TRUST THROUGH PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

The conceptual understanding of accountability is an act of building trust through public participation in a governance space in a democratic society. Any critic to this philosophy is scholarly answered through a simple dummy scientific analysis that the truth is like cream in the milk, it always rises to the top, and it

cannot be suppressed, and therefore a public service leadership that has no space for accountability is suffocating the very same democratic principle of a responsive government of the people for the people, by the people. A successful public service also ensures that there are good strategies on how to raise revenues. A report released by the Economic Commission for Africa (2003) identifies four elements of good governance that will bring about an efficient, accountable and dependable public service. They are (Mpehle, 2012): Accountability: making public officials responsible for their actions; A predictable legal framework that ensures that rules are known in advance, and that reliable and independent judiciary and law enforcement mechanisms are in place; and Availability of information and transparency in order to enhance policy analysis, promote public debate and reduce the risk of corruption.

The paper argues that in the public domain, public accountability has been seen as an application of liberal democratic phenomenon, in which in the contemporary South African local government discourse, accountability is limited. Despite the previous critique of these liberal-democratic means of public accountability — especially with regard to their ineffectiveness caused by over centralised bureaucracy, complex state apparatus, incapable political leaders, and uninformed public (O'Loughlin, 1990 see in Haque, 2000) — such democratic means have been quite useful to ensure government accountability in terms of delivering goods and services, addressing public needs and demands, maintaining neutrality and representation, ascertaining citizens' entitlements, and guaranteeing equality and justice. The paper further argues that the methodology design of accountability is often a problematic practice given the distance of the elected leadership of the modern local government from their constituencies. It explores how the recent changes in public governance have affected its accountability in terms of the following three dimensions (Haque, 2000): The standards of accountability (accountability for what); the agents of accountability (accountable to whom); and the means of accountability (how accountability is ensured). In a scholarly conclusive argument, the paper posits that democratic local government has seen dynamic selections of accountability that is only limited to the leaders and made trust matters shift from the control of the community, which negate the notion of "the people shall govern".

8. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The paper noted the fundamentals of the public accountability that has been modelled in the context of bolt and nut to carry the object of service delivery to advance both the concept of the freedom charter "the people shall govern". The implications of taking the community into confidence have been a challenge of the democratic local government and it has fundamentally created restlessness on the side of the communities. The paper through the literature demonstrated that service delivery has been an isolated item in the hands of the leadership to deliver and communities observing and this scientific distance has made the democratic local government thus far to fail in the service delivery journey. The failure was also apportioned to internalised and institutionalised corruption that has been spectated without consistency in the application of the legal frameworks available to deal decisively with corruption. The paper recommends that the democratic shape of the local government in South Africa must adopt an inclusive public participation in order to entrench participatory democracy, and this models involves intensifying regular community meetings on service delivery issues. This recommendation encourages accountability and transparent local government. The paper on the issue of corruption posits that a decisive leadership is needed in saving state revenue from the ongoing embezzlements by both corrupt local government leaders and officials. The legislative framework exist on combating corruption must be enforced without rhetoric's of more than two decades of local government discourse. In a conclusive argument, public participation remains a fundamental tool of ensuring that the "the people shall govern" is a continuous process to build trust, celebrate success and accept collective failures of service delivery.

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LOCAL GOVERNMENT FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA: A CONCEPTUAL APPRAISAL OF PROCESSES, TOOLS AND ACTORS

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ABSTRACT

This paper recognises the importance of both the developmental state theory and the developmental local government system. The developmental state theory has been acclaimed as a way of addressing the development challenges of the post-apartheid South Africa whereas developmental local government system has been promoted as the actual vehicle for service delivery at local level, the sphere of government near the people. The paper argues that the developmental local government system has not yet achieved its intended objectives of promoting socio-economic development, reducing poverty and addressing the imbalance and inequality of the past apartheid regime in South Africa. Through the public administration research consisting of analysing how public institutions can influence a better future, this paper identifies factors that can stimulate the successful implementation of a developmental local government system in South Africa. It emphasises the implementation of appropriate processes, the use of proper tools, the roles of the actors and public participation to facilitate the practice of developmental local government. The paper reviews the literature and policies to suggest the intersection between processes, tools and actors for an effective developmental local government in South Africa.

Keywords: Developmental local government, Developmental state, Poverty, Public administration, Service delivery.

1. INTRODUCTION

African countries have endured challenges to transform the legacy of colonialism and apartheid (for South Africa) into inclusive development after gaining independence. According to Mogale (2005:135), the post-apartheid democratic South African Government

inherited a bewildering hotchpotch of administrative, financial, economic and political structures from the legacy of decades of apartheid rule. Practically, with the advent of apolitical democratic dispensation in 1994, the South African Government faced a host of daunting developmental challenges inherited from the apartheid regime (Chikulo, 2013:35). The critical development challenge of the post-apartheid South African Government has remained to implement a development process that alleviates poverty of the majority of the population and redresses the imbalance and inequality of apartheid. Since 1996, South Africa has had a new Constitution that informs the three major macroeconomic policies that have not unfortunately addressed the development challenges inherited from apartheid. The failure of the neo-liberal and pro-market macroeconomic policy reforms has exacerbated poverty and underdevelopment in many countries in Africa, thus, the renewed interest in the idea of the developmental state in Africa (Turok, 2010:497) as a partial reaction to such failure. The success of East Asian and other countries, where governments have played a leading role in strengthening growth and spreading prosperity (Turok, 2010) has prompted the curiosity in the developmental state theory by many African countries including South Africa. Such interest also reflects a broader shift in thinking about the economic functions of the state following the global financial crisis (Turok, 2010). In South Africa, not only the developmental state theory was adopted but importantly, an emphasis was put on developmental local government system.

This paper is not a comprehensive assessment of the developmental state theory and the developmental local government system, nor does it fully consider them as a magical remedy to the current service delivery fiasco that has contributed negatively to the socio-economic transformation of South Africa.

The paper maintains that, to a certain extent, developmental local government can respond to some specific development challenges inherited from the apartheid regime. For Mogale (2005:135), different sets of local government administrative structures for various racial groupings were imposed to operationalise discriminatory policies, rather than to deliver basic services to all during apartheid. The author emphasises that the main challenge for developmental local government in South Africa was therefore to ensure that decentralisation moves hand in hand with efforts to mobilise and strengthen civil society structures, processes and institutions at lower levels. The purpose of this paper is therefore to emphasise the importance of the governmental state theory for the socio-economic development in general and to highlight the need for an effective developmental local government that can facilitate service delivery. The paper recognises therefore the importance given to the local government sphere of government by the Constitution of South Africa as the service delivery structure nearest to the people.

The main argument of the paper is that service delivery dilemma is partly the consequence of a dysfunctional local government sphere. The paper concentrates on three important aspects. Firstly, it reviews the processes used by the local government sphere in delivering services. Secondly, it critically considers certain tools that can be used by the local government sphere to enhance the practice of developmental local government. Lastly, it analyses conceptually, the roles, responsibilities and relationships between the local government actors in order to facilitate, promote and sustain service delivery and consequently contribute to socio-economic development of South Africa. The paper is structured into three main chapters besides the introductory and the conclusion chapter. The second chapter defines developmental state as a theory and developmental local government as a system and reviews their application in the South African context. The third chapter analyses the post-apartheid macroeconomic policy frameworks. Two sections shortly assess separately the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and the Growth and the Employment and Redistribution (GEAR). In this chapter, the paper argues the failure of the neo-liberal pro-market policy reforms in alleviating poverty and addressing the imbalances and inequality of apartheid. It also assesses briefly the failure of the developmental social welfare approach which could have rescued

the failed macroeconomic policy frameworks. The paper suggests that an effective developmental local government could facilitate service delivery in South Africa. The fourth chapter provides details about the underlying recommendation of the paper and explore the critical factors to facilitate the implementation of an effective developmental local government system in South Africa. Three different sections of chapter four analyse separately the processes of developmental local government; some important tools to facilitate developmental local government with a particular attention to developmental social welfare and developmental social work and the actors of developmental local government with an emphasis on developmental social workers. The paper ends by a conclusion and a list of references or bibliography.

2. DEFINING DEVELOPMENTAL STATE AND THE NEED FOR DEVELOPMENTAL LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Since the success of some Asian and other countries, the developmental state theory has gained momentum in the literature as well as in discussions of policy-makers in many countries. This concise definition of the concepts developmental state and developmental local government facilitates the understanding of the context used in this paper on how the developmental local government system can contribute to service delivery and consequently the socio-economic development of South Africa.

2.1 Developmental State

This paper agrees with Burger (2014:2) that, the academic literature displays a similar lack of consensus on what the term 'developmental state' means and whether or not it could be useful in the context of South African policy. However, it is worthy to consider some key arguments on the concept. Fritz and Menocal (2007:533) understand a developmental state to exist when the state possesses the vision, leadership and capacity to bring about a positive transformation of society within a condensed period of time. For the authors, to be judged developmental, a state does not need to be in control of everything and successful in all spheres. They also warn that, transformation that is positive overall may be accompanied by a range of negative consequences, such as major environmental damage or greater social tension, which become problems that society and the state have to address in a subsequent phase. For Leftwisch (2008:12), developmental states are those states

whose successful economic and social development performance illustrates how their political purposes and institutional structures (especially their bureaucracies) have been developmentally-driven, while their developmental objectives have been politically-driven. If the purpose of this paper was assessing South Africa as a developmental state, the concern of Burger (2014) could stand. Burger (2014:1) is concerned that the precise meaning that the National Development Plan (NDP) ascribes to the term developmental state is not clear and that often the same is true for the proponents (or the opponents) of the concept. The NDP considers that developmental states are usually related with high economic growth, poverty reduction, and job creation (Mathebula, 2016:53). It is difficult to confirm the realisation of such indicators considering the current socio-economic situation of South Africa. Burger (2010:1) argues that given the structure of the SA economy, state and society, a developmental state is not suitable, nor attainable. However, the realisation of these socio-economic indicators is what the proponents of the developmental state theory consider. The purpose of this paper being to promote the achievement of a developmental state through an effective developmental local government, the argument of Edigheji (2010) on constructing a democratic development state in South Africa is valid.

Edigheji (2010:2) argues that the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Government have recognised that addressing the developmental challenges facing the country such as the economic growth, reducing the high right of poverty, inequality and unemployment, as well as improving livelihoods of South Africans requires a developmental state that is democratic and social socially inclusive that will intervene to restructure the South African economy. He emphasises that the South African Government is one of the few governments in the world that expressly committed itself to the construction of a developmental state. Edigheji (2010) is aware of the challenges for South Africa in designing the requisite institutions, formulating and implementing policies in order to achieve the developmental goals and become a truly developmental state. This paper is a modest contribution on how to materialise a developmental through an effective developmental local government system.

2.2 Developmental Local Government

The notion of a developmental local government was considered in the 1996 Constitution of the Republic

of South Africa. Mathebula, (2016:50) argues that, in terms of section 153 of the Constitution, municipalities are required to manage and structure their budgeting and planning processes in order to give priority to the basic needs and also promote social and economic development of communities. In doing so, municipalities are expected to reverse service delivery challenges of the apartheid regime while focus is also placed on previously disadvantaged communities according to the author.

The developmental local government system is based on the fact that:

"The reality in our cities, towns and rural areas is far from this ideal. Many of our communities are still divided. Millions of our people live in dire poverty, isolated from services and opportunities. The previous local government system did very little to help those with the greatest needs. The current transitional system has not yet been able to do much to reverse these long-standing patterns of inequity and unmet human needs"

According to the 1998 White Paper on Local Government (WPLG), developmental local government puts forward a vision of a developmental local government, which centers on working with local communities to find sustainable ways to meet their needs and improve the quality of their lives (Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, 1998:8). Developmental local government is local government committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs and improve the quality of their lives. It is intended to have a major impact on the daily lives of South Africans (Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, 1998:23).

The WPLG contains the following four interrelated characteristics of developmental local government:

- (a) Maximising social development and economic growth

The powers and functions of local government should be exercised in a way that has a maximum impact on the social development of communities – in particular meeting the basic needs of the poor – and on the growth of the local economy.

(b) Integrating and coordinating

Developmental local government must provide a vision and leadership for all those who have a role to play in achieving local prosperity. Poor coordination between service providers could severely undermine the development effort. Municipalities should actively develop ways to leverage resources and investment from both the public and private sectors to meet development targets.

(c) Democratising development

Municipal Councils play a central role in promoting local democracy. In addition to representing community interests within the Council, municipal councillors should promote the involvement of citizens and community groups in the design and delivery of municipal programmes.

(d) Leading and learning

Developmental local government requires that municipalities become more strategic, visionary and ultimately influential in the way they operate. Municipalities have a crucial role as policymakers, as thinkers and innovators, and as institutions of local democracy. A developmental municipality should play a strategic policy-making and visionary role, and seek to mobilise a range of resources to meet basic needs and achieve developmental goals.

The developmental local government is a structured system that is supported by the Constitution and regulated through the WPLG in South Africa. Section 154 (1) of the Constitution stipulates that:

"the national government and provincial governments, by legislative and other measures, must support and strengthen the capacity of municipalities to manage their own affairs, to exercise their power and to perform their functions".

Mogale (2005) argues that the Constitution gives the local government a pivotal and distinctive role in the underpinning and promotion of social development and democracy at local level. The definition of developmental local government as "one that puts economic development as the top priority and is able to design effective instruments to promote such an objective" (Bagchi, 2000:398) is therefore valid in the contexts of great socio-economic inequalities and unrelenting poverty, and, an era of global capitalism (Mogale, 2005:136).

3. REVIEW OF THE POST-APARTHEID CONSTITUTION AND MACROECONOMIC POLICIES

The transformation of South Africa from a segregated state to an equal and prosperous society has not materialised no matter the multitude of policies, strategies and programmes. To date, the developmental state theory has not materialised, poverty not alleviated, the gap between the poor and the rich keep on widening, the opportunities for the previously marginalised not achieved and the inequality of the past not addressed. This paper considers that the legislation and policies to support the implementation of the Constitution society have not been effectively implemented. The quick review of the failure of the two major macroeconomic policy frameworks (RDP and GEAR) to alleviate poverty and address inequality supports such argument. Moreover, the extent to which the developmental social welfare approach has also not facilitated the task of the government to deliver its constitutional mandate of creating a just, equal and prosperous society amplifies the failure of the developmental state theory in South Africa. According to RDP:

"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" (Lehohla, 2014:6).

However, RDP has passed, GEAR came into force and as the move towards AsgiSA was envisaged no tangible progress was registered in terms of socio-economic development of South Africa to address poverty and redress the imbalance and inequality of apartheid.

3.1 The Reconstruction Development Programme

Between 1994 and 1996 the post-apartheid South African government designed and implemented RDP as its first macroeconomic policy framework. RDP was considered to be an integrated, coherent socio-economic policy framework that seeks to mobilise all people and the country's resources toward the final eradication of apartheid and the building of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future (Corder, 1997). For the ruling African National Congress (ANC), RDP was meant to put emphasis on: (1) 'people-centered development', (2) 'integrated

development' and (3) 'sustainable development' that is democratic and participatory (African National Congress, 1994). Some of the commitments and delivery targets for RDP were: (1) to create Jobs (2.5 million in 10 years) (2) to build houses (1 million houses by 2000), (3) to connect homes to the national electricity grid (2.5 million by 2000); (4) to provide running water and sewerage to households (one million); (5) to distribute agricultural land to emerging black farmers (30%) and (6) to develop a new focus on primary health care, to provide ten years of compulsory free education for all children (African National Congress, 1994). Unfortunately, not only these targets were not met but the policy framework was abandoned because of the external pressure and interference of foreign investors and international financial institutions.

3.2 The GEAR

GEAR is the second macroeconomic policy framework of the post-apartheid regime adopted in 1996 to find a balance between meeting the basic needs of the people (via RDP) and, pursuing market-oriented competitiveness to generate necessary resources to finance those needs at the same time. GEAR was aimed at: (1) A competitive fast-growing economy to create sufficient jobs for all; (2) An income and opportunity redistribution in favour of the poor; (3) Sound health, education and other services provision to all; and (4) A secure environment for homes and productive places of work (Office of the President, 1996). Without undertaking a comprehensive impact assessment of RDP and, it is reasonably evident that the development challenges facing South Africa persist as the legacy of apartheid remains almost intact. The gains expected from the macroeconomic policy frameworks did not happen. As a consequence, ongoing service delivery protests are on increase. Burger (2014, 6) highlights that the low quality of social services provided in South Africa produces limited return to enable people to become economically active and productive. He is therefore sceptical about prospects or realising a developmental state in South Africa as a consequence.

3.3 The Developmental Social Work Approach

In 1997, the government adopted the White Paper for Social Work (WPSW) as its developmental social welfare approach. The WPSW is based on the principle that:

"South Africans are called upon to participate in the development of an equitable, people-centered, democratic and appropriate social welfare system. The goal of developmental social welfare is a humane, peaceful, just and caring society which will uphold welfare rights, facilitate the meeting of basic human needs, release people's creative energies, help them achieve their aspirations, build human capacity and self-reliance, and participate fully in all spheres of social, economic and political life" (Preamble of WPSW, Ministry for Welfare and Population Development, 1997).

Considered as the social partner closest to the poor and a direct translation of the new Constitution and the RDP policy framework, the WPSW was meant to integrate social and economic development as a key task of the government (Lombard, 2008). However, the author regrets that this task was scaled down when the government adopted the neoliberal-capitalist GEAR policy in 1996. Mbecke (2016) that the developmental social welfare through the WPSW has never been implemented in South Africa. Rather, it has been more of a theory than a successful practice that could have assisted in addressing the development challenges inherited from apartheid. This paper suggests the implementation of the developmental social welfare through developmental social work as one of the key tools to facilitate the success of the developmental local government system in South Africa.

4. TOWARDS AN EFFECTIVE DEVELOPMENTAL LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM IN SOUTH AFRICA

The developmental local government seems to be an appropriate system that can enhance the delivery of services and infrastructures by the local sphere of government for three reasons: (1) it is promoted by the Constitution; (2) it is regulated by the WPLG and (3) it is implemented at the local government level where public participation can be easily achieved. This paper understands that the developmental state theory has its challenges and needs to be constructed and implemented in South Africa (Edigheji, 2010). Similarly, Nel and Binns (2003:166) are correct to argue that while it is still too early to expect significant results of the developmental local government system across the country, the policy choices taken, the institutional arrangements put in place, and the initial development strategies chosen are clear indications that a new era has dawned in South Africa. For such reasons, it is necessary to analyse

factors that can be prioritised in order to facilitate the success of the developmental local government system considering the provisions of the Constitution and the White Paper on Local Government.

4.1 The Developmental Local Government Process

Although it seems to be a great system, the developmental local government can only be successful if its implementation follows official and formal processes. The correct translation, commitment and adherence to the prescripts of the WPLG by all implementers of the developmental local government system are paramount to its success. Training and capacity building, supervision, monitoring and evaluation, reporting, rewarding and punishment for non-adherence are some of the strategic actions that need to be considered by those in charge of ensuring that the system is effectively implemented. The support of the provincial and national government structures is very important. Two main ways of ensuring such support are: (1) the political willingness within and between all three spheres of government and (2) the application of the Inter-Governmental Relations whereby the roles and responsibilities of each sphere of government are clarified and executed to book. Theron (2008) is worried that the lack of political will to 'give local government back to the people' is the consequence of the fact that it is assumed that local government officials do not act as agents of development change. An appropriate Inter-Governmental Relations can solve this dilemma. For Edoun (2012:98), political and administrative decentralisation is considered important for the promotion of citizen participation in governance and development. Decentralisation can be explored as a separate factor to facilitate developmental local government.

Another critical factor with regards to the implementation process of the developmental local government system is the review of the WPLG. The prescripts of the WPLG seem to be too optimistic than realistic considering the realities of South Africa in 1998 when the WPLG was developed. The characteristics of developmental local government according to section B (1) are: maximising social development and economic growth, integrating and coordinating, democratising development, empowering and redistributing and Leading and learning. It is important to review strategies and mechanisms to facilitate achieving such characteristics. Similarly, section B (2) outlines

the following developmental outcomes of local government: Provision of household infrastructure and services, Creation of liveable, integrated cities, towns and rural areas, Local economic development, Reviewing existing policies and procedures to enhance employment and investment and Provision of special economic services. These developmental outcomes are good in paper but their achievement needs active and responsible action of the government. Reviewing such policy should include the clarification of roles and responsibilities as linked to the characteristics and other components of the section on the developmental local government. The tools are not clear besides the IDP as the only visible tool. This paper considers the Local Economic Development (LED) as one of the critical tools instead. Other tools such as budgeting, performance monitoring and participation should be clarified in the WPLG. Some critical tools are reviewed in the following section.

4.2 Developmental Local Government Tools

The various tools provided in the WPLG are critical although not well detailed. However, this paper considers other important tools that can facilitate effective developmental local government. For Mogale (2005:136), the identified instruments for development local government include forging new formal institutions, the weaving of formal and informal networks of collaboration among citizens and officials and the utilisation of new opportunities for trade feature of most successful developmental local governments is their ability to switch gears effortlessly from market-to government directed growth, or vice versa depending on the geopolitical circumstances, as well as to combine both market and state direction in a synergistic manner when opportunity arises.

Abrahams (2003:185) argues that local governments in South Africa are currently grappling with the concept of local economic development (LED), which is seen as a tool through which to achieve sustainable development. This paper acknowledges that LED has had mixed results in South Africa. A review of few cases where LED has been very successful is important to document and emphasise the circumstances or conditions that will make it succeed in most local governments and support the argument that LED should be used as the principal tool of the developmental local government system. However, such review is beyond the scope of this paper. The paper considers the context and contents of the LED

approach to suggest that it should be used as the principal tool of the developmental local government system. LED seem to be practical in facilitating the implementation of various programmes that can contribute directly to the provision of services and infrastructures as it contains projects and funds to address the needs of the people. Nel and Binns, (2003) are of the view that very real operational constraints of the LED approach are impeding progress. This is one of the reasons that lead should be re-designed as a project and funding-based tool for the delivery of services and infrastructures. LED should be used as a tool for partnerships between all local role players (government, community, private, non-governmental and private sectors) and for the management of the existing needs and available resources to achieve the goals of the developmental local government.

Koma (2012:111) emphasises the importance of LED in reducing poverty and redressing inequality by considering the principles provided by the Department of Provincial and Local Government, now Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs. Those principles are: (1) LED strategies must prioritise job creation and poverty alleviation; (2) LED must target previously disadvantaged people, marginalised communities and geographical regions to allow them to participate fully in the economic life of the country; (3) LED must involve local, national and international partnerships among communities, business and government to create joint ventures and build up local areas; and (4) LED must be developed as an approach that is best suited to a local context involving the integration of diverse economic initiatives in a comprehensive approach to local development. These principles can only be achieved if LED is developed as the principal tool for the implementation of the developmental local government system.

The IDP is a tool recognised by the WPLG for the implementation of the developmental local government system. It is however important that such tool be used in consent with the Inter-Governmental Relations system, the Sectoral Planning and other associated Tool. According to Fuo (2013:234), the IDP fits into the planning obligations imposed by the Constitution on local government. Section 153 of the Constitution obliges every municipality to structure and manage its planning processes in order to enable it to give priority to the basic needs of communities, promote socio-economic development within its jurisdiction, and participate in national and provincial development programmes. This provision

demonstrates that the satisfaction of the basic needs is only one of the objectives that should guide municipal planning. Abrahams (2003:186) argues that the IDP process is meant to arrive at decisions on issues such as LED in a more consultative, systematic and strategic manner. In other words, the author means that many of the IDPs that have been introduced have identified LED as an important vehicle through which sustainable development can be achieved in South Africa. It is important to highlight that the effectiveness and efficiency of local governments are currently questioned in South Africa considering the scourge of service delivery protests. A separate research on the link between the planning process through the IDP system and the practical programme and project planning and implementation through LED is critical but outside the scope of this paper.

Public participation is cited as a tool but should be emphasised although it is also mentioned in the IDP process. Mogale (2005:136) believes that a strong and flourishing civil society is an important prerequisite to any meaningful, vibrant, democratic and decentralised governance system that intends to address poverty. The author suggests that public participation to work, the political environment must be supportive of people's welfare through, for example, a transparent, accountable and fair system of sharing resources and opportunities to avoid the poorer members of civil society being solely preoccupied with basic economic survival issues. Edoun (2012:98) argues that citizen participation is critical to development, since it enables local people to control and monitor resources and developmental activities.

The other critical tool suggested by this paper is the developmental social welfare approach to be implemented through the developmental social work system. According to Mbecke (2016), five key themes of the developmental social welfare approach justify why social welfare is a critical tool in developmental local government through developmental social work: (1) the rights-based approach or the right to development and to access an income as a mean to bridge gaps between the rich and the poor; (2) inter-relations between social and economic development; (3) democracy and participation in development; (4) social welfare pluralism or the role of the state and civil society in social development; and (5) to reconcile the micro-macro divide in developmental social welfare theory and practice. The developmental social work system is therefore important in materialising the

above themes by involving developmental social workers in the implementation of the developmental local government. Mbecke (2016) argues that the democratic South African Government lost the focus on the role of social workers in addressing social issues and at the same time collaborating in the economic dimension of development.

4.3 Actors of Developmental Local Government System

The tools to facilitate the developmental local government system as elaborated above need the contribution of various actors or implementers and beneficiaries of the local government's services and infrastructures for the system to thrive. The White Paper for Local Government emphasises the role of the public at four different levels: (1) as voters (to ensure maximum democratic accountability of the elected political leadership); (2) as citizens (to express their views via different stakeholder associations); (3) as consumers and service-users (who expect value-for-money, affordable services and courteous and responsive service); and (4) as organised partners (to be involved in the mobilisation of resources for development via different institutions). The Batho Pele (People First) principles are promoted to facilitate the role to be played the public.

The other key actors of developmental local government are the national, provincial and local government structure through cooperative governance and Inter-Governmental Relations. The roles and responsibilities of each sphere of government and each department or organisation need to be clarified and adhered to with commitments of their decision-making authorities. It is however important that local government should function independently with a fully committed, responsible and accountable political and administrative structure. Other actors referred to as partners in resource mobilisation by the WPLG include: Community development corporations, public-private and public-public partnerships around service, community contracting for services such as refuse collection, development partnerships around issues such as LED, ecotourism and farming, community banking and other forms of community finance control such as stokvels, community information and learning centres as central points for using the new information technologies (e.g. the Internet, e-mail) for development purposes, emerging business development centres, training and capacity-building initiatives aimed at building up the skills base for

development projects, social housing mechanisms and value-adding initiatives aimed at transforming wastes into products such as linking recycling to job creation for the unemployed.

The international communities existing within the local government boundaries should also play the role of effective actors in the developmental local government. Their contribution in the form of funding, expertise, exchange and partnership can also contribute to the success of that particular developmental local government. This paper suggests an additional very important actor of developmental local development, the developmental social work system through "Developmental Social Workers" (DSWs). This paper argues that the success of the developmental social work system can directly contribute to the delivery of social and economic services and infrastructure and consequently contribute directly to local development. Local government authorities should therefore prioritise the involvement of DSWs in the local development programmes, activities and actions. Mbecke (2016:6) suggests among other things that DSWs and other developmental social work professionals should understand the socio-economic and political context in which they operate if they wish to address poverty and inequality. For this reason, they should be effective agents of change who understand the macroeconomic policy frameworks of the government and their socio-economic policies, strategies and programs to alleviate poverty and promote equality. They should be able to align their developmental social work actions with those socio-economic policies, strategies and programs.

5. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this paper argues that realising a developmental state is not only possible, but indispensable for many under-developed and developing countries (Bagchi, 2000) such as South Africa. Alleviating poverty and redressing the inequality of the past remains the key priority of a developmental state in South Africa and consequently the main vision of the developmental local government system. Developmental local government is promoted by the Constitution and regulated by the WPLG; yet, poverty and inequality still prevail in South Africa. This has prompted a conceptual appraisal of the processes, the tools and the actors that can facilitate developmental state through an effective developmental local government. While the WPLG contains important

prescripts on how to implement developmental local government, the processes, the tools and the actors need to be revisited. The review of the WPLG is essential as well as the consideration of the coupling of the developmental local government system with the developmental social work and the involvement of developmental social workers in the programmes, activities and actions of the local sphere of government.

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SERVICE DELIVERY IN POST-APARTHEID LOCAL GOVERNMENT: CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS OF CURRENT INEQUALITIES

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ABSTRACT

South African history of colonial-apartheid created a separation of the society into a racial one, which the service delivery has been that of the inferior for the bulk majority of the society, in particular, Africans. The ruling party, the African National Congress (ANC), adopted the "Freedom Charter" as the statement of governance principle in which the democratic breakthrough promised a consolidated service delivery that is argued politically being of "the better life for all". The fundamental question of the paper, is whether in the period more than two decades of democratic local government in South Africa, the society has experienced the "better life for all"? This enquiry is also argued in relation to the existing inequalities as a result of service delivery ambiguities in the context of urbanisation theory and rural local government. The second line of enquiry is whether two decades of democratic local government has seen challenges that are perpetuating the existing inequalities? This paper is a concept that analyses the literature and the practical business of the democratic local government with regard to service delivery question. The paper argues the literature against the observed service delivery success and failures to advance the better life for all citizens. The paper is focusing on the legislative frameworks, good governance, Integrated Development Plan (IDP), financial sustainability, oversight role, public participation, urbanisation and rural local government service delivery. All of these concepts, the literature is used to argue the existing possible service delivery inequalities. The paper will be concluded by examining the state of local government service delivery and further provides a recommendation critical for elimination of inequalities.

Keywords: Service delivery, Good governance, Urbanisation, Inequalities, Oversight, Public participation, Sustainability.

1. INTRODUCTION

Post-apartheid service delivery of democratic local government in South Africa had been understood as a pro-poor in nature, in which the fundamental aspect of it is underpinned by the conceptual realisation of the people centered local government. The landscape of democratic system of government in as far as service delivery has been a decentralised system in the quest to bring government closer to the people. Sellers and Lidström (2007) state that despite growing interest in decentralised governance, the local government systems that comprise the most common element of decentralisation around the world have received little systematic attention. The attention in the context of the paper is to outline the existing realities of inequalities in the entrenchment of a pro-poor local government strategy, which signified the service delivery of the post-apartheid local government in South Africa. The paper argues that the strategy of service delivery contradicts the existence of urbanisation as an economic drive of local government. Secondly, the paper in its pursuance of scholarship of Public Administration underscores the existence of local government as fundamental to bring government at a door step of the communities. According to Blair (2000), the democratic local governance, now a major subtheme within the overall context of democratic development, promises that government at the local level that can become more responsive to citizen desires and more effective in service delivery. The assertion was followed and supported by a number of legislative frameworks and practices; IDP as a strategic plan, public participation, oversight and a number of theoretical frameworks underpinning the character of the democratic local government service delivery. The paper constitutes a desk top analysis of the theoretical discourse of the premeditated democratic local government in South Africa. The paper also argues the local government space as a fundamental and societal social relation, which

is organised in a strategic format. McEwan (2003) postulate in validating the earlier assertion that the ongoing political transformation in South Africa in the context of debates about good governance and participatory democracy. It first appraises the current transformations of local government in South Africa, focusing specifically on relationships between gender equality and citizenship on the one hand, and local government policy, legislation, and community participation on the other, and then explores meanings of participation and how they inform approaches towards local socio-economic development. The paper therefore positions local government service delivery as a microcosm of the bureaucratic structure that should address the imbalances of the past and the current inequalities; more specially, the existence of opportunities for the previously and currently disadvantaged people, gender sensitive given the patriarchal nature of South Africa. The paper's conclusion would present an eye opener for the scholarship in the Public Administration discourse.

2. OVERVIEW OF LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK: SERVICE DELIVERY CONTEXT

In apartheid South Africa, the oppressed majority had no way of participating in the policy decisions that impacted so harshly on their lives. Legislation was used to control black people's movements and actions, thereby effectively removing them from decision-making. Unable even to exercise their franchise democratically, the largest population groups were excluded from even the most basic forms of representative democracy (Tadesse, Ameck, Christensen, Masiko, Matlhakola, Shilaho, and Smith, 2006). The paper views the legislation as an important systematic guiding tool that project the kind of democratic local government, its features and character that underpins its existence. Service delivery in the critical analysis of the paper is a manifestation of public policy. The international trends in the quest to planning for service delivery model in local government as Argento, Grossi, Tagesson, and Collin (2009) argue that in recent years, the local government sector in European countries has undergone important changes involving, among other things, the externalisation of local public service provision through various forms of corporatisation, public-public collaboration, public-private partnerships and contracting out. An important consequence of these institutional changes has been the recasting of local governance systems

through the need for increased cooperation between public and private actors. The legislative aspect of service delivery is a strategic stance to determine service delivery arrangements. Lamothe, Lamothe, and Feiock (2008) state that while scholars of local service delivery arrangements are fully aware that the process is dynamic, research has tended to take the form of cross-sectional studies that are inherently static in nature. The orientation of the legislation requires advocacy in outlining the role of the community and advance civil rights guarantee as guided by democracy, and therefore legislation is a masterpiece of addressing service delivery challenges of the modern society. Mdlongwa (2014) postulate that increased awareness and education programmes to be carried out by Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) in communities to educate them on their rights, how to participate in municipal affairs and to make them understand key aspects of legislation like the Municipal System Act of 2000 and the Municipal Finance Management Act (MFMA) of 2003 and how it impacts on them. The role of civil societies provides an environment that necessitates an active citizenry that would complement the scientific intention of bringing government closer to the people.

3. GOOD GOVERNANCE AND OVERSIGHT ON SERVICE DELIVERY

The democratic value of local government in the post-apartheid society requires an oversight of service delivery, which in the context of the paper, is a reflection of good governance. Maserumule (2011) proclaim in his thesis that good governance is a conceptual problematique. It means different things to different people depending on the context from which it is used. Good governance is a complex concept. It therefore cannot simply and only be understood from a positivist or realist epistemology. The paper in the quest to keep focus argues that the oversight on service delivery may constitute panacea for good governance in which the conceptual entrenchment of "value for money" is fundamental. The paper articulate the existence of oversight role being established as a breaking ground for accountability as a fundamental basis for good governance in the midst of public service clouded corrupt elements. Pillay (2004) argues that the effect of corruption in South African local government discourse on service delivery has seriously constrained development of the national economy and has significantly inhibited good governance in the country. South Africa's complex political design is a contributing factor to the rise

of corruption, which has adversely affected stability and trust and which has damaged the ethos of democratic values and principles. The accountability business has been compromised by the emphasis of political correctness in which the paper posits that the inequalities in the application of law has been a fundamental setback to the unequal society, while public services leaders who commit acts of corruption are not dealt with decisively mark the perpetuation of polluting the democratic space in a telepathic call for collapse of democratic systems. The paper further underscore that transparency as ushered by oversight is an important element of good governance.

Piotrowski and Van Ryzin (2007) postulate by affirming that the proper balance between governmental secrecy and open government is at the forefront of contemporary public debate. Citizens have different degrees of interest in and demand for governmental transparency. The paper notes that the transparency requires participatory governance that is underpinned by local government democratic aspirations. In the scholarly analysis of advancing relationships of the people and institutions, Gaventa (2004:25) states that a first key challenge for 21st century is the construction of new relationships between ordinary people and the institutions—especially those of government which affect their lives. Gaventa (2004:26), reflecting the empirical evidence, further argues the Voices of the Poor report; prepared for the World Development Report (WDR) 200/1 finds that many poor people around the globe perceive large institutions – especially those of the state – to be distant, unaccountable and corrupt. The paper in the quest to argue in the context of being subjective of good governance, assert that to a large extent, good governance represents an ideal discourse that is never able to satisfy everybody. The rich would have less interest on the local government affairs, which indicate the subjectivity of good governance.

4. PUBLIC PARTICIPATION AND SERVICE DELIVERY

Tadesse *et al.* (2006) state that if a democracy is limited to only periodic elections in which people vote for those who govern them, or recall those who underperform in office, it means that public participation in policy processes is limited to specific timeframes, however, the paper assert that the design of local government in the modern society is characterised by involvement of the constituencies in ensuring

scientific relevance of progressive government that is responsive to the needs of the people. Rowe and Frewer (2000) suggest that a variety of public participation procedures exist that aim to consult and involve the public, ranging from the public hearing to the consensus conference. Unfortunately, a general lack of empirical consideration of the quality of these methods arises from confusion as to the appropriate benchmarks for evaluation. The paper argues that in the interface of public participation and service delivery constitute a methodological space of monitoring and oversight by the communities as the beneficiaries of a democratic local government system. The environment of decision making in a democratic local government is a participatory process in which Webler, Tuler and Krueger (2001) argue that it is now widely accepted that members of the public should be involved in environmental decision-making. This has inspired many to search for principles that characterise good public participation processes. In the scholarship analysis of the paper, public participation marks a process of the evolution of the modern local government, and however the paper further argues that in the midst of the system of public participation, local government still confronted by the service delivery protests that are a manifestation of a failure of public participation.

The scholarly and scientific argument of the paper assert that modern local government created a system that if it fails, it would also reflect the failure of the community to decide on service delivery discourse and the failure would then not be apportioned to the political leadership, but be that of a collective. The failure of public participation is a catch-22 situation on the modern local government. The identification of audience in the local government public participation has created a fundamental social exclusion that renders public participation a failure. Barnes, Newman, Knops and Sullivan (2003) argue that the emphasis on public participation in contemporary policy discourse has prompted the development of a wide range of forums within which dialogue takes place between citizens and officials. Often such initiatives are intended to contribute to objectives relating to social exclusion and democratic renewal. The question of 'who takes part' within such forums is, then, critical to an understanding of how far new types of forums can contribute to the delivery of such objectives. The paper conclusively posits that identification of the authentic audience without social exclusion is fundamental for the success of public participation in the modern local government affairs.

5. INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PLAN AND SERVICE DELIVERY

The historical establishment of democratic local government has been associated with the effectiveness of planning for implementation of service delivery. The planning tools for local government collapsed into a single coordinated process of no ambiguities. Harrison (2006) states that the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) is a focus of South Africa's post-apartheid municipal planning system and is also now regarded as a key instrument in an involving framework of intergovernmental planning and coordination. Harrison (2006) further argues that the 1998 White Paper on Local Government identified the IDP as a key tool of 'developmental local government' (meaning local government that is concerned with promoting the economic and social development of communities) and linked the IDP to a broader package of instruments which include performance management tools, participatory processes, and service delivery partnerships. The IDP is associated with arrangements of consistent communication between municipal elected leaders and the community they are serving, which in the context of the paper reflect the governmental relationship arrangements. Mdlongwa (2014) postulate that municipalities must make clear efforts through improved modes of communication to encourage public participation in key municipal processes like the public consultations for the Integrated Development Plans (IDPs). The understanding of IDP as outlined is a coordinated fundamental tool that determines the business of local government and should address the poverty and inequalities of a democratic society. The paper argues that the approach of addressing poverty through the IDP is to consider planning process that promotes growth and development. May and Govender (1998) argues that over the past decade governments have been seen to be increasingly constrained in terms of the actions that they are able to take that promote growth or regulate the ways in which the benefits of growth are distributed.

The paper in noting the growth and development strategy, argues that the role of local government in the growth is an active Local Economic Development (LED) drive that created opportunities for the local community through maximisation of local potential. Helmsing (2003) affirm the argument by asking an important scholarship

question that as decentralisation advances, the question of local economic development acquires more significance. How can local governments and other local actors such as local producers and their associations, community based organisations, as well as NGOs and donors contribute to local economic development and poverty reduction? In the quest to respond to the earlier scholarship question, the paper posits that IDP is an inclusive plan of the democratic local government that should by a large extent address and promote active LED program that is progressive to address the need of the local communities. In the context of the paper, LED is an important development of a democratic local government, and the effectiveness of it is a reflection of the local government that is responsive to the people's needs. Rogerson (2006), in his literature of outlining the pro-poor LED argues in describing features of the emerging nexus in South Africa between tourism, poverty alleviation and local economic development interventions. The South African experience of evolving a strong pro-poor focus in LED planning is distinctive in the international context of writings on LED. Pro-poor LED is increasingly the outcome of the application of measures and programmes that are linked to the approach of pro-poor tourism in both rural and urban areas of South Africa. However the paper argues that by virtue of having urban and rural class of the local government, these are contradictions have negative influence on the slow response of LED, particularly in the rural municipality given a low revenue attraction. The LED model of IDP has manifested into inequalities of responding to the community needs than that of the urban local government, and this historic phenomenon will continue to reflect a dilemma of the contemporary local government in South Africa. In the literature review of the apartheid legacy affecting negatively the current democratic local government discourse, Binns and Nel (2002) in agreement posit that the post-apartheid government in South Africa faces significant challenges in coming to terms with the country's apartheid legacy. In addition, newly adopted principles of democratic participation and civic responsibility have made local government a key focal point for development initiatives. In the conclusive review of the scholarship, this represents a long journey of inequalities in the planning of equal service delivery for all and addressing it would constitute a rigorous scholarship review of IDP; and addressing in particular the question of an unequal society.

6. FINANCIAL SUSTAINABILITY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The model exchange for services offered by municipalities in South Africa is currently beyond allocations of the developmental projects of infrastructure, the fiscal boost for local government remains the rates and taxes (Fjeldstad, 2004). One of the inequalities in the local government is the revenue collections strategy results affect the financial sustainability of the local government. Fjeldstad (2004) argues that a major problem is inadequate collection of revenues, mainly due to widespread non-payment. The results are year-end deficits, a reduction of local government services to balance the budget, and higher fees and taxes for those who do pay. According to the former minister for provincial and local government, the government regards 'addressing the issue of non-payment for services as fundamental to the challenge of creating effective, accountable, developmental local government' (Mufamadi 2002:11 see in Fjeldstad, 2004). The non-payment of rates and service charges, particularly in African and coloured areas at the time, was not, however, a new phenomenon in South Africa (Bond, 2000; McDonald 2002a see in Fjeldstad, 2004). During the apartheid period, boycotts of rents and user charges became the chief weapons against what was considered an illegitimate regime. In the late 1980s, many townships and rural areas in the homelands were already effectively ungovernable (SoG 1998 see in Fjeldstad, 2004). The pursuance of the literature posits that the pro-poor strategy of local government in particular created an impression that the inability-to-pay argument represents a pro-poor argument, which in the context of the paper is agitated by the political promise of the "better life for all" as lamented by the ANC government. The political strategy of the ruling party also accorded the pro-poor service delivery as Tadesse *et al.* (2006) argues that the new government promptly produced an important White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery (sub-titled Batho Pele – "People First"). It prescribes eight principles to guide government's approach to public service delivery, encourage participation and promote responsive governance. In the conceptual analysis, the paper argues that principle three (3) of "Batho Pele" states that "all citizens should have access to the services to which they are entitled", and this assertion find the expression in the "Freedom Charter", in which posits that "the people shall govern". The paper argues that the internalisation of the above policy assertions created an impression that if the people

are governing, it is therefore systematically optional to pay for services in one's government, and these are the existing features of contradiction in the public administration discourse and perpetrators of local government ambiguities on service delivery and its financial sustainability. The most interesting part of the demand for services that are rising with limited fiscal capital to undertake on the demand is a contemporary dilemma of local government. Asibuo (1998) postulate the earlier assertion in arguing that in recent years, local authorities in Africa have found it increasingly difficult to fund services because their costs have been mounting while their sources of revenue have been declining. They are urged to find other sources of revenue in order to reduce their dependence on central government. The contradictions of available funds and increasing demands and promises are fundamentally at the crossroad.

7. URBANISATION AND RURAL LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The paper moves from an understanding that in the history of South Africa, urban areas have been a manifestation of the apartheid structures to isolate the vast majority of the society, mainly Africans in order to create the first class citizens that benefit from the first class economy. Former homelands and the current rural areas of the democratic local government represent, firstly, the second class citizens that are in the context of the paper benefiting from the second class service delivery in a form of "pro-poor service delivery". The earlier reflect a divided society in the landscape of apartheid inhuman society. The paper argues that these inequalities are still dominating the service delivery in the local government discourse in South Africa in a form of urban service delivery and pro-poor service delivery. Service delivery remains paramount in the current public administration as a fundamental topical issue of failure and successes. According to Dillinger (1994:6), service failures also have distributional implications. The economic benefit of urbanisation has not been uniformly distributed. As countries have urbanised, poverty has urbanised as well. The research on urban migration demonstrated as Dillinger (1994:6) further argues that it is estimated that by the end of 21st century, 90 percent of the absolute poor in Latin America will be living in cities, as will about 40 percent of the poorest in Africa and 45 percent of those in Asian (Rondinelli, 1990 see in Dillinger, 1994:6). The earlier assertion confirms the realistic inequalities of service delivery in the modern local government discourse in South

Africa. The difficult scholarship questions are, firstly, why is the rural local government unable to produce service delivery that is equal to that of the urban local government? Secondly, what happened to the political sloganeering that suggested a better life for all South Africans? The mastering of equal service delivery stands to confront the local government in the current democratic discourse, which requires innovation.

8. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The paper argued that service delivery in a modern local government demonstrated difficult contradictions of the scholarship of public administration. The review of the literature noted with concern the increasing phenomenon of urbanisation and rural local government strategies as the fundamental perpetuators of first and second class citizens, which empirically produced an unequal society, and reflect a fundamental call for the review of the scholarship. The paper noted the success of the modern local government in creating systems that underpins democracy such as public participation and legislative output that signified the size and shape of democracy, and fundamentally demonstrating the character of the emerging democracy. Maharaj and Ramballi (1998) in conformity states that in recent years, especially since 1990, there has been an increased emphasis on LED strategies as South African cities focus on urban reconstruction and development to try to reduce the inequalities associated with apartheid. The conclusive progressive and radical change of introducing IDP is a significant sign of modern local government responsiveness to the needs of the society. In the midst of the planning that is participatory and effective, the service delivery still reflect dilemma for bringing the "better life for all". The challenge of revenue collection reflects a turn to the political stance of pro-poor service delivery that the paper concludes that, it had created ambiguities that have set the ANC government to a failure without contradictions. The phenomenon created a negative impact on the fiscal position of the local government in which it contradicts with continues political promise to do more. The above assertion contributes another setup for more failure in the service delivery discourse. It remains a recommendation of the paper that model of public participation be channeled to ensure that the public produce a realistic target for service delivery and be the co-owners of the success and failures. The innovative strategies should be

created as a masterpiece of rural service delivery to create space for rural development. The political grounds should not be created through instilling unrealistic hope on the society without rising up to the expectations. This political stance has created an interesting political development of what is proclaimed as "leadership from below" and further perpetuate deficit in the fiscal resources of the local government. Finally, the local government must deal decisively with corruption and therefore this paper was a contribution to local government scholarship.

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OVERCOMING GENDER BIAS IN THE WORKPLACE: BRIDGING THE GENDER GAP AT THE LOCAL SPHERE OF GOVERNMENT

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ABSTRACT

The implication of gender bias in the workplace has had a negative impact in the development of women since it seems that they are generally the victims of workplace discrimination. Often, women are relegated to low paying, clerical and administrative jobs, while men are placed in career related positions employment with the promise of a good salary and career advancement. Gender diversity programmes can somewhat be effective in acknowledging the presence of women as well as commitment to eliminate sex discrimination in the workplace. Gender bias ensues because of personal values, perceptions and traditional perceptions held about men and women. The study compares gender diversity programmes and training in the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality as well as Scaw Metals, which are based on the East Rand, Gauteng Province, South Africa. The study further explores whether these programmes are adequate to bridge the gap on the local sphere of government. The study adopted the quantitative method to statistically illustrate differences in gender. The study recommends that effective measures need to be implemented reduce gender disparity especially at local government.

Keywords: Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality, Scaw Metals, gender, gender equality and gender discrimination.

1. INTRODUCTION

Section nine (9) of the South African Constitution assures equality before the law and freedom from discrimination to the people of the Republic of South Africa. The right to equality is the first right listed in the Bill of Rights (SA, 1996). The Bill prohibits discrimination by government and private persons. However, it allows Affirmative Action to balance the unfair discrimination of the past, especially at the

workplace between men and women. The under-representation of qualified women in leadership positions has created a gender gap in society and the workplace, where women find it a challenge to occupy top management jobs. This has been a trend in South Africa regardless of the sector; women are being deprived higher positions in government departments. There is a distinct lack of women empowerment in both the private and public sectors. Gender discrimination in the workplace is on the increase since most organisations have failed to implement adequate recruitment systems, promotion opportunities and skills training for women. This is one of the reasons why women occupy low paying jobs in both the public and private sector (Hick, 2012:3). The majority of the government departments have failed to promote gender programmes. Moreover, the lack of funding for these initiatives has led to reduce the vision of women empowerment, where women are still viewed as a vulnerable group in the workplace (Hick, 2012:4). The lack of women empowerment initiatives is seen as a major setback and a catalyst to gender disparity in the workplace. Women initiatives are taken for granted in both the public and business sector. Although the State has implemented several legislative frameworks, policies and programmes to promote or uphold the right of women such as The Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act 2000, The employment equity Act of 1998, The Domestic Violence Act, of 1998, Skills Development Act, of 1998 and the Constitution of South Africa adopted in 1996, much work needs to be done to overcome gender disparity. Konte (2013) adds that women have been facing barriers to good job opportunities, especially in developing countries. Women have not benefited from formal work opportunities as men. Various legislation was introduced to promote women in the workplace. However, the problem of gender disparity still persists and there seems no sign of it diminishing in the near future. Gender

biases has had a negative impact on most of the South African public sector departments including municipalities such as Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality, which has been faced with this problem since the dawn of democracy in 1994. The latter will be compared to Scaw Metals which is a private sector company at the East Rand. Scaw Metals is ranked as one of the biggest steel companies in the world which has more than 5 500 workers (Integrated annual report, 2014). Based on the company report, the workforce comprised only 27% women. The remaining 73% comprise males in this steel company. This demonstrates that there is inequality in terms of gender balance at Scaw Metals. The paper illustrates the importance of gender equality in government institutions and the private sector.

2. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality is the first level administrative division in local government and it is based in the East of Johannesburg, Gauteng Province, South Africa. The purpose of this paper is to critically analyse and compare the level of gender equality in the private and public sector as well as the frameworks and programmes implemented to balance gender equality in South African society particularly in the workplace. The quantitative method approach was adopted to acquire data. The literature review through desktop searches was preferred to understand the context of gender bias in the workplace, especially in the public sector. Scholarly articles, books, theses/dissertations, government reports, legislative frameworks formed part of the sources to collect data for the study. The study also considered the strategies that were implemented towards ensuring gender equality in the workplace.

3. CONCEPTUAL MEANING OF GENDER

The state of being male or female typically is used with reference to social and cultural differences rather than biological ones (Nobelius, 2004). In addition, it is the social roles which are allocated to men and women are considered differently in political, economic and cultural challenges and characterized unequally in societies. Gender is differentiated by the sex which is determined biologically. Gender is the term used in different fields or disciplines. OALD (2010:622) defines gender as "the fact of being male or female especially when considered reference to social and cultural differences, not differences in biology issues of class,

race and gender." Gender can also be defined as "the power relations between women and men and it is a social construct that assigns roles and worth to each sex based on the group and culture" (Omoyibo and Ajayi, 2010). Based on our understanding, gender in work place is regarded as equality between male and female. There is no need for discrimination between the two sexes. The American Psychological Association (2011:1) defines gender as the "feelings and behaviour that a given culture associates with a person's biological sex". There are certain difficulties such as a backlog in overcoming gender disparity issues in the South African work place, with local government being one of the most affected spheres of government, especially in maintaining equilibrium between male and female. Reeves and Baden (2000:5) refer to gender as "the biological characteristics that categorise someone as female or male, and they further elaborated that gender is the socially determined ideas and practices of what it is to be female or male". The United Nations (2010:12) refers to gender as the roles and responsibilities of men and women that are created in families, our societies and our cultures. The United Nations definition holds specific impact of the relevant factors, such as gender issues with the focus on women and the relationship they have amongst them. The term gender is defined in many different ways which predominantly depends on the study and the scholar's point of his/her understanding.

4. UNDERSTANDING THE MEANING OF GENDER EQUALITY

Gender equality is one of the major critical issues the world is currently experiencing which needs to be solved in the near future. The United Nations (2007:1) refers to gender equality as "women and men have equal conditions for realizing their full human rights and for contributing to and benefiting from economic, social, cultural and political development." Reeves and Baden (2000:12) describe gender equality as "having the same equal opportunities in life". Even though the gender equality concept has many definitions, the meaning remains unchanged and gender stratification in its original sense has become an increasing source of questioning. The reason can be attributed to the fact that the concept can be defined differently in the employment or working world (Addis, 2011:1). Even though gender equality has been a provision in many countries, gender disparity or discrimination still exists in many parts of the world with South African being one of those countries which still faces

difficulties in their government employment at the local sphere of government (Salem, 2003:3). Gender discrimination can be regarded as the catalyst or the primary cause of gender inequality which affects high level of performance management in most public sector departments. This leads to the differential treatment of male and female including their abilities and qualifications (Black and Stratham, 2001:2). Gender equality is, therefore, the equal valuing by society of the similarities and the differences of men and women and the roles they play. This is based on men and women being full partners in their homes, communities, societies, and workplace and leadership roles at top management levels that will always include employing women in higher positions merely as a strategic management manoeuvre in governments departments, Non-Governmental Organisations and the Private sector. Gender equality starts with the valuing of boys and girls at a younger age by showing them the importance of equality as this will play a positive role in empowering women at a later stage to take decisions collectively, with necessary resources, knowledge and organisational capacity building. Women will play an important role in controlling their lives and be effective in pursuing their values, self-reliance and be more influential in society. The above definitions have similar aspects and they all state that gender equality is the promotion of equality through social protection of men and women, job creation, governance, social dialogue, enterprise development are important aspects in the quality of life and equal rights in the work place for both genders. Even though there has been certain progress on gender equity, the concern of inequality remains an immense problem in society in terms of employment preferences. Gender remains a challenge in the South African workplace, because women are still considered inferior to occupy senior and top positions. In summary, gender equality is a process of promoting women to exercise their full human rights.

5. THE CAUSES OF GENDER DISCRIMINATION IN THE WORKPLACE

According to Dibetso (2013:4), the following are the reasons for gender discrimination in the workplace:

5.1 Culture

Culture is another promoter towards gender equality in the workplace. The reason is that women are considered to have a primary responsibility for

childcare and domestic duties. Women, particularly from poor backgrounds have fewer opportunities to education and employment.

5.2 Employers who Provide Different Working Conditions

Often employers fail to balance the level of employment conditions in the workplace. Men are preferred and the conditions favour them compared to women.

5.3 Implementation Policy

The South African government is currently facing challenges in the implementation of core legislation to protect and transform gender equality in the workplace. A lower budgetary allocation for the training of women is still a serious concern that needs attention.

5.4 Attitude Towards Gender Equality

Attitude towards gender equality among men in top positions remains an entrenched concern. It is questionable since they perceive women as a threat to the positions they occupy in their respective departments.

5.6 Limited Transformation of Women in the Workplace

There has been limited transformation in the appointment, recruitment, selection and training opportunities for women to progress to senior or strategic positions. Women are rarely trained as professional managers in policy formulation and remain underrepresented in policy decision-making.

6. THE COMMON TYPES OF GENDER DISCRIMINATION IN THE WORKPLACE

Women are not given an equal opportunity to prove themselves in the workplace, which has resulted in the gender issue having become more complex and uncontrollable. Women do not have the opportunity to showcase their full potential. Dibetso (2013:10) highlight the following types of gender discrimination:

6.1 Financial Inequality

This is whereby women earn less than men, although they share identical professional qualifications and credentials (Gender Statistics in South Africa, 2011).

6.2 Glass Ceiling

This type of discrimination is whereby women are prevented from competing for a higher position and climb the professional ladder through fair and equal promotion in the workplace.

6.3 Gender Stereotypes

This is whereby the definitions of masculinity and feminist influence the types of jobs that are assigned to women compared to their male counterparts.

6.4 Pregnancy and Motherhood

This is becoming a frequent excuse for women to be discriminated against as well as denied employment or promotion.

6.5 Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment is a common form of discrimination in society, which is, inter alia, unwelcomed sexual advances, requests for sexual favours and verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature.

6.6 Ageism

Age preference is taken into consideration. Women are occasionally judged by their age and not their qualifications and experience. This form of discrimination has led to violence in certain parts of the world.

7. THE COMMON CHALLENGES TO GENDER EQUALITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

There are several common challenges against gender equality in South Africa. Women are under-represented in management positions within departments, most municipalities including the private sector. There are inadequate policies to transform a male dominated environment, which has led to fewer women councillors who have been afforded an opportunity to stand for the second term in office as a result of gender disparity.

Non-compliance and lack of monitoring of the Gender Bill remains a challenge, particularly in the government departments. The system is unable to establish the impact on women since the lack of evidence of gender mainstreaming in planning, budgeting and implementation of poverty alleviation programmes. The problem of gender equality can be attributed to the law-makers because the Judiciary,

political partners, trade unions and Non-governmental organisations (NGO) have failed to promote equality in the workplace and society at large (Hicks, 2012:5-6).

8. THE IMPACT OF GENDER BIAS IN THE WORKPLACE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN TO LEADERSHIP POSITIONS

Gender bias in the workplace plays a negative impact in productivity and the growth of companies. Gender bias can also play a role in the employee turnover of women, which may occasionally go beyond and result in violence in the workplace. Bias promotes harassment of women since they feel inferior and are deprived their most valuable human rights of happiness. The inadequacy of policy measures to transform the development of women in the workplace is weak (The SABPP Women's Report, 2012).

9. THE STATUS OF GENDER EQUALITY AT WORKPLACE

Women have never been in leadership positions, change and shape the economic, social and political landscape. Govender and Vyas-Doorgarpesad (2013:113) in the study undertaken at the Sedibeng District Municipality state that the municipalities are not promoting or empowering women to develop a progressive outlook and have failed to combat gender disparities, especially promoting or appointing women in leadership positions. The latter has a negative impact on the current employment status at the workplace even though there has been a dramatic shift in the 21st century to introduce legislation to implement gender equality which has played a part in reducing gender division in certain organisations. As the result, women are economically independent and socially autonomous representing 42% of the South African workforce. Although 55% are university graduates, women are still not considered in higher positions in most organisations around the country. There is a big gap that women in South Africa need to fill despite the introduction of relevant policies and legislation which will favour them in terms of decision-making (Mafunisa, 2006:261). Goldblatt and Mclean (2011:34) state that income inequality has risen faster in South Africa than any other developed State in Africa. Sharma (2006:2-3), in the study of the Indian public sector adds that the workplace is a setting where gender inequalities is noticeable and sustained. Goldblatt and Mclean (2011:35) assert that the shaping power is the component which attributes or generates gender inequalities at the workplace. Strategies for gender inequality have been kept in place but this concern

remains an ongoing challenge, especially in the developing States which includes South Africa. Our country still lags behind the Gender Development Index (Gender Development Index, 2012). Based on the findings conducted by different various scholars in the recent years, it can be inferred that women continue to face barriers in the promotion/appointment to senior positions. They are under-represented in most organisations regardless of the sector.

All the findings revealed that Leadership Development Skills for women is the primary key to transform women at the workplace. There is still much to be done in the public and private sector, including relevant Non-Governmental Organisations to advance the course of gender transformation. The lack of implementation and promotion of gender equality, inequality or disparity leads to poor performance in any organisation. Research conducted by the South African Human Rights Commission Equality Report (2012:38) and The Labour Force Survey (2012) revealed that gender transformation in the workplace does not receive the recognition and response that is required. It is clear that the biggest challenge in the municipality is the advancement and implementation of gender equality measures. The only approach to possibly resolve the gender concerns in the workplace particularly, the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality is to comply with the relevant laws which have been implemented to transform gender inequality. This will play a significant role in decreasing or equalising inequality which can be very effective for women and the workplace. The aim of gender equality in the workplace is to achieve equal opportunities for both men and women through construction calls for equality, equal protection and non-discrimination. Stronger enforcement is also needed to be the major mechanism for gender equality (Bathembu, 2011).

10. LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORKS AND PROGRAMMES IMPLEMENTED TO PROMOTE GENDER EQUALITY AT THE LOCAL SPHERE OF GOVERNMENT

The following are programmes and legislation implemented towards gender equality in South Africa:

10.1 The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996

The Constitution stipulates that the government should promote democracy that compliments and encourages the rights of its entire citizenry

irrespective of race (SA, 1996). Innovative gender equality programmes are currently being brought to the attention of the citizens in respective municipal areas. The inhabitants have an idea of their human rights whereas community members in the rural areas are being misinformed about exercising their rights to make effective decisions. Unfortunately, they are not well educated. The clause in (Section 9) of the Constitution of 1996 should be widely broadcast since it reveals the lawful human rights of women.

10.2 South African's National Policy Framework for Women Empowerment and Gender Equality

This framework showcases the vision and ideas for gender equality in South Africa. The framework incorporates generic policy documents such as the "White Paper on Transforming Public Service." Its primary objective is to develop and form partnership of women programs in the labour market. The Gender Policy Framework safeguards and monitors citizens to take action in discovering solutions of their past and develop themselves. The framework attempts to transform problems in the government including municipalities, which are the primary organisations with serious gender disparity discrepancies in the country (SA, 2004). This framework can have a positive impact on the local municipality since it encourages women to participate at the municipal level and enhance their skills to improve opportunities.

10.3 The Promotion Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act of 2000

The Act was implemented to prevent discrimination in the local municipalities. Among other, it included sexual harassment especially towards women who are already working (SA, 2000). This is difficult in municipalities because women are over-powered by men in decision-making. The framework was implemented to promote gender equality at all spheres of government.

10.4 Employment Equity Act of 1998

The primary aim of the aforementioned Act was to achieve the level of equity in the public service, in terms of employing women. The Emfuleni Local Municipality has not promoted this Act and are currently not even close to implementing equity (SA, 1998).

10.5 Skills Development Act of 1998

The purpose of the Act is to advance the working ability of the public servants in government predominantly women who always find it difficult in the market. The Skills Development Act of 1998 was supported in order to expand the residents an opportunity to enjoy an improved life.

10.6 Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000

The Municipality Act of 2000 was primarily implemented to ensure that municipalities are held accountable. Another role of the Municipal Systems Act is to empower the structure of the municipality through employment.

10.7 Women Economic Empowerment Financial Assistance

The Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) provides financial incentives for women attend short courses to improve their skills and be competitive in the market. The fund helps women to develop their areas of expertise in business, primarily in rural society (DTI, 2011).

10.8 Local Economic Development

The Local Economic Development (LED) establishes economic growth at the local sphere of government.

This programme has opened many opportunities for women as is an effective women empowerment strategy. The lack of economic strategy is based at society to strengthen as well as empower themselves. Programmes such as SMMEs fall in the category to encourage Local Economic Development in order to uplift women to form part of the business world.

11. STATISTICAL SURVEY OF WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP POSITIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The following table (1) represents top roles women hold in South Africa:

Table 1 reveals that 4.4% of the women in the workplace currently fill the role of Chief Executive Officer, similar role to the Managing Director, while only 5.3% hold the position of Chairperson of the various boards. Women Directors hold 15.8% and Executive managers hold 21.6% of the positions which can be considered one of the highest in the market. The Chief Financial Officer is currently a leading position in the corporate fraternity with 32% of the women being in charge in that role. The Human Resource Director is the second highest role that women occupy followed by sales Director with 15%, Chief Marketing Officer 14%, Corporate Controller 14% and Chief Operating Officers occupy 12%. Men continue to lead in the number of corporate

TABLE 1: Women leadership in SA 2013-2014

Chief Executive Officer	5%
Chairperson	5.3%
Directors	15.8
Executive Managers	21%
Chief Financial Officer	32%
Human Resources Directors	27%
Sales Director	15%
Chief Marketing Officer	14%
Corporate Controller	14%
Chief Operating Officer	12%

Source: Women in Business Survey, 2013

TABLE 2: Employment statistics of Scaw Metals

Occupational Category	Male					Female					
	African	Indian	Coloured	White	Total Male	African	Indian	Coloured	White	Total Female	Grand Total
Top management	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Senior management	9	3	1	37	50	2	2	0	4	8	58
Professionally qualified	87	15	14	121	237	16	8	6	29	59	296
Skilled technical	982	32	83	340	1437	67	11	21	66	165	1602
Semi-skilled	2 151	3	27	36	2 217	59	6	8	23	96	2 313
Unskilled	1 214	9	33	19	1 275	34	0	7	0	41	1 316
Total permanent	4 444	62	158	554	5 218	178	27	42	122	369	5 587
Temporary employees	162	4	1	21	188	86	0	1	4	91	279
Grand total	4 606	66	159	575	5 406	264	27	43	166	460	5 866

Source: Integrated Annual report, 2014

leadership positions; however, over the last decade there has been a slow but steady increase in female representation in leadership positions in South Africa. It is, therefore, estimated that women will increasingly enter the leadership work environment in years to come.

According to Table 2, between 2013 and 2014 the average statistics of women at Scaw Metals is very low, particularly skilled technical and qualified workers. Men dominate. There is a big gap which women need to fill in the organisation if given an opportunity to equal employment. Table 2 further reveals that men are still dominate the top and senior management positions with a more than 50% gap or difference between men and women. This scenario reveals that women are not given leadership positions in the company and possibly being discriminated against. Women find it extremely difficult to prove their ability in order to be promoted/appointed to senior management.

The Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality is currently one of the biggest municipalities in South Africa but still has gender disparity concerns which

are highlighted in the employment statistics of the 2013/2014 calendar year. Women occupy less than 30% of the top and senior management positions in the municipality which comprise of more than 10 000 employees. From a professional, qualification, experience and specialisation perspective, women are unable to match their male counterparts in this category. From a skilled and academically qualified aspect, men are more employable than women. The gap between them is double compared to other categories which are approximately half. The same applies for the semi and unskilled employees which men currently dominate.

12. FINDINGS

Table 1 revealed that women are still finding it difficult to secure leadership positions in the South African workplace. Women are unable to reach the average of 40% mark in this category regardless of qualifications and experience. The statistics in Table 1 also symbolises that much needs to be done by the government and the stakeholders in order to balance gender bias in the workplace. Moreover, it is also evident that managing gender diversity

TABLE 3: Employment statistics of Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality

Occupational Category	Male					Total	Female				Total	Grand Total
	A	C	I	W	A		C	I	W			
Top management	48	4	2	8	62	23	1	1	3	28	90	
Senior management	74	3	6	79	162	43	0	1	20	64	226	
Professionally qualified and experienced specialist and mid-management	284	16	10	187	497	257	13	8	81	359	856	
Skilled technical and academically qualified workers junior management, supervisor, foremen and superintendents	1691	111	56	516	2374	1323	105	30	171	1629	4003	
Semi-skilled and discretionary decision making	4033	316	52	232	4633	2097	213	50	369	2729	7362	
Unskilled and defined decision making	1747	134	9	25	1915	913	80	13	15	1021	2936	
Total Permanent	7877	584	135	1047	9643	4656	412	103	659	5830	15473	

Source: Corporate services oversight committee, 2014

programmes and implemented frameworks to oversee gender disparity in the workplace are not taken seriously by the employers in both the public and the private sector, while Table 2 and 3 reveal the dominance of males at the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality and the Scaw Metals. There is currently a big gap in the employment gap of men and women

in the above institutions. Women occupy only 30% of the leadership positions in both the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality and Scaw Metal Company. The two institutions have formulated gender policies but have neither implemented nor utilised as the framework to promote women. This can be considered a very serious challenge and inhibiting

factor in the acceleration of gender inequality in the workplace of the above mentioned institutions.

13. RECOMMENDATIONS

Both the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality and Scaw Metals need to review their gender equality frameworks, policies, programmes and legislation. This can have a positive impact in transforming gender equality in both organisations. The Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality needs to promote the policy they drafted in 2014 on gender equality and comply with the legislation implemented by the State. More awareness and social norms which target men need to be promoted such that they can practice and be part of these initiatives. This can improve and strengthen the capacity of the National Gender Machinery in order to monitor the implementation of the Employment Equity Act (EEA) in the public and private sector. Collaborative strategies involving gender equality with the support of various organisations from both sectors including Non-Governmental organisations (NGOs) and the Judiciary can be a progressive avenue to pursue. The Department of Labour and their stakeholders should investigate the big companies' gender policies and review them. Also, strengthen the current mechanisms and procedures for reporting discrimination in the workplace that can have an impact on gender equality measures or policy to establish the level of equality amongst men and woman within the workforce. The Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality must align themselves to gender equality policies in order to achieve the struggle against imbalance in the workplace. The introduction of effective programmes with the exception of the Constitution should eliminate and avoid the acceleration of gender disparity in society at large. Employment Equity Commission, Labour unions, Trade unions, Non-governmental organisations and the private sector need to collaborate to monitor and oversee gender equality in the public and private sector. The transformation and promotion of the Employment Equity Act can have an impact in the workplace. Employers who do not have knowledge of the policy should implement the aforementioned Act to promote equality in the workplace and society at large.

14. CONCLUSION

The paper reviewed and inferred that the lack of gender equality policies, promotion and transformation of women in the workplace remains a serious problem

as well as primary reason for gender inequality between men and women, particularly women who find it extremely difficult to occupy higher positions in government at the three spheres of administration. Inadequate policy measures can be considered as the major factor to the ever-increasing concern of gender disparity in the workplace. The involvement of women in leadership positions can have a positive impact in empowering women to be better leaders in the near future. Measures should be implemented so that the attitude of senior officials towards gender equality changes. The paper concludes that Scaw Metals and the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality should revise their respective gender policies in order to transform and promote gender equality their various departments. Both sectors should appoint a strategic team to workshop gender policies with the employees followed by implementation.

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CITIZENSHIP CRISIS OR XENOPHOBIA? A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF SERVICE DELIVERY PROTEST IN SOUTH AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

South African local government has been synonymous with the service delivery protests since the acquiring of democratic rule in 1994. The service delivery protests have been accompanied by images of burnt tyres, looting of goods, and destruction of property, road blockades and violence against foreigners (xenophobia). Frustrated local citizens perpetrated these atrocities. This paper has identified the need to look at the underlying cause of such behaviour. The question is whether all the blame can be put on the municipal government for its failures to provide quality service delivery to its citizens or it is part of the generic problem around the world of citizenship politics where until recently most nations are faced with the problem of migration and the growing population. This paper seeks to explain the violent social service delivery protests as part of the identity or citizenship crisis emanating from South Africa's historical background. Consequently, pertinent issues such as xenophobia and the current problem of immigrants in South Africa and around the world will be explained as the discussion continues under. This research discovers that it is problematic to put together all these municipal problems under the broader rubric service delivery protest. The other explanation to the issue of service delivery protests is what the researchers of this article describe as citizenship crisis. Citizenship crisis in South Africa is explained in the instance where the country has been struggling with building its image since the acquiring of democratic rule. The late former President Nelson Mandela envisaged that South Africa is a rainbow nation. Nonetheless, the country has been faced with the non-acceptance of foreign nationals within its borders. In essence, this can be attributed to effects of the apartheid system on the mind of the people.

Keywords: Xenophobia, Citizenship crisis, Service delivery, Protest, Violence.

1. INTRODUCTION

The post-apartheid South Africa was marked with the introduction of democratic rule in 1994. The ongoing service delivery protests paint a negative picture of South Africa locally and abroad. The protests leave one with an impression that government is failing to deliver basic services to the people, especially at the local government level (Seokoma, 2010). The majority of the people in South Africa anticipated a new beginning, a world filled with no violence, discrimination, equality and a nation where human rights are respected. The transition period, people fore saw themselves out of poverty and living a better life. The government of South Africa adopted a number of policies to ensure economic growth and the creation of Jobs. However, the policies remained short of meeting the people's needs. This marked the widespread protest for the provision of the services in the country. Most studies have revealed that the lack of service delivery was due to the incompetence of the local government in dealing with the services delivery issues (Mbazira, 2013; Mbecke, 2014; Zama, 2012). This is attributed to a myriad of problems in the running of the local governments. However, this research can reveal that besides the shortcomings of the local government on service delivery, they are other factors that contribute to the violence protest in South Africa. The quest of finding solution for the problem of service delivery violent protest can be found within other factors such as citizenship, xenophobia, and economic deficits. The socio-economic issues in South Africa are also fuelling the rate of protest in the country and most of them results in violence

2. CONTEXTUALISING SERVICE DELIVERY PROTEST WITHIN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

The South African service delivery protests have been on the rise since the acquiring of the

democratic rule in South Africa. In February 2014, it was reported that nearly three thousand (3,000) protest actions occurred in a period of ninety (90) days (Patel, 2013). This has been attributed to a number of factors, this includes poor local governance, inequality and poverty have been identified as the most significant drivers of service delivery protest in South Africa. The South African Black community emerged from a background where they were oppressed and segregated by the White apartheid regime. The Government of National Unity (GNU) faced a huge responsibility in 1994 to readdress apartheid policy legacies of poverty, inequality and racial segregation of service in order to create a single, efficient public service that delivered on the basic needs of all citizens (Managa, 2012). The government was found to be too slow in its attempts to overcome infrastructure, service delivery backlogs, and protest action heightened. Political campaign manifestos have also created disquiet, as politicians make temporary promises most likely to satisfy voters during each new election campaign. In so doing, politicians raise the public's expectations, creating false perceptions that, following the election, communities will receive the services promised (Managa, 2012). There is a similarity in the election manifestos and campaigns of different political parties since 1994, made promises to address underperforming municipalities in order to deal with poor service delivery; improve basic service delivery; develop infrastructure; fight corruption and create employment for all people (Ndlovu, 2014; Managa, 2012). The anticipation for service delivery grew from the time of the transition to the time where South Africa held the first democratic election. There is a consensus that South Africans are service hungry, this has led to the unrest within the country from the protest on local municipalities to protest in main political mainstream (Managa, 2012). Furthermore, South Africans usually protest out of frustration and desperation over lack of service delivery from government. The communities tried a number of peaceful ways in engaging with authorities in expressing their frustration. However, the answers at most of the times was slow in coming due to a number of causes chiefly among them, the authorities turn a blind eye on the grievances.

2.1 Causes of Service Delivery Protest in South Africa

The following are the perceived causes of the service delivery protest in South Africa:

2.1.1 Slow Response to Community Problems

The lack of response by the necessary authorities has been at the centre of the community protest in South Africa. In most cases, the community members report the problem to the relevant authorities but they take time to be responded to. This is problematic when you are dealing with communities in need of change.

2.1.2 Financial Mismanagement

The lack of quality service provision, this comes, as results of municipalities are unable to pay. The government spent a lot of money into tenders because the idea is to improve services. However, tenderpreneurship and the allocation of tenders is fuelling corruption within municipalities (Mlangeni, 2015). There is no transparency in tendering processes as tenders are awarded to inexperienced companies under directorships of individuals with political connections. These are the companies that continue provide sub-standard services. The awarding of tenders to companies should be transparent and based on their ability to carry out the tender.

2.1.3 Lack of Public Participation

Protesters have expressed dissatisfaction and frustration because of their exclusion from local decision-making and accountability by the municipal officials and councillors who represent them in wards (Mbuyisa, 2013). This contravenes the Local Government: Municipal Systems, Act 32 of 2000, which states that communities have the mandate to participate in any public consultation and decision-making processes in the local sphere (Managa, 2012). For example, ward committees, budget consultations, ward meetings and Integrated Development Planning (IDP) forums. Moreover, municipalities are obliged to report to and receive feedback from their communities annually regarding the objectives set out in the IDP.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This research paper adopts two theoretical frameworks as a way of trying to explain the causes of the violent protest in South Africa. This paper dismisses the notion that all the protest actions taking place in South Africa are caused by the lack of service delivery only or the failures of the municipalities in South Africa. However, there is a myriad of causes, which contribute to the problem of service delivery protest witnessed in South Africa today. Furthermore, it is witnessed that, although each violent protest taking place can be attributed as a consequence of service delivery protest, each protest action signifies

or is trying to convey a certain message to the government or responsible authorities. The rational choice and the social learning theory are used to delve into different scenarios, which South Africa finds itself today.

3.1 Rational Choice Theory

The rational choice theory is derived from the works of Homans (1961). During the 1960s and 1970s, Blau (1964), Coleman (1973), and Cook & Emerson (1977) extended and enlarged his framework, and they helped to develop more formal, mathematical models of rational action. According to this theory xenophobia and racism stem from an intensive rivalry between migrant and indigenous groups; jobs and cheap housing are especially scarce in times of economic crisis, and from the perspective of established inhabitants the migrants compete for residential space and working opportunities. This theory helps to dismiss the notion that xenophobia and violent protest emerge from lack of service delivery. However, it has to do with how the government handles the issue of migrants pouring into the country and may question the South African government's policy in ensuring the integration of foreigners within South African communities. This is a situation well documented in South Africa where foreigners are perceived as taking the Reconstruction Development Programme (RDP) houses through bribery means. Further foreigners in South Africa are perceived to take all the spaza shops in the neighbourhood through their entrepreneurship skills, which the local people are lacking. The theoretical core of this argument is often a model of rational decision-making (Banton 1983; Hechter, 1986). The research thus takes the xenophobic vision of a wave of job-seeking foreigners at par value –which does not mean that it would therefore already be implausible. The government of South Africa tries to limit the foreigners entering South Africa by granting the permanent citizenship to the foreigners with critical skills. However, there is still a large amount of foreigners pouring into South Africa without enough papers (illegal immigrants) and those who manage to acquire the refugee status. This still leaves the government of South Africa with a large number of people to cater for through service delivery. Consequently, the majority of the people in different communities in South Africa have responded to this situation differently, for instance some have resorted to xenophobia as a way of protesting the government policies in dealing with the foreigners, on the other hand some are eager to

exert xenophobic attacks on foreigners as a way of protesting the lack of service delivery which caters for all people including the foreigners.

3.2 Social Learning Theory

According to the premises of Social Learning Theory, behaviours are learned through interactions with the variety of socializing agents to which one is exposed (Burdick, 2014). It is through these interactions where behaviours are either adapted or extinguished. Similarly, McHale, Dotterer and Ji-Yeon (2009). Moreover, children learn from their environments everyday as they do their daily activities. Burdick (2014) notes that it is the daily activities that influence their identity, development, social relationships and abilities. It is during these activities where children begin to see and develop their own abilities and begin to identify with the leaders of the activities. These assumptions can be applied to the South African Scenario where the Black community had to endure violence under the apartheid regime. The public protest against the state was organised in townships where people were enduring hardships. This is evidenced by the 1976 Soweto uprisings where students took upon themselves to demonstrate against the apartheid government. These are the stories, which the current generation has grown being taught. Margolin and Gordis (2004) children learn from the aggressive models in their environments. Additionally, victimization may compromise children's ability to regulate their emotions, and as a result, they may act out aggressively. South Africa since the acquiring of the democratic rule in 1994 has seen an increase in violence and crimes, which involve the use of violence weapons. It undermines the bases of this history, which has made the current generation fearless and aggravates violence.

4. MYRIAD FACTORS EXPLAINING SERVICE DELIVERY PROTEST IN SOUTH AFRICA

There are several factors linked to service delivery protests and are discussed below:

4.1 Xenophobia and Service Delivery Protest

The xenophobic attacks have been at the centre of South African and world media attention in recent years. The attacks have been witnessed in 2008 and 2015, however, there is evidence of

spaced xenophobic attacks against the foreigners and their property continues but varying in terms of intensity. A number of scholarly works have pointed out that xenophobic attacks were a sheer expression of the locals protesting service delivery in South Africa (Naidoo, Hadland, Pillay, Mohlakoana, & Barolsky 2015; Desai, 2015). However, this paper questions the authenticity of the argument, instead of assuming that xenophobic attacks are caused by the lack of service delivery. This paper can reveal that this may be other motives behind xenophobic attacks other than failures of service delivery by the local municipalities.

Karamoko and Jain (2011) concurs with the arguments noted above, when they state that the "extent to which foreigners or their property have been targeted during service delivery protests are difficult to objectively measure. While the occurrence of a protest itself or the use of violent force during a protest is fairly overt acts, determining whether foreigners were specifically targeted during protests is harder to gauge." They are those instances where the community members do indeed attack the foreigners and loot their goods, however, it not conclusive to state that the destruction had a xenophobic motivation, as indiscriminate destruction of property is often cited as an expression of unrest. There is a tendency of people turning violent when they protest, in this instance can be attributed to the culture of violence, anti-foreigners' sentiment within the community as well as the high crime rates. Service delivery protest cannot be used to explain the xenophobic attacks or the looting of the shops owned by the foreigners. However, due to failure to come up with an explanation for xenophobia, all the protests, which involve the attack on the foreigners and looting of their goods, have been cited as service delivery protest. The cause of xenophobia can be however, be explained by the factors cited below:

4.2 Citizenship Crisis

The concept of citizenship implies a contract between an individual and the state –a reciprocal agreement which includes both rights as well as duties in the goal of affirming the dignity of the individual as well as guaranteeing the common good of all citizens (Kabeer, 2002). Citizenship crisis in South Africa is explained in the instance where the country has been struggling with building its image since the acquiring of democratic rule. The late former President Nelson Mandela envisaged that South Africa is a rainbow nation. Nonetheless, the country

has been faced with the non-acceptance of foreign nationals within its borders. Since the acquiring the democratic rule, the government of South Africa has been faced the problems of immigrants pouring into its country. At most, of times the foreigners would migrate with anticipation to get employment and better lives. However, they are consequences, which are associated with this inflow. This included a heavy burden on South Africa's service delivery service sector. The assimilation had various effects on the South African community. The government of South Africa had to deal with the inflow of the new migrants by regulating the movements of people through giving various permits to ensure that the number of people settling in South Africa is accounted for (Tati, 2008). Secondly, the ordinary citizens of South Africa had to deal with a new group of people coming in to share the fruits of their democratic dispensation. This resulted in the following events happening:

4.2.1 Mistrust of the Foreigners

The government has increasingly enacted policies that create a zero-sum environment where citizens have rights and foreigners have none, sending a message of mistrust (Campbell, 2015). These rules misguidedly create an expectation that citizen rights trump human rights. New visa regulations make it harder for foreigners to obtain a general work visa by forcing employers to not only explain why a citizen or permanent resident could not fill the position but offer proof of its efforts to do so, and even target foreign families, forcing them to carry copies of unabridged birth certificates. Further, the government motioned new land bill, which bars foreigners from owning agricultural land in South Africa. These are some of the laws that give super treatment to the locals by ensuring that citizens come first in everything.

4.2.2 Harassment of Foreigners by Police and State Agents

Migrants to South Africa face serious problems as soon as they enter the country. The police force is corrupt and prone to extorting money from migrants, documented or not, on the threat of arrest and deportation (Pithouse, 2008). There are many cases where South Africans have also been arrested and deported to countries they have never previously visited because they could not speak Zulu well, did not have the 'right' inoculation marks or were 'too black' (Pithouse, 2008). This problem is resulting from some of the local citizens who regard themselves as better than the other. These particular citizens who also detect should be regarded as a true

South African. Hence, why some of the minority groups in Limpopo province are regarded as not South African due to their dark skin colour which is more common in foreigners than local majority black people. Ojedokun (2015) concurs with the assumption above when he reveals that fellow South Africans also viewed members of smaller ethnic groups in South Africa as foreigners.

4.2.3 Looting of foreign owned goods

Most protests which have occurred in South Africa, whether service, delivery, or some other motive, have resulted in the looting of foreign owned goods. Some of allegations which were posed against the foreigners include the following fact: The locals argue that businesses of these foreigners are not registered and they do not pay taxes; Foreign nationals sell products at prices below those that local business owners conclude are feasible and are therefore receiving illegal support; Foreign nationals receive unfair privileges from wholesale companies due to shared religious beliefs (Madlala, 2016); Foreign nationals intentionally open spaza shops within close proximity to locally-owned businesses, thereby capturing some of the locals' markets; Foreign-owned businesses sell fake goods or non-South African products; Foreign businesses owners operate their shops for nearly 24 hours every day and even have workers sleeping there (Madlala, 2016; Hans, 2016). These are the factors which local people consider unfair to them. The factors pointed above can be explained as the lack of business acumen on the part of the local people. However, some felt being a South African citizen by right gives them the power to take what they believed to be theirs and drive foreigners back to their country.

4.2.4 Blame on Foreign Governments

In as much as xenophobic attacks are associated with the poor service delivery, the solution to the issue migration does not lie with the local government. President Jacob Zuma noted, "As much as we have a problem that is alleged to be xenophobic, our sister countries contribute to this. Why are their citizens not in their countries?" (Hunter, 2015). This is more of a diplomatic issue, which can be solved at regional level (Southern African Development Committee SADC), thus why the president uttered this statement. The issue of xenophobic attacks can be a reflection to both sides on what should be done. It is a reflection of poor service delivery on the part of the sending countries yet it also signifies that South Africa is offering good service delivery, hence the choice of foreigners to come in large numbers. However, the

question, which will arise, is what the government of South Africa doing in order to ensure integration and co-existence between foreigners and the local people.

4.3 Citizens' Economic Entitlement

The protest for service delivery is not mainly directed towards the local municipalities but it is due to economic failures, which forces people to protest. The South African economic policies have been found wanting in most cases for instance in making jobs available, reducing poverty and ensuring that the gap between the rich and the poor is reduced. These are the problems, which the municipalities have no control over. President Jacob Zuma makes a very incredible observation:

"The municipalities are the first door that our people knock on when they need assistance from government. When people are frustrated with the slow movement of the wheels of government they engage municipalities before other spheres. Citizens also blame municipalities for functions that they have no direct control over." (Mathoho, 2010)

They are issues which the local municipalities are able to tackle because the fall under the bracket of the municipal responsibilities. The South African government since, the democratic rule adopted the micro economic policies, which have resulted in both positive and negative outcomes: For instance, the poverty rates since 1994 have actually increased Pretorius (2016) notes that about 63% of young South African children are living in poverty. Further, Stats SA (2014) reveals that about 45,5% of the South Africans were living in poverty. Furthermore, the unemployment rates as of 2016 stood at 26,7% (Trading economics, 2016). The unemployment rates have increased over the course of time for instance, unemployment was 22% in 1994 and increased to 25,5% in 2014 (Stats SA, 2014). These are economic problems, which pile on people's minds as they engage in protest. The South Africans feel entitled to certain services and opportunities because of what the constitution says about them. The citizens have the right to employment and to quality life. The essence is the fact that the government has to meet half way with the public.

The origin of government policies in a democratic society is the public opinion, which comes from the local people and political visions, which are drawn from political party manifesto for voter support. Once the party is elected to power, these statements

may be adapted and translated to become national policy, subsequently requiring further adaptation for national and local implementation. Therefore, when governments provide services to the people they are fulfilling economic and moral responsibility as promised in the manifestos (Gaster & Squires, 2003).

4.4 Migration and Violent Service Delivery Protest

Migration has become a global problem affecting many countries and South Africa is not an exception. The issue of migrants has become a matter of concern for both the government and citizens alike. In Europe and United States of America, soon after the September 9/11 attacks changed the way these countries see foreigners or regard them. South Africa exhibits some of the consequences of migration, which have resulted in some crucial decisions about foreign policy. For instance, in United Kingdom (UK), the country pulled out of Europe through the Brexit referendum. Tilford (2016) notes that due to huge immigrants' flow into UK, the British workers' real wages fell sharply between 2008 and 2014 and this resulted in those with lowest earning jobs suffering a lot. Secondly, housing is another factor; UK has lagged behind demand for 35 years. Britain is still building a third less houses than it was in 2007. This resulted in the problem of housing becoming acute. Immigrants were also blamed for pressure on National Health Services (NHS) and education. The status of white working class, the group is the worst educated and the children of emigrants continue to go to universities. Consequently, it resulted in Britain withdrawing from Europe.

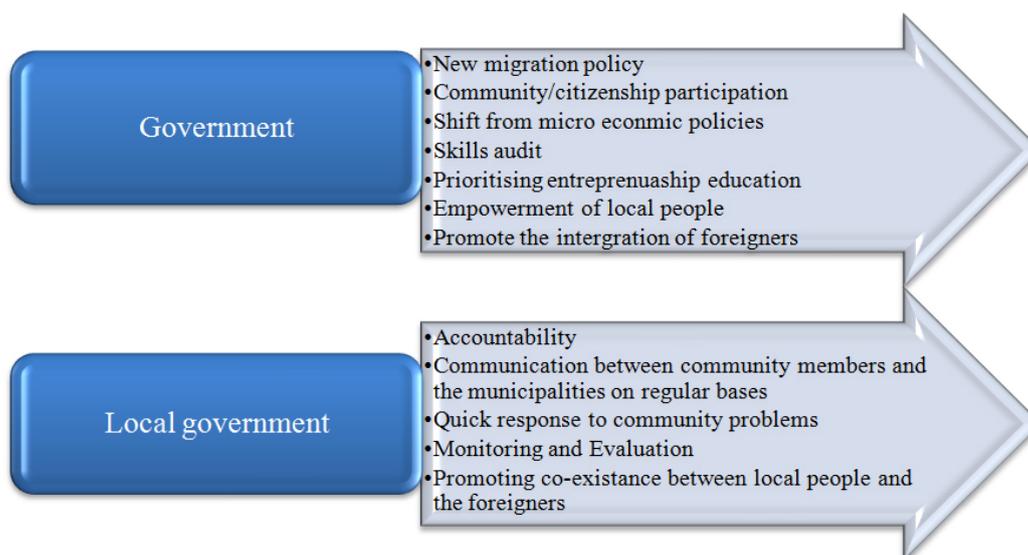
Authors of this paper withdraw lessons from this case scenario, of UK where the inflow of foreign immigrants has resulted in the increased competition for low-income jobs, perceived corruption by official in selling RDP houses to foreigners and accusations of that foreigners are stealing local women. Further, the government went on to restrict foreigners from owning agricultural land. The UK scenario did not result in violent service delivery protest. However, the government of UK empowered the people to make a choice. The situation in South Africa is a bit different; the government has been struggling to deal with the matter of illegal immigrants, large influx of foreign immigrants.

The difficulties in dealing with the foreigners resulted in the xenophobic attacks on foreigners. Some Scholars have associated xenophobic attacks with service delivery protest (Naidoo, Hadland, Pillay, Mohlakoana, & Barolsky, 2015; Desai, 2015). However, this study can reveal that lack of citizenship participation on how to deal with the issue of migration can indeed result in citizens taking issues into their own hands. The idea is the fact that the citizens can notice that despite the government efforts to improve service delivery, millions of foreigners coming into South Africa are creating a strain. Hence, there is a need for the government to tackle the problem of migration head on.

5. WAY FORWARD

Based on the engagements presented in this paper, the authors recommend the model below to solve the xenophobic and service delivery protests.

FIGURE 1: Proposed model to end violent service delivery protest in South Africa.



Source: Authors

Figure 1 on the previous page shows various ways in which the government and the local government can intervene to ensure there is an end to the problem of violent service delivery as well as ending the issue of service delivery problems. There is a clear cut in the roles performed by the two, although at its best, they complement one another. This is a top down approach where the government takes the responsibility of framing the policies that have a significant impact on people's lives. Some of these actions listed above cannot be achieved at local government level for instance; microeconomic policies have negative impact as well as positive on the wider society. However, it has been twenty years since the government adopted this approach. This would address issues such as inequality, unemployment, empowerment and improvisation of the services. The policies such as these have an impact on how the local government works. The other pertinent role of the government is to ensure that regular skills audit from the national government department, entities and the local government. This will ensure that there are right people with necessary skills to undertake or meet the job requirements. This will ensure efficiency in the response to the community problems.

Furthermore, a consultative migration policy should include input of the neighbouring countries in SADC, in order to ensure enforcement of this law to the foreign citizens. This is necessitated by the fact that xenophobic attacks are more of a regional problem than a South African problem. These reflect the economic incompetence of the countries experiencing outward migration. South Africa's regional and African counterparts have a deficient or rotten service delivery system. South Africa needs to enlighten the regional community and South Africans on its standing with regard to migration. This will also enable the community members to help the government in integrating the foreigners within the community. The government can use media houses in sending a message across whereas the local government can also use community media outlets, education system to transfer a message of co-existence.

In addition, the local government can help a lot by monitoring and evaluation a number of its services to the community. This can prevent service delivery protest in the long term. This can be complimented by having respective members of local government municipalities visiting the communities getting feedback from the people.

6. CONCLUSION

This paper has revealed the shortcomings of the local government municipalities. However, it has debunked the notion that all the violent service delivery protest is caused by the frailties of the local government. This research can reveal that behind every single protest happening in South Africa, there is a motive behind which need to be investigated before making conclusive remarks. Some the factors mentioned include: lack of integration of foreigners within the South African communities, poorly enforced migration policy, wider economic problems and citizenship crisis. The South African citizens have a feeling that they are entitled some certain service by the government and lack of thereof is the eminent cause of service delivery protest. This has led to the alienation of the foreign emigrants coming into South Africa. There is poor integration process within the community because government has not well explained to its citizens the importance of foreigners in the country. This research contributes to the wider audience in that it opens the insight of the policy makers and the government of South Africa to seek the alternative solution to end the culture of violent protest rather than categorising it under the rubric term service delivery protest. Further, it ensures objectivity and open mindedness when approaching the issue of protest in South Africa.

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IMPACT OF SUPERVISION ON SOCIAL WORKER'S JOB PERFORMANCE: IMPLICATIONS FOR SERVICE DELIVERY

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ABSTRACT

Within the public administration spectrum, Social Workers are expected to provide services efficiently and effectively to their clients and this can be achieved through a critical role known as supervision. This paper aims to evaluate how Social Work Supervision affects job performance in the Department of Social Development, Polokwane Sub-District. The objective was to investigate the impact of supervision on Social Workers' job performance. Qualitative research was employed and descriptive research design was used. The data was collected through a semi-structured face-to-face interview from six (6) cluster supervisors and twelve (12) Social Workers who are employed by the Department of Social Development, Polokwane Sub-District. The sample consisted of cluster supervisors who had more than three months' experience of providing supervision in the Department of Social Development, Polokwane Sub-District and no acting cluster supervisor was selected to participate in the study. The Social Workers had more than three months of working experience at Department of Social Development, Polokwane Sub-District. These Social Workers were not on internship programme. Thematic data analysis was used. It was found that those Supervision sessions which are conducted by effective supervisors armed with good supervisory skills had a positive effect on the job performance of Social Workers, as compared to ineffective supervisors without good supervisory skills. It is concluded that the Cluster supervisors who render supervision should receive supervision training that will enable them to conduct professional supervision.

Keywords: Cluster Supervisors, Social Workers, Job performance, Supervision.

1. INTRODUCTION

A well-functioning public administration is a prerequisite for transparent and effective democratic

governance. As the foundation of the functioning of the state, it determines a government's ability to provide public services and foster the country's competitiveness and growth. Public service is one of the key components of public administration. A legally well-designed and managed public service system enables the state to reach an adequate level of professionalism, sustainability and quality of public service in all parts of its administration and to provide better services to citizens and businesses. Therefore, Social Workers are part of the public service officials. The newly appointed and inexperienced Social Workers in practice are expected to be equipped with knowledge and skills of Social Work by experienced Supervisors in order to render services to the clients effectively and efficiently. These knowledge and skills are for professional growth of the newly appointed and inexperienced Social workers. Supervision in Social Work is concerned with helping staff members use their knowledge and skills to do their jobs effectively and efficiently, (Skidmore, 1995). An organisation's employees are the major asset, not only in themselves, but also because the organisation's whole reputation and future success depends on them (Coulshed & Mullender, 2006). There are several statutory requirements of Social Work practices in South Africa, such as the Social Service Professions Act (RSA, 1978), policy guidelines for course of conduct, code of ethics and the rules for Social Workers (SACSSP, 2007) and the Children's Act, No. 38 of 2005 (RSA, 2006), which provide a mandate for supervision of Social Workers (Engelbrecht, 2013).

The research shows that, these legislations play a critical role especially in helping Social Workers to render effective and efficient services to clients; is played by supervisors who are not specifically trained for the roles as supervisors, and did not receive in-service training for their appointed supervisory tasks (Du Plooy, 2011). Engelbrecht (2013) emphasizes that the undergraduate Social Workers are trained at academic institutions

to render quality Social Work intervention; this requires that supervisors of these graduates should in turn also receive appropriate academic training to conduct quality supervision.

In South Africa, the framework for supervision of Social Workers was developed in order to standardise supervision within the Department of Social Development in 2012 (DSD & SACSSP, 2012). By means of qualitative research findings this paper, draws attention to the fact that the framework for supervision of Social Worker is developed but, there are factors that are hindering this critical role which result in poor service delivery. The challenges of supervision are not only concerning the appointed supervisors but, also from the organisational structure and management.

Having assumed their duties, the job performance of civil servants (Social Workers) becomes important. The cost of public administration generally, and the quantity and quality of services provided could both benefit significantly by insisting on performance standards. The emphasis on productivity in government will remain meaningless unless it is linked with individual performance standards and their enforcement. According to Kadushin and Harkness (2002) there are few and scattered reference to Social Work supervision before 1920. The authors further explained that, back then, supervision referred to the control and coordinating function of a State Board of Supervisors, a State Board of Charities, or a State Board of Control. And originally, the term supervision applied to the inspection and review of programmes and institutions rather than to supervision of individual workers within the programme. The first Social Work text on supervision was used in the work of Brackett (1904) titled "supervision and education in the charity". This is supported by Wonnacott (2012) who argued that the practice of supervision in Social Work is not new. It has a long history within the profession, although its focus has shifted over time, mirroring the role and function of Social Work within society and the organisational context within which it operates. The roots of Social Work within the charitable sector, with paid staff managing the volunteer workforce, point to supervision emerging first as an administrative task, closely followed by developing emphasis on education and support, (Wonnacott, 2012).

In South Africa during the apartheid era supervision of Social Workers was different across the racial groups wherein newly graduated white Social Worker were given supervisory role; and this preference defeated

the purpose of this critical function, resulting in the development of negative perceptions towards supervision (DSD, 2006). Botha (2002) argued that supervision lost its value in the South African context, but not its significance. According to DSD (2006) the dearth of supervision in practice is also exacerbated by the perception that trained supervisors are not necessary, given the demand for service delivery. Furthermore, DSD (2006) indicated that there is a limited understanding of the need for supervision amongst non-Social Work managers and, in some cases, supervisors are non-existent, with new Social Workers not being able to receive guidance or mentorship they need to enable them to become better and well equipped Social Workers. Despite the fact that the Social Work Supervision it has lost its value in South Africa (Botha, 2002), it is still seen by DSD (2006) as important hence DSD indicated that an advanced curriculum must be developed to support functions of Social Work such as supervision.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical founding of the paper is derived from the Ecological theory known as the person in-environment. The Ecosystem theory comprises of the Ecological theory which is known as a person-in-environment (Social Worker in Public service receiving supervision in order to render services to the clients). Ecological theory focuses on the context in which individuals live and their interpretations of that context and how that cultural context influences an individual's behaviour. The Ecological theory is concerned with how individuals and the environment achieve an adaptive balance and also why they sometimes fail to achieve the balance (Zastrow, 2006). Mezzo as one of the levels of ecosystems theory is used as lens that guides this paper. This system refers to small groups that impact the individual such as the family, work groups, and other social groups, (Zastrow, 2006). Cluster Supervisor and Social Worker are from families and have work-place groups. This system directly affects the behavioural patterns of the practitioners. For Social Workers to deliver the services more effectively and efficiently, it depends on the relationship with their cluster supervisors as they conduct supervision.

3. SUPERVISION AND SOCIAL WORKERS' JOB PERFORMANCE IN PUBLIC SERVICE?

Kadushin (1992) defines supervision as an agency administrative staff member to whom authority

is delegated to direct, coordinate, enhance, and evaluate on the-job performance of the supervisees for whose work he is held accountable. Skidmore (1995) argued that supervision in Social Work is concerned with helping staff members use their knowledge and skills to do their jobs effectively and efficiently. Tucker and Pounder, (2010) argue that Supervision is conceptualized as a formative process with the primary purpose being the improvement of instruction and includes classroom observation, group development, and professional development. Farley, Smith and Boyle (2010) define supervision as a response to the needs of clients and the mandate of the community to relieve suffering and to restore people to greater usefulness. Supervision is a process whereby a Social Worker with an experience is given an authority to provide supervision to an inexperienced Social Worker, in order for this Social worker to be equipped with organisational policies and procedures which will assist him/her to deliver services to clients effectively and efficiently.

Hanyane and Naidoo (2015) argue that since the transformation of the local government in the late nineties in South Africa, new challenges and problems have surfaced, posing a serious threat to the newly established democratic dispensation. All of the reform strategies of the post-apartheid dispensation have the goal of improving the delivery of services to all South Africans; and the South African government recognizes that the needs of the poor and those that have been previously disadvantaged. However, the implementation of service delivery initiatives has not been without problems and challenges (Naidoo, 2006). These challenges and problems revolve around the need for improvements in the area of public service delivery, ensuring quality standards of urban and rural public service delivery, urban and rural development, and the establishment of urban and rural infrastructure to enable efficient and effective public service delivery (Hanyane & Naidoo, 2015).

The establishment of urban and rural infrastructure is primary the responsibility of the local government which is responsible for service delivery in public services (Naidoo, 2006). Social workers employed by the Department of Social Development are responsible for delivering the services to the communities in local government. In this social development paradigm, Social Workers are expected to deliver services to the clients under professional supervision of qualified Social Workers with the knowledge and skills of this field and those Social

Workers should be registered with the South African council of social service professions, (SACSSP, 2007). According to Engelbrecht (2014) less is known about how supervision affects the level of practice and, importantly, service user outcomes. Supervisors are part of the management although they are not having the authority to hire and fire employees but, they play a critical role as extended management. If supervisors bring about poor management of public resources, such as human resources translate directly into poor public service delivery, and thus undermines efforts to improve and promote public service delivery (Naidoo 2009, 2010). Although Engelbrecht (2014) argued that less is known about how supervision affects the level of practice and, importantly, service user outcomes in his study (Engelbrecht, 2010b) mentioned the integrated service delivery model towards social service of the South African National Department of Social Development, which has the role and responsibility to inter alia, provide strategic direction for social service delivery, recognizes the need for integrated strength-based approaches to service delivery in a social development approach. It is therefore important for supervisors in the mentioned department to receive training for this critical role. Education, training and development are critical elements in the provision of integrated and holistic education and training, and the development of a human resource cadre for effective service delivery. It must occur at the following levels: professional education, continuous professional development, skills training for the implementation of the service delivery model and ongoing in service training (DSD, 2006b).

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The aim of the study was to evaluate how Social Work Supervision affects job performance in the Department of Social Development, Polokwane Sub-District. To reach this aim the following research questions were developed; how is supervision rendered in the Department of Social Development, Polokwane Sub-District? And what effects does supervision have on Social Workers' job performance the Department of Social Development, Polokwane Sub-District? These research questions led to the two objectives of the study which were to explore how supervision is rendered and to investigate the effect of supervision on Social Workers' job performance in the Department of Social Development, Polokwane Sub-District. The qualitative study was conducted employing descriptive research design to presents a picture of specific details of a situation, social setting

or relationship, and focuses on explaining how the phenomenon (viz., supervision) can have effects on human behaviour (i.e. job performance) and why the behaviour is influenced by the phenomenon (Welman, Kruger & Mitchell, 2005; De Vos, Strydom, Fouché & Delport, 2011).

4.1. Methodology

Non probability sampling particularly purposive sampling was employed. The data was collected through semi-structured face-to-face interview from six (6) cluster supervisors and twelve (12) Social Workers who are employed by the Department of Social Development, Polokwane Sub-District. The sample consisted of cluster supervisors who had more than three months' experience of providing supervision in the Department of Social Development, Polokwane Sub-District and no acting cluster supervisor was selected to participate in the study. The Social Workers had more than three months of working experience at the Department of Social Development, Polokwane Sub-District. These Social Workers were not on internship programme. The responses of the participants, based on the semi-structured interview schedule, were recorded on the interviewing sheets exactly the way they have been presented by the participants. Regarding trustworthiness of the study to address biasness, the following four epistemological standards were considered, namely truth value (credibility), applicability, consistency (dependability) and neutrality. To ensure credibility during study, prolonged engagement, member checking and peer examination during data collection was done. To ensure dependability of the findings a detailed account on how data was collected was verified and the research design was executed as planned and data was correctly coded. Finally, peer examination of the paper was done (Shenton, 2004; Botma, Greef, Mulaudzi & Wright. 2010).

4.2. Data Analysis

Thematic data analysis was employed to analysis recorded responses of the participants. According to Mills, Durepo and Wiebe (2010) coding is a basic analytic strategy used in thematic analysis and it is defined as a process of closely inspecting text to look for recurrent themes, topics, or relationships, and marking passages with a code or label to categorize them for later retrieval and theory-building. The following steps were followed as outlined by Sarantakos (2002).

4.2.1 Transcription of Data

The data was transcribed from tape onto paper thematically. The menu scripts were edited in order to eliminate typing errors and contradictions in the menu. Tape recorder is kept in a safe place which is lockable. Only the authors have access to the tape recorders as and when the need arises particularly for verification of data. The data in the tape recorder will be destroyed in two years' time.

4.2.2 Checking and Editing

The transcripts were scrutinised and edited. The parts of the data were related in an attempt to prepare them for further analysis.

4.2.3 Analysing and Interpretation

This step entails data reduction and analysis. The data was categorised. The Codes and categories were used as tools of analysing data. The symbols were assigned to specific sections of the text.

4.2.4 Generalisation

The findings of individual interview were then generalised. The similarities and differences were identified in order to develop the typologies of data.

5. FINDINGS

The findings are based on information obtained from 12 Social Workers from 6 Supervisor clusters of the Polokwane Sub-District. Table 1 on the next page shows the numbers of Social Worker participants and Supervisor cluster participants.

5.1 Working Conditions

The supervision in the Department of Social Development, Polokwane Sub-District is rendered to Social Workers under the working conditions which are not conducive and characterised by lack of resources such as office accommodation, telecommunications, transport, stationery and electronic devices affect. These are what participants have expressed:

"We do not have resources to execute work. Resources such as office accommodation which we have to share being four Social Workers..."

The South African research shows that the ultimate issue in supervision, despite the introduction of South African supervision framework remains the unmanageable workloads and counterproductive working conditions of supervisor and supervisee,

TABLE 1: Department of Social Development.

	Polokwane Sub-District		
	West	Central	East
Number of Social Work participants	3	5	4
Number of Cluster Supervisors	2	2	2

Source: Authors

(Engelbrecht, 2013), and compensation related insufficiencies has been identified in terms of the occupational categories of Social Work (DSD, 2006). Social Workers experience occupational stress due to high workload, lack of human resource, lack of resources and lack of supportive supervision. Some participants have said:

"My stress is caused by cases which affect me even when I am at home."... "Stress in my office is caused by lack of resources and supportive supervision."

This is supported by Marè (2012) that occupational stress is a very real problem in the Social Work profession, especially in South Africa, with its high caseload, lack of human resource, change and poverty.

5.2 Training of Supervisors

Supervisors who render supervision in public (DSD) do not have recent and up-to-date theoretical knowledge base as they seem to have forgotten what they received during their academic training and also have not received supervision training after being qualified as Social Workers. One participant indicated that:

"I received training on supervision and a detailed training last year"

while five other cluster supervisors said they have not received training on supervision. Engelbrecht (2013) emphasises that the undergraduate Social Workers are trained at academic institutions to render quality Social Work intervention; supervisors of those graduates should in turn also receive appropriate academic training to conduct quality supervision. This is evident as participant supervisors have mentioned that they did not receive educational training during their academic studies.

"No I did not receive training on Social Worker supervision during my academic studies" "I have not received formal training during my studies at the University"

Some supervisee regard supervisors as effective and with good supervisory skills who help them to perform their duties compared to other supervisees. Within the context of competencies of supervisors specifically effectiveness and supervisory skills of supervisors, some participants declared that:

"Everything is done when there is an audit... she plans and not adheres to the planned sessions."

Despite the view of participants on effectiveness and good supervisory skills of supervisors which was regarded as negative some participants showed that their supervisors are effective. They indicated that their supervisors are effective because they attend to cases when referred to them; there is good communication between them; and they are supportive in a sense that they receive guidance. Burnout among Social Work supervisees is caused mainly by abusive supervision, scarce resources, unmanageable workloads, unfair remuneration and counter-productive working conditions of supervisors and supervisees and unstructured supervision. Taking this finding into consideration one could echo the statement made by Skidmore (1995) that burnout among Social Workers in practice is on the increase. A robust literature identifies difficulties in the social services workplace. Supervisees experience burnout because of the organisational climate such as lack of good supervision, unfair remuneration, inadequate resources and lack of human resource and consequently have an intention to leave the Department of Social Development and Social Work profession. This is supported by Kim (2011) who explained that burnout is characterized as a state in which members of helping professions feel overextended and depleted of emotional and physical resources (i.e. emotional exhaustion).

Supervisors and supervisee mostly are familiar with educational function together with the models of supervisions which are individual and group. Engelbrecht (2014) argues that these functions of supervision do not work separately but, they overlap or are interrelated with each other. This implies that supervisors and supervisees lack knowledge about how the three functions of supervision overlap with each other. Supervision sessions which are conducted with supervisees are unstructured but, they are reported to be assisting them in rendering the services to clients. Mbau (2005) also argues that lack of supervision has negative impact on the Social Workers. Those Social Workers who did not receive supervision are unable to render quality, effective and efficient welfare services. This is supported by supervisee participants who mentioned that the supervision sessions are not structured because they are hijacked into sessions which are even hurried. They spent most of their time completing Social Work services forms than rendering services to the clients. This is an indication that the sessions are not planned and the contracts that they have signed during the new financial year are not adhered to.

5.3 Social Workers vs. Consulting with Their Colleagues in Government Sector

There was a concern identified during interviews that supervisee participants did not want to consult with government Social Workers when they had problems. They preferred either a psychologist or counsellor. Here are the views of supervisee participants:

"I can consult to private Social Worker, but not government Social Worker". "Ah! Government Social Worker's service is ineffective and they too are not motivated"

It is inevitable that poor service delivery is caused by negative supervision or lack of supervision, resources and remuneration. The clients suffer as a result of organizational structure which is not managed properly and the goal of supervision is hindered. If Social Workers who render services to the community do not want to consult with their colleagues who render the same service therefore there is something which is not right. Although our communities are expected to get the public services which Social Workers do not want to receive opting for other professionals. The issue of service delivery is critical.

6. DISCUSSIONS ON THE EFFECTS OF SUPERVISION ON SOCIAL WORKER' JOB PERFORMANCE

6.1 Supervision vs. Service Delivery or Job Performance

The integrated service delivery model towards social service of the South African National Department of Social Development, indicate the role and responsibility to inter alia provide strategic direction for social service delivery, recognizes the need for integrated strength-based approaches to service delivery in a social development approach (Engelbrecht, 2010b). In this social development paradigm, Social Workers are expected to deliver services to the clients under professional supervision of Social Worker with the knowledge and skills of this field and that Social Worker should be registered with the South African council of social service professions (SACSSP, 2007). It is unfortunate that within this social development paradigm there are still Social Workers who are using traditional approach (Supervision which is authoritative and practised based on the past experience of being supervised) as opposed to strength-based approach (Supervision of working together within a democratic working relationship). The Social Workers are still delivering services to the clients under professional supervision of qualified Social Worker who does have the knowledge and skill of supervision as required by the South African council of social service professions.

Most of the supervisee participants do not see the importance of supervision, as it is done by Social Workers who have experience in practice without supervision training. It is interesting that supervisee participants have indicated that the supervision sessions help them even though their supervisors have not received training on supervision whether during their study or after completion. These sessions which are conducted were not planned and prepare, while some supervisors are expected to supervise more Social Workers than expected in terms of the framework of supervision (DSD & SACSSP, 2012). The framework of supervision stipulates sessions that should be planned and prepared. Furthermore, the supervisor supervisee ratio of those who are on structured supervision should be 1:10 which warrants the supervisor to be excluded from other duties (DSD & SACSSP, 2012). International and local authors such as Kadushin (1992), Brashers (1995) and Botha (2002) highlighted that firstly the need for

Social Work supervision is that it is used as a means to control and develop the quality of social welfare services to communities. Secondly, it increases accountability within social welfare organisations. Thirdly, Social Work supervision equips new and inexperienced Social Workers with the necessary skills and knowledge to deliver effective social welfare services to the client's system (Cloete, 2012). One local author Engelbrecht (2014) argued that less is known about how supervision affects the level of practice and, importantly, service user outcomes.

Supervision of Social Workers has effects on service delivery and these has been agreed by Mbau, (2005) that Social Work supervision has to do with monitoring the work performance of Social Workers with the aim of improving and motivating them to render effective and efficient services to meet the agency or organisational client's needs. He further highlighted that this implies a professional relationship between the supervisor and supervisees. It has been recognised that those supervisees who receive good supervision responded positively on the effects of supervision on their job performance. It was also found out that negative supervision resulted in negative views from the participants about how negative supervision affected their job performance.

Supervisee participants expressed that most supervisors do not know their duties hence they supervise based on the number of years of experience as Social Worker not because of the qualifications and competencies. A thought to ponder was that supervisee participants (Social Workers) did not want to consult with government Social Workers when they had problems. They preferred a psychologist, Private Social Worker or counsellor. It is inevitable that poor service delivery is caused by negative supervision or lack of supervision, resources and remuneration.

7. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings of this paper, it is recommended that firstly, The Department of Social Development, Polokwane Sub-District should ensure that the working conditions of Social Workers are improved by providing adequate resources such as office accommodation, telecommunications, transport, stationery and electronic devices affect; Secondly supervisors who render supervision should receive supervision training that will enable them to conduct professional supervision. They should also be able to integrate supervision theory into practice;

thirdly the Department of Social Development, Polokwane Sub-District should ensure that the issues of abusive supervision, scarce resources, lack of human resources, unmanageable workloads, unfair remuneration and counter-productive working conditions of supervisors and supervisees and unstructured supervision are attended to as an act of emergency; fourthly, the said Department ensure that these Social Workers receive employee assistance programmes at their local offices; and lastly Transversal coordinators should monitor and capacitate supervisors to ensure that they utilize all the three functions of supervision and other models of supervision during their supervision sessions with supervisees. Further ensure that supervisors and supervisees adhere to the supervision contracts. In conclusion, professional Social Workers should be in the fore front to champion service delivery as they are working with dysfunctional, destitute, marginalised and socially excluded vulnerable individuals, groups and communities on the grass roots level. Considering the complex and demanding environment in which Social work supervisors' function in the South Africa public service, it is important for them to build various supervision and leadership skills in order to become more productive supervisors to meet the increasing demands of their position. When such professionals do not receive necessarily support in a form of supervision, clients suffer due to poor service delivery. Then the government's mandate to deliver services to the individuals, groups and communities through these professional becomes fruitless.

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AGRICULTURAL MARKETS AS NODAL POINTS FOR ECONOMIC ACTIVITY: ARE AGRICULTURAL MARKETS GENDER INCLUSIVE?

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ABSTRACT

It is argued that women play a vital role in food production and processing in many parts of the world such as hoeing, weeding, harvesting, storing and selling despite having limited access to agricultural inputs such as land, extension services and finance. Besides the production of food for household consumption, women also need access to markets in order to be able to sell their produce and buy other household products. Markets however are said to be male dominated and this has a negative impact on the participation of women, perpetuating female poverty and lack of financial independence. Whilst discrimination against women in terms of access to markets is not direct, the impact is felt more by women than men. Women unlike men are said to have low mobility in that they cannot travel long distances to markets due to custom or due to reproductive work done mainly by them such as taking care of children, cooking, fetching water and firewood. Most markets especially in rural areas are situated far from home and may entail a lot of travelling and that may affect taking care of domestic chores by women, as such most women prefer trading in local markets which are closer to home allowing them to carry out other household responsibilities. The drawback with the localisation of women in local markets is that there is often serious competition which lowers prices and affects profit. Arguably, this is the reason why many women are concentrated in one market place selling the same thing. Historically, women's low literacy levels are also said to hinder access to markets. This is because of the complexity of markets in terms of knowledge of market value chains, linkages with other service providers, acquiring new skills to improve production and general lack of awareness of new business opportunities. This paper is a desk top analysis of the nature of markets with regard to gender inclusiveness. The aim is to evaluate the extent of women's involvement in agricultural markets placing more emphasis on their challenges as compared to men.

Keywords: Agricultural markets, Value chains, Middlemen, Market information.

1. INTRODUCTION

Amassing a gender perspective on value chains and markets assists in the development of an integrated analysis of value chains from production, distribution, marketing and consumption. Gender perspective promotes the identification of gaps and challenges regarding access to markets by women. Markets are defined as places where producers buy agricultural inputs, sell products and use income for stuff like non-agricultural products to buy food requirements for consumption (Baden, 1998:6; IFAD, 2003:5). Access to agricultural markets by rural women has the ability to reduce poverty, malnutrition and ensure food security in rural communities. Although women play an important role in agriculture as food producers, they are said to have limited access to land. Only a few percentages of women worldwide are said to own the land they cultivate (Prakash, 2003:3; Steinzor, 2003:2; Kambarami, 2006; UN, 2008:8). This is because unlike men who have land rights, women only have use rights which make their tenure of security insecure. Patriarchal tendencies subtly dictate that women not be given prime agricultural land but reserve it for men hence women farm mostly on backyard gardens and mainly for household consumption. Patriarchal societies prescribe that husbands take care of their families hence they are regarded as head of households. They are the ones who are regarded as having the right to ownership and access to land than women. These cultural patterns according to Agarwal (1994:1463) and Moghamad (2005:15) help perpetuate household and community poverty since they do not allow women to own land and limit their ability to grow into commercial farming.

Markets are said to be male dominated because according to Baden (1998:20) and UNIDO (2013),

men frame the rules regarding access to markets to suit their needs which unintentionally excludes women. The inability of women to access land makes it difficult for them to access agricultural markets as markets prefer working with farmers who have enough land to produce commodities that meet their demands and standards (Roney, Anriquez, Croppenstedt, Gerosa, Lowder, Matuscke & Skoet, 2011:33). The discrimination women face with regard to access to markets may not be direct yet on the other hand it may have direct negative results in that the conditions may unintentionally exclude them from benefiting or accessing markets. Conditions such as exorbitant membership fees and the distance of markets from rural areas make it difficult for women to access them due to the burden of balancing household and economic activities (World Bank, FAO & IFAD, 2009:185). This is the reason women prefer local markets than urban ones. Since local markets are closer to home, they make it easier for women to balance business activities with household activities such as fetching water, firewood and attending to funerals and other community activities. The drawback about local markets however is that they do not encourage competitive profit but instead women lose profit hence they are forced to sell at low prices due to stiff competition.

2. WOMEN'S LITERACY LEVELS AND AWARENESS OF MARKET INFORMATION

The involvement of women in economic activities contributes to the eradication of poverty and malnutrition by ensuring food security both at household and community levels. Literature affirms that a large number of women are poor (Agarwal, 1994:1455; Deere & Doss, 1997:137; Moghadan, 2005:2; Harrington & Chopra, 2010:4). There are various barriers that hold women back in terms of participating in the economy and the body of research list them as low literacy levels which is said to be caused by patriarchy that favours boy children to get education instead of girl children. This however seem to be gradually changing as more girl children seem to register at primary school level even though it is observed that their graduation rate at high school is less than that of boys. The change in the enrolment rate may be attributed to the fact that most countries have signed treaties that deal with women empowerment and the compulsory enrolment of children at primary school. Article 10 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) addresses the issue of equal access to education for both

men and women and most countries have ratified this convention.

The low literacy levels are hindrance since it makes it impossible for women to understand market information such as consumer preferences, marketing strategies, standards and market requirements. The knowledge of processes and legislation regarding market information acts as a barrier for most women. Technology such as computers which women use to access market information, are not easily available for rural women (Okwu & Umoru, 2009; Mehra & Rojas, 2008:7; Roney, Anriquez, Croppenstedt, Gerosa, Lowder, Matuscke & Skoet, 2011:34; World Bank, FAO, IFAD, 2009:176; AfDB, 2015:22; Mawazo & Kisangiri, 2015). The lack of access to computers which have the ability to transfer information of markets is not the sole information hub that rural women can utilise. Women can also use cell phones to inform one another about market information such as prices for the commodities they are involved in to avoid using the services of middlemen or brokers. Cell phones, unlike computers are easily accessible and women who cannot read can be assisted by family members and other women to transfer information instead of relying on the radio. It is thus important that women have access to technology that will allow them to gain access to markets (Women Thrive Worldwide, n.d: 4; Doss, Bockius & D'Souza, 2012:15). It is important for government or other institutions to assist in improving market links to women by mediating on their behalf. Low literacy levels amongst women make them fail to negotiate contracts and thus rely on middlemen or agents or even their own husbands to do that on their behalf (Mehra & Rojas, 2008:10; Hill & Vigneri, 2009; Okwu & Umoru, 2009; Mawazo & Kisangiri, 2015; 9). Using middlemen is very costly for women as it affects profit and has a tendency of making women vulnerable to exploitation. Women are unable to get competitive prices for their goods as the middlemen only strive to buy commodities cheaper from women but sell at high price to maximise their own profit.

3. WOMEN AND AGRICULTURAL VALUE CHAINS

Value chain is defined as a set of activities, services, products that lead to product to reach a consumer (Baden, 1998:6; World Bank, FAO & IFAD, 2009:174; Mawazo & Kisangiri, 2015). Value chains involve different stakeholders who play different essential roles within value chain nodes such as farmers, brokers, processors, marketers, importers, buyers

and consumers. It is argued that women play a lesser role within value chains than men (Women Thrive Worldwide, n.d: 6; World Bank, FAO & IFAD, 2009:173). Women traditionally trade in low value commodities such as vegetables and fruits which are highly perishable, compounded by lack of storage facilities which have the ability to prolong shelf-life and prevent stock loss. Lucrative markets are arguably male dominated as men prefer contracting with other men than women. Due to the nature of commodities women trade in, compounded by the lack of access to land and other constraints, they fail to meet market demands in terms of quantity, quality, and health standards. Poor quality products are rejected by markets. Women seldom diversify their products hence you find them congregated in one area, selling the same products. This cause high competition resulting in lowering of prices as a buffer to the competition otherwise they will not sell and their commodities will waste due to their short shelf-life. Men on the other hand are said to trade mostly in commodities with high returns such as livestock and processed goods.

Identifying the role played by women within value chains calls for an analysis of value chains to identify niches where women can play a role. A gendered analysis of value chains will assist in the development of strategies to mitigate obstacles and ensuring the empowerment of women. High value procurement chains have the ability to exclude poor farmers such

as women who do not have access to resources enabling them to meet market requirements (Baden, 1998:10; OECD, 2007:117; Mehra & Rojas, 2008:9; Hill & Vigneri, 2009). Women's role within value chains may be labour intensive such as peeling, cutting, drying and gathering instead of using machinery. This albeit the fact that women produce high quality products cheaply. It then becomes important to regard gender within value chains as crucial especially in the analysis of value chains.

4. UTILISATION OF MIDDLEMEN OR BROKERS AS LINKS TO MARKETS

Agricultural brokers or middlemen play a role in linking farmers with markets both in urban and rural areas. Brokers and middlemen play different roles within the value chain. However, this role can also be played by spouses or organisation including government in some instance. Figure 1 below depicts an illustration of the value chain followed by a discussion indicating different nodes where brokers or middle men play a role:

Farmers appertain to both rural and urban small and large scale farmers, growers and raisers, and producers of commodities. In this value chain node, middlemen link farmers with markets by buying from producers and selling to markets. Their intention is always to buy cheap in order to make profit. Women get exploited at this node of the value chain due to

FIGURE 1: Value chain.



Source: Adapted from Mawazo *et al.* (2016)

lack of knowledge about market prices for their commodities. Collectors are middlemen/brokers, traders as well as assemblers and they collect commodities from farmers. Transport is normally needed to collect commodities from producers on their farms to markets. Women seldom own transport and utilise middlemen to broker for transport on their behalf. Middlemen normally ask for exorbitant prices so that they also make profit for themselves. Distributors are usually middlemen channelling commodities to markets. Marketing is also done by middlemen, wholesalers, importers, and buyers. They have the advantage of accessing warehousing for the storage of goods and play a role in brokering deals there as well. The last players in the value chain are consumers who buy commodities for household consumption (Aliguma, Magala, Lwasa, 2007:13; Mawazo & Kisangiri, 2015; Doss, Bickius-Suwyn & D'Souza, 2012:32). As illustrated in the discussion above, middlemen broker deals in many nodes within the value chain. In all the nodes that middlemen are involved, there are transaction costs involved that affect farmers' profit. Middlemen also have the ability to monopolise prizes in order to buy cheap and make profit. This can result in low returns for women who seldom have market information. It thus becomes important for government and other stakeholders to get involved and play a role of a mediator or advocacy roles to enable women and small farmers to save on transaction costs.

5. THE ABILITY OF WOMEN TO MOVE FROM SUBSISTENCE TO COMMERCIAL FARMING

Women mostly farm on backyard gardens and next to roads due to lack of access to land. The lack of access to prime land does not offer them the opportunity to scale up to commercial farming. Studies on poverty and development indicate that 80 million hectares of land has been leased for agricultural purposes but only one percent (1%) of the world's women own land (Lorber, 2010:6; UN, 2012:3). A study done by Moyo (2000:21) revealed that in Zimbabwe, eighty-seven percent (87%) of registered land owners are male and less than five percent (5%) are women. The notion that only a few percentages of women have access to land, unlike their male counterparts, means that wealth is in the hands of men than women as land is equated with wealth.

Another argument on the ownership of land by women is that it is culturally believed that they get married and leave their families and thus

regarded as outsiders, hence outsiders cannot own land belonging to another clan. Some cultures even practice "wife inheritance" where a woman is given to a brother of the deceased or any other male relative to make sure that land remains in the hands of the clan or family and does not fall into the hands of outsiders should she decide to get married. According to UN report (2012:10) and World Bank (2013:5), barriers in accessing land by rural women include: the exclusion of women when designing programmes, lack of awareness of rights due to low literacy levels, inability to access information on land reform programmes, gender-biased officers who come from patriarchal societies and thus treat women unequally to men, and cultural, religious, community and family dynamics that discriminate against women. The advantage of owning land is that women who own land can access capital and other resources such as extension services to assist them with their farming activities and thus be able to move from subsistence to commercial farming. Besides, the ability of access to land can elevate the status of women in communities and can help shape them as agricultural producers. When women have access to land, there is reported improvement of families' nutrition, education of children from families that own land, decrease in fertility rates and bargaining powers by women within a home environment (Kameri-Mbote, 2005:9; UNECA, 2007:1; Gomez & Tran, 2012:7; UN, 2012:7). Women who own large pieces of land are said to be able to take care of their family's nutritional needs and also sell any surplus commodity to take care of other needs within families. Women who are able to have surplus however have a challenge of attracting competitive prices due to discriminatory nature of markets. A lot of women have been owning and managing land for ages. The challenge is to direct them towards formalising their businesses and creating a conducive environment to access institutions that can assist them grow their businesses and thus access markets.

Women also need information on new technologies and systems to increase their produce (Prakash, 2003:7; Steinzor, 2003:3; Malhotra & Schuler, 2005:71; Collett & Gale, 2009:22; UN, 2012:12; World Bank, 2012:27). Technology is useful in assisting women to access markets and also network within value chains. Women struggle to move from being subsistence farmers to commercial farming because they still depend on old farming techniques and out-dated technology which do not help them increase their yields at the same level and speed as their male counterparts. Women thus need to be

empowered with new farming skills whilst in the same breath taking cognisance of their dual role of performing both productive and reproductive roles.

6. PARTICIPATION IN AGRICULTURAL STRUCTURES

For women to have a voice, they need to be involved in important structures such as agricultural structures that determines how resources are to be distributed, what laws to put in place in terms of policies and also changes in cultural norms that impede the progress of women in all spheres. According to literature, there is lack of representation of women in these decision-making structures. The lack of representation not only makes it difficult for women to have their needs articulated but also impacts negatively on ensuring that developmental initiatives take their needs into cognisance (UN, 2009:23; Mutangadura, 2011:13; Rao, 2011:8; Women Thrive Worldwide, n.d:11; Baden, 1998:11). It is however important to note that these organisations may indirectly discriminate against women by requesting expensive membership fees or meetings may be held in locations and times that may not be conducive for women to travel to (Doss, Bickius-Suwyn & D'Souza, 2012:31; UN-Women, UNDP, UNEP & World Bank, 2015:15). Culturally however, some traditional communities may not expect women to be involved in such structures, citing customary expectations and roles of women. Most of the time women who are involved in such structures are said to seldom make inputs, but become passive participants even when given the opportunity to do so. Women should thus be encouraged to form part of agricultural cooperatives or structures, especially those that deal with the commodities they are involved in. Participation in such structures has the ability to ensure that they get benefits regarding market information, are able to organise themselves and buy agricultural inputs as a collective. Adaptation to new technologies may also be discussed in these forums so women can also support one another by discussing issues that impact on them as emerging farmers. This will enable markets to source not only from established producers but also from emerging female producers.

7. TRANSPORT INFRASTRUCTURE AND WOMEN'S ACCESS TO MARKETS

Rural women lose profit when moving agricultural products from farm gate to markets due to poor road infrastructure in rural areas (IFAD, 2003:9; World Bank, FAO & IFAD, 2009:173; Mensah &

Yankson, 2013). Rural women farmers seldom own the means of transport, so they are forced to hire transport for their commodities to reach the markets mostly through third parties (middlemen). Transport companies are reluctant to utilise rural roads because they are often bad and impassable especially during raining seasons. The roads are usually flooded and have potholes that can damage trucks and make them costly to maintain. Unlike men, women seldom trade in processed commodities, but trade in perishable commodities such as vegetables and fruits and these have low returns compounded by lack of storage facilities. Expensive transport costs affect profit and thus have a detrimental effect on food security and the eradication of poverty. This is because women use money they get from their commodities to take care of their children's schooling and provide other necessities for their families. The distance to markets have a potential to cause uncompetitive and monopolistic markets which are detrimental to women's financial independence (Baden, 1998:48; IFAD, 2003:9; Aliguna, Magala & Lwasa; 2007:14). Transport infrastructure is crucial in decreasing women isolation from markets by increasing access. Lower costs for transportation and less time on the roads enables women to take care of other responsibilities such as taking care of their families. Good roads not only have the ability to lower transportation costs for women, they also enable investors to reach women in rural areas. This has a potential to assist women to have access to institutions that support them as they will be easily accessible.

The unequal division of household labour is seen as one area that holds women back in terms of entering into the broader economic spectrum including markets (UN, 2005:10; Lingam, 2005:9; UNRISD, 2010:108; Bosch, 2011:20; World Bank, 2012:219; Kabeer, 2012:21; Orr & Meelis, 2014:33). The reproductive role played by women is crucial since it creates and nurtures a society. It is thus imperative to note that the fact that social responsibilities are entrenched and defined along gender lines as such women's household responsibilities act as a barrier for women to be involved in market activities (Hill & Vigneri, 2009; Baden, 1998:19; OECD, 2007:113; World Bank, FAO, IFAD, 2009:175; Women Thrive Worldwide, n.d: 7; AfDB, 2015:22). Accessing markets is difficult for women when markets are situated far from rural areas and involves travelling because women's movement is culturally controlled by men and household activities. Household activities can be a barrier as they have the potential to can be

used by men to control women's movement unless women have better bargaining powers within the household (Baden, 1998:13; Hill & Vigneri, 2009; UNIDO, 2013:7). Interestingly, as soon as women's farming businesses become successful, men take over. It is however important to note that women are not a homogeneous group. There are women who are supported by their spouses who do not necessarily take over when business becomes successful.

8. AGRICULTURAL INPUTS AND ACCESS TO MARKETS

Women produce half or more of the food grown in the world, which is an indication that they play a crucial role in the economy. They are however not visible as they are not involved in decision-making (Prakash, 2003:5-11; UN, 2008:7; World Bank, 2012:224; Rao, 2012:2). Land is an economic asset which can help women generate income, women deserve to have equal access just as men. It is thus important that women be capacitated with skills and an increase in their knowledge to better manage their production on the land. Women also need new updates on information regarding new agricultural technologies and systems (Prakash, 2003:7; Steinzor, 2003:3; Malhotra & Schuler, 2005:71; Collett & Gale, 2009:22; UN, 2012:12; World Bank, 2012:2 27). More often than not women struggle to move from being subsistence farmers to commercial farming because they still depend on old farming techniques and out-dated technology which do not help them increase their yields at the same pace as their male counterparts. The lack of access to agricultural inputs makes it impossible for women to meet the requirements of producing good quality products fit for the market (Okwu & Umoru, 2009; World Bank, FAO, IFAD, 2009:175; OECD, 2007:16; Grass, Landberg & Huyer, 2015:18). On the contrary, since women produce fewer quantities in agricultural production due to having less access to land as compared to men, they also use less or no fertilizers which render their production to be regarded as organic due to lack of contamination from pesticides and fertilizers. Presently there is a niche in the market for organic food, a niche that can be exploited to benefit women (World Bank, FAO, IFAD, 2009:176; UN-Women, UNDP, UNEA & World Bank, 2015:16). This niche can give women an opportunity to sell their organic commodities at higher prices. However, this comes with knowledge of markets coupled with some level education. In order to benefit from this niche in the value chain, women's commodities can be marketed by indicating that they are produced

by women. All in all, ensuring that women receive and have access to technical and agricultural inputs will increase women's productivity and assist them in accessing and benefiting from markets.

9. CONCLUSION

This paper mainly dwelled on document study to probe barriers to women's participation in agricultural markets. Males are said to dominate access to markets than women. The exclusion of women is said to be unintentional but caused by rules and regulations that unintentionally exclude women due to lack of gender analysis of value chains. Issues such as the location of markets, lack of transport infrastructure and the utilisation of middlemen to broker deals for women act as barriers for women to access markets on equal footing with men. The lack of access to market information by women, compounded by lack of technology, poor access to land and agricultural inputs assist in exacerbating the inability of women to access markets.

10. RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the literature surveyed in this paper on barriers to women's access to agricultural markets, the following recommendations are put forward for consideration to enable women to participate in agricultural markets on equal footing with men.

10.1 Promote Access to Extension Services to Assist Women to Move from Subsistence to Commercial Farming

Extension services are important for women since they also need to learn new skills and techniques to improve their yields. Women often have problems attending trainings that take them away from home for long periods because that creates problems in their households. Husbands would often not be happy if women are away from home for long periods to attend trainings. The unequal division of household labour has been attested as having a negative impact on women participating in the economic sphere because they have to divide their time between productive and reproductive work.

10.2 Promote Gender Equitable Market Information Systems to Benefit Both Men and Women

Women should be empowered with market information and technology to enable them to

control production, processing and marketing. Training should concentrate on matters such as marketing, pricing, reading market needs and financial management. Women should be specifically targeted for inclusion in lucrative markets. It thus necessitates for the establishment of special markets that target what most women produce.

10.3 Monitoring and Evaluation of Sex Desegregated Data in Value Chains

Analysis of value chains should include sex desegregated data and identification of the different niches within value chains where women participate or do not participate. The analysis will promote the closing of gaps and development of plans to empower women.

10.4 Formalisation of Women's Informal Businesses

Encourage female farmer co-operatives or collectives for them to gain access to markets. The advantage is that women will be able to buy agricultural inputs and sell their commodities as a collective which also gives them bargaining powers. This will also assist them in meeting market demands in terms of quantities needed by markets.

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THE BURNING SOUTH AFRICA IN THE 20 YEARS OF DEMOCRACY: SERVICE DELIVERY PROTEST AND THE DEMARCATION PROBLEMS WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE CASE OF MALAMULELE AND VUWANI

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ABSTRACT

Local government is often viewed as an institution that is closest to people and also as the first point of contact between members of the community or an individual and governmental institution. However, during the apartheid era local government in South Africa was totally fragmented as a result of the apartheid government's policies. Due to the past apartheid episodes experienced by South African citizens, the coming into power by the newly elected democratic government meant that the sphere of local government had to be transformed for it to meet the demands of a non-racial society. The 1996 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa as adopted, provides for the establishment of municipalities in South Africa by an independent body. Pursuant to that, the Municipal Demarcation Act was adopted to give effect to the Constitution which established the Municipal Demarcation Board. However, in fulfilling its constitutional mandate and functions most of the Demarcation Board's decisions are greeted by violent incidents which in most cases resulted in the loss of life, destruction of property, burning of tyres and looting. Roads were also blocked by members of the community as they displayed their dissatisfaction, frustrations and anger towards the government and the Demarcation Board. Some of these incidents took place when two communities of Malamulele and Vuwani in Limpopo Province went rampage against the recent decisions by the Demarcation Board to amalgamate them. The community of Vuwani refuses to be moved from Makhado Municipality to be incorporated in the new Malamulele Municipality. In this case the decision of the Demarcation Board was met by strikes which were characterized by petitions, vandalism of property, court cases, boycotting of schools and the 2016 local government elections. This paper critically analyse the transition and transformation which took place in the

South African Local Government in the 20 years of democracy and the impact of the Demarcation Board in demarcating municipalities in South Africa. The findings in this paper indicates that local government has managed to accommodate all the minorities who were segregated under the apartheid government and that communities now knows who to approach if not satisfied with the services that they receive. This paper concludes that local government demarcation problems resulted due to the Demarcation Board's failure to accept that South Africa is a diverse ethnic build society or country.

Keywords: Demarcation, Municipality, Protests, Service Delivery, Apartheid, boundaries, Local Government, South Africa, Vuwani and Malamulele.

1. INTRODUCTION

South Africa became a democratic country in 1994 after fighting many decades of apartheid. The Constitution which is the supreme law of the country was adopted in 1996 and it provides for the three spheres of government which are the national, provincial and local government. Furthermore, the Constitution stipulates that South Africa is one, sovereign, democratic state founded on the values of human dignity, the achievement of equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms, and non-racialism and non-sexism. With regard to the establishment of municipalities, the Constitution requires an independent body to demarcate municipal boundaries for the whole territory of the Republic. As a result, the Municipal Demarcation Act was adopted to give effect to the Constitution which in turn established the Municipal Demarcation Board. Section 3 of the Act provides that the Board is a juristic person, independent; impartial and must perform its function without fear, favor or prejudice.

Basically, the functions of the Board are to determine municipal boundaries in accordance with Municipal Demarcation Act and other appropriate legislation enacted in terms of Chapter 7 of the Constitution. It may also render an advisory service in respect of matters provided for in the Act and other appropriate legislation when so requested.

When determining and re-determining municipal boundaries the Board has to take into consideration *inter alia* the financial viability and administrative capacity of the municipality; the interdependence of people, communities and economies and also integrated and unfragmented areas. Some of the factors that must be considered by the Board include among other things, the need for cohesiveness; the need to share and redistribute financial and administrative resources; areas of traditional rural communities; and provincial boundaries. The Board should not overlook existing and proposed functional boundaries; existing and expected land use; topographical, environmental and physical characteristics; the need to rationalise the total number of municipalities and the administrative consequences of its boundary determination.

In 2000, the Municipal Demarcation Board demarcated 284 municipalities and the first full democratic local government elections took place on the 5 December 2000 establishing the constitutionally designed system of local government, not all citizens were happy with boundary determination by the Board. In 2009 the Board reduced the number to 278. Not all the communities were satisfied with the Demarcation Board's decisions. On the 21 September 2013, residence of a small town of Malamulele under Thulamela Local Municipality went on a rampage after a demarcation meeting and torched municipal property because they have been demanding their separate municipality for a long time. Currently, Thulamela and Makhado local municipalities which are under Vhembe District Municipality have two different ethnic groups in their areas which are the Venda and Tsonga speakers. Thulamela Local Municipality head offices are situated in Thohoyandou which belongs to Venda speaking people. In 2014 the Demarcation Board was again brought to task as it experienced a serious challenge. Service delivery protests against municipality's failure to provide municipal services to its community changed from service delivery to demarcation protest. This took place when the same community of Malamulele in Limpopo Province went rampage and destroyed government buildings and barricaded the roads

because they wanted their own municipality. The Demarcation Board took the resolution not to give the community its own municipality. The reason was that the request by community to have its own municipality did not meet the criteria's for the demarcation and determination of a new municipality in its area and another reason was that the Board did not want to establish municipalities with ethnic boundaries. Due to serious protestation by the members of the community, the Demarcation Board overturned its decision and established a new Malamulele Municipality and incorporated the community of Vuwani in the new municipality. The community of Vuwani fought against its inclusion in the new Malamulele Municipality and burned schools in the area.

2. MUNICIPAL STRUCTURES

On 18 December 1998 Local Government: Municipal Structures Act as the second legislation was adopted to create the new system of local government and administration. The Municipal Structures Act provides mainly for the establishment of municipalities in accordance with the requirements relating to the categories and types of municipality such as; to establish criteria for determine the category of municipality for an area; to define the types of municipality for each category; to provide for an appropriate division of functions and powers among categories of municipality; to regulate the internal structures of political office bearers and senior officials; and to provide for appropriate electoral systems.

In terms of the Structures Act, an area must have a single category A municipality if that area can reasonably be regarded as a conurbation featuring areas of high population density; an intense movement of people, goods, and services; extensive development and multiple business districts and industrial areas. This means that the area must be a centre of economic activity with a complex and diverse economy, with a single area for which integrated development planning is desirable and having strong interdependent social and economic linkages between its constituent. An area that does not comply with the criteria set out in section 2 of the Structures Act must have municipalities of both category C and category B.

The Demarcation Board is therefore expected to apply the criteria set out in section 2 and determine whether an area in terms of the criteria must have

a single category A municipality or whether it must have municipalities of both category C and category B and determine the boundaries of the area in terms of the Demarcation Act. Therefore, in determining whether an area must have a category A municipality, the Demarcation Board must do so only after consultation with the Minister, the MEC for local government in the province concerned and the South African Local Government Association. In terms of section 6 the Demarcation Board after consultation with the Minister and the MEC for local government in the province concerned may by way of notice in the Government Gazette withdraw the declaration of an area as a district management area, if the establishment of a category B municipality in that part of the area will not be conducive to fulfilment of the objectives set out in section 24 of the Demarcation Act. This then mean that provincial legislation must determine for each category of municipality the different types of municipality that may be established in that category in the province. When such declaration has been withdrawn, the MEC for local government in the province concerned must, in accordance with any boundary determinations or redeterminations of the Demarcation Board and with effect from the date of the next election of municipal councils: establish a local municipality for that area in terms of section 12; or include that area into another local municipality in terms of section 17 of the Structures Act.

As already stated above, the South African government inherited the structures of race based municipal boundaries from the apartheid era. Steytler and de Visser (2009) point out that these boundaries were based on a policy of spatial segregation at local level. Through separation, influx control and a policy of "own management for own areas", apartheid aimed to limit the extent to which affluent white municipalities would bear the financial burden for servicing disadvantaged black areas. Municipal boundaries needed to be demarcated afresh in order to enable redistribution and to achieve, accountable local government consisting of financially viable municipalities (Steytler & de Visser, 2009:3). Both the Municipal Demarcation Act of 1998 and the Local Government Municipal Act 117 of 1998 defines the procedures that the Demarcation Board must follow in deciding on boundaries and the manner in which it must consult with the municipalities and affected communities in the demarcation process. However, the community of Vuwani when demonstrating against its amalgamation with Malamulele community and its incorporation in

the new Malamulele Municipality highlighted that the Demarcation Board did not consult with them when making such decision. Botes and Matebesi (2011:8) highlight that the Board also determines who will decide when new boundaries take effect, and how. Therefore, the overarching criterion is that demarcation must be geared towards ensuring that municipalities are able to meet their constitutional objectives and provide services to the members of the public (Botes and Matebesi 2011:9). On the other hand, the demand of a new municipality by the community of Malamulele was based on Thulamela local municipality's failure to provide the community with municipal services in terms of the Constitution.

3. THE TRANSITION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

Local government in South Africa began long time ago and was used as a mechanism for the provision of services to white communities during the apartheid era. Mokgopo (2016:78) highlight that, Jan van Riebeck landed in South Africa in 1652 and local government began thirty years later, and the history of local government was confined almost wholly to the Cape of Good Hope until the middle of the nineteenth century (Green, 1957). De Visser (2009:8) provides that, before 1994, no single, uniform system of local government existed across the country: this meant that each province had its own configuration of local government institutions. Therefore, local government as an institution of governance was subservient, illegitimate and racist. The subservience of local government was manifest in that local authorities existed in terms of provincial laws, and in that their powers and functions were dependent on and curtailed by those laws. De Visser (2009) further highlight that, the development of separate local authorities for separated racial groups, under the leading theme of 'own management for own areas', produced a clever scheme of naked exploitation on the basis of race.

The transformation of local government in South Africa was directed at removing the racial basis of government and making local government a vehicle for the integration of the society and the redistribution of municipal services from the well-off to the poor. Steytler and de Visser (2009) highlight that, this process occurred in three phases. The first, known as the pre-interim phase which commenced the coming into operation of the Local Government Transition Act 209 of 1993 (LTGA) and the establishment of the negotiating forums in

local authorities pending the first local government election. The second phase began when the first local government elections took place in 1995/1996, which established integrated municipalities although these were not yet fully democratically elected (Clark & Root, 1999). The third and final phase began with the local government election on the 5th of December 2000, hereby establishing the current municipalities (Steytler & de Visser, 2009:10; Ndletyana, Muzondidya & Naidoo, 2008). The most critical stages of local government transition in South Africa can be traced back during the time when the interim Constitution of 1993 was passed and the adoption of the final Constitution of 1996. During the transformation period, the main objective was not only to dismantle racial segregation in the local government but also to unify cities and towns under one tax base. According to Steytler and de Visser (2009:11), the agreement on Local Government Finances and Services was a statement of intent regarding future financing and service delivery and was to be implemented during the pre-interim and interim phases. It enshrined the principle of 'one municipality, one tax base'. The main priority of local authorities during the transition stages was to provide services that would meet basic health and factional requirements, with the long term-term objective of equal service provision. The principal instrument to give effect to this agreement and the whole process of transformation of local government was the Local Government Transition Act 209 of 1993.

Ever since 1994, the transformation of the public service into an efficient and effective instrument to deliver quality and equitable basic services to all citizens and to drive the country's economic and social development has been one of the primary tasks of the democratic government. The ability and efforts of the new government to transform the public service which lacked legitimacy and credibility in the eyes of the majority of South Africans has been severely limited by the legacies of the apartheid (Mashamaite, 2014:232). Ever since then various legislations and policies, which are aimed at improving the lives of the people and rendering quality services, have been adopted as a key to the transformation process of the public service. The transformation of the public service has been undertaken within the new legislative framework by the democratic government with specific reference to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, the Public Service Act 103 of 1994, the White Paper on the Transformation of the Public Service of 1995 and the white Paper on Transforming Public

Service Delivery of 1997, Public Service Commission Act 46 of 1997, the Public Finance Management Act 1 of 1999, the Public Regulations of 2001 and the Service Delivery Charter among others.

The transformation of local government was met with great enthusiasm and expectations by the majority of people. Mashamaite (2014:231) highlight that this new dispensation to the majority of the people in the country meant the alleviation of poverty, provision of better housing, access to adequate water, better health and education facilities, affordable and reliable electricity and proper sanitation and the overall improvement of life of the majority of the people. The excitement that accompanied the new dispensation of democracy and the new local government was short-lived and later replaced by growing signs of despair with government's inability to render the basic services promised to all citizens, particularly those who were previously disadvantaged by the service delivery in the form of protests, demonstrations, boycotts and petitions. The community of Malamulele demonstrated against poor service delivery by the municipality and their demonstration yielded no result. These saw the community requesting for its own separate municipality away from the Venda speaking communities. The community's demand for new municipality was rejected by the Demarcation Board. The rejection did not sit well with the members of the community. The community became too violent and burned government buildings. As already pointed out, the South African government observed a wave of protests associated with poor or lack of service delivery around the country. However, recently tables have turned and changed, as service delivery protests became demarcations protests.

Due to protest violent protests by the members of the community a new municipality was created which included parts of Makhado. In 2015 the demarcation board as it was performing its function took the decision to move some of the communities from Vuwani to incorporate them with the new Malamulele municipality. These decisions lead to a serious protest which saw the community of Vuwani burning 29 schools in the community and nearby communities. As a result of an on-going protest in Vuwani many people's lives were severely affected, mostly the learners as the schools in the area were burned down. Teachers were also restricted to go to school even after mobile classes were provided by the department of education. All the children in the community were prohibited to go to school.

4. SERVICE DELIVERY PROTESTS

South Africa is currently experiencing service delivery protests as members of the community are becoming impatient with the government's system of providing them with municipal services. During the apartheid era black communities in South Africa were denied municipal services by the apartheid government. Therefore, the coming in power of the newly voted democratic government gave communities hope that municipalities will provide them with the basic service delivery to change their living conditions, environment and their personal lives. However, the South African government faced serious challenges in providing services to the entire population due to the fact that when the newly elected government was voted into power it inherited structures of race based municipal boundaries which divided communities according ethnic groups. Mokgopo (2016) attest that when the new government came in to power in 1994 it inherited dysfunctional municipalities. In fact, it inherited a country with high levels of poverty, growing levels of inequality and also social dysfunctionality. As such in an attempt to redress apartheid legacies, the new government reformed previous legislation and policies to address issues pertaining to segregation, inequity, inequality, discrimination, poverty and to establish new transitional local authorities.

In 20 years of democracy of South Africa's post-apartheid, growing concerns have been expressed about the government's ability to deliver the long awaited services that its people yearn for which they are also entitled to in terms of the Constitution. Ever since 2004 communities had taken the matter to the streets to demand service delivery from the government. Poor service delivery has elicited protests all over the country, which have brought local government under the spotlight (Managa, 2012). Even though the government tried to adopt legislations and policies to address service delivery problems of the past apartheid government there are still serious challenges that the government is faced with. This is irrespective of the government coming up with good policies and laws the South African local government sphere is still rocked by poor service delivery in the majority of the municipalities including the big metropolitan municipalities. Ever since the year 2008 South Africa has witnessed much service delivery protests by communities demanding better services (Mokgopo, 2016:297). The majority of these protests have been marked by

exceptionally high levels of violence and vandalism, as people vent their frustration and anger (Managa, 2012:1)

Clark (2011), attest that in the past few years, public service delivery protests have been rife in municipalities across South Africa, particularly in the former homelands, with militant communities taking to the streets in remonstrations over lack services and poor performance of these municipalities. The provision of basic services in most municipalities has been very slow and failed to meet the expectations of the majority of people. This saw South Africa witnessing an escalation number of violent service delivery protests across the country with people frustrated at the slow pace of delivery and also at corrupt practices that have become endemic in some municipalities (Mdlongwa, 2014:39).

4.1 Failure to Fulfill Promises by the Political Parties

During the apartheid government, the majority of the population were unable to cast their votes or to engage in any real civic participation. After 1994 people were free to vote of which that is where the major concern with service delivery comes from. Political campaign manifestos have created disquiet, as most politicians make temporary promises most likely to satisfy the voters at the time of each new election campaigns. Managa (2012:2) highlight that in doing so, politicians raise the public's expectations, creating false perceptions that, following the election, communities will receive the services promised. Managa (2012) further state that most election manifestoes and campaigns of participating political parties have shared a series of recurring themes since 1994; addressing underperforming municipalities to arrest poor service delivery; improving basic service delivery; developing infrastructure; fighting corruption and creating employment, but once these promises are not delivered after the elections communities begin to panic and resort to protestation. On 03 August 2016 municipal elections took place in South Africa and the community of Vuwani boycotted the elections in the area due to their dissatisfactions with the Demarcation Board's decision of incorporating them in the new Malamulele Municipality. Members of Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) were denied access to the voting stations by the members of the community as protests were still continuing even during the time of the election. The community stressed the failures by political parties to intervene

in their battle against the Board's decision to amalgamate them with the Malamulele community in the new municipality whereas they wanted members of the community to vote for them.

4.2 Repercussions of Poor Service Delivery Protests

The widespread service delivery protests within municipalities in South Africa have reached unprecedented levels two decades into democracy. Majority of people always displays their frustrations and impatience over slow and poor service delivery in the form of protests, demonstrations, boycotts, petitions and strikes which are characterized by violence, vandalism, bloodshed and looting (Mashamaite, 2014:231). Service delivery protests always display the perception and unfortunately harsh realities of violence in the country (Nleya, 2011:3). Ever since communities started to engage in poor service delivery protests against the government and municipalities, many people lost their lives. There are also attacks on foreign nationals in acts of xenophobia in the misguided belief that foreigners are reducing job opportunities for South Africans. During the Malamulele protest local shopping Centre was looted, whereas in Vuwani shops and vehicles were set alight and more businesses looted and property vandalised. Callous response from the police service has in many cases resulted in the death of many. These included amongst others the death of Andries Tatane, who has become a symbol of the new resistance who died on 13 April 2013 because the government failed to deliver (Managa, 2012:1). Schools and government buildings are also being burned, in Malamulele five schools and government buildings were burned whereas in Vuwani 29 schools were also burned (SABC, 2015). In Vuwani learners spend more than three months not going to school due to the strike. Mostly matric learners were affected as they lost time to catch up on their work and finish the syllabus on time (Cilliers & Aucoin, 2016:13).

5. KEY FACTORS THAT IMPACT AND HAMPER SERVICE DELIVERY

Some of the key factors within local government that are hampering service delivery in South Africa include the following:

- Human resource challenges with regards to skills and capacity in municipalities. Many municipalities across South Africa just do not

have the people with the requisite technical skills and in cases where they do there is sometimes a shortage of skilled personnel who can assist the municipality in rendering quality services to the people (Mdlongwa, 2014:39).

- Corruption and maladministration. In many municipalities corruption and maladministration has become endemic and the lack of accountability or transparency in rendering services to the people is a cause for concern (Mdlongwa, 2014:39).
- Financial challenges. Across South Africa a number of local municipalities are either bankrupt, or on the brink of bankruptcy which affects their ability to provide quality service delivery to the people (Mdlongwa, 2014:39).
- Lack of awareness and lack of knowledge by communities with regards to their rights. This hampers service delivery as communities do not know how or who to approach when they face challenges regarding service delivery in their communities. This allows some municipal officials to act with impunity knowing that the community will not challenge this as they are not aware of their rights or the channels to follow when these rights have been abused (Mdlongwa, 2014:39).
- Slow rollout of services. When local municipalities do get their act together and render services to the people often this is a slow and tedious process which hampers the quality and efficiency of service delivery (Mdlongwa, 2014:39). Malamulele community understood that service delivery by the municipality is essential and that they are entitled to such services as entrenched in the Constitution under the bill of rights. That is why members of the community fought against poor service delivery in their community. Though in Vuwani the issue was not service delivery but demarcation tensions the community also stressed that they would not be given proper services in the new Malamulele Municipality.

6. WAYS TO ADDRESS SERVICE DELIVERY CHALLENGES IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Increased awareness and education programmes to be carried out by Non-Government Organisations

(NGOs) in communities to educate them on their rights, how to participate in municipal affairs and to make them understand key aspects of legislation like the Municipal System Act of 2000 and the Municipal Finance Management Act (MFMA) of 2003 and how it impacts on them (Mdlongwa, 2014:39). Municipalities must learn to adhere to the laws of the Country starting with the South African Constitution which provides for the basic rights of all people and the key legislative laws which govern and regulate municipal workers and issues like the MFMA and the MSA. By municipalities adhering to the laws of the country this will ensure better service delivery (Mdlongwa, 2014:39). Municipalities must make clear efforts through improved modes of communication to encourage public participation in key municipal processes like the public consultations for the Integrated Development Plans (IDPs). The use of various modes of communication like posters, memos and community radio stations which are more accessible to ordinary community members must be used to communicate rather than websites or newspapers which may not be accessible to ordinary members of the community (Mdlongwa, 2014:39). Corrupt officials must be investigated and dismissed timeously if found guilty of committing a criminal offence in order to ensure the integrity of municipality and for the community to have confidence in the municipality that corrupt officials will be dealt with under law and corruption will not be tolerated (Mdlongwa, 2014:39).

7. ALIGNING GOVERNMENT SERVICE DELIVERY BOUNDARIES

The Municipal Demarcation Board is working with all National and Provincial Government Departments to try and get the service delivery boundaries of government to be more effectively aligned with municipal government (Sutcliffe, 2002:10). The Cabinet has also decided that Government's service delivery boundaries must be aligned more properly because presently, one may live in one municipality or go to a school in a different municipality or have to attend court proceedings in a magistrate's court in another municipality, and so on. Sutcliffe (2002:11) highlight that it will be possible to ensure that electricity, transport, policing, justice welfare, education and so on are properly aligned. As such this will mean that government as a whole will be able to plan one-stop service Centres where one can go and get governmental assistance. In Malamulele most households don't have running water, proper sanitation and electricity and members of the

community rely much on the wood that they collect for cooking and boiling water. The incorporation of Vuwani and Malamulele will also mean that members of Vuwani community will have to travel to long distance to Malamulele Municipality to receive municipal service than when they were under Makhado Municipality.

8. MUNICIPAL DEMARCATION PROCESS

The process of demarcation of boundaries in South Africa comes a long way, this process was perceived mostly during the apartheid era as the apartheid government demarcated boundaries according to racial groups. It was after the re-incorporation of the Bantustans into South Africa that the restoration of South African citizenship to the residents of the so-called TBVC states (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) was established or reformed in 1992-1993. The adoption of an interim Constitution in 1993 created a political environment in which internal map of South Africa could be redrawn in accordance with the envisaged principles of a non-racial democratic country. The Negotiating Council of the Multi-Party Negotiating Process passed Resolution 12 by which the Commission on the Delimitation or Demarcation of Regions (CDDR) was established on May 1993. The CDDR invited proposals for demarcation from civil organisations, political parties, state departments and all interested parties (Ramutsindela and Simon, 1999). The main aim in demarcating boundaries in South Africa was that the ANC aimed to use the demarcation of regions to deracialise the country so that people can start to perceive and think of themselves as South Africans holding diverse views and not as members of this or that ethnic, racial or linguistic group locked into corresponding and defined political compartments. This broad mixed reaction from different scholars and members of the public as the incorporation of the former Bantustans into a democratic South Africa in 1993-1994 raised some questions as to how the boundaries of these apartheid political entities were to be erased in order to create a unified territorial space for all South Africans (Ramutsindela & Simon, 2007:43). This meant that apartheid internal boundaries needed to be changed through the demarcation of new regional boundaries, the process which was carried out by the Commission on the Demarcation/Delimitation of Regions (CDDR) in 1993. It was then that the demarcation process of delimiting apartheid internal boundaries and the demarcation of new regional boundaries began or was carried

out. It was after 1994 elections that the South African citizens breathed the air to democracy. The dawn of democracy in South Africa advocated for the adoption of the new Constitution of the Republic of South Africa in 1996 which provided for three spheres of government which are the national, provincial and local government.

Ramutsindela and Simon (1999:485) provide that the South African local government structures have generally been designed to reproduce the urban system in accordance with the policy objectives of the new government as can be seen from the legislative prescriptions contained in the various constitutions that the South African government has had. Racial differences, the influx control of Blacks in urban areas, segregation and disenfranchisement of certain racial groups characterised the history of local government during the apartheid era. During that period, local government in South Africa became the mechanism through which cultural and racial groups were divided and kept separate. This is the main reason why a racial change in local government was required on the demise of apartheid. In the year 2000 the structure of municipalities in South Africa were reformed and re-established as the Municipal Demarcation Board demarcated 284 municipalities and the first full democratic local government elections took place on the 5 December 2000 establishing the constitutionally designed system of local government, this did not sit well with other members of the society as not all citizens were happy with boundary determination by the Board. Pursuant to that in 2009 the Board reduced the number to 278 (Ramutsindela, 2007:1). The point of departure in overcoming the structural limitations of the transitional form of local government is to re-conceptualise and then, where it is necessary, redraw municipal boundaries. It is best to highlight that the most important structural weakness that many municipalities have inherited from the past is that their total income-generating capacity is insufficient to support the provision of basic municipal functions. According to Pycroft (2009:151), unless this weakness is addressed, municipalities will never achieve financial viability and their development capacity will be undermined. Therefore, this structural weakness has been and is continually being addressed by an independent Demarcation Board, established by the Municipal Demarcation Act, 1998. In terms of the Act, the Demarcation Board has to determine the boundaries of all municipalities in South Africa.

9. LEGISLATION AS A VOCAL INSTRUMENT IN DEMARCATING MUNICIPALITIES

The following legislation applies for demarcation of South African municipalities.

Constitution of Republic of South Africa, 1996

Section 40(1) of the Constitution highlight that in South Africa, government is constituted as national, provincial and local spheres of government which are distinctive, interdependent and interrelated. All spheres of government are therefore expected to observe and adhere to the principles that are contained in the Constitution and must conduct their activities within the parameters that are contained in Chapter 3 of the Constitution (*Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996*, s.40 (2)). In terms of section 151(1) of the Constitution, the local sphere of government in South Africa consists of municipalities which must be established for the whole of the territory of the Republic. Section 155(6) of the Constitution mandate each provincial government to "establish municipalities in its province in a manner consistent with the legislation". This was because South Africa inherited a structure of race-based municipal boundaries from the apartheid government. As such, it is provided that national legislation must define the different types of municipality that may be established (*Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996*, s.155 (3)).

The Constitution prescribes for three categories of municipalities which are category A, B and C. Category A municipality has exclusive municipal executive and legislative authority in its area (metropolitan areas). Category B municipality are municipalities that shares municipal executive and legislative authority in its area with a category C municipality within whose area it falls, whereas Category C municipality are those municipalities that has executive and legislative authority in an area that includes more than one municipality (*Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996*, s.155(1)(b)-(c)). From the above-mentioned three categories of municipalities, boundaries were based on a policy of spatial segregation at local level. Through separation, influx control and a policy of "own management for own areas", Apartheid aimed to limit the extent to which affluent white municipalities would bear the financial burden for servicing disadvantaged black areas. Municipal boundaries needed to be demarcated afresh in order to achieve democratic and accountable local government. The Constitution

provides that national legislation must establish criteria and procedures for the determination of municipal boundaries by an independent authority and make provision for an appropriate division of powers and functions between municipalities when an area has municipalities of both category B and category C. It must be noted that a division of powers and functions between a category B municipality and a category C municipality may differ from the division of powers and functions between another category B municipality and that category C municipality (*Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* 1996, s. 155(3) (b)-(c)). In terms of section 155(3)(a) this means that the national legislation must be adopted in such a way that establishes the criteria for determining when an area should have a single category A municipality or when it should have municipalities of both category B and category C.

Local Government: Municipal Demarcation Act 27 of 1998

On 3 July 1998 the Local Government: Municipal Demarcation Act, was passed to give effect to the criteria's and procedures for the determination of municipal boundaries in South Africa. This stage is the introduction of a new system of local government that preceded the establishment of the new municipalities. The Municipal Demarcation Act provides the provisions for the establishment of a Demarcation Board. The Demarcation Board consists of no fewer than seven and no more than 10 members appointed by the President in accordance with section 8 which provides for appointment procedure. The Minister must determine the number of the members of the Board; and may alter the number from time to time but a reduction in the number may be effected only by not filling a vacancy when a vacancy arises. The composition of the Board must be broadly representative of the South African society; reflecting regional diversity; and collectively represent a pool of knowledge concerning issues relevant to municipal demarcation in each of the provinces.

Pursuant to section 3, the Demarcation Board is a juristic person, independent and impartial and must exercise its functions without fear, favour or prejudice. The Board is entrusted with the task of demarcating the boundaries of municipalities for the territory of the Republic in accordance with the conditions set out in terms of section 155 of the Constitution. The functions of the Board include amongst others, the determination of municipal boundaries in accordance with the Demarcation Act

and other appropriate legislation enacted in terms of Chapter 7 of the Constitution; and to render an advisory service in respect of the matters provided for in the Act and other appropriate legislation when so requested. When performing its functions of determining municipal boundary, the Board must take into consideration inter alia the interdependence of people, communities and economies; the need for cohesiveness, integrated and fragmented areas; the financial viability and administrative capacity of the municipality; the need to share and redistribute financial and administrative resources; provincial boundaries; areas of traditional rural communities; existing and proposed functional boundaries; existing and expected land use; topographical environmental and physical characteristics; administrative consequences of its boundary determination; and the need to rationalise the total number of municipalities.

Section 19 provides that when it is necessary for the proper performance of its functions, the Board may delegate any of its powers, excluding the power to make final decision on the determination of a municipal boundary, to either a Board member; a committee of the Board; or an employee; or instruct such member, committee or employee to perform any of the Board's duties. A delegation or instruction is subject to any conditions and directions the Board may impose; and does not divest the Board the responsibility concerning the exercise of the power of the performance of the duty. The Board may confirm, vary or revoke any decision taken by a member of the Board, committee, or employee, in consequence of a delegation or instruction. The Demarcation Board has the authority to determine municipal boundaries in the territory of the Republic and may determine any municipal boundaries determined by it in terms of section 21 of the Act. Any determination or redetermination of a municipal boundary must be consistent with the Act and other appropriate legislation enacted in terms of Chapter 7 of the Constitution: Provided that section 26 does not apply where the Board predetermines a municipal boundary in respect of which the MEC for local government and all the municipalities that are affected by the redetermination have indicated in writing that they have no objection to such redetermination.

10. CONCLUSION

South Africa is burning and it is at the local government sphere that the heat is being felt while the provincial and national government are receiving only the smoke. Since local government is closest to

the members of community, it is the only sphere of government that always experience service delivery and demarcation protests and tensions. This shows us the transition that is taking place in South Africa in as far service delivery is concerned. Members of the community are continuing to demonstrate against poor service delivery and such protests end up breeding demarcation problems. Malamulele and Vuwani issue could have been avoided only if the Demarcation Board did stick to its decisions of not giving the Malamulele community its own municipality. It was better to deal with service delivery tensions and provide the community with the services they required than to entertain demarcation issues due to poor service delivery. If we are not careful the Demarcation Board will divide this country into regions and; isolate and separate people and communities according to race. When communities wake up and feel like holding the government ransom like how the Malamulele community did then we are going to have many municipalities due to ethnic tensions. South Africa is a unitary nation and it should remain as such, it is therefore the duty of the Demarcation Board to make sure that in its decision communities are not divided. Other factor which the Demarcation Board can be applauded on was when it refused to overturn its decision of amalgamating Vuwani with Malamulele. This shows that South Africa is still a unitary nation and the Demarcation Board maintained that in its decision. Ethnicity is not meant to divide a nation into parts but it is aimed at recognizing that we are living in an ethnic diverse based era and if the Board can keep that when making decisions, then South Africa will remain a peaceful country.

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THE ROLE OF SMALL MEDIUM ENTERPRISES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

The notion of Local Economic Development (LED) in local government is pivotal and continues to generate debates among policy-makers, civil society groups and scholars throughout the globe. This is particularly because the local sphere of government is responsible for provision of basic services. LED in local government debate stems among other challenges of unemployment, infrastructure backlog and access to funding. Consequently, there is consensus among all these stakeholders that LED may have consequences for the socio-economic development programmes, particularly of developing countries including in rural provinces in South Africa. Small medium enterprises play a fundamental role in promoting LED. It is from this premise that this conceptual paper seeks to explore the role of small medium enterprises in LED. The paper further seeks to identify challenges associated with the contribution of small medium enterprises in economic development so as to recommend possible solutions to the identified challenges. It is concluded that amongst other challenges, the local sphere of government in the Limpopo Province lacks the necessary financial and human resource capacity to provide the said basic services and the requisite infrastructure.

Keywords: Local Economic Development, Small Medium Enterprises, Capacity, Infrastructure, Corruption.

1. INTRODUCTION

The notion of LED is closely related to poverty alleviation (Bartik, 2003:16; Ababio & Meyer, 2012:7) to an extent that the two concepts are

intertwined and in some cases, confused with each other. To this end, LED strategies usually form part of a comprehensive poverty alleviation plan particularly at local sphere of government so as to address the socio-economic needs of a specific community, within a defined geographical area. Since the democratic era in 1994, there has been much attention given to fostering LED with the purpose of promoting empowerment, job creation, economic growth and community development, with a primary focus on the role of small medium enterprises (SMEs) in local government sphere. According to the Africa Growth Institute (2010:38), SMEs development in local government typifies part of a LED strategy that aims to, among other priorities; achieve the local government's constitutional mandate to promote economic development in general. The Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (2009:45) advocates that the unique challenges confronted by weaker and more vulnerable municipalities in South Africa include but it's not limited to complex rural development problems and a massive infrastructure backlog legacy that requires extraordinary measures to address funding and delivery problems. As such, the Department posits that LED is significant but has been lacking consistency in practice due to poor infrastructure development and the skills required to shape and direct economic growth in local communities.

This paper is conceptual in nature and it seeks to explore the role of SMEs in LED. The reason being that, SME development in the South African local government typifies part of an LED strategy to address unemployment and poverty alleviation challenges. It therefore means there is an inevitable link between LED and SMEs. The paper further seeks to identify challenges associated with the

contribution of SMEs in economic development so as to recommend possible solutions to the identified challenges. It thus concludes that amongst other challenges, the local sphere of government in the Limpopo Province lacks the necessary financial and human resource capacity to provide the said basic services and the requisite infrastructure.

2. CONCEPTUALISATION OF LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

According to Sibanda (2013:647), LED is a national government policy drive towards economic development that allows and encourages local people to work together to achieve sustainable growth and development. However, other scholars like Bartik (2003) and Sibisi (2009:5) refer to LED as a concept that has to do with the development of a territory, specifically aiming at stimulating the local economy to grow, compete and create jobs, by making better use of locally available resources. Meyer and Venter (2013) define LED as a participation in which local people from all sectors work together to stimulate local commercial activity, resulting in a resilient and sustainable economy. Moreover, it is also a way to assist create decent jobs and improve the quality of life for everyone, including the poor and marginalised, in doing so, LED encourages public, private and civil society sectors to establish partnerships and collaborate hence to find solutions to common economic challenges. Basically, LED seeks to build up the economic capacity of a specific locality so as to improve its economic future and the quality of life for all. Goga, Murphy and Swinburn (2006:27) are of the view that LED is a process by which public, business and non-governmental sector partners and work collectively to create better conditions for economic growth and employment generation. These stakeholders develop an LED strategy which is basically used as a guide in which local economy could be enhanced.

An LED strategy is an overall plan that has short, medium or long-term aims and actions and sets out what is going to be achieved. It basically establishes an agenda to promote and develop a local community's economic, physical, social and environmental strengths and will address both challenges and opportunities. SMEs worldwide are seen as the cornerstones of national economies in that in the South African context, they have the potential to reduce unemployment, generate income, create assets, contribute to skills development,

reduce the rate of crime and (often violent) service delivery protests, and attract investments in local municipalities (Malefane, 2013:671).

3. HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA

In South Africa, there are various policy frameworks which support and promote the notion of Local Economic Development. Section 152 of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* of 1996 (hereafter referred to as 1996 Constitution) made LED an obligation for all local municipalities in the country, and in 1998 the White Paper on Local Government introduced the notion of developmental local government and LED as a key mandate. Patterson (2008:18) argues that the basis for the current policy framework for LED was originally set down in the 1996 Constitution. Accordingly, Section 152 (c) and 153 (a) of the 1996 Constitution states that local government must "promote social and economic development" and it must "structure and manage its administration, and budgeting and planning processes to give priority to the basic needs of the community, and to promote the social and economic development of the community". The *Local Government: Municipal Systems Act, 2000* (Act 32 of 2000) legislated municipal LED functions as part of Integrated Development Planning to guide the process of a developmental local government (Rogerson, 2010:481; Munzhedzi, 2015:174). However, studies show that municipalities remained unclear on what LED means, how to organise it, and what to do in practical terms (Meyer-Stamer, 2002:16).

These policy frameworks are emphatic on strong state intervention, and that municipalities should play a leading role from the front, while LED is set of municipal projects to create jobs. The South African government created an LED fund to support poverty-reducing projects in 1999, housed under the national department responsible for local government (the former Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG), renamed the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (CoGTA) in 2009). After a damning review of the Fund in 2003, the government reconsidered its approach to LED and in 2006 released new guidelines on LED" (Sibisi, 2009:32). Most significant in this regard is that the White Paper on Local Government of 1998 defined some of the challenges facing South African municipalities and provided the mandate to

local municipalities to deal with these challenges including but not limited to skewed settlement patterns, backlogs in service delivery and spatial segregation (Meyer & Venter, 2013). The LED may play a significant role in addressing some of these challenges. SMEs as one of the mechanism used to create jobs in the local economies are discussed in the paragraph below.

4. THE ROLE OF SMALL MEDIUM ENTERPRISES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

According to Oualalou (2012:57), SMEs play a very important economic and social role, both through their prominence in the economy and in job creation, a role which is greatly appreciated in these times of crisis and rising unemployment. Notwithstanding so, the development of SMEs can help to face many challenges linked with economic development in the country, inequalities, very high unemployment, demographic developments and the need for structural change. Furthermore, SMEs development offers many job opportunities which can help to lower the unemployment rate and address the demographic challenges posed by growing populations (Malefane, 2013). In addition, the development of the SMEs sector may assist in increasing competition and productivity and thus stimulate the growth of income both overall and per capita. This development will also stimulate structural change, since a healthy small medium enterprise sector is associated with innovation and technological upgrading.

Sibanda (2013:663) also concurs with the assertion that the SMEs sector plays a critical role in the South African economy by creating employment opportunities for communities within the second economy, as well as providing livelihoods to the dependents. In these regard, South Africa SMEs contribute approximately forty-five (45%) to the GDP (Sibanda, 2013). Malefane (2013) however posits that the support that the South African government provides for SMEs is widely acknowledged as the country's effort towards economic restructuring and poverty alleviation; conversely this acknowledgement results from governments' political and legislative commitment, through policy and strategy, to ensure that SME development is viable. SME development in the local sphere of government typifies part of a LED strategy that aims to, among other priorities; achieve the local government's constitutional mandate to promote economic development, in doing

so, the political support for SMEs has set the tone for legislation, policy and strategy direction and has resulted in the South Africa's legislation setting forth the national objectives for the SME economy (Geyer, 2006:2).

5. CHALLENGES OF LED IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The problems and challenges that SMEs are confronted with are multi-faceted and wide-ranging, furthermore among the factors that inhibit SME growth are inadequate business support services, quality or absence of business premises or infrastructure as well as Inadequate institutional economic delivery vehicles to support and enhance SMME in addition to a restrictive legal and regulatory environment (Adams and Madell, 2002:43). According to Kane, Madel and Pahwa (2006:16), the regulatory impact of municipalities on small enterprise is inextricably linked to their developmental and service delivery roles, notwithstanding, the ultimate impact of regulations is a function of a particular municipality's capacity to implement transformation. While uneven enforcement may be as a result of capacity constraints, municipalities may often choose to implement certain regulations selectively. According to the National Treasury (2011:207), most rural local municipalities such as Tzaneen, Ba-Phalaborwa and Molemolle Local Municipalities face a challenge in rising own revenue, particularly because the majority of the households are indigent. However, there are those households and local businesses that can afford to pay for services of which they contribute in economic development.

The Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (2009:51) posits that LED is of critical for the development of the country but has been erratic in practice due to the skills required to shape and direct economic growth in local spaces, as a result, South Africa has an advanced legal and policy context for LED, yet there is still challenges regarding implementation. In terms of the National LED Framework, municipalities have a very clear and defined facilitation role to play towards promoting economic development and job creation. The need for LED also arises out of the developmental challenge that economic development does not occur everywhere at the same time, but occurs unevenly and inequitably across economic space, landscape and social groups, creating major challenges in terms of satisfying the needs of the citizens with regard to employment opportunities, wealth creation and services particularly

for disadvantaged and marginalized groups (Meyer & Venter, 2013). LED strategies can therefore be framed as a process that responds to the development challenges that occur at local levels and bring together national, provincial and local government, business, community groups, international development partners to work in partnership (Wekwete, 2014:9). The partnership between the said stakeholders may positively contribute in addressing absolute and relative poverty, poor access to infrastructure and services, growing information of urban economies and decline and disappearance of existing industries. Some of the challenges of LED in South Africa include the following.

5.1 Corruption

Whilst corruption is a universal problem, it is particularly harmful in developing countries (Department of Public Service and Administration, 2003:11). Thornhill (2012) defines corruption as offering or granting, directly or indirectly to a public official or any other person, of any goods of monetary value, or other benefit, such as a gift, favour, promise or advantage for himself or herself or for any other person or entity, in exchange for any acts or omission in the performance of his/her public functions. Lerrick (2005:2) advocates that where there is poverty there is corruption. Munzhedzi (2016:1) is of the opinion that corruption refers to an abuse of official authority with intent for personal advantage. The most common types of corruption include bribery, fraud and the misappropriation of economic wealth. The reason for this may be associated with the fact that the provision of services in the developing societies is reliant on the government (Munzhedzi, 2016:1). It therefore means that the government and subsidy grants regarding LED initiatives may be received by undeserving small businesses and candidates. Businesses which do not qualify may pay bribes or kick-backs to receive the said grants and subsidies. According to Okafor (2004:98), corruption by political leaders has been identified as one of the major causes of poverty, and the failure in the development of developing countries, particularly in Africa, therefore the incidence of corruption remains one of the greatest challenges of democracy in the continent as virtually all democratic experiments are associated with reports of hyper-corrupt practices.

5.2 Poverty and Unemployment

According to Mavhungu (2011:35), poverty and unemployment are major factors that attributes to

the non-payment of municipal service fees in South Africa, as a result it also leads to the community engaging in municipal protests. South Africa is faced with a situation where the local sphere of government is put under ever-increasing pressure as poor people migrate from rural areas to urban in search of work, and to improve their living standards, in this regard poverty and unemployment does affect economic development. It is also worth noting that if people are not working, the business sector will not grow, and ultimately the market will be weak as no money will be injected into the economy to stimulate growth. Municipalities will not be able to aid LED innovations, through funding and skilling them, and as such a local economy will suffer.

5.3 Human Resources Capacity

There's often inadequate recruitment processes in the LED unit. Ingle (2014:479) is of the opinion that in far too many municipalities the post of LED Officer (where it exists at all) is seen as a virtual sinecure and is occupied by the most unsuitable candidates imaginable. Where senior officials in a municipality lack capacity, this deficit trickles down through the institution's organogram as ever less competent individuals are hired and competent ones move elsewhere in frustration (Munzhedzi, 2015:176). Appointment of unsuitable candidates may often lead to inadequate implementation of the LED programme. Lack of adequate organogram and suitably qualified personnel may also manifest in the lack of prioritisation of LED to such an extent that in some of the municipalities, the LED unit is staffed by one person (usually the LED officer).

5.4 Financial Resources

Another issue related to the question of human resources inadequacy is insufficient funding. The government's supportive role is often expressed through financial and non-financial mechanisms. Non-financial support includes but not limited to the control of inflation, reduction of tariffs and exchange controls, offering of tax incentives, investment in economic infrastructure and SME development through adequate policy framework (Malefane, 2013:677). Some of the government institutions which contribute positively to LED are Industrial Development Corporation (IDC), Small Enterprise Development Agency (SEDA), and the newly established Department of Small Business Development. In addition to non-financial support, South African SMMEs have access to credit from

commercial banks (Turner, Varghese & Walker, 2002:22). However, Turner *et al.* (2002:22) cautions that credit granting tends to be in favour of SMMEs in the formal, rather than the informal sector, since informal sector SMMEs do not usually meet credit requirements. In certain cases, it was not necessarily the issue of a lack of prioritisation of LED that caused staff shortages, but a lack of funding for the programme. The generally poor attention paid to the LED unit may often contribute to low budget allocations. In recent years there have been sharp attacks on the desirability and efficacy of foreign aid for developing countries (Moyo, 2009; Polman, 2010). Other scholars also argue that it is far from clear whether donor finance always furthers the cause of LED. However, if properly used; donor funds may play a positive role in the promotion of LED.

6. THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE MUNICIPAL INFRASTRUCTURE GRANT (MIG) TOWARDS LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The fiscal decentralisation was conceptualised in South Africa about twenty years ago which was meant to transfer some powers to the third sphere of government, namely, the local government (Schoeman, 2006). Basically, when the fiscal decentralisation was introduced, the idea was that if the centres of decision making would be closer to the people, service delivery and poverty reduction would easily be addressed, therefore the structure of intergovernmental grant regime as well as the capacity of under resourced municipalities where the need for basic services is the highest. Municipal budgets and MIG are the main policy instruments that direct the expenditure stance of municipalities in achieving the infrastructure service delivery targets. To this end, inadequate municipalities infrastructure has negative consequences for the delivery of services and economic and development (Bikam, Chakwizira & Rapodile, 2015:10).

According to Smith and Da Lomba (2008:3), infrastructure plays an important role in the social and economic development of African countries, it is considered to be the hub of the economy which allow for the production of goods and services, without themselves being part of the production process. Infrastructure largely comprises road and rail transport system, public transport systems, airports, public educational facilities, water supply and water resources. Areas with poor backlog infrastructure are characterized by high rate of poverty with

municipalities tending to focus on the provision of access to basic municipal services and the provision and maintenance of general infrastructure and services within the municipal area.

The Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (2009) indicates that the MIG is the largest local government infrastructure development funding in South Africa, as a result the programme was introduced as part of major reforms implemented by government to improve service delivery as well as to strengthen local economic development in a coordinated manner that involves all government spheres.

7. THE FUNDING OF LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

In terms of financing, a comprehensive approach is needed to enterprise development including a variety of stakeholders and access to micro-finance; stakeholders are generally regarded as parties who are affected or can affect actions and policies (Heideman, 2011:102). According to Atkinson and Ingle (2003), to access funds for LED, municipalities can either employ funds generated locally to implement municipal-led activities, such as through the levying of rates and taxes, or funding can be derived from higher spheres of government, however, LED has no secure funding sources and often relies on charitable donation and public funds. The role of local and international NGOs and donors is of great importance in accessing and making available funds for local development projects. The avenues for funding LED activities are summarized below.

7.1 Donor Funding

There are a number of donor agencies operating in the country including and not limited to the European Union LED support programme, USAID, and World Bank.

MIG

Supports basic infrastructure development and it is often financed from the higher spheres of government, namely, national and provincial government.

National Sector Support

There is a range of funding sources available from various government departments such as the Department of Water Affairs and Sanitation, and Department of Agriculture.

Development Finance Institutions

These institutions are inclusive of Independent Development Cooperation (IDC), Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA), National Empowerment Fund and National Development Agency (NDA).

Local Government Own Revenue

Municipalities to generate revenue from taxes and municipal services. High growth municipalities to support low growth municipalities.

7.2 Equitable Share

This is a share that comes from the provincial sphere and is distributed equitably across municipalities. This share seeks to improve utilization of provincial equitable share and transfers to municipalities. The foregoing is some of the sources often used to fund LED programme in the South African municipalities. According to Hindson (2007:33), there is a range of non-governmental support and international donor agencies that provide financial and technical assistance to municipalities and private sector groups such as the European Union, USAID, and World Bank. In doing so, the EU funds projects within the broad objectives of poverty alleviation and LED, including institutional capacity building. Hindson (2007:35) furthermore advocates that the European Union LED Support programmes in rural provinces such as Limpopo, Eastern Cape and KwaZulu Natal provide financial and technical support to local government as well as to the private sector through various application procedures.

The World Bank Group offers a limited number of grants to facilitate development projects to encourage innovation, co-operation between organizations and to increase the participation in projects of local stakeholders. Current projects in South Africa are enabled by a Technical Assistance Loan, implemented by the South Africa National Treasury with assistance of the DBSA (Heideman, 2011:37). Department of Trade and Industry (2008:33) posits that in terms of national support towards funding LED initiatives, a number of government departments and programmes provide support to municipalities and partnerships to engage in LED. In this regard, the MIG through the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional affairs (COGTA) provides support to municipalities to supply basic infrastructure development and improve service delivery. The aim of the grant is to provide all South Africans with a basic level of service, empower local municipalities, decentralise service delivery and

alleviate poverty. Municipalities applying to MIG for funding need to comply with a number of conditions in order to receive funding which includes an element of community participation to ensure the project meets the needs of local communities.

Section 229 of the 1996 *Constitution* assigns significant revenue powers to all municipalities in the country that, in addition to user charges, include rates on property and surcharges on fees for services provided by or on behalf of the municipality. Section 224 and 227 also guarantee that municipalities should receive an equitable share of nationally raised revenues, based on their assigned functions, fiscal capacity and developmental needs, among other matters. However, Section 227(2) relieves national government of any obligation to compensate municipalities that do not raise revenue commensurate with their fiscal capacity and tax base, and prevents it from penalising those municipalities who demonstrate fiscal effort. Government transfers alone may not successfully address all the service delivery pressures and backlogs that municipalities are confronted with. They are intended to supplement the municipalities' own revenues, with a particular focus on facilitating the provision of services to poor households and addressing rural infrastructure backlogs (National Treasury, 2011:205).

8. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Munzhedzi (2015:180) is of the opinion that despite South Africa's good legislative and policy frameworks regarding LED, evidence gathered through literature review suggests that the triple challenges facing the country, namely, unemployment, poverty and inequality still exists. Munzhedzi (2015) further posit that the LED programmes coordinated by municipalities have not made a remarkable dent on the said challenges. It is concluded that the public and private sector should have a stable relationship in fostering economic growth and community development by supporting Small Media Enterprises (SMEs) in order for the growth of market whereby jobs will be created as well as poverty to be alleviated. It is imperative for the government, in particular the National Treasury to supply good monitoring and evaluation on the LED program in order to have a clear assessment report as to whether economic development is taking place or not. Nevertheless, non-governmental organisations should also continue to play a pivotal role because they are instrumental in the stimulation of local economies. To address the corrupt element that may arise in the process of

LED implementation, measures should be placed on board in order to detect or deal with corrupt activities which seem to delay progress in local municipalities as well as to affect service delivery and economic growth. Some of the recommendations to address the continual challenges of LED in the South African municipalities are as follows:

- The process of addressing corruption in South Africa has been earmarked by a fragmented and uncoordinated approach. Some common anti-corruption agencies or bodies that exist are: Public Protector, South African Police Service (SAPS), National Prosecuting Authority (Asset forfeiture unit) and the Auditor-General (AG).
- According to Johnston (2001:1), good governance is a fundamental right of a citizen in a democracy and it is underpinned by factors such as transparency and accountability. Basically, good governance involves far more than the power of the state or strength of the political will. It therefore means that the facilitation, funding and the coordination process of the LED programmes and initiatives is transparent and cost-effective.
- Skills development interventions ought to be designed with focus on the current and future needs of the economy (Munzhedzi, 2015:180). Meyer and Venter (2013:99) correctly postulate that the focus should also be on critical skills in South Africa including but not limited to agriculture, mining, manufacturing and tourism so that they may be able to attract, maintain and expand local businesses.
- To address lack of funding as a challenge to effective LED policy implementation, government in its entirety ought to channel more funds to this cause (Munzhedzi, 2015:180). Often, municipality budget allocations for LED are quite minimal and thus inadequate in creating business and employment opportunities (Khumalo & Thakhathi, 2012:58).

In conclusion, the role of SMEs in local government is to stabilize the economy, particularly local communities with the aspect of empowering the youth and the previously disadvantaged people such as; women, disabled people and black people through the guidance of the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE). In doing so, the LED strategy aims to achieve the local government's constitutional mandate of

promoting economic development. The paper advocated that the Municipal Infrastructure Grant (MIG) is the largest local government infrastructure development funding in South Africa. Corruption remains the major cause of poverty and the failure of economic growth particularly in developing countries. To this end, LED through SMEs may positively play a significant role in enhancing the economic landscape of local municipalities in South Africa specifically rural municipalities. As indicated earlier, SMEs have the potential to reduce unemployment, generate income for the municipality, contribute to skills development in a particular locality, reduce the rate of crime and (often violent) service delivery protests, and also attract investments in local municipalities.

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REFLECTION ON THE DETERRENCE THEORY OF TAXATION IN THE CONTEXT OF REVENUE COLLECTION BY MUNICIPALITIES AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN REVENUE SERVICE

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ABSTRACT

This paper evaluates analyses and reflects on how the deterrence theory as revenue collection measure can be used in revenue collection. It also focuses on the applicability thereof to the South African Revenue Service and the municipal revenue collection strategies, through increasing the penalties as well as raising of the tax audit or the combination of the two. Revenue collection is critical for the survival and sustainability of government. This is the way of creating space that will enable it to provide the essential public services required by the citizens and as a result thereof reduce the dependency of the government on foreign aids. This paper is theoretical in nature and scope and bases its argument on secondary literature sources. It will evaluate and gain insights into how tax compliance can be attained in the context of how the revenue collecting authorities treat and deal with the taxpayers. This will be achieved by analysing the outcome of the force used in revenue collection versus the willingness of taxpayers to meet their tax obligations. The paper concludes that the deterrence theory is the most applicable in the municipalities and the South African Revenue Service revenue collection strategies as taxpayers and ratepayers do not pay rates and taxes willingly but coerced.

Keywords: Deterrence theory, Taxation, Revenue Collection, SARS.

1. INTRODUCTION

Taxes are important source of revenue and the revenue collection is one of the most important functions performed by the state and enables it to sustain itself (Smith, 2003:1; Fjeldstad & Moore, 2009:1; Anyaduba, Eragbhe & Kennedy, 2012:37). It is the responsibility of government at different

levels which include national, provincial and local level to collect taxes. It means that government should not only announce a tax system and wait in hope that taxpayers, through their sense of duty, will voluntarily remit what is owed to the fiscus (Frey, 2003:285; Smith, 2003:1; Slemrod, 2007:25; Croome & Olivier, 2010:1). Any country has limited economic resources available to meet societal needs; taxation is therefore the main means by which a government will be able to raise revenue to meet such public expenditures (Bird & Zolt, 2003:24). In South Africa, and in line with worldwide trends, tax legislation is often complex, intentionally designed to reduce opportunities of tax evasion, which is one of the main concern of the tax authorities, as well as promoting fairness in taxation, although that is not always achieved (Potas, 1993:1-2; Sandmo, 2004:2; World Bank, 2007:7; Coricelli, Joffily, Montmarquette & Villeval, 2007:4). It can therefore be argued that despite all these efforts of curbing tax evasion, they remain prevalent in many countries.

Municipalities are also statutory institutions that collect revenue for service provision. In terms of Section 229(1) (a) of the Constitution, Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act, No108 of 1996,

"the government is constituted as national, provincial and local sphere of government which are distinctive, interdependent and interrelated".

Section 151 of the Constitution, states that:

"the local government consists of municipalities..."

It is therefore clear from the constitutional framework that each structure is a creature of statutes and has legislative authority that must be complied with and adhered to. In Chapter 2 of the Local Government Municipal Systems Act (Act 32 of 2000) it is reported

that the municipality must develop its functions and exercise its powers in an economical, accountable and efficient way. It can therefore be argued that, the government cannot therefore abuse its powers as there are checks and balances to be compliant with. Municipalities, like other government institutions, also have the need for financial resources and need to collect their own revenue as envisaged in Section 4(1)(c) of Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000. Municipalities have two sources of revenue which includes their own revenue and intergovernmental transfers. The intergovernmental transfers are in line with the constitutional provisions in Section 214 of the Constitution. This section stipulates that there should be an equitable share of the revenue that has been raised nationally among the national, provincial as well as the local sphere of government.

There are revenue collection measures and statutory remedies, procedures, systems, competence and training that are made possible by the tax legislation, which gives both South African Revenue Service (SARS) and municipalities the power to ensure maximum collection of revenue including arrear taxes (Davis, Pawana & Cappon, 1989:2; Ivanova, 2015:33). Unless revenue collection by SARS and municipalities is improved, there will always be a possibility of service delivery protests and unrest that could potentially destabilise the country as the government will not be in a position to meet the needs of the citizens. Local government is one of the spheres of government which is the constituted through municipalities which is closer to the people. The municipal residents therefore expect municipalities in their areas of jurisdiction to be provided with services as mandated by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) and other pieces of legislation. Failure to satisfy this legislative requirement, residents may confront municipalities through service delivery protests in a verge to force their municipalities to deliver services as might have been promised through the Integrated Development Plan and other forums. It is therefore incumbent on municipalities to ensure that they deliver the services as required by the community and promised to the community if it were to retain their trust and confidence. It can therefore be inferred that, it remains the responsibility of municipal residents to ensure that they pay rates and taxes for the service provided to them so that sustainability in service provision can be maintained. As already indicated revenue collection is critical for the survival and sustainability of country in general and municipalities in particular. This paper

therefore attempts to evaluate, analyse and reflect on how the deterrence theory can contribute and ensure that taxpayers and ratepayers meet their obligation of paying taxes. To do this, the paper provides the literature review in order to locate the article to the broader theoretical framework of the deterrent theory.

2. THE DETERRENCE THEORY

The theoretical approaches of tax compliance have commonly been divided into economic deterrence theory and the wider behavioural theory (Frey & Feld, 2002:7). The behavioural theory encompassed the social and fiscal psychological theories. The use of deterrence theory model was mainly prevalent in the examination of tax evasion (Frey & Feld, 2002:7). The theory can be achieved through a number of approaches and these could be both punitive and persuasive. In the use of the punitive nature of the deterrence theory, it can take the form of increasing the probability of being detected and increasing the tax rate or alternatively through the imposition of tougher penalties. It can also take a form of providing better taxpayer education and increased advertising of incentives in instances of being compliant (Frey & Feld, 2002:7; Sandmo, 2004:7; Feld, Schmidt & Schneider, 2007:1). It has been established that the different tax systems contend with the challenge of taxpayers who are not compliant with their tax payment obligations and the use of the economic deterrent theory was the most favoured in dealing with the tax collection challenge (Hasseldine & Bebbington, 1991:299; Franzoni, 1999:52). According to International Monetary Fund (2015:16) the way of dealing with noncompliance is always akin to stressing deterrence as the way in which revenue collection can be improved. It can however be inferred that the taxpayers always do a balancing decision as they choose how much to evade in contrast to the tax potentially saved and the risk of being detected and penalised (Frey & Feld, 2002:7; Sandmo, 2004:2). It can therefore be argued that in doing this, the taxpayers' test the probability of being caught in their misdemeanours and at what cost will that be and make a determination if they could sustain such punishment, and therefore base their decision on that.

The economic deterrent theory, is regarded as one of the major theoretical areas that have an impact on tax compliance, however this theory has been impacted upon by the development of social and psychological models (Frey & Feld, 2002:7; Frey, B.S. 2003:385;

Devos, 2007:182; Slemrod, 2007:38,43). The theory encompasses deterrence by punishment, which may be a retrospective interference. It holds out a threat of whenever there is a commitment of wrong by the taxpayer and can unleash the punishment (Franzoni, 1999:60-61; Frey, B.S. 2003:385; Guth & Sausgruber, 2004:1; Feld & Frey, 2006:2; Devos, 2007:184, 387; Feld, Schmidt & Schneider, 2007:1). The economic deterrent theory assumes that taxpayers are moral profit seeking and their actions are motivated by the calculation of costs and the opportunities that come with that. Emanating from the impact that economic deterrent theory has on taxpayers, in the management of their tax affairs, they make consideration of the probability of being caught against the cost of the offence. The taxpayer applies the economic rationale with the assumption that the taxpayer will evade taxation as long as the concomitant pay off of the tax evasion is greater in comparison with the expected cost of being caught (Hasseldine & Bebbington, 1991:302; Franzoni, 1999:56, 60-61; Guth & Sausgruber, 2004:1; Feld & Frey, 2006:2; Feld, Schmidt & Schneider, 2007:1). It is an established fact that through theoretical studies the economic deterrence has a positive impact on deterrence of tax evasion. This is based on the fact that the theory emphasises the use of threat, coercion and intrinsic material incentives. They will use interest rates, perceived probability of being caught in the case of evasion, legal consequences that can come with being caught and the severity thereof will ensure that the thought of punishment will put them into compliance (Hasseldine & Bebbington, 1991:303; Feld & Frey, 2006:9; Feld, Schmidt & Schneider, 2007:1; Pfister, 2009:5).

3. THE DETERRENCE THEORY IN THE CONTEXT OF TAXES AND REVENUE

The deterrence theory is premised on dealing with the challenges of tax compliance, in an attempt to seek an enforcement mechanism that can be complemented or substituted by the appeal to the citizen's tax morality (Ortega & Sanguinetti, 2013:1). According to Alm (2013), there is a widespread evidence that tax evasion or what is called illegal or intentional action which is aimed at reducing the responsibility to pay appropriate taxes is common place in almost all countries (Feld, Schmidt & Schneider, 2007:1). The taxpayer mind-set when engaging in tax evasion is the concept of maximizing the expected utility of the tax evasion gamble. It is based on weighting the benefits that could be attained in the event of successfully evasion when compared with the risk of

being caught and contrasted with punishment that can be imposed in that instance of being caught (Feld, Schmidt & Schneider, 2007:1-2; Alm, 2013:3). The context of tax evasion as opposed to tax avoidance is that in the case of tax avoidance is the legal means used to minimise tax payment while in the case of evasion illegal arrangement are used (Feld, Schmidt & Schneider, 2007:1; Olivier & Honiball, 2008:381). When a taxpayer engages in tax evasion, he wilfully and consciously uses illegal means to evade compliance with tax laws. This practice includes failing to report income received by the taxpayers or fabricating tax deductions or fraudulently use other illegal means to reduce or extinguish the tax liability (Feld, Schmidt & Schneider, 2007:1; Olivier & Honiball, 2008:381).

The deterrence theories generally predict compliance patterns based solely on the ability to pay approach. The government revenue and expenditures are treated separately and taxes are based on taxpayer's ability to pay. It derives from wealth as well as current income; there is no '*quid pro quo*', however it is vital to ensure that those who have the capacity to pay the taxes they do so, failing which the consequence of deterrence theory must be applied (Gaffney, 1971:423; Slemrod, 1990:343; Bird & Zolt, 2003:29; Rai, 2004:58; Chodorow, 2008:697-736; Chigbu, Eze & Ebimobowei, 2012:31; Zhou & Madhikeni, 2013:49-60; Ortega & Sanguinetti, 2013:1). Taxes paid are seen as a sacrifice by taxpayers, which raise the issues of what the sacrifice of each taxpayer should be and on how the measurement of such sacrifice should be done (Rai, 2004:100). The most popular and commonly accepted principle of equity or justice in taxation is that citizens of a country should pay taxes to the government in accordance with their ability to pay (Bird & Zolt, 2003:16; Rai, 2004:72; Chodorow, 2008:740; Batt, 2012:71; Guj, Bacoum & Limerick, 2013:5; Hasseldine & Bebbington, 1991:301-302). It must be noted that in instances where they deliberately fail to pay the taxes, the use of deterrence theory should force them to comply. It can therefore be argued and appears reasonable and just that taxes should be levied on the basis of the taxable capacity of an individual. In using this principle, it can be stated that if the taxable capacity of one person is greater than that of the other person, that a person who earns more should be asked and expected to pay more taxes in comparison with the one who earns less. It can further be argued that if the taxes are levied on this principle as stated above, then justice can prevail and be achieved. The tax burden will then be evenly

spread based on the ability of the person to pay such taxes, even when taxpayers are not in favour thereof, they should be coerced.

South African municipalities can adopt the deterrence theory principle to enhance their tax and revenue collection capacity in addition to the punishment of interest and penalties; they also have the power to cut electricity supplies (Ortega & Sanguinetti, 2013:1; Sandmo, 2004:2). This, at least on paper could be the best way of dealing with rates and tax matters because it allows those who are indigent to benefit from those who can afford. It also has an element of cross subsidisation on taxpayers or citizens in different income levels. In the modern tax systems in many countries around the world, this basis of taxation has been accepted as the best test for measuring the ability to pay tax per person (Rai, 2004:58; Guj, Bacoum & Limerick, 2013:14).

4. THE DETERRENCE THEORY: AN ANALYSIS

Emanating from the discussion of the tax maxims as outlined, they may be interpreted in terms of the broader principles of social justice which demand that taxation should not only be equitable in the sense of impartiality but there should be elements of fairness and ensure that those who have capacity to pay they do pay. One of the very important subjects of taxation is the problem of incidence of a tax. It refers to the final money burden of a tax or final resting place of a tax. It is the desire of every government, local government included that it should secure justice in taxation. It is only when government knows who pays tax that it can evolve an equitable tax system and it can easily tap important sources of taxation and ultimately collect large amount of money without adversely affecting economic and social life of the citizens of the country (Akintoye & Tashie, 2013:223; Hasseldine & Bebbington, 1991:301-302). This paper proceeds to argue that a sound tax system should also promote equality or theoretical justice, which means that the tax burden should be proportionate to the taxpayer's ability to pay as was discussed in the theory of ability to pay (Rai, 2004:58). It is therefore on this viewpoint alluded that the other critical element of the sound tax system is the administrative feasibility, which means that tax laws must be capable of being convenient, just and effective (Akintoye & Tashie, 2013:223). Tax possesses the power that can destroy and must be exercised with care in order to avoid or minimize the damage of the proprietary right of the taxpayer in the application of deterrence approach

(Akintoye & Tashie, 2013:223; Ortega & Sanguinetti, 2013:1). It can therefore be concluded that tax collection of municipalities in South Africa must maintain the general public's trust and confidence in the sense that it must be used justly and not deceitful. The power to impose rates and taxes by government which is in nature dependant of the power to legislate and implement cannot be delegated for obvious reasons. This limitation arises from the doctrine of separation of powers among the three branches of government. Taxpayers are not relieved from the obligation of paying a tax because of the belief that it is being misappropriated by certain officials, for otherwise, collection of taxes would be hampered and this may results in the paralysation of important local government functions and service delivery. It is therefore dependent on the municipality to apply the deterrence approach.

In practice, the deterrence theory asserts that there should be identification of non-payers and collect monies owned from those most likely to pay as this can also accelerate the tax recovery and collection and increase the revenue performance through the data driven decision making (Fjeldstad & Moore, 2009:5; Fjeldstad & Heggstad, 2012:23; Ortega & Sanguinetti, 2013:1). The best practice segmentation in the tax collection function of municipalities includes an assessment of taxpayer's willingness and the use of deterrence theory on those who are reluctant to make the payment, as well as values in monetary terms of what is at risk (SARS, 2010:50; Cattarelli, 2011:64; SARS, 2011:3; SARS, 2012:4; SARS, 2014:26-29). It can therefore be argued that in the current conjecture even those who have the capacity to pay rates and taxes are not paying hence the huge outstanding municipal debts that is found in South African municipalities. This is the reason why the use of deterrence theory by both the municipalities and SARS is critical as it will force the taxpayers to comply, particularly if the punitive measures can be applied.

5. THE SOUTH AFRICAN MUNICIPALITIES ON ISSUES OF RATES AND TAXES IN THE CONTEXT OF DETERRENCE THEORY

Tariff levels imposed by municipalities are not high to warrant complaints but yet the South African municipalities can only collect fifty percent of their target revenue per annum. This means that there is a need for the municipalities to strengthen their enforcement arm of revenue collection to ensure

that those who are not paying are followed up and the outstanding rates and taxes are collected. Even if this would mean enforcing payment using the hands of law as it is the case with SARS. The use of deterrence approach therefore becomes critical within their means which include cutting of services, penalties and interest on the outstanding amount (Frey & Feld, 2002:7; Sandmo, 2004:2; Ortega & Sanguinetti, 2013:1). On the issue of collection of debtor's book or debts, it is prevalent that the poor collection of the book is an issue of having or not having clear and appropriate policy mechanisms to recover debts. The key issue is the ability to recover debts or avoid the further escalation of the level of unpaid debts. In this regard it is important to consider what the various characteristics or salient features of the various categories of debtors. In this regard various views prevail in that two main categories of debtors should be considered.

With the first category being the underprivileged sector of the South African population, which makes out the majority. This category makes up a very significant part of the debtor's book of municipalities, but falls completely out of the SARS net. The second category is the middle and affluent part of the community, as well as the business sector. This category falls squarely into the SARS and municipal nets. If the ability to recover tax is concerned, SARS only requires an execution strategy, as the various tax Acts provide ample powers of recovery and the use of deterrence theory can therefore be beneficial (Frey & Feld, 2002:7). SARS only focus on the sphere of the community with the ability to pay or assets to attach in the case that non-payment and the collection function includes an assessment of taxpayer's willingness and ability to pay the taxes, as well as values in monetary terms of what is at risk (Cattarelli, 2011:64; SARS, 2011:3; SARS, 2012:4; SARS, 2014:26-29). It can therefore be argued that the ratepayers who are also taxpayers are more prone to pay SARS debt as compared to the municipalities, which can be attributed to the strength of SARS enforcement capabilities which is not there in municipalities, because SARS uses the deterrence theory more strictly and successfully more than the municipalities.

It is evident that tax possesses the power that can destroy and should be exercised with care in order to avoid or minimize the damage of the proprietary right of the taxpayer (Akintoye & Tashie, 2013:223). It can further be argued that the use of the deterrence approach will ensure that all taxpayers and ratepayers

who have the capacity to meet their tax obligations will meet them. In the meantime, this people will enjoy the benefit of the services that the municipalities provide if the benefit theory was to be applied. Tax collection must therefore maintain the general public's trust and confidence in the government particularly in municipalities as a constituent charged with the provision of providing basic services to communities. The use of deterrence approach will therefore be instrumental in enhancing the compliance levels of both SARS and the municipalities.

6. CONCLUSION

This paper argued that the deterrence theory or approach play a pivotal role in improving tax compliance and complies with the basic principles and theories of taxation that are premised on sound tax system that promote fiscal adequacy. The sources of revenue in South African municipalities should be sufficient to meet the demands of public expenditure and financing service delivery. It also became evident from the paper that a sound tax system has the potency to also promote equality or theoretical justice in that it will force every person to be compliant even those who would have deliberately evaded tax. This means that the tax burden should be proportionate to the taxpayer's ability to pay as it is contained in other theory of tax called ability to pay theory. Even if ratepayers have the ability to pay rates and taxes and benefit from the municipal services, they are not committed to make the payments as they do not prioritise the rates and taxes. It can be concluded that the deterrence theory is an important contributor to tax compliance in the South African context in the collection of rates and taxes.

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TRANSPORT FOR WOMEN-LED AGRICULTURAL PROJECTS IN THE CAPRICORN DISTRICT: A NECESSITY FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

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ABSTRACT

The Department of Agriculture as well as Roads and Transport provide support to initiating of agricultural projects. The difficulty though is that the departments withdraw this support at a critical time, thus providing enough reasons for the project to collapse. This paper assessed whether women received adequate support from Departments of Land Affairs and Agriculture as well as Roads and Transport. The study was undertaken because Agricultural development, in Africa is seen as a vital tool for combating poverty in many households. In this paper agricultural development is seen as one of the ways in which the Sustainable Goals 1 and 3 can be achieved, if and when local governance structures emphasize this need. Moreover, the researchers hope to show the link between transport and the possibilities of socio-economic development in the agricultural sector if and when transportation is facilitated. Furthermore, the need for gender equality and women's empowerment will be emphasized in agricultural activities, particularly labour. The study draws from two women-led projects namely, the Lahlapapadi Goat Project and Kwadikwaneng Nursery in the Capricorn District of Limpopo, South Africa. To realize this broader objective and its underlying tasks, the researchers adopted qualitative feminist methodologies. These employ in-depth interviews, focus group discussions in conjunction with visual techniques involving photography and videography.

Keywords: Transport, Women-Led, Agricultural Projects, Capricorn District, Social Change.

1. INTRODUCTION

Like most women in the world, women from Kwadikwang Nursery and Lahlapapadi Goat project in the Capricorn district Limpopo province, wake up every morning, hoping that each day may be the day on which their distress will end. An everyday

struggle against poverty and food insecurity does not seem to be a friendly path, especially in the now male dominated world such as the agricultural sector. In their relentless struggle against poverty, food insecurity and stereotypes that that women in rural areas are passive and uneducated about farming, women in the two projects started their own projects with an intention to create jobs that would not only benefit them but everyone in the community. This is mainly because they believed without their efforts their children would starve to death. Starting these projects was not merely for selfish gains, like others would have it, but these projects were developed and started with a vision and goal to help their community members during times of need and communal events. This in itself shows that women can be deemed as significant contributors in the development of their communities and that they possess the potential to transform their communities. Moreover, to these women, agricultural development is most important because they see it as a way towards job creation and poverty reduction in their households, through their direct involvement.

Globally, agricultural production is largely undertaken by women. Nevertheless, there are numerous challenges that come with being a woman farmer. For example, women within sub-Saharan regions largely do not own, and therefore have limited access to, land. It is as such not uncommon for women in rural areas to farm on their husband's land or to even "borrow" it from traditional authorities. The burden of agricultural productivity is further exasperated by the tendency of migration of their male counterparts to urban areas in pursuit of employment. This leaves women with the enormous task of being "responsible for 90 per cent of food processing activities, water and firewood collection" (Mwankusye, 1999:37). Regardless of these contributions in agriculture, the plight of women is still largely unaddressed by policymakers and relevant departments such as the department of land affairs and the department of

roads and transport. One area of their plight that needs to be considered is in transportation. This is because "transportation presents important mechanism to accessing markets, information and generating incomes within agricultural projects" (Mwankusye, 1999:38).

Generally, transportation plays a critical role in the movement of goods and services for production and consumption in society. Specifically, as it relates to women and their agricultural activities, transportation would greatly facilitate the running of their daily chores such as the fetching of firewood, water and the movement of crops and other agricultural goods (Mahapa, 2003; 2010). That notwithstanding, transportation often remains denied to women and this is mainly because of the ways in which policies are designed and planned. As a consequence, women are relegated to the usage of their very bodies as rudimentary forms of transport to meet their productive needs. Even when transportation programmes such as Intermediate Means of Transport (IMT) have been designed and implemented to assist men and women, women have often found themselves benefitting less than their male counterparts (Fernando & Potter, 2000; Mahapa & Mashiri, 2003). This is because beyond the mere provisions of transport, norms that sanction gender roles also play a part in the manner in which interventionist programmes are received and implemented.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The study was instituted within theories of Gender and Development to elaborate and explain women's experiences in agricultural development. This is one of the three dominant feminist theories designed to assist in the analysis of women related topics particularly in the areas of empowerment in "Third World countries". The other two are, Women in development (WID) and Women and development (WAD). These two theories are briefly discussed as a background towards the introduction of the Gender and Development (GAD) Approach. WID was largely developed in order to search for practical solutions for the failure of prevailing development concepts. It also owes its development to the growth of feminism which was based on systematic assessments of the roots of women's disadvantage in society (Jackson, 1992:90; Jackson & Jones, 1992:56). The rationale behind WID was that women could contribute substantially to development if not for their underutilization as a resource. On the other hand, WAD begins from the

position that "women have always been an integral part of the development process in global systems of exploitations and inequality" (Rathberger, 1990:499; Boellstorff, 1995:55). It thus contests that the issue of the "underrepresentation of women in economic, political and social structures can be determined by carefully designing intervention strategies rather than developing more fundamental shifts in social relations of gender" (Koczberski, 1999:90; Pillai *et al.*, 1995:12). Since this study seeks not only to look at the absence of women in development, but also to investigate the inequalities that have been instigated by socio-cultural norms, GAD is adopted as the principle theory.

GAD is different from WID and WAD because that it focuses less on the social concept of gender and more on the concept of sex. The focus of GAD is on the ways of "perceiving the problems of women in terms of their sex (their biological difference from men) rather than in terms of their gender (the social relationships between men and women)" (Parpart *et al.*, 2000:58). This is not to say that GAD does not recognize the importance of redistributing power in social relations. For example, the approach emphasizes that women ought to enjoy equal access to economic, social and political opportunities. However, GAD's adherents believe that relations between men and women would be transformed if all sexes had the same amount of power in decision making processes concerning their welfare and development. This would in turn facilitate the implementation of women's needs over and above their mere documentation as their ability to influence policy making and planning equaled their male counterparts. Women's empowerment is therefore an important aspect in development since it could lead to the improvement of women's access to developmental resources that are accessible to men. Ideas within the GAD approach are similar to those of liberal feminism "which argues that equality for women can be achieved through legal means and social reform" (Beasley, 2005:28).

Pillai *et al.* (1995:27) state that the GAD approach emphasizes direct challenges to the access of cultural, social and economic privileges that enable women to make equal social and economic profit out of the same resources. In this regard, the GAD approach is of relevance to this study as it speaks to the power dimensions that exist in labour accrued from the differences of being men or women. It is therefore fundamental to the investigation of how relations between men and women are based on the socio-culturally determined gender roles

ascribed to sexes. Beyond investigating the gender inequalities that exist between men and women, GAD will be of great assistance to understanding the causes of the misrepresentation of women as well as their misrecognition in labour. Following which, recommendations will be presented as to how to better incorporate women into transport and agricultural policy.

3. METHODOLOGY AND SAMPLING

The study used a feminist methodology in order to understand the gendered power dimensions involved in the accessing of transport resources and the role women play in agricultural development. Feminist methodology is an approach to research that has been developed in response to the concerns by feminist scholars about the limitations of traditional methodology to capture the experiences of women and others who have been marginalized in academic research (Naples, 2003:1701). Additionally, feminist methodology according to O'Brien (2009:25) is "an approach concerned with collecting information, analysing data and conducting research that analyses traditional or patriarchal understandings of how knowledge is produced and subsequently accepted as legitimate by peers in the academy, policy formulation and the general public".

Since this casts gender as a tool or unit of analysis, as well as a step towards identifying the foundation of women's discrimination and oppression in the specific sectors of transport and agricultural development, the researcher adopted feminist qualitative research methodology which also belongs to a critical paradigm for the data collection exercise (Webb, 1993:416). As such this methodology – in keeping with feminist tradition – includes subject interaction, non-hierarchical research relationships between researchers and respondents, emphasizes on the expression of feelings as well as the concern for values (Taylor & Rupp, 1991). The study also took an interactionist stance with the participants by deliberately endeavoring to understand their experiences as regards to their farming activities. To this effect, formal interaction tools aimed at collecting in-depth interviews and focus groups were used in order to understand how participants made meaning of their own experiences.

The sampling methodology was non-probabilistic and therefore purposive. This was on the basis that the researcher had prior knowledge of the population in question that enabled them to purposively target

those members of that population who most likely had valuable experiences pertaining to the research question (Babbie & Mutton, 2010:100). A total of 2 participants were engaged in in-depth interviews. At least 8 participants were involved in the focus group discussions (FGDs). In-depth interviews were conducted with key informants from the two projects. Lastly, a qualitative thematic analysis was carried out to analyse the data collected from the participants. Visual aids obtained through videography and photography was also compiled into the final report for illustration purposes.

4. GENDER AND AGRICULTURE IN SOUTH AFRICA

A study on "Employment Trends in Agriculture in South Africa" showed that women were the largest number of those employed on farms and in the non-farming informal sector (Statistics South Africa, 2000:19). Results also showed that the agricultural commercial sector is largely comprised and dominated by men, which presupposes that more women than men are engaged in subsistence farming with minimal profit (Census, 2010). In the Limpopo province, the gender employment gap was found to be the widest in the whole country in which 37 per cent of unemployed women were involved in subsistence farming compared to 12 per cent of unemployed men. Since South Africa is one of the poor countries in the world, agriculture is the most dominant activity. The agricultural sector contributes 70 per cent to the South African Economy (Census, 2010). The sector plays an important role in South Africa because of the opportunities for sustaining livelihoods through the employment it offers and the resultant linkages between agriculture and the rest of the community.

Within the SADC region, agricultural development planning, research and extension services have also overlooked the importance of improving small holder farming. This is because agricultural development is seen as incapable of making meaningful contributions to the economy and subsequently national development (Haynes, 2005). In spite of this attitude, women in the SADC region are the largest labour force group in the agricultural sector. For example, Malawian women make up to 70 per cent of agricultural work which includes planting, weeding, harvesting and processing food such that around 80 per cent of all food consumed at the household level in Malawi is produced by women (Haynes, 2005:17). This is perhaps the reason why Hames (2005:25) surmises that:

"given the vital role women play in agriculture, one of the necessary conditions to achieving sustainable development and improving food security in the region is the provision of sufficient attention and support to women farmers who form a majority of the farming production both as workers and food producers".

Still more, the efforts rural women make through their unpaid and burdensome endeavours are further challenged by time, mobility and energy constraints at the expense of their health, well-being and productivity (Doss & Sofa Team, 2011, Majake 2001, Ayoade, 2011). As such, contribution of women in agricultural and rural development should be improved and enhanced by implementing resolutions that relate to the specific problems they encounter as economic and social stakeholders for the fact that their integration into agricultural and rural development improves the efficiency and sustainability human development (Sweetman, 2004; Bock and Shortall, 2008). Similarly, the provision of transport mechanism should be emphasized more to assist female farmers in reaching their markets to sell produce would trickle down to sustainable developments in their projects.

5. THE ROLE OF TRANSPORT IN AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Regardless of the challenges women face in agricultural development, one other structure necessary is transport. This is because "rural transport, infrastructure, and services are not only key components in rural development but are also an important ingredient in ensuring sustainable poverty reduction" (Button & Nijkamp, 1997:215). In addition, transport has long been a strategic factor in agriculture, rural development and social change dynamics (Button & Nijkamp, 1997). Transport acts as a bridge linking factories and industries with markets making it possible for finished products and industrial inputs to be available at the right time and place, in the required forms and quantities (Mashiri *et al.*, 2002; FAO, 2004; Chakwizira & Mashiri, 2009). Improving investment in rural road constructions and maintenance like some studies have suggested can have important and significant impacts on rural incomes and the quality of human lives which is one of the preconditions for development (Chakwizira, Nhemachena & Mashiri, 2010). Moreover, a study by Ajiboye & Afoloyan (2009) showed that inadequate provision of transport leads to an average waste of 25 per cent of total agricultural foodstuff produced.

When transport is made available in agricultural development economic growth is stimulated through increased accessibility, efficiency and effectiveness (Ajiboye & Afoloyan, 2009). This shows that the availability of transport facilities is a crucial and most critical determinant to development in poorer countries. The lack thereof has great impact on farmer's productive affordability and consumer's purchasing power which may affect the farmer's ability to make sustainable income. Thus, if and when transport services are infrequent, or of poor quality, farmers will be at a disadvantage when they attempt to sell their crops (Ajiboye & Afoloyan, 2009). If the journey to market is made on rough roads then some crops may get damaged which would also result in lower prices for the farmer (Ajiboye & Afoloyan, 2009). Transport is a way in which food processed and produced on a farm site can be moved to different homes through markets which is an important factor in agricultural productivity. The people's quality of life is enhanced; markets for agricultural produce are created and sustained; and new areas of economic focus between geographical and economic regions open up.

6. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF GENDER INTEGRATION AND EQUALITY IN TRANSPORT

Research, in gender and development, shows that the availability of transport is very important for the agricultural development of rural communities (Chingozho, 2002:26). Summarily, studies demonstrate that transport is a key mechanism in reducing distances between farmers and markets (Mahapa, 2003; Mashinini *et al.*, 2009; Salon & Gulyani, 2009). Transport modes and infrastructure enable farmers to access markets for the selling of produce. In turn, farmers' socio-economic statuses improve which subsequently lead to improvements in the living standards of communities (Mahapa, 2003). Moreover, the transport investments and inputs have led to the improvement of living standards in rural areas although this might not be so for all communities in South Africa. Accessibility, proximity and location to transport resources have improved people's mobility's over the years (Mahapa, 2003; Mashinini *et al.*, 2009; Salon & Gulyani, 2009). Similarly, Mashiri and Mahapa (2002) argue that gender has not been integrated into the mainstream of either the infrastructure debate or the debate on rural transport services, particularly in rural areas. Recommendations about the integration of women into infrastructure debates and rural transport

suggest that allowing women to participate and share their perspectives in "the planning of transport needs and patterns would reduce the overall burden of transport (Ali-Nejadfard, 1999:202). Regardless of the developments in accessibility and transport, the development of transport infrastructure has for a long time been assumed to be gender neutral with both sexes benefitting equally from well-designed projects (Mashiri, 2005:16).

According to the World Bank (2007), development policies and institutions must ensure that all segments of society – including a fair representation of men and women – have a voice in decision making. This can be done either directly or through institutions that legitimize their interests and needs. Furthermore, the World Bank (2008:140) argues that "excluding women from full participation constraints the ability of the public sector policies and institutions to manage resources effectively because gender based exclusion compromises the prospects for a high quality of service delivery".

Perhaps these finding of the World Bank (2007) with regards to service delivery could be used to account for the findings of the Rural Transport Strategy for Limpopo (2008). The Results showed that walking which constitutes 82 per cent of all modes transportation is still by the far the most dominant mode of transport in Limpopo. Minibuses and buses which are a popular alternative account for only 6 and 9 per cent respectively (Limpopo Department of Roads and Transport, 2007). In the Capricorn District in particular, the use minibuses and buses accounts for about 10 per cent of all other modes of transport. These statistics reflect that strategies to broaden transportation alternatives are largely underperforming.

7. WOMEN AND ACCESS TO TRANSPORT RESOURCES IN AFRICA

Men and women all over the world, have different travel and transport needs due to their different socio-economic roles and activities (Fernando & Porter, 2002:2). Women and men also face different constraints in accessing, using and paying for transport services. According to Ellis (1997), the poor accessibility of transport in rural areas perpetuates a deprivation trap by denying communities access to their most basic needs. Issues of access and accessibility are important and need to be addressed in order to ensure that men and women have the "ability or ease of reaching various destinations or

places that offer opportunities for a desired activity" (Ellis, 1997:20). Access is different from accessibility in the sense that access speaks to the right and opportunities that one has to use or benefit from something. In this section access is discussed to make sense of the factors contributing the ability to use and benefit from transport resources for domestic responsibilities and agricultural labour. According to the World Bank (2010) transport plays a significant role in the amelioration or exacerbation of the life conditions of women particularly the poor and living in developing countries particularly to the extent that contextual differences are taken into account (World Bank, 2010:3). Thus the contexts of gender when considered in the transport sector ensure that transport is equitable, affordable and that it provides access to resources and opportunities required for development (Word Bank, 2010; Porter, 2002; Grieco, 2009). In addition, the use of gender analysis and gender planning could also promote the creation of interventions that are based on a full understanding of the sexual division of labour production as well as the socially sanctioned reproductive roles and responsibilities of males and females (Maramba and Bamberger, 2001:2).

Furthermore, a study by Oliver (1985) discovered that most public transport users in rural and urban areas are women; therefore, women are the most affected by the availability of public transportation services. This alludes to the qualitative aspects of transportation facilities which speak to not just the availability of transport but also the quality of that transport in terms of its different modes and their schedules. Often women's workloads and work schedules require them to make frequent trips to the city or even around the community itself for household and other familial tasks. And yet in spite of this, women's needs and issues are often assumed to be identical to men's (Hamilton & Jenkins, 2000) which ultimately results in a low level of awareness of women's travel needs. Improvements in transport infrastructure and transport services arising from greater awareness can, according to Booth *et al.* (2000), enable poor people to meet subsistence, economic and social needs more easily.

8. PATRIARCHY, CULTURAL IDEOLOGIES AND ITS EFFECTS ON WOMEN'S ACCESSIBILITY TO TRANSPORT

Reasons for gender relational patterns between men and women vary among societies. Women in traditional societies are largely tied down by cultural

ideologies of patriarchy which leave women with less personal freedom, fewer resources at their disposal as well as limited influence over decision-making processes that shape their societies and their own lives. This is in contrast to women living in modern societies where cultural definitions are less demanding. To this end, Mama (1994:10) states that "like any other forms of relations, gender relations are structured by ideologies and belief practices, property and resources access and ownership, legal codes and so on." Thus, understanding the relations between men and women is important to development practice since it assists in designing policies that are efficient and effective in empowering women, as well as providing for and addressing the different needs or roles of men and women in development. Moreover, in developing countries women have very limited access to transport services and technology which poses challenges on their access to health, education and other social facilities (Riverson & Walker, 2006:2).

Understanding and responding to women's transport needs is recognisably essential for reducing poverty because it is also cited as crucial to realizing the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and in particular, the goal to reduce poverty and hunger. According to Bentley (2004) women comprise the majority of the most marginalized, impoverished and least empowered sector of South Africa. Therefore, poverty is perceived to have a gender dimension which challenges the equal status of women in law and poses a threat to the realization of their equal human rights practice (Bentley, 2004:248). According to Teleman (2012), gender justice which is the realization of women's rights human rights and ending hunger are closely intertwined and interdependent goals. Solving the problems of hunger and poverty thus mean that the current global development model which is underwritten by gender inequality will have to be challenged (Teleman, 2012).

Women unlike men have far less access to higher value markets. As such, their produce may be sold on their behalf by men who then keep and control the income. In that regard, improvements in transport facilities could positively impact on women and men by promoting or encouraging changes to agricultural production such as a shift to cash crop production. A study by Jacana (2006) on the role of bicycles as a lever of empowerment for rural women showed that transport is essential to sustainable development. According to that study, limited access

to transport services greatly hinders economic and social development and contributes to poverty by denying women the exchange of information, social awareness and the subsequent promotion (Jacana, 2006:15). Jacana's (2006) study showed that the bicycle intervention in South Africa, Ghana and India was extremely successful in addressing gender inequality because it gave women more free time while allow them to alter their traditional roles in their communities.

9. INSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL MECHANISMS IN SOUTH AFRICA

According to Potgieter *et al.* (1999), transport plays a pivotal role in economic and social development in both urban and rural areas. This is so because transport facilitates the movement of goods and people over distances which allows for easier access to various facilities and services thereby promoting trade. Gradually, there is a marked improvement in people's living standards through better access to health, education, social services and various markets (Potgieter *et al.*, 1999). In spite of the importance of transport to socio-economic development, very little has been done in South Africa to assess the impact of transport policy on development, let alone the role of gender in transportation policy (Mitchell & Walters, 2011). To date women are not yet fully recognized as comprising the majority of public transport users. Information about the gender differences of the use of transport is still lacking suggesting that transport policies are either gender blind or gender neutral. Furthermore, developing an understanding of gender differences in transport needs, access and planning, are essential to identifying the differences in economic and socio-cultural roles and responsibilities between men and women (Potgieter *et al.*, 1999). As opposed to men, women in rural areas, take up roles such as care taking, preparations meals and managing their households (IFAD, 2000). More so, women in these areas take up duties as wage labourers, producers, and vegetable sellers, as well as engaging in small scale trading and enterprise (IFAD, 2000). Apart from these mentioned roles, women spend long hours fetching water and firewood. Therefore, an understanding of these differences enables a better appreciation of the different travel and transport needs of the either sexes (Bamberger, 2000; Sibanda, 2002; Mahapa, 2000; Grieco *et al.*, 2009; Porter, 2002).

Women, more than men, in South Africa spend considerable amounts of time traveling. And the

different tasks that commission their traveling require different modes of transport in order for them to be fulfilled. Transport is also important in order to complete daily agricultural activities and household duties. As such, the availability of transport can reduce the amount of time spent by women on household activities (Mitchell & Walters, 2011). For example, women in the less wealthy provinces of South Africa, such as the Eastern Cape and Limpopo, suffer great economic loss because of the lack of transport (Mahapa, 2003). This is because as a result of the remoteness of rural areas, they are neglected in terms of transportation thereby leaving them cut off from other areas. In addition, transport and its development is essential for women in rural areas because it has an impact on women accessing health services, educational facilities and employment as well as participating in key decision making forums (Potgieter *et al.*, 1999). Transport policy and policy practice in South Africa indicates that gender has not been seen as an important factor to be mainstreamed in transport policy and planning in relation to rural Africa (Potgieter *et al.*, 1999).

10. TRANSPORT POLICY AND PRACTICE IN THE LIMPOPO PROVINCE

One of the missions of the Department of Transport in the Limpopo Province is to "provide safe, sustainable and integrated transport infrastructure and services for the promotion of socio-economic development" (Department of Roads and Transport, 2007). Their vision also holds that the Department seeks to quantify transport infrastructure and services for all. Both the vision and mission these goals are important to this study because of their relevance to understanding the direction of development in the Limpopo province particularly in the rural setting. As already stated, this study in part aims to look at transport policies put in place to support women involved in agricultural production and how these policies aim to achieve that goal. Secondly, this study also aims to bring light to the issue of transport and its importance to the development of rural women's socio-economic status. The following section considers these research goals in the light of what is happening on the ground in the Limpopo province.

11. THE LIMPOPO PROVINCIAL GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

On September 2008 Africon, which is now known as Aurecon South Africa (Pty) Ltd, was appointed by

the Limpopo Provincial Department of Roads and Transport to develop a Rural Transport strategy for the Province (Aurecon, 2010). This strategic framework for rural transport planning in the Limpopo province is based on the SADC Regional and National Rural Transport Perspective, which gives precedence to rural development issues (Aurecon, 2010). According to Aurecon (2010) the South African government, through its National Development Perspective, adopted the Millennium Development Goal (now known as the Sustainable Development Goals) recommendations of the United Nations for transportation. Out of the several recommendations, the ones deemed relevant to the subject matter of this study were as follows:

- To develop national and regional strategies to alleviate poverty should be in place by 2016.
- To enhance public investment in capacity building, resource mobilisation, and official developmental assistance.

Particular attention would relate to connectivity planning through multi-purpose service delivery centres and labour intensive road development projects:

- To ensure that poverty reduction strategies are transparent and inclusive of civil society, private sector and international partners.
- To launch of projects and programs in order to build experience at community level by building the capacity of local officials in transport planning and implementation.
- To facilitate Development Assistance to support Millennium Development Goals. That is, the Rural Transport Strategy is to be used as a motivator for the National Government to provide funding for rural transport projects.
- To support for scientific research and development to address needs of the poor such as health, agriculture, natural resource and environmental management.

Similarly, the growth and development strategy of Limpopo province identified transport as a tool that enables facilitation of economic growth through the movement of people and their goods and services. The argument being that is that the role of roads and transportation is evident in social and economic

activities. As such, through the transport policy, the Limpopo province hopes to "open markets to natural resources, agricultural products and manufactured goods which would support industries and challenge present delimitations brought about by the province's topography" (Aurecon, 2010:30). The Transport Policy White Paper of Limpopo identified the huge discrepancy between the access to opportunities in rural settings as opposed to access to similar opportunities in the nearest urban centres (White Paper on Provincial Transport, 1997). This discrepancy is noted as a challenge that poses threat not only to economic opportunities but also to education and other social services.

Part of the Limpopo White Paper on Provincial Transport (1997) policy is the Limpopo in Motion Strategy. The strategy is drawn from the national White Paper on National Transport Policy. On a provincial level the strategy commits itself to the following:

- To improve the general mobility of Limpopo people
- To improve passenger transport to learners, elders and disabled
- To promote accessible transport to support economic development and job creation

The objectives and aims of the Limpopo in Motion (2005) strategy show that the transport department maintains interest in bettering accessibility to transport for economic development and job creation. Indeed, this interest has been shown to

be a legitimate one in poverty reduction strategies elsewhere in this study. The objective of this policy though promising again pays little consideration towards understanding the different roles played by men and women in society. In that manner, the anticipated accomplishments of the policy remain may not resolve gender concerns. Both national and provincial policies show little interest into issues of equality and gender mainstreaming. Issues of equality and gender mainstreaming are important to policy since policy itself needs to avoid furthering the exclusion of some members of society. Although the policy promises to integrate learners, the elderly and disabled which are considered as vulnerable members of society, women are left out of this group. A policy that integrates women, or mainstreams gender, in development must not fail to recognize that transformation involves neither the assimilation of women into men's roles nor the maintenance of the dualism that exist between men and women. Rather, it must establish a new and positive form of development (Government Gazette, 2012).

12. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The discussions of the findings are done in accordance with the information given below:

One difficulty that arose during the focus group discussions was that in many of the instances, there were some participants who had more knowledge than others about the questions being asked. This sometimes led to an uneven participation amongst the participants. Since most of the participants had little or no educational levels, this impacted their knowledge and awareness on ways to

TABLE 1: Description of the sample.

Age	Marital statuses	Educational level	Employment status	Number of years in farming
39	Married	Standard 1	Unemployed	5
45	Married	None	Unemployed	10
40	Married	None	Unemployed	10
41	Married	None	Unemployed	10
37	Married	Matric	Unemployed	5
35	Single	Matric	Unemployed	3
40	Widowed	None	Unemployed	10
42	Widowed	Standard 1	Unemployed	10

Source: Authors

acquire information about their projects and their sustainability. Usually married participants described that most of their farming activities were controlled if not led by their husbands because they have more knowledge and power in livestock farming. Those in vegetable farming expressed that they did most of the work whilst their male counterparts were there to assist with the pruning and spraying of insecticides on their vegetation. Moreover, for married participants, since land was owned by their partners they often had to wait for instruction from their husbands. Younger (aged 30 to 35) only started farming as a result of no income and employment opportunities, hence did not feel they required much knowledge about farming. Young participants expressed that should there be a better opportunity for them except farming, they would be more than willing to leave their current source of income, which was at the time, vegetable and livestock farming.

12.1 Lack of Support from Department of Land Affairs and Agricultural Development

Knowledge dissemination coupled with appropriate support from relevant government departments are significant tools to growth and empowerment. Extension support in agricultural development is a much needed service because without it agricultural projects fail to be sustainable. Studies have not only revealed the significance of such support but more importantly the institutional loopholes which are often ignored by those responsible for providing those services. Hames (2005) discusses in detail that agricultural development planning, research and extension services have been overlooked particularly in smallholder farming, while smallholder farming itself is overlooked because policy planners and implementers believe that the sector is unable to make meaningful contribution. And yet, the majority of smallholder farmers, at least in SADC, are women. Nonetheless, women in both projects revealed that the department of agriculture was found wanting as far as their support for these projects was concerned. Below were their responses when asked whether they received any support from the department of agriculture:

"The Sekhukhune district gives seeds to their farmers on an annual basis but it could be because they are under the offices in Polokwane. One lady from there once came here and told us we are supposed to be getting seeds from the department of agriculture on an annual basis but they don't do that; if they have given us anything this year next year they won't give

us. Maybe it can go for as long as three years without them assisting us with anything."

Similarly, women in the second project highlighted the following:

"Yes, this project was funded by the Department of agriculture and then they were supposed to help us with the shade for the seedlings. They gave us plastic roofing, but when it fell, they stopped. So we had to buy our own shades. I think they have pulled out from us because I don't see their support anymore."

Results show that although participants received agricultural support from the Department of Agriculture, they were not satisfied with their provision. The departments according to the participant's views were more involved in the formative stages of the projects. But after the projects had grown, the department withdrew from the projects. Their lack of consistent support to these projects potentially threatened the viability of the projects. Their unavailability left the women in these projects feeling overwhelmed with their duties. This might explain the slow development of the projects. These conclusions were drawn due to the responses women in both projects gave during interviews, according to them the department of agriculture withdrew from them while they were still in need of their assistance. Unfortunately, because of the unavailability of the Department of Agriculture officials for interviews, conclusions about these matters can only be discussed and withdrawn from participant's perceptions.

Furthermore, the same question was asked to women in both projects about the department of roads and transport. They responded in the following way:

"No we have never met them; we've never worked with them..."

Again, women from both projects said that there was no support from the Department of Roads and Transport. Although the Department of Roads and Transport in the district has engaged in empowerment programmes through road construction in rural areas for women, the views of these women reveal that the Department of Roads And Transport has never been and is not involved in their projects. This could mean that the department is not aware of these projects or has no appropriate policy that deals with the incorporation farmers. Also, that the department has not yet considered the importance of empowering women in agricultural development

through supplying them with transport services. The department has not shown as much interest in small holder farming as it has in road construction. As GAD has proposed, addressing these issues may include calling for institutional transformation which is essential to the understanding of the mainstreaming of gender in policy. Also, incorporating gender and agricultural development in transport policy could be crucial to mobilizing government departments into the provision of support resources, knowledge and information to allow for greater empowerment through and with institutional change.

12.2 The Role of Transport and Knowledge Acquisition

During the discussion about transport and knowledge, the respondents had the following to say:

Participant 6 from Lahlapapdi:

"You see right now because there's no transport, we are unable to visit other cooperatives to gain knowledge, because when you go outside of your community you learn new things... you learn how to deal with your own problems by looking at what others did. But if I don't go anywhere, which is the first problem, you will never learn anything. So sometimes you have to take out your own money, and go to projects in Venda which has made big improvements and are better. So you take the knowledge and bring it home with you and going to Venda is not cheap."

Transport is important to farmers for information access which is essential to the building of knowledge for their own projects. Additionally, without transport, these women, spend large amounts of money in order to participate in agricultural programmes that could lead to their own edification. Furthermore, limited engagements with other women-led projects in the province or anywhere else in the country may discourage the development of their projects. Meeting other farmers may prevent such happenings as that may become a source of comfort. It may also facilitate the sharing of information as farmers express their difficulties as well as their skills and ideas with other farmers in the same field.

12.3 Getting There? A Challenge for Women

As argued by Bryceson (2003) in her definition of transport, moving from place to place is an important

element to the development of the projects identified in the study. A good farmer is one that is able to manipulate situations and use available resources for maximum profit. Farming is amongst the most volatile sources of income generation particularly due to environmental as well as economic factors. The market is a place to which a farmer is able to sell their produce or goods to consumers for reasonable prices. It is a place where goods are sold in order to accumulate profit which is in turn used to sustain their families. Furthermore, it is at the market place where the farmer is able to familiarize themselves with other farmers while making themselves known to others. Hence, it is as much a place for recognition and visibility as it is sphere of economic transactions through which contributions are made to the broader economy. The market therefore is crucial to a farmer's survival, recognition and socio-economic development. Granting farmers support services such as transport resources can improve the economic statuses of female farmers (Ajiboye & Afoloyan, 2009).

Participant 7 from Kwadikwaneng Nursery:

"The issue of transport is a serious one. Last time we had a meeting with other farmers and most of them were complaining about the lack of transport because others even fail to post their things because they do not have transport."

This statement says emphatically that failure to transport goods to the market may result in a total waste of agricultural produce. Afoloyan & Ajiboye (2009), emphasizing the same point, state that when transport services are infrequent or of poor quality farmers are at a disadvantage when they attempt to sell their crops because damaged crops do not fetch good prices. Women in both the projects argued that when they are unable to transport the goods to the market, they resolve to sell their products on their projects which are further away from the consumer. In other cases, they use wheelbarrows to transport the goods on the side of the road. In the end, women sell their goods at lower prices than usual which eats into their potential profits. Moreover, their views reflect that transport is a very crucial component in ensuring that their goods are sold to markets both near and far. What emerged from the interviews was this: because of the lack of transport, respondents end up having to spend large amounts of money on transportation alone which leaves them with little to take home. The profit accumulated is spent on the hired vehicle. The rest of it goes back into

recapitalising the business through the purchase of seeds and pesticides for their gardens, and food and treatment for their livestock.

12.4 Transport Reduces Labour within Women-Led Projects

Transport resources are also important in ensuring that labour is reduced. The number of times the farmer spends traveling between the farm and the market is reduced when there is appropriate transport. The advantage of this is that the farmer is able to make more profit from making frequent trips to the market. The use of wheelbarrows is labour intensive because the farmer carries the weight of goods while walking to the market place. When farmers were asked about the importance of transport, they said that transport is important to them for reducing labour since they do not have to take their wheelbarrows to markets. As already shown above, women carry heavy loads on their shoulders and in wheelbarrows on their way to markets. Such burdensome work is a threat not only to women's productivity but also their health. Appropriate transport can help reduce this burden very significantly.

When participants were asked about transportation in Kwadikwaneng, the wheelbarrow was mentioned as the second method of transportation after motor vehicles. The response was as follows:

Participant 8 from Kwadikwaneng:

"If you have a bakkie, you can fill it up with vegetables and then go and sell at the pension pay points. You will come back with good money, but if you don't have money then you will never make more than what you are making."

Participant 10 from Kwadikwaneng:

"Well, we just take them and sell them here in the project or we put them in a wheelbarrow and take them out on the streets. And when they are finished I can just come back again to fetch them."

Unlike the women in Kwadikwaneng Nursery project, the women in Lahlapapadi Goat Project, cannot sell their goats to other people except those who are in their communities. This has an implication on the ability to make 'good money' because often when they sell to their own community members, participants are forced to sell at a lesser price as most members in the community already own livestock.

The availability of transport is important to them it represents an opportunity to increase their income. It also occasions them with the opportunity to expand their markets to where 'good money' can be made. Transport is thus significant to incorporating women into sustainable auto-centred development. Allowing women to participate in decision making processes that have direct positive outcomes in terms of their income is essential to the developments of their own communities and families. Furthermore, the provision of transport is important for reducing the burden of loads and the number of trips made to the market to sell produce. Bigger loads of produce can be carried and transported to the markets when transport is available. Since transport serves as a bridge connecting farmers with agricultural and non-agricultural markets, investments in rural road constructions and maintenance can bring about important changes in the prospects of women-led projects (Chakwizira *et al.*, 2010).

Participant 7 from Lahlapapadi:

"The issue, of transport is a serious one, last time we had a meeting with other farmers and most of them were complaining about the lack of transport because others even fail to post their things because they do not have transport."

Women from both the projects in the study shared their frustrations as well as their concerns regarding the issue of transport. Their views reflected that transport is a very crucial component in ensuring that their goods are sent and sold to markets near and far. Furthermore, because of the lack of transport, they end up having to spend large amounts of money on transportation alone which leaves them with little to take home. These findings tally with those Creightley (1993) in his study on the role of Transport in Economic Development. It was found in that study that transport can lower the costs of inputs to the producer. This is, according the Creightley (1993), "important for agricultural as well as industrial production" because agricultural output can be increased by at least 40 per cent through better transport arrangements alone (Creightley, 1993).

Although the GAD approach argues that development should not only be concerned with the provision of services but should also challenge the subordination of women in households and societies, it is imperative to note that service provision could better the chances of women in development and decision

making processes. Providing services could impact positively on the empowerment of women and their communities. In the particular case of transportation, service provision for women in agriculture should be stressed until women's labour is recognized as a service provider to the communities and societies. The theory, in this instance, is essential to transport policy planning because subordination and oppression can be reduced when services are provided. Services allow women the space to stand and have an equal chance achieving empowerment and subsequently development.

13. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This research has shown that women from the selected projects receive inadequate support from the Department of Agriculture and even less support from the Department of Roads and Transport in their district. Participants expressed that they only received assistance from the department of agriculture in the formative stages of their projects. Further developments were made by themselves with little or no assistance from the departments. They reported losing livestock to diseases as well as spending their own money and other resources to compensate for interventions which were prior earmarked for departmental assistance. The sustainability of their projects is greatly threatened by such intermittent assistance. The Department of Transport was particularly found wanting in their support for farmers in general and women-led agricultural projects in particular. Their failure to support communities seems to be the result of a lack of policy geared particularly towards farmers within the district. More importantly, they also lack policy frameworks with specific emphasis on incorporating women into transport development. Without a gender sensitive policy, transportation in agricultural development will not adequately assist the plight of women in rural areas.

As far as the results in the study are concerned, there is a great need for the provision of transport resources and services for women-led agricultural projects. Encouraging the relevant departments to be involved in the development of these projects may yield greater results in ensuring that women continue successfully in the fight against hunger and poverty in the district. This involvement may include the provision of information about the availability of support services to farmers, and consultations in policy-making process that

culminate into transportation services that reduce the burden on women's labour in agricultural vocations. In cases where support is not available, it is highly recommended that policies that deal with incorporating farmers are formulated since agricultural production plays as an income generating activity in most of the rural communities in the district and province. The gender and development (GAD) approach or framework could be essential to ensure that gender is considered so that men and women are equally represented in agricultural development as far as the allocation of transport resources are concerned.

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AN EVALUATION OF THE ROLE OF COMMUNITY BASED PLANNING IN INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PLANNING PROCESS IN UMJINDI LOCAL MUNICIPALITY, MPUMALANGA PROVINCE

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ABSTRACT

Community Based Planning (CBP) was adopted in 2009 by the Department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs (DCOGTA). This methodology is aimed at enable local government to deepen democracy by allowing citizens to be active participants in their own development. It was also to enable communities to participate in the Integrated Development Planning Process (IDP) and its related budgeting processes so that their priority developmental needs would be taken on board. Potentially therefore, an effective CBP machinery is one of the mechanisms that can advance the goals of developmental local government. This paper is concerned about the apparent '*disconnect*' between CBP and the IDP/budgeting process in the case of the Umjindi Municipality in Mpumalanga Province, a situation that calls into question, the very notion of developmental local government. Based on a comprehensive field study in which community members and municipal officials were interviewed, it was observed that indeed, a '*disconnect*' exists. It was also evident that, even though there is some *semblance* of community engagement by the Municipality, in reality, the community is marginalised or excluded from the IDP budgeting processes that are so central to making development happen. It was also found that the modalities of the IDP/budgeting processes have become more complex and more removed from the community to an extent where political and economic considerations lead to priorities being placed elsewhere and not community development. Part of the problem was the weak capacity of ward committees to influence the IDP process and to negotiate adoption of CBP priorities. In order to resolve the '*disconnect*', the paper strongly recommends that the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (DCOGTA)

should add, as part of the performance indicators for local government, mandatory inclusion of key CBP development priorities into the IDP/budgeting processes. The Department should also invest in capacity building of ward committee members in order to strengthen their negotiating capacity so to ensure integration of CBP development priorities into IDPs and budget allocations.

Keywords: Community Based Planning, Developmental Local Government, Community Participation, Community Mobilisation, Community Development.

1. INTRODUCTION

As mandated under Section 152 of the South African Constitution (1996), local government is expected to play a developmental role by maximising both social development and economic growth for the betterment of all citizens. The concept of developmental local government therefore has its genesis in the Constitution. It is defined as 'local government committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs and improve the quality of their lives' (RSA, 1998:23). Such a definition places communities at the centre of development, calling for their active involvement in the design and delivery of developmental programmes. Integrated development planning, budgeting and performance management are identified as the primary tools/approaches for developmental local government (ibid). These critical elements, approaches and outcomes of developmental local government are legislated through the Municipal Systems Act (32 of 2000) and the Municipal Finance Management Act. All these aspects were supposed to be addressed through the new dispensation of planning. Community Based Planning (CBP) was adopted by

the National Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (DCOGTA) in 2009, following a pilot study on 8 local municipalities between the years 2001 to 2003 conducted countrywide (AICDD and Development Works: 2006). It is a methodology which seeks to allow local government to deepen democracy even further by allowing citizens to be active participants in their own development.

Williams (2006:197) defines community participation as the direct involvement or engagement of ordinary people in the affairs of planning, government and overall development programmes at local or grassroots level. CBP has been advocated in local government, mainly to improve quality of the plans, quality of the service and community's control over development (International Institute for Environment and Development Report: 2004:44). Other expected benefits include; i) strengthening ownership of planning process and outcomes; ii) unlocking stakeholder value and support for development initiatives; iii) increasing transparency and accountability for local development processes; and iv) increasing investment growth within local authority itself (CCDS: 2012: iii). The paper investigates the problem that, despite the policy intention of linking community empowerment and redistribution to development, community engagement in municipal planning and budgeting processes remain riddled with challenges (DCOGTA, 2009:18). This could arguably be attributed to the fact that whereas the IDP as the principal strategic planning instrument of the municipality has developed over the years both in process and as a product, CBP has remained largely experimental and delinked from the IDP/budgeting process. Another dimension of the problem is that, whereas there has been extensive research on the IDP (Hlongwane, 2010; Myeza, 2009) and its relation to public participation (Van Rooyen, 2009), there has been no systematic review of the role of CBP in the IDP/budgeting processes in a local municipality. This is the gap that the study tried to close.

The research gap on the CBP is confirmed by Maselwanyana (2007:27) who contends that in the past, planning was very technical in nature, with little or no participation from other role-players such as communities. The author also argues that it planning was unconcerned about the social and economic dimensions of development such as poverty alleviation, social health and welfare. Instead, it furthered the aims of the apartheid dispensation which were to promote special and racially

segregated, social and economic development. Thus, even though CBP was conceived, as (Chimbuya and Goldman 2004) note, as a methodology to increase the participation of communities in planning, it remains idealistic. The paper therefore aims to evaluate the role of the CBP in IDP process of Umjindi Municipality in Mpumalanga. Its specific objectives are two-fold. Firstly, to examine the concept of CBP and its application in the municipality under study. Secondly, to evaluate the relationship between the CBP and the IDP. Thirdly how it influences the effectiveness of CBP. The rationale for the study was to try and explain why, despite the developmental mandate of local government, communities are not making strides in terms of social and economic development, particularly in rural and semi-rural communities.

It is based on a case study research which was conducted in the Umjindi Municipality in Mpumalanga Province. The key research questions that were investigated were: What is the role of CBP in the IDP/Budget process? What is the nature, character and practice of CBP? and what is the relationship between CBP and the IDP? Based on the premise that community based planning (CBP) was introduced to bridge the divide between the meso-(municipal) and micro- (community) levels of planning as outlined by Chimbuya and Goldman (2004) and to consolidate community-driven development, the paper tries to assess the extent to which there is synergy and a functional relationship between CBP and IDP/ budget processes.

2. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

A qualitative research method was used in order to investigate the dynamics of the relationship between CBP and the IDP and how those influence the effectiveness of the CBP. Specifically, a case study approach was adopted by focusing the study on the experiences of a particular municipality, namely, the Umjindi Municipality as indicated. Leedy and Ormrod (2010:94) argue that qualitative research involves looking at characteristics, or qualities, that cannot easily be reduced to numerical values' and 'typically aims to examine the many nuances and complexities of a particular phenomenon'. Indeed, the role of CBP in the IDP/Budgeting process is too complex, and multifaceted phenomena to be quantified in numerical values, at least if richer insights are to be generated. Froggatt (2001:433) also add that in qualitative research, it is assumed that reality is

socially constructed and not objectively given. The aim of qualitative research is to explore underlying social processes and value in their particular social context, to lay open the individuals' experiences and inferred meanings. The population of the study consisted of councillors and ward committees, and the political offices/departments responsible for IDP, budget and/or CBP within the Umjindi Local Municipality. A small sample of 30 was purposively selected from that population. Semi-structured interviews were used to interview the secretaries or chairpersons of all nine ward committees in the municipality. The aim of the interviews was to gather community perceptions and perspectives on CBP/IDP/budget processes. It should be noted that ward committees are the structure which is established through Municipal Systems Act 2000 Act, chapter 4 at a local government level to represent the community at large in all matters of development. The ward committee is constituted by all formations within a specific ward, i.e. civil society, none profit organisation, business formations, etc. All participants were informed in writing that participation was voluntary. They were also assured that they would be protected from unwarranted physical or mental discomfort, distress, harm, danger or deprivation of any kind. They were also assured that all correspondence as well as the information which they shared, would be treated with the professionalism and that in the final reporting and dissemination of the findings, their names would not be disclosed. In order to analyse the data, content analysis was applied. Neuman (2000:292) define content analysis as a technique of gathering and analysing the content of text, where text refers to the words, meaning, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes or any message that can be communicated. Stemler (2001) also advocates the use of this method because it is a 'systematic and replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding'.

In this study, content analysis was applied by examining the community based plans of each ward and assessing which of their priority issues were subsequently incorporated in the IDP of the municipality and the extent to which they were ultimately implemented. The study was carried out in the Umjindi Local Municipality, one of five local municipalities under Ehlanzeni District Municipality, located in the southern low veld of Mpumalanga Province. The area is 174 771 ha with a population 67 156 persons (Statistics South Africa, 2011).

3. DEVELOPMENTAL LOCAL GOVERNMENT, INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PLANNING (IDP) AND COMMUNITY BASED PLANNING (CBP)

Integrated development planning is based on the theory of decentralized governance. Sikander (2015:175) explains it by pointing out that 'a significant dispersal of power away from the centre, by extending choice, encouraging initiative and innovation, and enhancing active participation, is likely to do more for the quality of government and the health of democracy than its centralization and concentration'. Decentralized governance enables people to participate more directly in governance processes and can empower people previously excluded from decision making. By allowing local communities and regional entities to manage their own affairs and through facilitating closer contacts between central and local authorities, decentralization enable more responses to people's needs and priorities and makes development more sustainable through genuine ownership (Sikander 2015:174). In the context of decentralised governance, the IDP seeks to promote representative democracy as well as development at the local level. Developmental local government is local government that is committed to 'work with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs and improve the quality of their lives' (RSA, 1998:23). Integrated Development Planning (IDP) is the tool that local government uses in identifying, designing and implementing development programmes in order to meet the needs of a municipality. The IDP was designed to be participatory in terms of involving all stakeholders.

As observed by Harrison, Todes and Watson (2008) as cited in Edoun (2012:103), it is 'a participatory approach that integrates economic, sectoral, spatial, social, institutional, environmental and fiscal strategies in order to support the optimal allocation of scarce resources between sectors and geographical areas and across the population in a manner that provides sustainable growth, equity and the empowerment of the poor and the marginalised'. Clearly, by virtue of its implied developmental agenda, the IDP has to be a participatory process that should actively involve communities who are or should be the ultimate beneficiaries of local development processes.

The CBP would allow municipalities to give greater effect to the requirements of the White Paper and the

Municipal Systems Act, 2000. Rietbergen-McCracken (2003:4) view 'participatory' development as participation in development. Mansuri and Rao (2003:3) emphasize that the ultimate goal of CBP is to reverse existing power relations in order to create agency and give voice to the poor, while allowing the poor to have more control over developmental issues. Based on their extensive experience in community development in South Africa, Chimbuya and Goldman (2004) share a similar perspective and emphasize that CBP is about enabling community participation in planning so as to improve the quality of plans, of services, and of improving the ability of communities to act in support of their own development. Maselwanyana (2007:28) explains that, in terms of policy, an IDP should be informed by the community for example, on issues such as the effective use of scarce resources acceleration of service delivery through municipal funding directed to the least serviced and most impoverished areas. It is therefore clear from the above that there should be synergy between the IDP and CBP. In such a context, and as argued by Koma (2012:58), the role of local government is to exercise the kind of political leadership which is able to bring together coalitions and networks of local interest towards a shared vision. In essence, the integration of CBP into the IDP process is about forging a shared development vision where communities present their priority development issues and then municipalities, as institutional vehicles for delivery, should utilise the IDP to prioritise, budget for and implement those developmental priorities.

According to Gumbo (2009:5), community based planning requires that the municipality should have a conceptualised plan which all stakeholders should be informed of. The process of developing the ward plan is very much similar and related to the IDP planning process. The community plan also goes through the phase of identifying challenges, formulating a vision, mission and strategies to deal with the challenges, identifying projects to implement, integrating the projects with other social and economic goals of on-going development processes and finally, getting the plan approved. There was evidence that all the above phase was followed by the municipality in developing their ward based plans which then later on informed the final IDP's. Each ward plan prepared a budget allocation that reflected resource requirements for their plans.

Despite the many positive perspectives on CBP, the model is not without its critics. As explained in

Mason and Beard (2008:246), some critics argue that participatory models have failed to deliver the progressive and social transformative outcomes promised by their proponents. From the literature review that is outlined above, some fundamental issues emerge. Firstly, there is a strong theoretical underpinning that ideally, CBP ought to be an integral part of the integrated development planning process and that therefore, there has to be a strong and functional synergy between municipalities and communities. Secondly, such synergy is fundamental to the achievement of the developmental goal of local government given that constitutionally, this sphere of government was designed to deliver such a mandate. Thirdly, and by implication, the success of local government in fulfilling its developmental mandate has to be measured by, among other criteria, the extent to which it fosters effective CBP and integrates the developmental priorities of the communities that it serves.

4. THE 'DISCONNECT' BETWEEN IDP AND THE CBP

One of the fundamental issues that emerge from the literature review above is the dichotomy between the ideal and the real. This raises the fundamental question as to why reality turns out to be quite different, if not radically so, from such an ideal. Could this be due to what Govender, Khan and Moodley (2007:69) allude to in their observation that 'globally, there is a growing gap between the poor and institutions of government; that while the range of institutions that play important roles in poor people's lives is vast, poor people are excluded from participation in government'. While such a statement requires further empirical analysis and verification, suffice to say, there is concern about this 'disconnect' between institutions of government and the people who are both governed and who also should rightfully participate in and benefit from effective governance systems. In the context of South Africa, Williams (2006:201), tries to explain this dissonance by arguing that the Constitution does not identify clear measurements of the success and of community participation in development planning at the grassroots level. He blames disconnect on what he refers to as 'the bureaucratic institutions that hail from the oppressive and exclusionary relations of power of the apartheid era'. In that regard, he argues that most of the senior official planning bureaucracies who were directly responsible for the implementation of the apartheid planning frameworks are the same machineries that are expected to implement, in

the new South Africa, participatory development planning practice at grassroots level.

Coetzee and Graaff (1996) offer some possible explanation. In their analysis, they suggest that a number of variables have to be considered for local government and civil society to be developed. Amongst other considerations, they propose a critical analysis of the power relations and structures which exist and shape society. Such a power analysis should pose critical questions such as (a) who are the significant decision makers and influential people in a particular area (b) whose interest do these influential decision makers serve (c) how are members of the population generally excluded from decision making process and (d) to what extent do present structures of production, particularly land ownership and agriculture production, affect local participation in decision making. In the case of this study, the question was what power relations and structures shaped the nature and character of CBP and its relationship with the IDP and how, these combined to determine outcomes with respect to the effectiveness of the CBP planning model. Citing a study that was undertaken by the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), Selogiloe-Masemola (2003:17), give as reasons for the failure of municipalities to promote community participation in IDPs, some of the following reasons: (a) IDPs did not consider the rationale from the perspective of the "recipient" of development; (b) did not take into account the plural nature of the parties who have a stake in development; and (c) failed to recognise power imbalances in the community. The failure has led to a number of public protests which the country has experienced in the period 2005 to 2009.

5. MAIN FINDINGS FROM THE STUDY

The evidence showed that community members were aware of the CBP and had an understanding of its purpose. Most of the respondents who were interviewed confirmed that they had attended community meetings. They also concurred that the CBP assists them in identifying and documenting their priorities. That in itself is an important step because at least, there is a process in motion where the voice of the community can be heard. There was lack of clarity about whether or not the issues raised by community members at meetings were dealt with or not and also whether feedback was received regularly or not. There was also some disagreement as to whether issues raised by communities are always addressed and if timeframes

are ever met. Members also confirmed that the municipality communicates any service delivery delays. While community participation is legislated as a requisite component of policy development and planning and budgeting, the mechanisms and instruments for the practical roll-out of such is left to municipalities to conceptualise and implement. In the case of the Umjindi Municipality, the research found evidence that the Municipality was aware of CBP and was making some effort to implement it by communicating with the community in order to identify their developmental needs. There was also evidence that the IDP process in the Municipality was functional to the extent that IDPs have been designed, implemented and evaluated over a number of years. The Municipality fully understands the processes involved. With respect to CBP, there was evidence that the Municipality involved, in the IDP process, ward committees in their capacity as representatives of communities. Participants also understood the meaning of CBP and how it was supposed to work. These communities were invited, through the ward councillors, to IDP and other related meetings and had the opportunity to make inputs through that process.

With respect to the link between the CBP and the IDP/budget allocation process, the study revealed that even though the majority of participants explained that they had participated in the CBP and IDP meetings, more than half of the respondents had no knowledge about the municipal capital budget allocated to their ward. Another finding was the substantial difference between the capacities of communities and municipalities. Whereas it appeared that the municipality was very knowledgeable about the IDP and its related budgeting and implementation processes, the knowledge of the community seemed blurred when it came to substantive matters such as for example, i) Whether their developmental priorities had been integrated in the IDP; ii) Whether or not a budget or resources had been allocated towards implementation of those issues or not iii) Capacity to raise questions or challenge on budget matters.

6. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

There is consensus in the literature that the machinery of Community Based Planning is a necessary pillar of a developmental local government. Its logic lies in its potential to enable local government to deepen the democratic process at the micro-level

by allowing citizens to be active participants in their own development. CBP was designed to be an integral part of the Integrated Planning Process (IDP) so that community development priorities would be integrated into the planning, budgeting and implementation systems of municipalities. Potentially therefore, CBP can be an effective strategy to promote development at the local level. However, in the context of the study at Umjindi Municipality, the study found that there was some disconnect between CBP and the IDP particularly with respect to the allocation of budgetary resources. While cognisant that the findings of the study cannot be generalised to the whole of local government in South Africa, given the qualitative nature of the research, it however brings out some important issues for reflection. One is the functionality of the CBP process itself. Even though participants knew of and had a measure of understanding about CBP, there was not convincing evidence that there was strong buy-in and confidence in it largely because of frustration over what they perceived to be lack of transparency on the part of the Municipality to reveal or demonstrate whether or not their development priorities had been integrated in the IDP both in terms of the issues as well as allocation of budgetary resources.

It was not clear whether the Municipality actually failed on transparency or it was the Ward Councillors, representing the community, who may have failed to communicate effectively with their constituencies. The scenario raises questions about the effectiveness of the CBP as a strategy for community development within an environment where communities have needs but lack the control over resources that are required to implement them and also where they actually do not have the capacity for implementation themselves. Even if communities are to develop and sustain a functional structure in the form of CBP, it will not serve their needs as long as there are no effective mechanisms for integration of their development priorities into the Municipal IDP budget processes. All this is contrary to the expectations which are encapsulated in the argument by Mansuri and Rao (2003:3) who, as indicated earlier, emphasize that the ultimate goal of CBP is to reverse existing power relations in order to create agency and give voice to the poor, while allowing the poor to have more control over developmental issues. In this case, the agency and voice of the community is too weak in relation to that of the Municipality especially with respect to budgetary resource allocations. Fundamentally, therefore, the disconnect casts a shadow on the whole notion of developmental local governance.

Another issue that the study raises is whether in fact, the modalities of the IDP/budgeting processes have become so complex and more removed from the community to an extent where representatives of communities who attend IDP meetings, either fail to understand the processes or to influence them as part of a strategy to advance the interests of the community. The study findings also revealed weak capacity of some of the ward committees to influence the IDP process and to negotiate adoption of CBP priorities.

Some interventions are necessary in order to improve development outcomes through the CBP and IDP processes. Although the easiest option might be that the Municipality should take responsibility and address the problem, this may not be adequate. The fact that IDP budget allocations are largely unknown to the community might reflect more deep seated problems such as a rift in the priorities of communities who reside at the micro-level and those of the municipality which operates on a macro-level in spatial, economic and policy levels. A coordinated effort from all spheres of government seems to be the best option. Thus, the feasibility of CBP within local government would require all spheres of government not to recommit in terms of integrated planning but also in terms of ensuring that resources are allocated where they are needed most whilst ensuring their effective and efficient use.

There is a fundamental question which also arises from the study and that is whether there has been an attitude change and mind shift from the planners as the country has transitioned from a previous dispensation where community development was actually marginalised for the Black population to a democratic era in which there is a constitutional mandate for developmental local government. Has the reorientation of the planning bureaucrats to promote meaningful community participation occurred or not? These are some of the gaps that still exist and should be addressed through community based planning. As much as local government officials might find their developmental mandate to be quite daunting, developmental local government demands that community level planning be nurtured, developed and integrated into municipal planning systems and budgeting. Transparency and accountability on the utilisation of budgets would also strengthen the planning processes at the micro and macro level. This is in-keeping with the democratic ethos of South Africa.

It orders to deal with the challenge of mind sets that may now be an anachronistic in the era of democratic transformation, it will be important to build the capacity of the Municipality in order to further nurture and cultivate a developmental mindset that is consistent with the principle of developmental local governance. As capacity appears to be an issue with Ward Councillors and Secretaries as well, DCOGTA should consider devising strategies to build the capacity of this target group, both in terms of the CBP process and also the IDP processes. Umjindi Municipality should also consider improving communication between the Municipality and the communities it serves (assuming the problem is only about communication on budget matters). However, if indeed, budget priorities are not taking on board, the priorities raised by communities, then the Municipality has to address the issues. The need for continuous mobilisation in order to improve public participation in CBP at a ward level should also be emphasized. In all Council's sittings, issues raised by communities through ward committee meetings should be discussed and feedback on what has been done can be provided to ward councillors to present during meetings. Participants also recommended the need to develop a strategy that will assist the municipality to improve communication through various media platforms e.g. local radio stations, newspapers, among others. Where possible, campaigns, door to door, road shows can be used as another mechanism to improve stakeholder feedback on priorities or service delivery achievements. The timing of CBP meetings should be done during convenient time for residents to participate meaningfully to their own development. The sentimental statement that says 'no development for us without us' should be upheld by the municipality to avoid having disgruntled communities. Proper stakeholder analysis should be done so that corrective measures can be put in place on which sectors will require targeted consultation on what matter in accordance to their needs.

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THE PERSISTING CHALLENGES OF ACHIEVING DEVELOPMENTAL LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA: LOST HOPE BY THE PEOPLE

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ABSTRACT

After the fall of apartheid, the new democratic government came into existence with three spheres of government. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) prescribes that municipalities must be established throughout the Republic. The objectives of local government are provided in the Constitution and municipalities must strive to achieve those objectives. In 1998 the government drafted a White Paper on Local Government, which clarified a term 'Developmental Local Government'. As described in the White Paper, Developmental Local Government is a local government committed to working with locals and groups within the society to discover sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs and improve the quality of their lives. After twenty-one years of democracy in South Africa, the municipalities have encountered problems in delivering services in South Africa. These problems are manifested by past protests of service delivery, where some protests were peaceful and others were violent. The fact is that the locals are not satisfied by performance of municipalities in this country. It is against this backdrop of service delivery protests that this paper reveals that the local government is still in the process of achieving developmental local government. However, people have waited long than they have anticipated. Local government has functions to perform and powers to exercise in terms of the Constitution and legislation. However, these functions and powers are not absolute, the senior governments have been empowered by the Constitution to see to the effective performance by municipalities of their functions. All provinces have suffered service delivery protests and most of the service delivery protests were violent in nature. Therefore, this paper analyses the main reasons for service delivery protests in South Africa. It is clear from our Constitution that the local government must be developmental and

this is backed up by local government legislation. However, in the process of achieving developmental local government, municipalities are facing number of challenges which hinder them to be developmental. This paper analyses the main persisting challenges of achieving developmental local government in South Africa.

Keywords: Developmental Local Government, Service Delivery Protests, Municipalities, Municipal Demarcation Board, Constitution, Public Participation, Provincial Government, Locals, Municipal Service.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) mandates the set-up of developmental and democratic local sphere of government which consists of municipalities. However, the establishment of local government lasted for a long time and it went through three stages, namely preparatory stage, a transitional stage in accordance with Local Government Transitional Act 201 of 1993 and final stage which was implemented in 2000 (Steytler, 2015:22). There are three categories of municipality in South Africa. The first category comprises of municipalities that have exclusive municipal executive and legislative authority in their areas (Section 155 (1) (a) of the Constitution, 1996). They are often called metropolitan municipalities and there are eight metropolitan municipalities in the country (Department of Government Communication & Information System, 2015:212). The second category composes of municipalities that share municipal executive and legislative authority in their areas with third category within whose areas they fall (Section 155 (1) (b) of the Constitution, 1996). These municipalities are called local municipalities and there are 226 local municipalities in the country (Department of Government Communication &

Information System, 2015:212). The last category comprises of municipalities that have municipal executive and legislative authority in the areas that include more than one municipality (Section 155 (1) (b) of the Constitution, 1996). These municipalities are called district municipalities and there are 44 district municipalities in the country (Department of Government Communication & Information System, 2015:212).

A local sphere of government is a government which is regarded as closest to the people (Taylor, 2011:4). It must fulfill its developmental mandate to meet the needs of the locals throughout the country (Section 153 of the Constitution, 1996). Municipalities must perform their functions, as listed in the Constitution, to better the lives of South Africans (Schedules 4B & 5B of the Constitution, 1996). However, taking into account the legacy of apartheid regime, local government is facing persisting challenges which hinder its developmental mandate. These challenges are, inter alia, serious leadership and governance deficiency, mismanagement of funds, inadequate human resources and lack of active participation in municipalities (Mgwebi, 2010). Many municipalities have failed their developmental mandate on the one hand and the locals are demanding municipal services from municipalities on the other hand. Consequently, South Africa has suffered service delivery protest in every province.

2. METHODOLOGY

This study will be desk-top using relevant data, literature, legislation, reports and policy documents and will follow a critical and analytical approach. The research will consist of mainly primary and secondary sources. In terms of primary sources this study will rely on the Constitution and local government legislation encompassing the legal framework that regulates powers and functions of local government. Secondary sources to be used are books, academic articles, policy documents, reports and newspapers which constitute the bulk of the sources used. It also places reliance on research and reports from various sources and related information which will be gathered and collated by the author. Internet sites will also be used to collect relevant data and information.

3. DEVELOPMENTAL LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Local government in South Africa is required and expected to be developmental. Developmental local

government is a local government committed to working with locals and groups within the society to discover sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs and improve the quality of their lives (White Paper on Local Government, 1998). Development means sustainable development and includes integrated social, economic, environmental, spatial, infrastructural, institutional, democratizing and human resources upliftment of a community aimed at improving the quality of life of its members with specific reference to the poor and other disadvantaged sections of the community; and ensuring that development serves present and future generations (Section 1 of the Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000).

According to Romeo (2010), local government is a development that leverages the comparative and competitive advantages of localities and democratizes their specific physical, economic, social, political, and cultural resources and institutions. The contemporary developmental local government is based on recognition of the importance of linkages between development, service delivery and local citizen participation, explained as the democratic effort to increase control over resources and regulative institutions by groups and movements excluded from such control (IDASA 2010). As one of the spheres of government, local government comprises of municipalities which are demarcated throughout the Republic of South Africa. In order to perform their developmental duties, municipalities must structure and manage its administration and budgeting and planning process to give priority to basic needs of their communities (Section 153 (a) of the Constitution, 1996). Moreover, municipalities must participate in national and provincial development programmes (Section 153 (b) of the Constitution, 1996).

It must be noted that the Constitution mandates developmental local government to strive within its financial and administrative capacity to provide democratic and accountable government to local communities, to provide service to communities in a sustainable manner, to promote social and economic development, to promote a safe and healthy environment and to encourage the participation of communities and community organisations in the local government matters (section 152 of the Constitution, 1996).

The intentions of developmental local government, if achieved, are to eradicate poverty and other social-ills in the communities. In achieving their

objectives, municipalities must work with the locals and community organisations to improve the quality of life by providing service to the communities. Local government can be considered as being closest to communities and according to developmental mandate accorded to it, public consultation and participation are of particular importance (Taylor, 2011:4). Developmental local government can be recognized through the following features namely, democratize social development and economic growth, integrating and coordinating, democratizing development, leading and learning (White Paper on Local Government, 1998). It follows that a municipality that lacks these features cannot be regarded as a developmental.

4. CHALLENGES OF ACHIEVING DEVELOPMENTAL LOCAL GOVERNMENT

After 21 years of democracy, developmental local government has yet to be taken where it supposedly discharges its constitutional and developmental instruction in terms of active citizen engagement, robust public participation, provision of efficient and effective municipal services and enhancing the quality of life of locals (Reddy, 2016). One of the multitudes of challenges face by municipalities is the serious leadership and governance deficiency in municipalities, including weak responsiveness and accountability to communities (Mgwebi, 2010). Political accountability is absent on the part of elected councilors and civil servants if they do not account, respect and listen to the citizens and the existing legislative bodies, laws, rules and regulations (Mantzaris & Pillay, 2014:3). In the second election period of local government (2005-2010), there were growing concerns about capacity shortages, weak institutional structures, poor accountability and corruption, weak financial viability, weak cooperation between spheres of government, declining participatory democracy and a lack of support from provincial and national government (Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation, 2014:31). Even after the fourth election period of local government, the above challenges are still deep-rooted in municipalities.

Another challenge is the mismanagement of funds by municipalities for non-developmental purposes. For example, it transpired that the then mayor of Mogalakwena local municipality has spent 1 million rand for his team of bodyguards and also R800 000 for t-shirts for a municipal outreach gathering (Tau, 2016). Compliance with the current financial

management system is a constant challenge for many municipalities (State of Local Government in South Africa, 2009:54). Audit reports are uniformly poor for over half the municipalities, the origins of which start with their inability to manage their annual financial statements and the systems and processes described in the Municipal Finance Management Act 56 Of 2003 (State of Local Government in South Africa, 2009:54). Many municipalities do not have staff with the financial and managerial expertise to ensure that the funds allocated for service delivery and infrastructure development are spent wisely according to need or demand (Managa, 2012:4). Furthermore, municipalities have inadequate human resource capital to ensure professional administrations, and positive relations between labour, management and councils. The skills shortages are most critical in the local government, especially in the rural municipalities (National Development Plan, 2011:375). According to South African Local Government Association, it is necessary to address capacity constraints of the poor skills base, lack of career pathing, lack of skills development programmes, and under-investment in technical, management and leadership skills (Standing Committee on Appropriations, 2010). Like national government, municipalities also require a flow of promising graduates if they are to manage their core functions (National Development Plan, 2011:317). Political deployment has engendered corruption in the form of fraud, tenderpreneurship, nepotism, cronyism, patronage, money-laundering, and price collusion (May, 2013). Lastly, the municipalities' failure to fulfill legal requirements to ensure that active participation of communities in local government processes (Mgwebi, 2010). Municipalities are required by the Constitution (1996) to encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in their matters (section 152 (e)). Communities must be involved in the, *inter alia*, integrated development plan, municipal budget and any decision regarding service delivery and development. However, the failures of municipalities to engage their communities have resulted in regular service delivery backlogs and protest throughout the country (Mgwebi, 2010).

Some municipalities have suffered the above challenges to the extent that the provincial governments had intervened in terms of section 139 of the Constitution. To name but few, Ngaka Modori Molema District Municipality in North West province municipality received intervention in 2009 because of, *inter alia*, the dysfunctional

political governance structure, not complying with the legislative provisioning governing the local government sphere, irregular, fruitless and wasteful expenditure, corruption, and a breakdown of service delivery (People's Assembly, 2014). Again, Madibeng Local Municipality received intervention in 2014 after protests erupted in the area when communities complained that the municipality failed to meet their needs (People's Assembly, 2014). The above examples and many other examples not mentioned in this paper illustrate the persisting challenges of achieving developmental local government. Despite the fact that provinces are mandated to monitor and support municipalities, some provinces still provide poor services delivery, just like municipalities. It is not amazing that some provinces are unable to monitor and support municipalities. The greatest challenge facing the provinces has been to develop efficient, honest and effective public administration (Simeon & Murray, 2001:80). Some challenges are related to human resource development, unevenness in the performance and provision of public services, and corruption (Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation, 2014:21).

5. THE ROLE OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS IN ASSISTING LOCAL GOVERNMENT TO ACHIEVE ITS OBJECTIVE

In South Africa government is constituted as national, provincial and local spheres of government which are distinctive, interdependent and interrelated (Section 40 (1) of the Constitution). The first element of distinctiveness refers to the autonomy enjoyed by provinces and local government (Steytler, 2005:319). The second element of interdependence means that each sphere of government must exercise its autonomy for the common good of the country by cooperating with the other spheres (Steytler, 2005:319). Lastly, the third element of interrelatedness refers to the fact that the exercise of autonomy by a sphere of government is supervised by other spheres of government (Steytler, 2005:319).

The Constitution (1996) dictates that all spheres of government and all organs of state within each sphere must cooperate with one another in a mutual trust and good faith by assisting and supporting one another (Section 41 (1) (h) (ii)). Furthermore, the national government and provincial governments (senior governments), by legislative and other measures, must support and strengthen the capacity of municipalities

to manage their own affairs, to exercise their powers and perform their functions (Section 154 (1) of the Constitution, 1996). Senior governments are also empowered to see to the effective performance by municipalities of their functions by regulating the exercise by municipalities of their executive authority (Section 155 (7) of the Constitution, 1996). Provincial governments are mandated to establish municipalities in their provinces in a manner that is consistent with the Municipal Demarcation Act 27 of 1998 and, by legislative or other measures, must provide for the monitoring and support of local government in the province and promote the development of local government capacity to enable municipalities to perform their functions and manage their own affairs (Section 155 (6) (a) and (b) of the Constitution, 1996).

It is trite that municipalities are charged with developmental mandate and they should perform their developmental mandate under supervision of provincial government and to some extent national government. According to Steytler and De Visser (2012), supervision comprises of regulation, monitoring, support and intervention. However, most provinces failed to perform their duty of monitoring and support of the municipalities. According to Steytler (2005), provinces failed to perform this duty mainly on two reasons, first, they lack any effective financial stick to keep municipalities in line and secondly, the monitoring and support of metros are largely beyond the reach of provinces. These reasons may be based on the fact that provinces have little or no revenue generating authority. For instance, the provincial revenue pool from motor vehicle licenses, gambling taxes and hospital fees is about 2-6% (Financial and Fiscal Commission, 2016). However, the Auditor General (focusing on the provincial leadership) commended the leadership in some provinces for having proved the value of investing in strengthening internal control, valuing stability in the administration of municipalities and taking decisive action on both internal control failings and audit findings of the municipalities (Auditor General Media Report, 2016). The efforts are based on the fact that the municipal finance is a cross cutting issue to the service delivery and governance processes at the local level and indicator of the effectiveness of the municipal transformation programme (Savage, 2007:286).

Moreover, the Auditor General asserted that the audit outcomes of municipalities in Limpopo, North West and the Northern Cape have been disappointing at best (Auditor General Media Report, 2016). Auditor

General encouraged leadership in these provinces have to reemphasise the benefits of good governance at all municipalities as a key mechanism to create a fertile environment for appropriate service delivery and to back this up with decisive action in setting the appropriate tone at the top, investing in the right skills and competencies for key positions and further continuing good record-keeping practices in all municipalities (Auditor General Media Report, 2016). When municipality cannot or does not fulfill an executive obligation in terms of the Constitution or legislation, the relevant provincial executive may intervene by taking appropriate steps to ensure fulfillment of that obligation (Section 139 of the Constitution, 1996). Each municipality is duty-bound to have municipal council. The executive and legislative authority of a municipality is vested in its municipal council (Section 151 (2) of the Constitution, 1996). According to Steytler and De Visser (2012), intervention, in the context of the Constitution, means the competence or the duty of the national and provincial government to direct activities and outcomes in municipalities.

It is apparent that supervision of municipalities is a rocket science to some provinces. Some provincial governments misapprehended their powers to regulate, monitor, support and intervene in the municipalities and as a result, it has exacerbated the vulnerability of municipalities at the mercy of provincial government (Mathenjwa, 2014:202). Furthermore, Mathenjwa (2014) argued that should the provincial governments continue to misconstrue or abuse their powers of supervising municipalities, they will not be able to properly fulfill their constitutional mandates of monitoring and supporting municipalities.

If some provincial governments still experience corruption, financial difficulties and maladministration, then how they can support and monitor municipalities within their territory which experience the same problems as theirs? It is like asking one blind to lead another blind, ultimately both of them will fall into a pit. In other words, the challenges which hinder municipalities to achieve the objectives of developmental local government are still face by some provinces.

6. REASONS FOR SERVICE DELIVERY PROTESTS

The service delivery protests signify the dissatisfaction of the locals with the performance of the

municipalities. The main reason for community protests is dissatisfaction with the delivery of basic municipal services such as running water, electricity and toilets, especially in informal settlements (Burger, 2009). Municipal services mean a service that a municipality in terms of its powers and functions provides or may provide to or for the benefit of the local community irrespective of whether such a service is provided, or to be provided, by the municipality through an internal mechanism or by engaging an external mechanism and irrespective of whether fees, charges or tariffs are levied for such a service or not (Section 1 of the Municipal Systems Act, 1996). Another reason for service delivery protests is the allegation of rampant corruption and nepotism within local government structures (Burger, 2009). According to the Amnesty International Report (2010), corruption and nepotism impeded community access to housing and services, and led to the collapse of some municipal governments and to widespread protests among affected communities. The majority of recruitments in municipalities seem to have been unduly influenced by narrow political interests and there is also a general trend that suggests that most of these recruitments did not match the required minimum competencies and experience to deal with the responsibilities of the jobs advertised (Moloi, 2012:5).

The empirical evidence of the service delivery protests in different parts of South Africa shows the dissatisfaction of the locals with regard to services provided or supposed to be provided by municipalities. For example, residents of Malusi one and two informal settlements in the west of Pretoria took to the streets demanding the delivery of services such as electricity, water, housing and learners transport (SABC, 2016). Moreover, residents of Phola Park and Simile in Sabie, Mpumalanga went on the rampage demanding clean drinking water, electricity and job opportunities (SABC, 2016). To some extent violent service delivery protests are fuelled by lack of community participation in the municipal service delivery matters or failure by municipality to communicate with the community from time to time regarding service delivery matters.

The impact of poor provision of basic services can perpetuate poverty and unemployment and weaken social capital (National Treasury, 2011:196). Poor service delivery can also impact on agriculture, tourism and other rural businesses (National Treasury, 2011:196). The poor provision of services

also leads to the marginalization of some stakeholders in the communities and in most cases during the service delivery protests, local government officials and politicians are pointed as corrupt people who want to enrich themselves by looting state resources (Twala, 2014:164). It is important to note that the violent service delivery have negative impact. The impact of violent service delivery protests is that protesters usually demand the closure of schools and thus impacting negatively on the pass rates of the affected schools (Twala, 2014:166). The violent service delivery protests often affect businesses negatively because of closure of roads and looting. Moreover, the damage of property became common during service delivery protests.

7. PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

From the South African perspective, public participation can be defined an open and accountable process through which individuals and groups within communities can exchange views and influence decision-making in government, especially in the local sphere of government (Department of Provincial & Local government, 2007:15). Public participation is a cornerstone for building and sustaining democracy throughout the world and it creates a platform for critical engagement between the citizens and the government (Public Service Commission, 2008:vii). In local level, public participation is premised on the fact that municipalities are close to people. Therefore, local government will be able to respond better to the local needs and efficiently match public spending to private needs only if information flows between citizens and local government (Litvack & Seddon, 2013:15). One of the objectives of developmental local government is to encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of local government (Section 152 (1) of the Constitution, 1996). Therefore, municipalities are duty-bound to develop a system of participatory governance in which local communities are involved:

- (a) in the preparation, implementation and review of integrated development plan;
- (b) in the performance management system of a municipality;
- (c) in the monitoring and review of the performance of a municipality;
- (d) in the preparation of the budget and;

- (e) in the strategic decisions relating to the provision of the municipal service (Section 16 (1) (a) of the Municipal Systems Act, 2000).

Another structure where locals may participate in the local government affairs is the ward committees. The purpose of ward committee is to enhance participatory democracy in local government (Section 72 (3) of the Municipal Structure Act, 1998). However, ward committees experienced problems because of scarce resources, power struggles between ward councilors and ward committee's members and also a lack of clearly defined roles of the ward committees (Van Belle & Cupido, 2013).

The significance of service delivery, especially to poor and marginalized communities means that a great attention must be given to the consultation with these communities whenever new initiatives around service delivery are under taken or problem with service delivery arise (Department of Provincial & Local government, 2007:28). However, service delivery protesters have expressed dissatisfaction and frustration because of their exclusion from local decision making and accountability by the municipal officials and councilors who represent them in their wards (Managa, 2012:4). Some municipalities are still struggling to promote community participation because of lack of human resources and institutional capacity (Nyalunga, 2006). According to De Visser (2009), government has established abundant spaces, platforms and procedures for community involvement in the local government but it is apparent that communities choose to take their grievances to the streets. Although a number of legislation has been enacted to facilitate community involvement through different mechanisms in local government affairs, some municipalities have failed to exhaust such mechanisms. When people are not consulted from time to time regarding municipal services, they tend to lose hope and resort to violence protests in order to attract the attention of a municipality. According to Mbuyisa (2013), as long as communities believe that they can draw the attention of leaders to their grievances through acts of violence, the violent protests will remain a common phenomenon.

8. MUNICIPAL DEMARCATION BOARD: MALAMULELE AND VUWANI SAGA

There are inconsistencies in the implementation of Municipal Demarcation Act 22 of 1998 (MDA) by Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB). In 2015 the residents of Malamulele complained that they

received poor service delivery from the Thulamela local municipality compared to services provided in the Thohoyandou area. Therefore, residents of Malamulele embarked on protest action, demanding a separate municipality from Thulamela Local Municipality. In response to this demand, the MDB stated that the proposed boundary re-determination of the Thulamela Local Municipality boundary by excluding Malamulele and determining this area as a separate category B municipality within the Vhembe Districts was not consistent with the demarcation's objectives (MDB, 2015:18). Consequently, the MDB was approached by then Co-operative Governance Minister Pravin Gordhan to reconsider their initial decision to deny the municipal request from Malamulele residents (702 Talk Radio, 2015).

Surprisingly, the MDB has announced that a new municipality will be established in Vhembe District which will encompass the Malamulele and Vuwani areas (SABC, 2015). If the MDB has denied re-determining boundary so as to accord Malamulele a municipality due to the fact that it was not consistent with the objectives of demarcation as stated in section 22 of the MDA (1998), then how did MDB subsequently reach its decision to accord Malamulele a municipality? The MDB needs to be consistent in its decisions and must also determine or re-determine municipal boundaries according to MDA (1998). The MDB independent and must be impartial and perform its function without fear, favour or prejudice (Section 3 of the MDA, 1998).

The Municipal Demarcation Board must determine municipal boundaries in the territory of the Republic and may redetermine any municipal boundaries determined by it (Section 21(1)(a) & (b) of the Municipal Demarcation Act, 1998). It is clear that MDB has no discretion but to determine municipal boundaries throughout the country, whereas in the case of redetermination MDB has discretion to re-determine municipal boundaries.

The MDB is a creature of Municipal Demarcation Act (MDA) and therefore it performs its functions according to the MDA. Section 24 of the MDA sets out the objectives of the demarcation which must be followed by the MDB as the following:

When the Board determines a municipal boundary its objective must be to establish an area that would:

- (a) enable the municipality for that area to fulfil its constitutional obligations, including:

- the provision of democratic and accountable government for the local communities;
 - the provision of services to the communities in an equitable and sustainable manner;
 - the promotion of social and economic development; and
 - the promotion of a safe and healthy environment;
- (b) enable effective local governance;
 - (c) enable integrated development; and
 - (d) have a tax base as inclusive as possible of users of municipal services in the municipality.

The Malamulele and Vuwani saga should be a lesson for the Municipal Demarcation Board. The consistency of decisions by the MDB is very crucial for impartiality and effective performance of its function as stipulated by MDA. If MDB announces its decision and subsequently revokes it, such action can affect its credibility.

9. CONCLUSION

The challenges face by local government affect its capacity to deliver service delivery to the people. After 21 years of democracy, a robust approach has been lacking to tackle a serious leadership and governance deficiency, mismanagement of municipal finance, inadequate human resources and failure to facilitate active participation of communities in municipalities. The locals are losing hope in municipalities and they tend to violence service delivery protests. These service delivery protests are costing government (all three spheres of government) a lot of money. All violent service delivery protests result in the damage of property, the closure of schools and businesses and looting of goods. It is apparent that some provincial governments are facing the same challenges local government is facing. As a result, those provinces have failed their duty of monitoring and supporting of municipalities. Therefore, when a provincial government, as an overseer, is performing well there is a likelihood that the municipalities within its area will perform well. Public participation is one of the objectives of local government and municipalities must strive within their financial and administrative capacity to achieve it. Public

participation is a pillar of developmental local government because people will not feel excluded by a municipality. Developmental local government is required to working with locals and groups within the society to discover sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs and improve the quality of their lives. In South Africa almost all local government legislation mandate municipalities to involve communities in the matters of local government. However, municipalities are still unable to involve communities in the matters of local government. This is cited as one of the reasons for service delivery protests where people feel excluded and neglected by municipalities. Therefore, there is need for municipalities to improve public participation and work together with communities to identify the needs of the communities.

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CHALLENGES FACING GOVERNMENT AGENCIES IN PROVIDING NON-FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO SMMEs IN THE UPPER END MARKET

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to provide an analysis of the challenges facing government agencies in providing non-financial support services to the upper-end market of the small business sector with a specific reference to Small Enterprise Development Agency (SEDA). Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMMEs) are viewed as the cornerstone of the economy in South Africa. Their recognition has triggered government through many of its agencies to develop and implement strategies and programmes to promote and improve the sector. The main objective of such interventions is to address the challenges and requirements of SMMEs in order to facilitate their growth and sustainability. However, the experience of working with various enterprises has demonstrated that there is no one size fits all approach in dealing with this sector. The needs and challenges facing this sector differs fundamentally according to the size of the enterprise, hence the need for tailor made or specific programmes to service this sector. Ostensibly, it appears that the largest component of the government interventions is concentrated in the lower-end market relating to start-ups and pre start-ups (micro and very small businesses) as opposed to the upper-end market which is characterised by well-established, growth oriented small businesses employing between 21 and 200 people. This is a cause for concern since government programmes are equally designed to impact equally on all enterprises as defined in the National Small Business Amendment Act (Act no 29 of 2004). Therefore, SEDA as an implementing agency of the Department of Small Business Development (DSBD) has recently redeployed its strategic focus to give priority to the SMMEs in the upper-end because it is considered as the market segment with high impact in terms of job creation and wealth creation potential as opposed to the lower-end market which

is characterised by higher rate of business mortality as this is an attempt to align the agency to give priority support to high growth segments of the sector while nurturing emerging, micro and very small enterprises.

Keywords: SMMEs, Upper End Market, Non-financial services, Employment.

1. INTRODUCTION

Government in many countries have recognised the importance and contribution made by Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMMEs) in their respective economies (Mago & Toro, 2013; Mayer, 2014). In South Africa for instance, the National Development Plan (NDP) recognises small businesses as the panacea to the treble challenges of poverty, inequality and unemployment (Republic of South Africa, 2012). However, the contribution made by these enterprises to the aforementioned issues varies considerable according to their size, class and sector of the economy in which they operate (Dockel, 2010; Ngek, 2014). Government in South Africa have since introduced a number of non-financial and financial support programmes with a view of improving their contribution towards economic growth and development (Malefane, 2013). However, the majority of these programmes particularly the non-financial features are seemingly concentrated in the lower-end of the SMMEs market as opposed to the upper-market (Small, Enterprise Development Agency Strategic Plan, 2014/15-2018/19). This could be attributed by a sheer total volumes and the number of people who want to start businesses. The outputs in terms of the market (start-ups and micro) assisted have been huge, but this has come at a cost on impact measures such as employment, profitability and sustainability. As such, government through its agencies such as SEDA has redeployed

its attention to give priority to the upper-end market because they are seen as the market segment with high impact in terms of employment and wealth creation. Research indicates that merely a small number of SMEs create the majority of jobs in the country. This group of enterprises has been labelled upper end market (SMEs) that are growth oriented and contribute meaningfully toward employment creation (Ngek, 2014). It is therefore argued that the architects of new business should be more focused on enhancing the higher quality enterprises and not just increasing the number of start-ups (Fritsch 2011 cited in Ngek, 2014).

There is a profound theoretical belief that policies that disregard the aspect of assisting firms in the upper end and focus simply on increasing the number of start-ups only harvests a merely positive or even negative marginal effect on employment creation (Dockel, 2010; Lekhanya, 2015). This does not necessary mean that SMMEs in the lower-end of the market must be neglected, since they represent between 70% and 80% of all SMMEs in the South Africa (Dockel, 2010). However, they should be nurtured and supported accordingly so that they can be able to graduate into the upper end market segment and contribute meaningful to employment creation. As such supporting the SMEs in the upper end market come with many challenges. Hence, the purpose of this article is to provide an analysis of the challenges facing SEDA in providing non-financial support services to the upper-end market of the small business sector. In this case, the study adopts a literature review (purely desktop study) based methodology in order to address the above mentioned objective. The article is structured into five sections. The first section focuses on the legislative and policy framework governing the implementation of the national programme for SMMEs development in South Africa. This is followed by the definition and the categorisation of SMMEs in the upper-end market. The third section gives a summary of SEDA and its programmes towards the upper-end market. The forth section give much attention to the challenges experienced in providing service to the upper-end of the SMMEs market and; lastly conclusions and recommendation are made based on the discussions provided.

2. LEGISLATIVE AND POLICY FRAMEWORK IN SUPPORT OF SMMEs IN SOUTH AFRICA

Without repeating much of what is already recorded in the literature, the following section provide a

summary of the key legislative and policy frameworks in support of SMMEs development in the country for the purpose of giving context to the study. The post democratic South Africa has experienced an introduction of a number of legislative and policy frameworks in support of small businesses with the aim of addressing the structural injustices created by the apartheid regime (Malefane, 2013; Lekhanya, 2015). The national SMMEs development policy was first recognised in the White Paper on the National Strategy for the Development and Promotion of Small Business in 1995 and the National Small Business Act (102 of 1996 as amended in 2003) in South Africa. The White Paper (1995) is viewed as the first and most essential policy by the government targeting particularly a wide range of small enterprises (Malefane, 2013). The central focus of the strategy was to create an enabling environment for SMMEs development in the country (Republic of South Africa, 1995). In 2004, the government adopted the Integrated Strategy on the Promotion of Entrepreneurship and Small Enterprises which recognised the desire for focused support to designated target groups and special institutional arrangement (Republic of South Africa, 2004). This strategy emphasises on three strategic areas which include the increase in the supply of financial and non-financial support services, create demand for small enterprise products and services and reduce small business constraints. It provides a foundation for a strategic and integrated response to the needs, challenges and opportunities facing the small business sector (Rogerson, 2004; Peters and Naicker, 2013).

The National Small Business Act (Act 102 of 1996 and its amendment of 2003) provide for the establishment of the national service delivery networks through which national strategies for SMMEs can be implemented (Republic of South Africa, 1996). Other contemporary key policies that support the development of SMMEs as a means to employment creation include *inter alia* the National Development Plan (NDP) and New Growth Path (NGP). The NDP (2012) establish a common ground and a long term vision of the country (2030 vision). It acknowledges the key role played by SMMEs in the country's economy through job creation and respond to their challenges which include among others skills, economic infrastructure, and cost of doing business, red tape and corruption. It projects that 90% of new jobs will be created in small and expanding firms (Republic of South Africa, 2012). On the other hand, the NGP (2010) serves a comprehensive response to

the structural crisis of poverty, unemployment and inequality in the country. It set a target of 50 million jobs that are expected to be created in the year 2020. Small enterprises are thus expected to play a leading role in this regard (Republic of South Africa, 2013).

3. DEFINITION AND CATEGORISATION OF SMMEs IN THE UPPER END MARKET

The definition and categorisation of small businesses varies significantly between different countries and development organisations (Olawale, and Garwe, 2010). United Nations Industrial Organisation (UNIDO), (2004) contends that SMMEs definitions depend largely on primary purpose of classification. The interpretation and classification of SMMEs in South Africa is officially recognised in the National Small Business Act (Act 102 of 1996). According to the Act, small businesses are classified into four, namely; micro, very small, small and medium following a set of complex thresholds (Republic of South Africa, 1996). The definition of these enterprises is grounded on the number of employees, turnover and total value of fixed assets. In accordance with South African legislation, other organisations such as SEDA defines small businesses using only the number of employee criterion (SEDA Strategic Plan, 2014/15-2018/19). The organisation, further categories its SMMEs into two general categories, namely the lower-end market and the upper-end market segments of which the latter is the focus of this study. The lower-end market segment includes start-ups or pre-start-ups enterprises (micro and very small enterprises).

This market segment is defined as enterprises employing less than 21 people which are characterised by low growth and higher rate of business mortality contributing marginally to economic growth. Simultaneously, the upper end market segment comprises of small and medium enterprises (SMEs) which are characterised by well-established, growth oriented businesses employing between 21 and 200 people. These enterprises are viewed as having the potential to create jobs and contribute significantly towards economy development (Dockel, 2010; SEDA Strategic Plan, 2014/15-2018/19). This assumption has thus triggered SEDA to transpose its strategic position to give more focus to the upper-end market. The development and support of these enterprises are perceived as requirements to the success of SMEs in efforts to address the treble challenge of poverty, unemployment and inequality.

4. SEDA: A NON-FINANCIAL GOVERNMENT SUPPORT AGENCY FOR SMEs IN SOUTH AFRICA

Small enterprise development agency is a non-financial entity of the Department of Small Business Development which was previously housed under the Department of Trade and Industry. SEDA was established in December 2004, through the National Small Business Amendment Act (Act 29 of 2004) of South Africa. The establishment was done by merging three entities; Ntsika Enterprise Promotion Agency (NEPA), National Manufacturing Advisory Centre (NAMAC) and the Community Public Private Partnership Programme (CPPP). The organisation is mandated to implement government's small business strategy; design and implement a standard and common national delivery network for small enterprise development; and integrate government-funded small enterprise support agencies across all tiers of government (Mayer, 2014). SEDA provides *inter alia*, business related information, advice, consultancy, training and mentoring services in all areas of enterprise development in partnership with other role players. According to SEDA Strategic Plan (2014/15-2018/19), the target market of the organisation includes all registered small, medium and micro enterprises including cooperatives, as well as potential entrepreneurs with a practical business idea as defined in the Act. SEDA delivers its services through its delivery networks located throughout the country. These points currently take the form of SEDA branches, SEDA enterprise development centres, SEDA supported incubation centres and Enterprise Information Centres (EICs). SEDA also utilises information kiosks and mobile units to access remote areas. In addition, SEDA co-locates primarily with local municipalities and various other partners in areas where it does not have a branch.

5. SEDA'S NON-FINANCIAL SUPPORT PROGRAMMES FOR SMEs (UPPER END MARKET)

SMME development is regarded as one of the critical means to contribute to economic growth and development. However, small businesses continue to experience a number of challenges that include access to finance and markets for their products and services (Cant and Wiid, 2013). The government has thus introduced various instruments and strategies to deliver support to small businesses focusing on national, provincial and local levels (Malefane, 2013; Peters and Naicker, 2013). These include both

financial and non-financial support programmes for SMEs (upper-end market). The government deliver these support programmes and services through its various agencies and departments. At the forefront of this, is the DSBD and its implementing agencies such as SEDA in partnership with various stakeholders. Currently, the nature of support provided by SEDA is unique to small businesses' particular needs. A majority of these programmes are not sector specific, however, they are accessible to SMEs in all industry sectors. In addition, some programmes are only available to certain targeted groups such as women, youth and people with disabilities. This paper highlights the main support programmes and other incentives delivered by the government (DSBD) through SEDA as its implementing agency mandated to provide non-financial business development support services to small businesses including the upper-end market in order to improve their sustainability. SEDA has designed and developed a number of programmes known as High Impact Programmes (HIPS) which are targeted to the SMEs in the upper end market. The organization endeavours to improve small business productivity, effectiveness and competitiveness, through working together with strategic partners to provide demand based support to SMEs. These programmes are targeted to registered South African SMEs and cooperatives that are established and growth oriented.

5.1 Supplier Development Programme (SDP)

SEDA Supplier Development Programme is aimed at strengthening the performance of supplier firms by enabling them to acquire the skills and capacities required to make them compete locally and globally. Supplier development presents several advantages to the buying firm as well as to the suppliers and these yield benefits to the economy. The goals of this programme include the capacitation of SMEs to have ability to do business with corporate sector entities, provide a platform to access potential business opportunities provided by big enterprises, improve growth and diversification through procurement and lastly, facilitate localized supply chain.

5.2 Export Development Programme

SEDA's Export Development Programme aims to develop and generate export-ready small enterprises that are globally competitive and able to grow markets both locally and internationally. The programme is designed to help small enterprises in South Africa to acquire and apply practical skills in developing

their export capabilities. It consists of the following components: export assessments, export training, export development and promotional support.

5.3 Women Enterprise Coaching Programme

The focus of this programme is to assemble a group of women owned enterprises and take them through coaching by business coaches. These coaches provide guidance, advices, support and encouragement and help women business owners on how to manage and grow their businesses such as in sales, marketing and team building.

5.4 SEDA'S Technology Programme (STP)

The focus of the STP is to facilitate the following, Increase the accessibility to, and utility of, technologies and management support for small enterprises, through structured platforms such as technology business centres; Facilitate the acquisition and transfer of technology to small enterprises particularly those operating in the second economy; Promote the use of quality and standards by small enterprises; Improve small enterprise performance and productivity; Improve the competitiveness of small enterprises; Promote entrepreneurial activity and success of identified target groups in particular, Women and Youth ,and Reduce the failure rate of small enterprises. The above support is delivered through the incubation centres and the technology transfer unit. In the same vein, SEDA work closely with its parent department (DSBD) which hosts a number of programmes and incentives available to businesses with high growth potential and those forming part of the upper end of the small enterprise sector. In this regard, SEDA plays a facilitation role and assist SMEs to access the available incentives or participate in selected programmes. These include the following:

5.4.1 Black Business Supplier Development Programme (BBSDP)

This is a cost-sharing grant offered to black-owned small enterprises to assist them to improve their competitiveness and sustainability to become part of the mainstream economy and create employment. It provides grants to a maximum value of R1 Million. R800 000 (50:50 cost sharing basis) of the grant is allocated for tools, machinery and equipment. The balance of R200 000 is set apart for business development and training interventions per qualifying business (80 – 20 cost-sharing basis).

5.4.2 Gazelles Programme

The National Gazelles is a national SME growth accelerator funded by SEDA and the DSBD. The primary aim of the programme is to identify and support SMEs with growth potential across 10 priority industry sectors aligned with the National Development Plan and SEDA's SME strategy. SMEs are identified through an annual call for applications, with selection done independently by private and public sector partners. The programme aims to assist each business to operate as closely as possible to its maximum potential. Growth acceleration support is guided by a detailed business diagnostic and growth strategy, and includes a R1-million growth grant for equipment and capacity-building, facilitated access to finance, productivity and business advice, business skills development and more.

5.4.3 Finfind

This is an online one stop platform that brings together both the providers of small business finance and small businesses owners looking for finance. It assists seekers of small business finance to be funding ready. Its main offerings focus on the provision of lessons about access to finance, provision of self-assessment tools to determine whether or not are small businesses ready to apply for finance, provision of advice through linkages with small business advisors and financial management tools. SEDA continuously work closely with other key stakeholders who assist clients with the implementation of interventions or to participate in other various SMEs support programmes. However, there is a growing concern regarding the effectiveness in the delivery of these programmes, particularly in terms of their reach and desired impact. Previous research studies conducted in the sector, indicate that there is a plethora of SMEs support programmes which are underutilised or not accessed by the targeted recipients and ultimately, defeats the intended outcomes from implementing these programmes. This has prompted the analysis of the challenges that government institutions such as SEDA encounter in the provision of services and support programmes to the upper end market.

6. CHALLENGES IN PROVIDING SERVICES IN THE UPPER END MARKET

Despite SEDA's effort to effectively roll out support programmes geared towards servicing businesses in the upper end of the SME market, there are a number of bottlenecks that impedes the implementation of these programmes. The most prominent of these factors encompass the following:

6.1 Lack of Awareness of the SME Support Programmes

A number of support programmes designed by government agencies for the benefit of SMEs to enhance their growth and competitiveness remain underutilised. There is an ongoing indication that there is a lack of easily accessible information to SMEs about these programmes. The gap is in terms of information regarding the targeted beneficiaries, the qualifying criteria and how the programmes are delivered. This poses as a biggest challenge in terms of attracting the ideal participants to these programmes. As a result, the desired impact of the programmes is compromised with limited results.

6.2 Lack of Cooperation Amongst Government, Non-Government and Private Sector Support

There are prevailing deficiencies in collaboration and coordination efforts amongst government departments or agencies to streamline their programmes and develop new programmes to address the challenges of the upper end SME market. Although SEDA is continuously working with various stakeholders to increase support to this segment, inter- departmental cooperation within government remains a serious issue which affects the provision of support to the upper end market. This more often than not, result to duplication of efforts and creation of conflict which impedes the successful implementation of these support programmes.

6.3 Market Perceptions on Upper End Support Programmes

A majority of SEDA's clients constitute of small businesses from the lower end of the small enterprise sector market. As previously articulated, SEDA is strategically positioning its self to increase support to the upper end market through the high impact programmes. However, there is a growing concern over the perception regarding the value and competitiveness of these programmes to that segment. While, these are thoroughly researched and competitive programmes designed to add value to these businesses, the organization is continuously encountering difficulties with regards to the rolling out of these programmes and attract the targeted businesses. There are ongoing strategies that are being implemented and institutional rearrangement put in place in order to effectively position these programmes in the market.

6.4 Budgetary Constraints

Given the level of growth of the businesses forming part of the upper end market, being fully established and growth oriented; they have unique needs and their type of interventions usually are of high value and technical in nature as compared to the lower end businesses. This inevitably, requires a substantial amount of financial resources to support these businesses. In the midst of a tough economic atmosphere and constant budget cuts, the Organization is faced with a growing challenge of having to service the targeted market with limited financial resources. The limited financial resources have a negative implication on the delivery of interventions.

6.5 Lack of Capacity

With the growing importance of SMEs in the country, SEDA is expected to increase its programmes role out. There is currently a critical gap with regards to the skills required to provide support to the targeted market. Most upper end programme are delivered in partnership with other stakeholders such consultants and service providers. Overtime this has tended to create over reliance on external parties which has implications on the turnaround times to deliver interventions which ultimately affect the overall programme delivery.

7. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It is evident from the discussions provided that SMMEs play a critical role in the development of South African economy and the government has introduced a number of strategies and programmes with the intention to grow and expand this sector. However, the implementation of such strategies and programmes by many government agencies is met with numerous impediments. Therefore, the purpose of this article was to provide an analysis of the challenges facing government agencies such as SEDA in providing the non-financial support service to the upper end market of the SMEs. It is clear that most of the challenges identified are institutional based. As such, it is recommended that SEDA need to reposition itself and deal with internal processes that has a direct link in the provision of support to the upper end market. SEDA needs to review, market, have a clear brand positioning (value proposition) on what is being offered to SMMEs in the upper end market segment and on how to make the SEDA product and service attractive to this sector.

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SOUTH AFRICA'S SPATIAL ARRANGEMENTS AND LAND REFORM ISSUES TRAVERSED

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ABSTRACT

This theoretical paper seeks to establish a significant contribution in the development perspective by arguing that land reform approach is static and inadequate for socio-economic transformation in South Africa. The slow pace of land reform has restricted and narrowed the opportunities for rural dwellers to yield the benefits of democracy. South Africa has a long history of suffering colonization, racial control and economic land deprivation. As a result, variety of livelihood activities by black people including land ownership has been and still is negatively affected. Consequently, practicing livelihood activities in rural setting remains a riddle which is impelled by the disabling spatial distribution including other socio-economic circumstances that impinge the indigent black society. Notwithstanding historical spatial arrangements, rural natives determinedly engage in a diverse portfolio of livelihood activities in an attempt to improve their quality of life and standard of living through both subsistent and commercial farming. The former is largely marked by indigent unskilled rural farmers who are excluded from the mainstream formal agricultural economy whereas the latter is pigeon-holed by rich farmers with a strong financial muscle to efficaciously utilise land and eventually control the agricultural market. However, it becomes questionable whether land reform as a policy is effective in South Africa to reverse the past injustices since the advent of democracy post 1994. Subsequently, the paper concludes that introduction of land reform in South Africa is inefficacious because of its inability to fulfil the promise of addressing central issues mainly; land restitution, tenure and redistribution in South Africa.

Keywords: Land Issues; Apartheid Regime; Livelihood Activities; South Africa.

1. INTRODUCTION

The issue of power relations over resources and biasness in South Africa has erstwhile structured by the colonial and apartheid epoch which were characterized by primitive accumulation and dispossession of the majority of people by the minority (Gumede, 2014). Suffering a long history of colonization, racial domination and land dispossession in South Africa, has resulted in the bulk of agricultural land being owned by white minority (Rugege, 2004; Marthin & Lorenzin, 2016). During apartheid regime, people were geographically segregated on the basis of their race in particular wherein the minority of whites has had a prerogative to occupy areas with economic potential and opulence (Ntsebeza, 2007; Sibanda, 2014). Consequently, the disparity between races has largely unprecedented with the biasness towards the white minority. Thus, the historical spatial arrangement has immensely created an elusive task to the current government in terms of formulating and implementing policies which aimed at restructuring the current spatial arrangements and inequalities as an endeavour towards obliterating poverty persistence in South Africa (Ntsebeza, 2007; Aliber & Cousins, 2012). Despite the extinction of colonization and apartheid policies in South Africa, dispensational implications should never be seen as a triviality to the contemporary livelihood activities carried out by rural dwellers.

Over two decades, developing countries such as South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia among others, have been arduously in pursuit of redistributive land reform programme which is believed to be the catalyst towards widening livelihood activities in rural areas (Gumede, 2014). Since its transition to democracy in 1994, South Africa has adopted a strongly pro-market approach to land reform, which is believed to be influenced exerted by conservative forces within the country and international backing

for market-assisted agrarian reform (Lahiff, 2007). In that context, the pace of land reform is undoubtedly deemed to be slow and there is near-consensus that land reform has been unsuccessful. On one hand, there is a startling lack of agreement as to its problem and what remedies should be administered (Aliber & Cousins, 2012). While on the other hand, there may be general acceptance that the South Africa land reform programme is not occurring fast enough, there is no agreement on the reasons (Ntsebeza, 2007).

By the mid-20th century, most of the country was reserved for the minority of the white settler population including the best agricultural land with the African majority confined to just 13% of the territory, the 'native reserves', which had later known as African Homelands or Bantustans. Lahiff (2007) have narrated that European settlement began around the Cape of Good Hope in the 1650s and progressed northwards and eastwards over a period of 300 years, which gives an explicit view that it could be a long project to ensure land reform in South Africa. Generally, the paper seeks to reveal on the discourse of literature the conundrum which South African citizens faced about the issues of land reform, predominantly in rural settings, as a consequent of historical spatial arrangement as well as the implications of an overpraised market-led agrarian reform. Generally, the paper sought to reveal the geographical scars left by colonial settlers and their implications towards the accomplishment of sustainable development as well as developmental state. The paper concludes that, despite the historical geographical arrangement, rural people obstinately construct diverse portfolio of livelihood activities concurrently to improve their living standard wherein agricultural practices take the centre stage thereof but that could be affected due to land reform disputes.

The rural poor in South Africa are now beginning to look to land and its productive use as a means of livelihood and food security (Jacobs & Makaudze, 2012; Akudugu, 2016). Apart from its value for agricultural production to realise commercial and subsistence farming for monetary exchange, land also provides basic household needs such as wood fuel, medicines, game meat and housing material. Given the high levels of unemployment and the limited opportunities for investment in the hinterland of the country, this is not only an option but an imperative. But for land and agrarian reform to resolve the issue of rural poverty, vast changes are needed (Toidepi, 2016). Rural people need access to land, tenure security, agricultural support and an environment

that is conducive to small-scale farming. National development initiatives depend, to a large extent, on the attainment of equitable land distribution and its sustainable utilisation. The success of our democracy depends on this.

2. THE HISTORICAL SPATIAL DESIGN

The notorious dispossession of the indigenous population in South Africa by the Dutch and British settlers have been perceived to be one of the salient colonization in Africa and persisted for an exceptionally long time (Lahiff, 2007; 2014). During this period, people were geographically segregated and arranged on the basis of their race among other aspects wherein minority of whites were mysteriously given a prerogative opportune to occupy areas with economic potential and opportunities while other races especially black being confined to 'native reserves' also known as homelands. The history of White colonial land dispossession did not begin with the passing of the Native Land Act in 1913. Rather, it spans back to the expansion of Dutch colonial settlements in the Cape colony in 1850s (Ntsebeza, 2007; Lahiff, 2014). Therefore, the implications of historical spatial arrangement can never be based merely upon apartheid regime but taking into cognizance the deplorable role played by colonization in South Africa. According to Aliber & Cousins (2012), the dispossession of land as well as livestock has greatly intensified the feud between colonial settlers and indigenous population of 'Bantustans'. It has been identified through literature that initial part of land dispossession has actually began with annexation and division of territory, over time proclamations and laws were enacted by both the Afrikaners and the British to dislodge African people from their land while consolidating areas of White settlers (Ntsebeza, 2007; Aliber & Cousins, 2012; Gumede, 2014). Furthermore, it is undeniably clear that historical spatial arrangement has indeed started precisely in the arrival of colonizers within South Africa. The historical proponents have clearly avowed that by the time the Land Act of 1913 was enacted, South Africa was already moving in the direction of spatial segregation through land dispossession. One of the key legislations that laid down the foundation for a spatially divided South Africa was the Glen Grey Act passed in 1894 (Durrheim, 2005; Aliber & Cousins, 2012). The notorious 1913 Black Land Act divided land on a racial basis by setting aside 'scheduled areas' for exclusive occupation and acquisition by black people. As a result of the land shortage for black people, the 1936 Development Trust and Land Act

extended the operation of the 1913 Act by providing for the acquisition of 'released areas' for eventual occupation and acquisition by black people (Van Wyk, 2013).

Generally, the geographical division which was arduously accentuated by the colonial settlers has created an immense conundrum to the blacks in particular with regard to the practice of on-farming livelihood activities (Kepe and Tessaro, 2014). In consolidation of land dispossession, the apartheid regime has enacted Group Areas Act which was largely meant to segregate local people in the basis of their ethnic group. Ntsebeza, (2007) concurred that the act was mainly meant to create the gap in different homelands and widen the disparity between rural and urban areas within South Africa. Group Areas Act has led to non-Whites being forcibly removed for living in the "wrong" areas. The non-white majority were given much smaller areas to live in than the white minority who owned most of the country (Lahiff, 2007; Kepe, Ntsebeza & Pithers, 2001; Van Wyk, 2013). Generally, historical spatial development planning has intensively designed South Africa into a country characterized by spatial disparity which makes it intricate for rural dwellers in particular to practice livelihood diversification.

3. AGRARIAN LAND REFORM: IMPLICATIONS FOR RURAL POVERTY

Land and agrarian reforms were the main promises of the ANC during its ascension to power. The objective was to redistribute 30% of the land within 5 years after the end of apartheid and, through this redistribution, restructure the agricultural sector. Since its transition to democracy, South Africa has implemented a multifaceted programme of land reform to address problems of historical dispossession and rural poverty basing the accentuation upon the concept of 'willing buyer, willing seller' (Lahiff, 2007; 2014). Importantly, land is deemed as a fundamental natural resource and a livelihood asset which is heavily convenient for agricultural activities in peculiar. Riggs (2006) asserted land as a natural resource that is safe, secure and affordable for livelihood practices. Land and Agrarian reform was initiated by the first democratic government in 1994. Land in post-apartheid South Africa retains a powerful political charge, given the continuing depth of rural poverty and the manner in which a long history of racialized land dispossession can be invoked as a potent symbol of historical injustice and oppression in general (O'Laughlin, Bernstein, Cousins and Peters, 2013).

Some rural development proponents have intensified land discourse through asserting that the ability to use even small plots of land for cultivation, for food provisioning and for sale has promise for rural residents (Altman, Hart & Jacobs, 2009; Gumede, 2014; Kepe & Tessaro, 2014). However, the literature depicts that some other interested researchers are still skeptical about the potential of land reform to support smallholder farming, intensify agricultural production, generate employment and reduce poverty (Sender & Johnston, 2004; Ntsebeza, 2007). Notwithstanding the disabling spatial design in South Africa, its importance towards widening livelihood activities, unfair distribution of assets like land has been realized to be predominant even after the end of apartheid (Jacobs, 2012). In contrast, most studies have depicted that redistributed and restored land tends to be underutilized by beneficiaries, in part because of low levels of post-settlement support services, inadequate access to capital and inappropriate planning by officials and consultants (Kepe *et al.*, 2001; Lahiff, 2007; Jacobs, 2012). Furthermore, in the former Bantustans, the area of arable land that is not cultivated appears to be increasing, in part because of lack of access to draught power, capital to purchase crop inputs and fencing to protect fields from livestock (O'Laughlin *et al.*, 2013). In spite of the fact that land reform could not be sufficient enough to address all the issues faced by the country, it has become a central and marginal asset to address crises of employment, livelihood and social reproduction among the others (O'Laughlin *et al.*, 2013). The agrarian land reform with its underlying components (restitution, tenure and redistribution) has been the order of the day during the 1990s as a remedy to restore land to the so called rightful owners and beneficiaries through 'willing buyer, willing seller'.

3.1 Land Restitution

Land restitution has been executed on the basis of the promulgation in the 'Restitution of Land Rights Act' (Act 22 of 1994) in order to enable people or communities which was dispossessed from their land after the 19th of June 1913 which is date whereby the first Natives Land Act was enacted, to claim the restitution of their lands. In other words, land restitution is a component of agrarian land reform which is aimed at restoring the so called 'confiscated land' to the rightful beneficiaries (Ntsebeza, 2007; Gumede, 2014). In July 2014, the South African government has re-initiated what has been implemented in December 1998 for depositions of the claims of land. Subsequently, it is reflected on the news that mobile offices in a form of the motion

of transport are sent to rural areas to collect and help filling claim forms for people that were dispossessed from their own land during segregation of spatial arrangement prior democratic ascension of South African people, particularly black people. Therefore, it could be articulated that the validity of each claim and recommends are solution to the Land Claims Court for approval or adjudication in the event that a claim is contested (O'Laughlin *et al.*, 2013). Generally, one can argue that land reform is gradually put into execution provided the fact that agrarian land reform has been acknowledged to be slow in South Africa.

3.2 Land Tenure Reform

Land tenure reform has been deemed to be the intricate component of land reform process. This should enable to confer precisely defined and more equal rights to different land owners and occupants (Gumede, 2014). It aims to define and institutionalize every existing mode of land tenure. The program mainly concerns communal land, but it focuses also on other conflict situations. One example concerns farm workers working on their own account for several years on properties owned by others, mainly whites (Ntsebeza, 2007; Gumede, 2014). Another aim of this programme is the management of State-owned land hectares are covered by the former reserves and Bantustans; the rest is mainly rented out or informally occupied (Kepe & Tessaro, 2014; Marthin & Lorenzen, 2016).

3.3 Land Redistribution

The conceptual framework revealed that land redistribution could be seen as an aid towards the previously disadvantage people particularly those who cannot be under the umbrella of land restitution and land tenure reform. In that sentiment, land redistribution is actually about the purchase of land for previously disadvantaged populations who do not have access to the two mentioned programmes above (land tenure and land restitution). However, the agrarian land reform clearly accentuates that there are subsidies in order to buy land at a market price. Therefore, the kind of benefit in respect of subsidies will ensure the retaining of land from the unlawful or illegal possessor and that will ensure a positive livelihood practices in rural areas. In essence, Department of Land Affairs (1997) and Gumede (2014) highlighted that there are different forms of land redistribution that exist of witch need to be considered in the process of achieving the redistribution: individual or group resettlement, common age principle among others.

4. LAND REFORM IN A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

Since its transition to democracy in 1994, South Africa has adopted a strongly pro-market approach to land reform, influenced by conservative forces within the country and international backing for market-assisted agrarian reform. However, the literature depicted that land reform initiative has been undeniably slow and rural development proponents' points out various reason to the cause thereof. Ntsebeza (2007) has avowed that the slow pace of land reform is as a consequent of inability to implement related policies which include Large Scale Commercial Farming model. Furthermore, the literature has revealed that insufficient budget towards land reform could be seen as a consequent to the unsuccessfulness of land reform program (Anseeuw, 2005; Jacobs & Makaudze, 2012). Through land reform program, security of land rights for previously marginalized people has been central to post-apartheid policies seeking to reduce poverty and reverse past inequalities that were based on race. Studies have shown that when there is a lack of clarity, and indeed security, of land rights, development initiatives, including service provision by the state, are constrained (Kepe, 2001, 2012). Most rural households in South Africa have drawn on pursuing a range of livelihood strategies based on the assets (natural, financial, social, human and physical capital) as well to attain livelihood outcomes.

It is a South African government dream to ensure that rightful indigenous beneficiaries procure assets which primarily belongs them (Lahiff, 2007). Section 25 of the Constitution of South Africa addresses land reform, and it addresses existing property rights as well. As presented recently, through its three components (restitution, redistribution and tenure reform), land reform was aimed at reversing skewed land to the intended beneficiaries in solving spatial disparity brought by legacy of segregation and apartheid (Gumede, 2014). The major goal of the reform is to return land or offer alternative redress to people who unfairly lost their land, make land available for productive and residential purpose to the landless, and provide secure land tenure rights where they did not exist (Kepe and Tessaro, 2014). Land reform, however, has failed to meet key objectives embodied in the Constitution, because less than 10 percent of the land has been redistributed since 1994 (Umhlaba Wethu, 2011), and those who have regained land rights as part of the land claims or redistribution processes have not been able to translate these into meaningful livelihoods (Hall, 2007). Practicing

livelihoods especially agricultural ones has still been deemed intricate by rural dwellers due to the historical spatial arrangement and the failure of a democratic government to come up with swift rural development strategy to accelerate land reform program.

5. LAND EXPROPRIATION AND RURAL LIVELIHOODS

The conceptual frameworks have clearly ascertained that rural livelihood strategies heavily depend upon land and thus, land becomes an indispensable natural resource for rural people. Recent studies have demonstrated that land and other natural resources play a significant role in the livelihoods of rural dwellers (Shackleton, Shackleton & Cousins, 2000; Kepe *et al.*, 2001; Jacobs, 2012). Land is perceived to be the core ingredient in the essential recipe for rural development, particularly to people who practice livelihood diversification largely because is also invariably framed in terms of small-holder production (Riggs, 2006). Concomitantly, problems derive when there is no understanding of rural people's land use plans and multiple livelihood strategies that are practiced on land (Kepe & Tessaro, 2014). To some extent, land issues are at the heart of rural people because are largely practicing vast livelihoods strategies. Livelihoods and land use are divergent manifestations of power relationships that are both productive in improving the standard of living for rural dwellers (McCusker & Carr, 2006). Numerous rural development strategies have similarly been unsuccessful, and some never even reaching the implementation stage due to the issues of land (Kepe, 2001; Ntshona, Kraai, Kepe & Saliwa, 2010). Development strategies involves livelihood, where it becomes a problem when the process of land reform are slow and not being given a "bird and worm eyes" view. However, rural livelihoods rely on land and if land is not accessible then the survival of rural dwellers is compromised.

6. RE-ORIENTATION AND FUTURE OF LAND AND AGRARIAN REFORM IN SOUTH AFRICA

The democratic government has, paradoxically, contributed to the persistence and to the extension of subsistence farming activities practiced on lands still characterized by insecure land tenures, emblematic feature of the apartheid era since the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936. Thus, the route of the land and agrarian reform is still long for South Africa. If the consensual aspect of these reforms remains essential, the increasing importance of the social demand of

the landless and the most disadvantaged, the growing inequalities. In a nutshell, the paper perorates that rural households have arduously and obstinately able to practice livelihood diversification in spite of the elusiveness effectuated by the historical spatial arrangement designed by colonial settlers and exerted by apartheid regime policies. Therefore, one of the main policy challenges for post-apartheid government in South Africa is to operationalize land reform, while ensuring other constitutional obligations such as food security are not neglected (Kepe & Tessaro, 2014). However, ensuring re-orientation and reform of land provides own use of free resources that results in considerable reductions in cash expenditure and a crucial livelihood strategy for poorer households (Shackleton *et al.*, 2000). There is no surprise that development interventions tend to focus on the redistribution of rural resources and invigoration of agricultural production mainly because these two concepts complement each other (Riggs, 2006). The democratic government has set promises to be accomplished in relation to solving the inequalities brought by colonial settlers. These promises were meant to be achieved through land reform hence there is a near-consensus that the program has undeniably slow (Department of Agriculture, 1995). According to Anseeuw (2000), the spatial segregation measures have engendered extreme inequalities concerning land distribution. Furthermore, those measures, combined with the limitations of commercial farm activities for black populations, have also led to important inequalities between white and black farmers (Anseeuw, 2000).

It is therefore important for development programmes to be implemented in a form 'that land can be re-orientated in order to redress the injustices of forced deportations and denial of access to land' (Jacobs & Makaudze, 2012). After 1994, ANC mandate was to find a solution to the over population of certain rural areas of the former reserves and Bantustans, to promote access to residential and farmland, and to revitalize the non-white agricultural sector and rural areas. In addition, after three years in power of the ANC, Department of Land Affairs (1997) identified three main programmes that are included in the government's constitution regarding land and agricultural reforms: land restitution, land redistribution and land tenure reform. However, it is believed that if these three main programmes are achieved, therefore the re-orientation of land will be accomplished and therefore, rural people will be productive in the aspects of livelihood areas (Marthin & Lorenzen, 2016). Succinctly, it can be recommended

that the South African government has to come up with realistic approaches towards achieving land reform, focus on implementation of the policies rather than planning, provide sufficient budget in order to facilitate the reform (Gumedde, 2014; Marthin & Lorenzin, 2016).

7. RECOMMENDATIONS

Even after 20 years into democracy, the South African government has been exposed for its salient inability to activate the long overdue land reform programme (Gumedde, 2014). Therefore, there should be a prodigious call for radical approach to land redistribution as a speed of transformation towards granting landless people opportunity without compromising potentials of agricultural production and food security while realising the significance of rural economies. In addition, the expropriation of land should be given scant attention (Gumedde, 2014). The paucity and late arrival of post-settlement support has been major problem in land reform programmes around South Africa due to lack of coordination between departments. In addition, the process of implementing this programme has been a conundrum towards ruling government and South Africa due to vague implementation strategy thereof. Conspicuously, an area-specific land reform which has potential to grant municipality's authentication towards participation in development programmes in other spheres of government which entail provincial and national government. Accomplishing local developmental state encapsulate the process of affirming and granting local people in particular the authority and power to manage their own development. In the same sentiment, rural development as an ideological dimension should be in a more bottom-up approach to development (Hart, 2007).

From one-point view, education and skills training are believed to be catalytic in bringing about transformation in to lives of the people particularly previously deprived communities (Senadza, 2014). Accordingly, agro-studies require the design of area specific curriculums for prospective farmers in rural setups. Furthermore, lack of physical resources has also been viewed to be a major compounding factor in the failure of land reform (Riggs, 2006). Clearly, it can be recommended that democratic government should consider holistic application of state-led green revolution in an attempt to provide catalytic technological, financial and non-financial support to emerging farmers as a consequent of re-oriented land reform (Marthin & Lorenzen, 2016).

Originally, green revolution has been viewed with scepticism for manifold reasons which include its instinctive character of being de-lux and expensive hence favouring affluent farmers while ignoring the emerging poor farmers. It is therefore suggested that rural development should ensure that green revolution is led by the government hence providing those who cannot afford with necessary agricultural equipment. It is further recommended that there should be a redress in the imbalances of the past as well as to ensure that there is equity in application of spatial development planning and land use management systems (Marthin & Lorenzen, 2016).

8. CONCLUSION

It is undoubtedly clear that the historical spatial arrangement has immensely effectuated the conundrum faced by rural dwellers when practicing livelihood diversification. The paper has conspicuously depicted deplorable efforts by colonial settlers and reiteration of apartheid policies which were aimed at widening the gap between the whites and non-whites. However, the paper base the rational and argument that despite the historical spatial arrangements have left rural setting with a dependency syndrome from urban areas, rural dwellers have the potential to practice livelihood diversification which encapsulate on-farm and off-farm activities in order to improve their standard of living. In addition, redistributive land reform has been identified through literature that is widely considered to be unsuccessful in spite of the fact that has been praised within two decades as potential strategy to restore dignity into the indigenous population. Moreover, the literature further reveals that there is lack of agreement on the cause and what remedies should be administered wherein other researcher have intermingled assertions on because which entails lack of proper implementation of policies and perpetual unfair distribution of resources which include land in peculiar as well as the insufficient budget allocated to the land reform.

There is a near-consensus that South African land reform has been a conspicuous failure and this has led to other researchers to extrapolate that human capital (education) should be the focal point in the democratic dispensation in conjunction with land reform. Experience from land reform programs elsewhere in the developing world has unambiguously demonstrated the importance of this type of advice. The paper affirms that the land reform program in its current arrangement looks unlikely to have a significant effect on poverty reduction. While

reforming South Africa's land market is clearly an important political objective, the more substantive point that the paper avow for poverty reduction is that investments that develop poor people's human capital, thereby improving their ability to access the labour market as well as making the social security system more inclusive, are likely to bring about larger and faster reductions in poverty than land based interventions in areas. The implemented policy instruments emanating from a liberal approach only contribute little to eradicate the existing land and agricultural inequalities; for about 20 years after the first democratic elections of 1994, only about 4.1% of the land has been redistributed and most of these projects have been unsuccessful, leaving most of the intended beneficiaries in poverty. Land reform program should never have been considered as a triviality for improving the standard of living in South Africa taking into consideration the fair and equitable distribution of resources for sustainable development.

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THE ROLE OF LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN DEVELOPING SMALL MEDIUM ENTERPRISES: A CASE OF SOLOMONDALE COMMUNITY IN THE LIMPOPO PROVINCE

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ABSTRACT

Government's New Growth Path is targeting five million (5 000 000) new jobs by 2020 and also aims to reduce the unemployment rate by 2030 by creating eleven million (11 000 000) new jobs. South Africa needs over forty-nine thousand (49,000) Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs), growing at a rate of twenty percent (20%) per annum, to create eleven million (11 000 000) jobs by 2030 to meet the National Development Plan (NDP) target. The local economic development is providing capital to previously disadvantaged South Africans to encourage start-ups and grow existing businesses through grants and incentive programmes. The study evaluated the contribution of local economic development in developing SMEs in local communities. A total of twenty-three (23) in-depth interviews were conducted with respondents aged between eighteen to fifty-five (18-55) years. Snowball sampling was used to select respondents from Solomondale community in the Limpopo Province, South Africa. Thematic content analysis was used to analyse the data. The author adopted the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA), which postulates that, for livelihood to be sustainable in the case of SMEs, it has to comprise of five elements, namely: human, physical, social, financial and natural assets. Regardless of the incentives provided by the government, the research identified challenges faced by SMEs. These include; lack of proper skills to maintain sustainability and growth of the businesses, competition by foreign markets of which most of the businesses are not registered, and the lack of complete assets outlined by the SLA. It is imperative to understand the Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (SWOT) of small medium enterprises in local communities to provide business management skills. Most xenophobic attacks in local communities' result

from fear of losing control over local economies and the lack of job opportunities as had been happening in South Africa recently. It is trusted that findings in this study will contribute to the development of coherent strategies to support local economies to meet the NDP target.

Keywords: Sustainable Livelihood, Small and Medium Enterprises, Local Economic Development, Unemployment.

1. INTRODUCTION

The year 1994 marked the end of political apartheid in South Africa when the first black president, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was elected under the auspicious of the African National Congress (ANC). Racial segregation and discrimination were some of the strategies used by the white oppressor to occupy resources unequally in the country and other races mostly served as proletariats. While the end of apartheid opened the door for equal opportunities for all South Africans, regardless of race, the South Africa of today struggles to correct the inequalities created by decades of apartheid. According to Leibbrand, Finn and Woolard (2012), despite a rising Gross Domestic Product (GDP), poverty, unemployment, income inequality, life expectancy, land ownership, and educational achievement have worsened since the end of apartheid and the election of the ANC. This is witnessed by the frequent protests by workers and the students at national universities all over the country. Subsequent government policies have sought to correct the imbalances through state intervention with varying success. With the various national, provincial and local interventions implemented since 1994, South Africans are still faced with the major tripartite challenges of; unemployment, inequality and poverty which are not easy to address.

The African National Congress (2007), formulated the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) which was a socio-economic programme, aimed at addressing racial inequalities by creating businesses and employment opportunities for blacks. Critics of the RDP argue that it emphasized macro-economic stability rather than social stability. The Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) Act of 2003 aimed to offer new economic opportunities to disadvantaged communities. Its goals include achieving the Constitutional right of equality, increasing broad-based participation of blacks in the economy, protecting the common economic market, and securing equal access to government services. Many scholars see BBBEE as capable of advancing economic growth, promoting new enterprises, and creating sustainable job opportunities for the previously disenfranchised. Issues surrounding monitoring and enforcement are persistent obstacles to the success of BBBEE (Mpehle, 2011). Statistics South Africa (2016), reports show that unemployment rate slightly decreased to 26.6 percent in the June quarter of 2016 from 26.7 percent in the three months to March. It was also identified that the markers of unemployment in South Africa are; race, gender, age, location and schooling. The following bar graph (Figure 1), illustrates the rate of unemployment as from July 2013 up to July 2016 in South Africa.

In response to the persistent skills shortage and high unemployment rates, several measures intended to halve unemployment and poverty by 2020 were introduced. Implementation of the Joint Initiative for Priority Skill Acquisitions (JIPSA) which aims to address priority skills shortages through a variety

of means including; organising special training programmes and exchange programmes with other countries, bringing back South African retirees and other skilled Africans working outside Africa where necessary (National Framework for LED in South Africa, 2006 – 2011). Furthermore, the New Growth Path (NGP) was set, targeting five million jobs by 2020, which requires the economy to be growing at an accelerated growth. Government's New Growth Path is targeting five million new jobs by 2020 and also aims to reduce the unemployment rate from 27% in 2011 to 6% by 2030 by creating eleven million new jobs. South Africa needs over 49,000 Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs), growing at a rate of 20% per annum, to create eleven million jobs by 2030 to meet the National Development Plan (NDP) target. The local economic development is providing capital to previously disadvantage South Africans to encourage start-ups and grow existing businesses through grants and incentive programmes (National Framework for LED in South Africa, 2006 – 2011).

2. LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT (LED): AN IMPORTANT WAY OF REACHING OUT TO LOCAL ECONOMIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

The democratically elected government of South Africa have realised as early as 1995 the importance of SMEs to the economy. Trevor Manuel, former Minister of Trade and Industry, clearly articulated these issues when he said:

"With millions of South Africans unemployed and underemployed, the government has no option but to give its full attention to the task of job creation,

FIGURE 1: South Africa unemployment rate.



Source: Adapted from www.tradingeconomics.com

and generating sustainable and equitable growth. Small, medium and micro-enterprises represent an important vehicle to address the challenges of job creation, economic growth and equity in our country. We believe that the real engine of sustainable and equitable growth in this country is the private sector. We are committed to doing all we can to help create an environment in which businesses can get on with their job" (Department of Trade and Industry, 2005).

Local economic development (LED) was seen as one of the most important ways of reaching out to local economies. The main aim of LED is to create jobs by making the local economy grow by starting more businesses and factories in municipal areas. As part of Integrated Development Planning (IDP), key stakeholders in a municipality come together to reach an agreement and take decisions to make the economy grow and create income opportunities for more people, especially the poor. National government makes policy and provides funds, research and other support for local economic development (Revised National LED Framework, 2012-2016). Department of Trade and Industry (2005), outlines a consensus among policy makers, economists, and business experts that SMEs are drivers of economic growth. A healthy SME sector contributes prominently to the economy through creating more employment opportunities, generating higher production volumes, increasing exports and introducing innovation and entrepreneurship skills. The dynamic role of SMEs in developing countries insures them as engines through which the growth objectives of developing countries can be achieved. According to Turner, Varghese and Walker (2008), SMMEs are interpreted differently in various countries because they respond to diverse national and local government challenges and circumstances. From the South African legislative perspective, notably the National Small Business Act 102 of 1996, SMEs are categorised into five stages of development: (a) survivalist, (b) micro, (c) very small, (d) small and (e) medium-sized enterprises. Key roles underlying LED in developing local economies (SMEs) are to prioritize job creation and poverty alleviation, as the main challenges facing South Africa, target previously disadvantaged people, marginalised communities and geographic regions, black economic empowerment enterprises and SMMEs to allow them to participate fully in the economic life of the country, promote local ownership, community involvement, local leadership and joint decision making, Engage local, national, and international partnerships between communities,

businesses and government to solve problems, create joint business ventures and build local areas, Uses local resources and skills to maximizes opportunities for development, and Integrate diverse economic initiatives in an all-inclusive approach to local development (Revised National LED Framework 2012-2016).

3. CHALLENGES UNDERLYING THE ROLE OF LED IN DEVELOPING LOCAL ECONOMIES (SMEs)

According to the Global Entrepreneur Monitor Report (2014), South Africa's rate of entrepreneurial activity is very low for a developing nation, a mere quarter of that seen in other sub-Saharan African countries. Unemployment is around 40% of the adult population; despite this, the number of people starting businesses due to having no other option for work is low. Entrepreneurial activity in South Africa, although very low, has increased marginally over the last 10 years, but in 2014 dropped by a staggering 34% (from 10.6% to 7%). There has been an increase in women's entrepreneurship primarily due to government support, but the perception of opportunities to start a business, and confidence in one's own abilities to do so, remains alarmingly low compared to other sub-Saharan African countries. The level of business discontinuance still exceeds that of business start-ups, resulting in a net loss of small business activity and subsequent job losses. Like elsewhere in Africa, many of the businesses cite lack of finance and poor profitability as the main reason for shutting up shop.

The Global Entrepreneur Monitor Report (2014) further outlines that the main challenge is to provide jobs and/or opportunities for the youth, where the estimated unemployment level is in excess of 60%. This can be assisted through education; however, the level and quality of education in South Africa is one of the worst in the world. The level of mathematics and science education in the country, as assessed by the Global Competitiveness Report (2014/2015), puts South Africa at 144 out of 144 countries. Regulatory requirements make it very difficult for people to start businesses; this is further exacerbated by difficult labour laws and the low efficiency of the labour force. Corruption starting at the highest levels of government was also pointed out as a major challenge, together with high levels of crime. These trials arguably provide an opportunity to evaluate the role of LED in developing local economies in South African rural communities.

4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The UK Department for International Development (DFID) defines the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) as a way to improve understanding of the livelihoods of the poor people. It can be used in planning new development activities and in assessing the contribution that existing activities have made to sustaining livelihoods. The study adopted the SLA to assess the role of local economic development in developing small medium enterprises at Solomondale Community. According to Krantz (2001), SLA was coined by Robert Chambers in 1980s. It has been further developed by Conway and others in the 1990s. Chambers and Conway (1992), define SLA, as a tool for development work. It highlights how to understand, analyse and describe the main factors that affect the livelihood of the poor. The SLA places people, particularly rural people, at the centre of the development to understand how they create a livelihood for themselves and their household. The concept attempts to go beyond the definition and approaches to poverty eradication through the creation of sustainable employment programmes. SLA takes into account a variety of economic, social, political and ecological factors that impacts a person's ability to sustain a livelihood Sustainable livelihoods comprises of five assets: the human, physical, social, financial and natural assets.

- Human asset refers to the skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health and physical capability important for the successful pursuit of different livelihood strategies.
- Physical asset, these are basic infrastructure (transport, shelter, water, energy and communication), the production equipment and means that enable people to pursue livelihoods;
- The social asset refers to the social resources, (networks, social claims, social relations, affiliations, associations) upon which people draw when pursuing different livelihood strategies;
- Financial asset is the capital base (cash, credit/debt, savings, and other economic assets, including basic infrastructure and production equipment and technologies) which are essential for the pursuit of any livelihood strategy.
- The natural asset, such as soil, water, air, genetic resources, etc. and environmental services such as the hydrological cycle and pollution sinks

from which resource flows and services useful for livelihoods are derived.

Krantz further postulate that (2001), the above assets are interconnected; one asset cannot function well or cannot function at all without the other assets. In this research paper, the investigator assessed the availability of all the five assets in SMEs to ensure sustainability of the business provided by the local government in the Limpopo Province. The guiding principles of SLA include; be people-centred approach, responsiveness and participatory, promotion of micro-macro link, partnerships encouragement, dynamic approaches, and sustainability. The SLA also stems from concerns about the effectiveness of development interventions. While professing a commitment to poverty reduction, the immediate focus of much donors and government effort has been on resources and facilities rather than people and their livelihoods. The approach involves starting from people's practical lives and drawing localised development initiatives from their struggles for survival. It is about careful and calculated assessment of community assets.

5. METHODOLOGY APPLIED TO CONDUCT THE STUDY

The study used exploratory research to explore a relatively unknown research area with the aim of gaining new insights into a situation, phenomenon or community (De Vos, Strydom, Fouché and Delpont, 2011). Data were collected from Solomondale community between January and February 2013 in the Capricorn District Municipality area of the Limpopo Province. The study used non-probability sampling, because the targeted population was specifically previously and existing small and medium enterprise owners, selected by the researcher not allowing each unit in the sample frame an equal chance of being selected. The researcher used snowball sampling, which entails exiting study subject(s), recruiting other participants who meet the eligibility criteria and could potentially contribute to the study. Snowball sampling involves approaching known individuals from the relevant population and requesting them to act as informants to identify respondents that would be relevant to the study. However, identification of participants using snowball sampling cease once a point of data saturation is attained where no new information is coming forward anymore (Welman, Kruger & Mitchell, 2005).

Face-to-face semi-structured interviews were conducted to collect empirical data from twenty-three (23) participants. The research questions focused on clearly defined criteria to address the aim and objectives of the study. Nevertheless, the researcher was allowed to divert and ask follow up questions or new questions depending on the response of the interviewee (Stuckey, 2013). The face to face interviews were conducted by the researcher in either English or Sepedi, depending on the preferred fluent language of the responded. An audio recorder was used with the permission of the participants to record the information. Semi-structured interviews allowed the researcher to access comprehensive information including participants' beliefs about, and perceptions on the role of LED in developing SMEs. Data was analysed using thematic content analysis. The data was reduced into themes which were emerging after a thorough reading and transcribing of data. Patterns emerging were coded and classified into different categories. The aim of the interviews was to get perceptions of the respondents' in-order to produce qualitative data about the role of LED in developing local economies (SMEs) in Solomondale Community in the Limpopo Province.

6. KEY FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

The researcher used the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) to assess the changes that occurred as a result of the planned interventions (i.e. local economic development intervention to develop SMEs) by comparing actual with desired changes and by identifying the degree to which the activity is responsible for the changes (De Vos *et al.*, 2011). This was measured by assessing the availability of the five SLA assets that form an important part in development initiatives, especially for the poor (Chambers & Conway, 1992):

6.1 Natural Assets

Local communities in South Africa are well known to operate small and medium enterprises at the fronts of their yards by building a small shack, or in their houses through the kitchen window, some start a car wash on the side of the road, few privileged enterprises are operated in a hired store or well-structured market for good business processing. It was revealed that ninety percent (90%) of the respondents do not have a challenge in acquiring a piece of land to start a small business, because the traditional authority of Solomondale or Sebayeng

community gives people land in accordance to their needs. The natural asset is available for livelihood persuasion but cannot be useful without the following four assets.

"We have plenty of space for business operation; the traditional authority of Molapo grants us the space to start the businesses. It is just a loss sometimes when you have the land but cannot use it, because of the lack of finance"

The findings about access to natural resource through housing is well supported by the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC (2014)), that a substantial amount of progress has been made since 1994 with the provision of an estimated 3.7 million housing opportunities providing around 12.5 million people with access to housing, along with further improvements in access to other basic services, including adequate water, sanitation, electricity and refuse removal.

6.2 Physical Assets

Respondents complained of the lack of infrastructural and production equipment to start and maintain a SME. The findings revealed that there is no support provided to ensure that these local economies are better developed to alleviate poverty and create employment.

"A business is supposed to attract customers; a buyer should have an interest from a distance to enter the store and purchase goods. I operate my business in a shack to sell fat cakes, sandwich and drinks. I can be perceived as being unclean, compared to someone who has a mobile store or well build store. I have been self-employed for seven years to support my family as a single parent without any assistance from the local government. I cannot afford to build a store with the profit I make like the Somalian in the community; they must have some sort of support to be able to do that".

"My daughter started schooling at Solomondale Primary School and graduated to Mafolofolo High School while I sell fat cakes, juicy and other snacks at Baphutheng Secondary School. She is currently studying at the University of Limpopo because of the effort I put in this business. I have more than 15 years of experience in this business; operating in windy seasons, rainy seasons, and even in winter, without any sort of support from the

local government. If maybe we had a store built nearby the school, maybe things would be better because I would not have to travel everyday with my wares for business".

"I sell vegetables from house-to-house; believe me the business is running so well, I have frequent customers. The problem is, I use a wheelbarrow to move my produce. This is challenging because if it is raining, I cannot work, if it is too hot also, some of my products like tomatoes get bad and that is loss to me. If I had a better transportation equipment to protect and transport my produce, then I would be a successful businessman".

"I am a loan shark, I started small but now I have loyal customers who always loan here when they need money, more especially pensioners. However, it is not safe to do this type of business. I am sure you hear stories of loan sharks been killed by people who own them money. I operate the business at my house and all my customers come here for this business. I sometimes worry about the safety of my family in case of such danger. If I had a business office somewhere to operate the business, I would be relieved from this distress. I make good profit but cannot afford to rent out an office space or build an office space somewhere; my family will suffer in the process because I am the breadwinner."

In supporting the above findings, Scarborough and Zimmerer (2006) states that without adequate working capital, most businesses struggle to get off the ground, cash flow problems arise and the chances of the business to survive become extremely limited. They further identify the broad categories of these resources, such as transport, stock, machinery, office/business space, storage, fitting (lighting, heating system, electricity toilets, and water supply), and others for effective functionality of the business.

6.3 Social Assets

The study detected that most of the respondents in Solomondale did not belong to any social structure like a union or society that motivates and guide them in pursuit of the established SME.

"The LED is mostly focused on the SMEs in cities and urban areas, because they get tax there; we work alone here in rural communities to sustain our local economies."

Another respondent stated that:

"we mostly advise each other during trading times and also agree on the same price of selling similar goods to customers to avoid competition and failure of other businesses operating in the same area."

"It is much easier to sell alcohol in this area, it is profitable as well, no matter how much competition you have, you still make good money at the end of day. In this community alone, we have more than fifteen taverns which are well established, while the other black owned trading businesses are replaced by the foreign markets".

These findings are supported by Hollund and Svendsen (2000), who states that, social capital is a valuable mechanism in economic growth. The connections between individuals and entities can be economically advancing and valuable for SMEs. They further states that, business network is a particular case of social network, which represents a union of actors joined by the common purpose. Social network accomplishes certain activities to achieve certain goals and purposes planned.

6.4 Human Assets

The study indicated that most of the respondents acquired business skills from family business operations and some by observing others. There are no business schools in the community that caters for business owners, except for those in government schools. Few had learned their best skills that enabled them to succeed, in the trade business. However, many had to shut down their business reason being mainly because of competition from foreigners in the same market.

"We are unable to compete with the Somalians, I sell R12 Vodacom airtime at the price of R13 to gain profit, they sell the same R12 airtime at R12.50 and others do not even add to the amount. How do we compete with that? Most of their prices are low, but they still make profit and survive in the business, I do not know how they do that".

Some respondents added the point that it is, because of failure to compete, that xenophobic attacks emerge.

"Many black owned businesses in the community have closed, because of the foreigners' competition. If you want to have a successful business here,

open a tavern, liquor store or loan shark business, these are successful black owned SMEs in the Community".

"I am a tavern owner, I do not even feel that I need help from external stakeholders, I started small but the business has grown, a lot. I own two entertainment places in this community, sell alcohol related produce and my customers are satisfied. I cannot ask for a better business".

These findings are supported by Dockel and Ligthelm (2002), outlining five important business skills needed to become a successful entrepreneur; accounting, leadership, sales, people and time-management skills. He further states that, amongst the five, the most important skill is sales, because without it the business will not function at all. Selling is the number one important duty and number one job of an entrepreneur. A business cannot survive without generating sales; sales keep the cash flowing into the business and cash flow is life blood of a business. Another reason why sales skill is important is because it is synergy of skills. When sales skills are improved, persuasion, negotiation and public skills are also developed, which leads to better management of a sustainable business.

6.5 Financial Assets

Respondents had little information regarding financial assistance from LED to assist them to start their own SMEs. Most of them revealed to have started their businesses with their own money. An article on business and entrepreneurship in South Africa revealed that unless one has some start-up capital, it is extremely unlikely that anyone in South Africa would be willing to provide money to start a new business. A proven working strategy might be to bring on partners to do the things you cannot, and give them a share in your business to get it moving forward.

"I started the business with the pension money I received from Coca-Cola but it is difficult sometimes because I am in the business alone with the help from family members sometimes. I had always had the love for business but the money was not available".

Another respondent stated the point that:

"I do not know of anyone here who have received funds for their business. I also do not have an idea

on how to apply for grants/funds to extend my business. I just hear that it is a complicated process to follow and also takes long before they can assist".

"Financing the business is really difficult, especially when the products get spoiled and no profit is made. Support through skills provision and finance will make a great difference in my business. You think of giving up sometimes but it is the only job I know and support my family through it".

The Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) is well known for using the same difficult criteria which makes it totally impossible for a start-up to get finance from them. One of the criteria being that the business must be six months in operation. The question that arises is, with what money? And the banks also require a track record. The issue of corruption indicating the "who knows you" status has also been revealed to be playing a factor in granting of funding for the small and medium enterprises by the local economic development people. Few existing businesses are supported to do better but those without start-ups are shut out of the market (Deakins, North, Baldock & Whittam, 2008).

7. RECOMMENDATIONS

The study adopted the guiding principles of SLA as recommendations to the finding and results of the study, but is not prescribing solutions or is not dictating methods. Instead, recommendations that are offered are flexible and adaptable to diverse local conditions (Chambers and Conway, 1992). The guiding principles are:

Be people-centred: The second key role of the LED specifies that it must target previously disadvantaged people, marginalised communities and geographical regions, black economic empowerment enterprises and SMMEs to allow them to participate fully in the economic life of the country. The finding from this study revealed that the LED intervention in Solomondale local community is not people-centred, because the community are having unaddressed challenges.

Be holistic: SLA acknowledges that people adopt many strategies to secure their livelihoods, and that many actors are involved; for example the private sector, ministries, community-based organizations and international organizations. The finding revealed that most small and medium enterprises in Solomondale lack social assets to support them

to grow their business; a holistic approach will be effective at this point.

Build on strengths: To build on peoples' perceived strengths and opportunities rather than focusing on their problems and needs. It supports existing livelihood strategies. Existing SMEs can be supported for growth and to employ other people in the community. Communities have perceived strengths that they use in their businesses and would do much better with support from the local government.

Dynamic: SLA seeks to understand the dynamic nature of livelihoods and what influences them. It does not replicate poverty alleviation strategies in every poor community without understanding the dynamics of livelihoods of people, as they differ from one community to another, problems faced in urban areas cannot be exactly the same as those challenges faced in local communities, because of different settlement types. As thus, a dynamic approach should influence the development of local communities to avoid failure.

Promote micro-macro links: Examine the influence of policies and institutions on livelihood options and highlight the need for policies to be informed by insights from the local level and by the priorities of the poor. SMEs should be given a bigger platform to engage with big business to acquire more skills in managing their businesses.

Aim for sustainability: Sustainability is important if poverty reduction and job creation are to be lasting. The LED method employed should aim for non-dependency state but rather to empower local economies. This should help in identifying more effective ways to support livelihoods and reduce poverty. Short-term measures, such as the South African social welfare, are supported for their efforts in reducing poverty, but creation of long-term sustainable strategies for SMEs are vital for the country's economy.

The SLA approach also stems from concerns about the effectiveness of development interventions. While professing a commitment to poverty reduction, the immediate focus of most donors and government efforts have been on resources and facilities rather than people and their livelihoods. The approach involves starting from peoples' practical lives and drawing localised development initiatives from their struggles for survival; it is about careful and calculated assessment of community needs and their assets.

8. CONCLUSION

The findings in this paper were derived and organised using the SLA principle, which postulates that the assets are interconnected; one asset cannot function well or not function at all without the other assets. The researcher aimed at investigating the availability of support to SMEs by the Local Economic Development sector in local economies by assessing the availability of the five assets (physical, natural, financial, social and human) at Solomondale Community in the Capricorn District of the Limpopo Province. It was revealed that most SMEs have been operating for years with no recognition from the local government; some of the businesses have collapsed, while some are still operating though struggling and without support. The National government, according to the National LED Framework (2012-2016), makes policy and provides funds, research and other support for local economic development to create employment and alleviate poverty at local level, but the results of this intervention are not seen in rural communities.

It is imperative to understand the Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (SWOT) of small medium enterprises in local communities to provide business management skills. Most xenophobic attacks in local communities are said to result from fear of losing their businesses and the lack of job opportunities. According to Masigo (2009), the term 'xenophobic' violence is widely used to describe the violence to apply to groups of people who may be within or outside a society, but who are not considered part of that society. Feelings of xenophobia can result in systematic prejudice and discrimination, mass expulsions, or in extreme cases, genocide. It does not, however, follow that feelings of hostility toward foreigners or immigrants always leads to violence. The findings from this study revealed some key areas that need attention of the LED to provide relevant support to develop local economies (SMEs). It is hoped that findings in this study will contribute to the development of coherent strategies to support local economies to meet the National Development Plan, targeting the creation of 11 million jobs by 2030.

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PROVISION OF INFORMATION IN SOUTH AFRICA: ISSUES OF BIAS, ACCESS, TRANSPARENCY AND ACCOUNTABILITY

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the paper is to theorize the provision of information on the basis of bulletins: through broadcasts (televisions and radios), newspapers, reports, billboards among others, in the relative majority of rural areas. The reality on government published documents and studies of public accountability and transparency depicts an argument in terms of the dissemination of information. The disparities of who, why and when to receive information, remains a very complex and challenging issue for government officials and different organisations. From the national government cascading down to local governments, information can be skewed to who should receive it. Not in terms of the necessity but with the fact that some places are considered eligible in accessing information. Thus, different characteristics of urban and rural settings can radiate and determine the instigations in terms of bias of information in that regard. Many people from rural areas are often sidelined and overlooked in terms of the dissemination of information. Rated as illiterate and undeserving, relative majority of rural people are often confronted with plethora of challenges in terms of accessing full and equal information. Conversely, people perceived to be deserving full information and deemed literate, perhaps in urban, semi-urban areas and townships, are often rebellious than people in rural areas. The paper posits that it is not obvious that all rural people cannot read and write, so they also need information to engage in any related issues affecting their lives. The paper argues that lack of transparency and fairness in disseminating information results in bias and impinging access to information for rural people. Notwithstanding, another main aspect that could hinder access to information is non-electrified rural communities. Theoretically, the paper explores the accountability and transparency with regard to biasness of dissemination of information in South Africa.

Keywords: Public Servants; Information; Accountability; Transparency; South Africa.

1. INTRODUCTION

Provision of Information can be contextualised depending on its purpose; thus, it could mean many things to many people (Omogor, 2013). In that regard, provision of information can be regarded as a way of communication between organisations, constituencies and exchange information from person to person from one place to another (Sharman, 2012). Generally, it could mean that information can be a resource which local communities entitled to have access to; and that should be done by public servants through showing fairness in distribution of information for all. Therefore, providing information to both rural and urban areas equally has benefits for both the government and its constituencies. According to Roling (2014), disseminating information equally does not bridge the gap between the urban and rural settings but it also paves the way for relative majority of rural people to hold public officials accountable about certain matters which were done indolently, misdirection and embezzlement of public resources. The fact that communication has taken place between government and its constituencies could result to actions that produce reaction, whether positive or negative (Omogor, 2013). According to Kamba (2009) and Roling (2014), dissemination of information can be helpful for people to make rightful decisions about issues that affect them.

Arko-Cobbah (2007) stated that the right of access to information has been accepted by South Africa as a sine qua non for the democratic state pursuing the value of accountability, transparency, openness and responsiveness in the government institutional affairs. On the contrary, the reality on government published documents and studies of public accountability and transparency depict a different story in the dissemination of information.

The issues and biasness in terms of the provision of information in South Africa is portrayed through the inequality of access to information (McKinley, 2003; Roling, 2014). From apartheid to post-apartheid era, provision of information has and is still a problem in South Africa (McKinley, 2003; Roling, 2014). Hence, there is a difference in provision of information in the South African rural and urban areas that in most cases informs the decision making. Thus, different characteristics of relative urban and rural settings can radiate and determine the instigations in terms of bias of information in that regard. The disparities of who, why and when to receive information, remains a very complex and challenging issue for government officials and other different organisations (Sharman, 2012). Accordingly, one can argue that from the national government cascading down to local governments, information can be skewed to who should receive it. Not in terms of the necessity but with the fact that some places are considered eligible in accessing information. Rated as illiterate and undeserving, relative majority of rural people are often confronted with plethora of challenges in terms of accessing full and equal information.

With an attempt to ensure the theoretical validity, the paper is guided by and highlighted the two theories amongst others. The first one is mathematical theory of communication, which highlights that all information should be quantified and administrated essentially in the unity of media (Shannon & Claude, 1948). In essence, the role of different modes of communication such as radios, pictures, billboards, newspapers *inter alia*, are of paramount importance in relation to the provision of information (Shannon & Claude, 1948). The second theory is the change theory, which is used to map outcomes of information provision (Hoare, Mcloed & Joy, 2016). Thus, the change theory posits that information provision should cater for the general populace regardless of geographic position and literacy level, among others (Hoare *et al.*, 2016). Furthermore, the paper explores the accountability and transparency of information in South Africa which must be harnessed by the Government Communication and Information System (GCIS). According to Murad (2010) and World Bank (2011), without full transparency and accountability there is an unfettered access to timely and reliable information on decisions and performance. Within that context, accountability and transparency becomes two major factors that can possibly hinder the achievement of development and public goals if not considered, predominantly in rural settings (Murad, 2010; Roling, 2014).

As a result, the paper theorizes the provision of information on the basis of bulletins. That is, through broadcasts (televisions and radios), newspapers, reports, billboards among others, in the relative majority of rural areas in comparison with urban areas. Accordingly, in light with the argument, the paper highlights the instigations that result in disparities of disseminating information between urban and relative rural settings. Furthermore, the paper provides the value of information for rural people; the South African policy and legislative frameworks towards information provisioning, access, accountability and transparency is enclosed to clarify the issues of access of information for constituencies. The paper contextualizes provision of information focusing on relative majority of rural areas that do not have access to information due to inadequate service delivery, predominantly non-electrified rural settings.

2. EXPLORING INFORMATION PROVISIONING IN SOUTH AFRICAN: ACCOUNTABILITY AND TRANSPARENCY

The Constitution of the Republic South Africa through the Bill of Rights (chapter 2) gives citizens' rights to have access to information that is held by the state and further to take action against the state if they believe their constitutional rights have been infringed (Cheadle *et al.*, 2005; Klaaren, 2005). Access to information can also be illustrated as a basic fundamental human right, which is promulgated steadily in the constitution of broader human rights clams (Cheadle, Davis & Haysom 2005; Belski, 2007). In essence, accessing information can illuminate the basic fundamental human right where people are entitled to have access to information at all times. Author such as Arko-Cobbah (2007) believes that the recognition of the right of access to information is a central pillar to South Africa's democracy, mainly due to the experience of the past. Therefore, the right of access to information drives the idea of equity in information provisioning between urban and rural settings. However, provision of information between rural and urban areas in South Africa remains at bay. Thus, it leads to public servants avoiding real or social accountability towards fairly distributing information between the rural and urban areas. In support of this, the constitution of the republic of South Africa also promulgated the issue of accountability and transparency through information provisioning. The occurrence of such disparities is mainly instigated by lack of knowledgeable public officials in terms of dissemination of information and

the kind of information to be disseminated (Klaaren, 2005; Kamba, 2009). Arguably, that radiates the fact that South African public officials could be in a conundrum in respect of disseminating information. Due to that, the South African government in response to information provisioning could be very poor and inadequate, particularly looking at the relative majority of rural areas. Additionally, a large relative majority of rural areas experience limited access, distortion and extortions information by public servants as compared to urban dwellers, even though the information might be of paramount importance (Snyman & Snyman, 2003; Kamba, 2009). Ironically, disseminating information is regarded as part of service delivery in South Africa. Although there are principles which stipulates that service delivery should be provided impartially, equitably and without bias, dissemination of information in South Africa is still at bay (Statistic South Africa (Stats SA), 2015).

2.1 Information, Transparency and Accountability

Literature in the field of information studies has been written but a few have been written of what information government should provide in the context of public administration (McKinley, 2003; Arko-Cobbah, 2007; Stats SA, 2015). According to Sharman (2012), exploring what kind of information includes the problem of how information should be disseminated to the public as a whole without bias or favour. Concomitantly, Sharman (2012) made a remark that information is semantic and anything semantic is in the context of information. Moreover, much has also been written about the concepts information, transparency and accountability, while on the other hand their practices are far more problematic in reality. Due to that, there are issues of biasness, unaccountability, lack of transparency and also malpractices in relation to the provision of information to the public (Snyman & Snyman, 2003). Transparency and accountability are interrelated and mutually reinforcing concepts in any issues that concern the public that as a result are in the provision of information context (World Bank (WB), 2011). According to World Bank (2011), accountability perceived to be a prerequisite of democracy and good governance; therefore, it entails the role of civil society to hold those in public office accountable. Hence, the issue of disseminating information to the public as a whole with fairness and equality is brought into picture to conform to transparency that will lead to accountability. The World Bank,

(2011) confirms that transparency must be fostered by providing the public with timely, accessible and accurate information. As a result, the unfairness of disseminating of information remains at bay and further discombobulating the transparency and accountability.

Accountability can also be fostered through direct answering or questioning to those in authority when providing information (World Bank, 2003; Roling, 2014). The question remains as who will be accountable in areas that are overlooked with regard to disseminating information, specifically rural areas. Without full transparency, there is an unfettered access to timely and reliable information on decisions and performance; and, it would be difficult to call public sector to account in that regard (Snyman & Snyman, 2003; Murad, 2010; World Bank, 2011). Unless there is accountability, a mechanism of transparency, report on the usage of public resources and consequences for failing to meet stated performances objectives would be of little value. Accountability is therefore driven by transparency, meaning that everyone should be eligible to access information so that they can participate in holding government officials and or the public servants accountable (World Bank, 2011; Roling, 2014). Transparency would be of little value, if the apparatus of reports and disseminating information are still for specific people, predominantly if rural areas are overlooked.

3. THE DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION IN URBAN AND RURAL SETTINGS OF SOUTH AFRICA

Kamba (2009) opined that rural communities in Africa constitute high percentages of population whose information and development needs are inadequately met and consequently they have not been able to enjoy the benefits thereof. In the South African context, relative majority of rural populace are excluded and deprived off in their right to access and receive readily prepared and correct information (Sikhakhane, 2005). Thus, that amounts to the exacerbation of lack of accountability and transparency towards the rural populace. One can argue that relative majority of urban areas, if not all, have wall plugs, flayers, bill boards among others that can serve as a source of provision of information; but it could not be the case in relative majority of rural areas. Furthermore, the assumption is that relative majority of rural people only receive information when they visit the next townships, cities or urban

area but yet both rural and urban areas form part of the country. The bill boards, flayers and wall plugs are an exception due to the fact that there is instant information that is meant for access at a specific time. In some instances, public servants often emasculate rural people and provide them with less information or information that is beneficial to and or not giving information at all (Omogor, 2013). Information that benefits the political organisations could refer to time of elections, in a way of promising delivery of services to rural people. However, it could be argued that the instant information that can inform rural people about the current issues that affect their live is compromised due to lack of benefits thereof. The provision of information services has been dispersed and access to various information services has become more difficult, particularly in South African rural areas (Russell & Bvuma, 2001; Sikhakhane, 2005). The principal victims, in some areas if not all, of inadequate dissemination information are and have been rural people as a result leave the marginalised people vulnerable regarding issues that affect them (Mchombu, 2003; Kamba, 2009; Omogor, 2013).

There are factors that provide the distinction in the equality of information between rural and urban settings. One of the assumptions is that rural people are illiterate and they cannot read or write (Sikhakhane, 2005). In urban areas, inclusive of townships and semi-urban areas, riots, protest, barricades and strikes are assumed to be the factors that force the provision of information, transparency and accountability by public servants rather than in rural areas (Ward *et al.*, 2014). Hence, the priority of information is given to urban setting. That as result turn a blind eye on rural people in accessing information due to the fact that they are no threat initiators. Within that context, that compromises the equity in providing and accessing information for rural dwellers. As such, Ward *et al.* (2014) state that without systems to restrain and guide the exercise of power in terms of dealing with the threats such as barricades, protest and riots among others, the newly democratic regimes and public servants will remain bias, forces the direction and skewing of information to a specific setting (which is urban area) and unable to guarantee access to information for rural people.

Within that context, high percentages of population should not be an excuse in terms of disseminating information to rural population. That as a result explicitly portray biasness pertaining the dissemination of information between rural and

urban settings that can possibly causes mute function in rural areas. Hence, according to Fourie (2008) and Dick (2005), the problem of mute refusals must be dealt with through the inclusion of a provision for access to information body such as government department responsible for supplying information and nongovernmental organizations in educating the public on the right to access information that can possibly deal with mute refusals. However, the public servants should work closely with people who cannot access information together with the aforementioned bodies among others. In essence, organizational bodies are capable of overseeing the implementation, train and guide the provision of access to information for all (Ward, Molefe, Stone, Mzila, Henenstra & Adeleke, 2014).

4. SOUTH AFRICAN POLICIES AND LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORKS TOWARDS INFORMATION PROVISIONING, ACCESS, ACCOUNTABILITY AND TRANSPARENCY

Provision of information in South Africa is shaped by legislative frameworks that are extracted from and framed based on the constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996. In that context, South African public servants are guided by numeral laws, act and most enormously the constitution in providing information. Legislatives frameworks such as Promotion of Access to Information Act 2 of 2000 (PAIA), Batho-pele White Paper among others, encapsulate the issues and emphasize on efficient access to and provision of information. Additionally, the Human Rights Commission support the notion of provision of information for all. Yet, after the implementation of these laws, regulations and legislative frameworks, public servants still and often emasculate rural people or deem them as unimportant through the nuisance of inequality towards the provision information (Mofolo & Smith, 2009; Kaisara & Pather, 2011). There are aspects that are highlighted and emphasized within the laws, regulations and legislative frameworks regarding openness in respect of information that be provided impartially, fairly, equitably and without being bias.

4.1 Promotion of Access to Information Act 2 of 2000 (PAIA)

According to Roling (2014) and Ward *et al.* (2014), promotion of access to information act 2 of 2000 (PAIA) is one of the far-reaching piece of legislation that can be viable for both rural and urban areas to access information fairly. The act provides the

importance and availability of information for both rural and urban areas. The main agenda of PAIA is to give effect to the constitutional right of access to any information held by the state and information that is held by another person that is required for the protection of any rights (Roling, 2014; Ward *et al.*, 2014). Accordingly, the PAIA promotes the notion of democracy that grows in the light of access to service, this is emphasized in the context of accessing information. Hence, PAIA recognises that pre 1994 the government systems in South Africa operated in a secretive and unresponsive culture in public and private bodies which often led to an abuse of power and human rights violation (Dick, 2005; Roling, 2014). In recognition of the connection between the right of access to information and democratic accountability and transparency, PAIA makes a direct link between the secretive and unresponsive culture in public and private bodies during the apartheid-era and the abuse of power and human rights violations (Dick, 2005; Roling, 2014; Ward *et al.*, 2014). But the practicality of this act has always been not level-headed. For point in case, the influence of PIA that has overlapped in the democratic era as a captive in imagination resulted in compromising access to information for rural people. Aligned with the promulgation of the constitution in chapter 2 section 9, there is an accentuation of equity as a subject matter which includes the fact that information should be provided equally so.

The dilemma towards equal information provisioning is very broad; hence government officials are unable to align to some act by the same token (Mchombu, 2003; Omogor, 2013). South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRCA) as a legislative framework advocates for the promotion of access to information. The SAHRCA promotes the compliance with the PAIA and produces an annual report in this regard, in line with Sections 83 and 84 of the Act (Roling, 2014; Ward *et al.*, 2014). Additionally, Roling (2014) states that the key prescripts of the PAIA is the development of transparency frameworks and increasing institutional responsiveness to information requests, with a view to promote access to information. In light of the proposed establishment of the information regulations as an intermediary enforcement of the PAIA has implications on rural people to gain access to information (Ward *et al.*, 2014). Although, there is a promotion of access to information, the problem is that there is a need for not conceptualising dissemination of information at the expense of practice. It is evident that being well informed about the legislations frameworks

with regard to the provision of information rather than considering practice become in vain. That is because practicing what is embedded in the policies and legislations in terms of provision of information is the key to marginalized population, particularly those who are unable to access information.

4.2 Batho-Pele Principles

The Batho-Pele principles have been developed with the notion of putting people first in all the issues that affect them. The principles emphasise on granting an opportunity to access services that they deserve (Stats SA, 2015). Conversely, the public officials are perceived to be giving a paucity of attention to the principles. But one could argue that public servants are doing their best to cater the needs of the society, including providing information to all. Then, if so, how is it that there are still disparities on government execution towards service provision such as information, particularly in rural areas. Nonetheless, there are 8 recommended and adopted Batho-Pele principles, but for the purpose of this paper the main focus is on the following in respect of provision of information, accountability and transparency:

4.2.1 Information

Citizens should be given full, accurate information about public services, which they are entitled to receive. Overpoweringly, many government officials are found to have transgressed promulgated laws, to botch in upholding their word of honour of their office (Murad, 2010). Generally, public servants do not act duly and provide relevant current updated information to the general public, predominantly to relative majority of rural people (Sikhakhane, 2005). In this regard public servants are stumbling in the provision of information to relative majority in rural areas. Whereas, in rural areas that is where there should be equitable access and provision of information to alert rural people about issues that could possibly affect their life. In reality policies and legislative frameworks that are stated must be adhered to. Conversely, the policies and legislative frameworks in respect of the dissemination of information are somehow defied. As a result, that compromises adequacy of access to services such as information for people in rural areas.

4.2.2 Openness and Transparency

Citizens are eligible to be informed with regard to any issue that affect their lives at national and different provincial departments as well as local departments. Thus, that can be done through openness and

transparency. Openness and transparency highlight the importance of accessing information as a prerequisite towards information provisioning (Kamba, 2009). Transparency requires that government officials to execute their duties openly without secrecy (Murad, 2010; World Bank, 2011). On the contrary, is not what is practiced in South Africa and that has negative impacts on the lives of people, particularly rural people. For instance, if one were to go to a relative deep rural area and ask which ward number they reside in, it would be a shocking surprise. Therefore, one can argue that for public servants to withhold information from the public serves as a path of denying people their rights of access to information.

Although there are legislative frameworks, rural people are still disregarded and given little attention towards information provision. Additionally, availability and accessibility of information has not been proceeded accordingly in relative majority of the South African rural areas. This could hinder rural development and participation of rural people can be passive and of paucity. That as a result can minimize the rural people gaining ownership of the governments' conducted programmes as they seemed to be overlooked in provision of services. Providing information fairly, equitably, impartially and without being bias as a service is then regarded as initiatives towards information dispensation and access (Russell & Bvuma, 2001; Sharman, 2012). Therefore, these initiatives will of course need to be ensured and equally enjoyed by all members of society, irrespective of the location. This is where the confusion is with regard to whether regard information as a service or not. But the reality of the matter is that information is regarded as services with point of reference to South African policies and legislative frameworks such as the Constitution, PAIA, Batho-principles *inter alia* (Cheadle *et al.*, 2005; Mafolo & Smith, 2009; Kaisara & Pather, 2011). If information is to be taken as a service, it has and must be provided in an impartial manner, which on the other hand public official's action and scope of work are kept at bay in respect of dissemination of information. Service provision in South Africa as part of information provisioning should be blatantly provided fairly and equally (Stats SA, 2015). Conversely, more and more services are provided in urban area and less in rural areas, which include the provision of information. This view can be supported by a notion that portray the fact that in urban area there's more accessibility of quality service (including information) than in rural areas. This allows the public

servants to hide and not play their active duty leaving the rural people out in delivering information and that lead to not being held accountable due to their un-transparent actions in most rural areas. In reality, how can rural dwellers hold the public servants accountable if they are neglected and side-lined as well as the discrepancies of providing information is still unabated. Transparency must be fostered by providing people in both urban and rural areas with timely accessible and accurate information.

5. THE INSTIGATIONS OF BIASNESS IN TERMS OF DISSEMINATING INFORMATION

One of the instigations of bias of information giving could be driven by the protection of information, with point of reference to the Protection of Information Act 82 of 1982. Although, the act has been applied during apartheid era, it can be another factor that portrays the bias of the dissemination of information in the democratic era in South Africa. It could be with the fact that the government encourages or take into cognisance the secrecy of information in government operations to avoid accountability. Furthermore, PIA remains the apartheid piece of legislation in the statute books and continuously plays a part in the protection and dissemination of information that is contained in Protection of Information Act (PIA) (Mafolo & Smith, 2009). The PIA is informed by the demands of an authoritarian and secretive apartheid state in that regard (Dick, 2005; Arko-Cobbah, 2007). As a result, the protection of information act might have overlapped into the democratic era in order to protect certain government information with the fear that if such kind of information is disclosed then the government can be brought to its disrepute. Therefore, South African information provisioning and transparency, through public servants, has and is still bias in that regard. Concomitantly, there are pieces of legislation which leaves the discourses, abetments and troubles in the South African public administration side of information provisioning (Cheadle *et al.*, 2005). Due to that, rural people are left out because of been regarded as illiterate among others.

Consequently, there could be some other laws and legislative among the aforementioned that could result as instigators to hinder the provision of information to rural people. According to Omogor (2013), such laws could cause amassed-confusions on whether the public servants should actually promote the acc to information or protect information.

Therefore, it is lucidly that the promotion of PIA in this era negates cogently with the Promotion of Access and Information Act (PAIA) and also Batho Pele principles which exclaim the promotion of openness and transparency. Accordingly, so long as PIA remains a legally binding law in South Africa, the provision, accessibility and disclosure of information will remain bias. Ward *et al.* (2014) poses that so long as PIA remains a legally binding law in South Africa there will be a continuous and rigid conflict between its regimes of dissemination of information. As such, conflicts will make more difficult to deal with secrecy and weakens accountability as well as leading to poor governance. Considering PIA, the dissemination of information to South African constituencies will remain in classification/declassification that will rest on highly contested grounds as a national information security that is contained in PAIA (Ward *et al.*, 2014).

6. THE VALUE OF INFORMATION FOR RURAL PEOPLE

Information is very important towards development in both rural and urban areas. Predominantly, the value of information could be perceived in relative majority of rural areas, where information can be a panacea to address social and economic ills. Belski (2007) opinionated that information is the list expensive input for rural development in knowledge; thus, knowledge and information are basic ingredients on making one to be self-reliant. In another reviews, it is highlighted that communities in rural areas require information on supply of inputs, new technologies and early warning of unforeseen circumstances such as drought, shocks, diseases among others; furthermore, credits, market prices and their competitors *inter alia* (Tanser, Gijbsbertsen & Herbst, 2006; Sikhakhane, 2005; Fourie, 2008). That could be with the fact that rural people are vulnerable to such shocks and they can end up being victims due to lack of information or rather because they are not informed regarding such. If such information is not disseminated to rural people, chances are that the government action will be of no value in terms of rural development where there will be a need of recovery measures to deal with such shocks instead of considering rural safety-nets which could be provision of information prior to occurrence of activities. If the government does not provide information to rural people that will result as pointless and lead to pilot of the deepening, thickening and exacerbation of rural poverty (Mchombu, 2003; Kamba, 2009). Having

said that, it is worth noting to avow that information is useful for rural people and ensuring self-reliant that can aid in alleviation of poverty in most rural communities. Therefore, without the increasing access to and provision of information will result as a conundrum and paving a way for the continual underdevelopment of rural communities where relative majority of rural populace are affected by inability to access information.

Access and use of information can be a plateful factor towards addressing illiteracy, low productivity uniformity within rural areas (Omogor, 2013). As such access to information can serve as the interest in the leading commodity of the present stage of development in developing countries (Kamba, 2009). If rural people are aware of what is happening around them, then that can assist in creating a favourable condition that is necessary for development and improvement of rural people's livelihoods. Rural people can use information to build and also improve the stature of their development projects. Although, rural areas experience the problem of illiteracy which also affects their accessibility, receiving and also utilization information, that should not be placed as an excuse to exclude rural dwellers in provision of timely and necessary information. As supported by Omogor (2013), provision of information is paramount to rural dwellers' needs for which is based on their activities that include the help to access health facilities, agriculture, social, political, trading, food processing, textile, pottery and other crafts, entertainment as well as other public affairs, aesthetic and cultural matters among others. Information provision is a gateway towards having a well-informed citizen who will make well informed decision and activities that involves the way in which they can manage their development (Dick, 2005; Belski, 2007). A well informed citizen will always engage in activities and can hold government accountable in their failures. Information accessibility for rural areas is a crucial factor towards sustaining and maintaining their standard of living.

As such, inaccessibility of information by rural people put their health condition, livelihoods among others to vulnerability (Tanser *et al.*, 2006). For case in point, there are chickens which are alleged to be dumped in South Africa by United State of America (USA). In that regard, different views through public participation were presented on radios, televisions, newspapers among others; and, that information might not have reached some rural people due to lack

of access to information in their vicinity. With those allegations, the consumption of such products could put rural people's health conditions at risk. One could therefore highlight that relative majority of people in rural areas are not aware other issues and products that can put their livelihoods and health conditions at risk due to lack of access to information. As result, rural people are vulnerable to negative impacts in that regard. So if rural people were to be informed, they will make better and informed decision. As a result, given the mode in which the public officials conduct themselves towards the matter of provision of information is very alarming because as part of the general citizenry, people from rural areas have to actively participate in activities that could be more beneficial to their health and standard of living, livelihoods and lifestyles (Tanser *et al.*, 2006). In the context of public administration, it would mean that the government is obliged to involve citizens in decision making and providing information to every citizen equally and fairly without bias (McKinley, 2003). Therefore, government should aim at allowing the availability and free flow of information fairly and equality through distribution systems to both urban and rural areas fairly in order to facilitate development.

7. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The contradiction of the dissemination of information is portrayed on two factors which are regulations in protecting the information (particularly state information) and the promotion of access to information, transparency and accountability. Therefore, the regulations in terms of protecting information lead to government officials not being transparent and often not held accountable. Then how is the nation going to benefit and hold the government accountable if the information is protected from disclosure in order to safeguard the national interest? Ironically, the only time where information is disseminated accordingly without bias is during the elections, that is when rural people are visited in the name of campaigns whereas all along they were overlooked. This clearly states that information is brought to rural people for the purpose of government serving own interests. While there is a renowned democracy in South Africa that portray equality of access to services; conversely the behaviour of democratic government clearly portray the concept of neopatrimonialism in relative majority of rural areas. This paper is adamant to the notion that there is a disparity in provisioning of

information between relative rural and urban areas. The necessity to address the problem of access to information, transparency and accountability should be dealt with in both urban and rural areas fairly and equally.

As supported by literature, the paper recommends that rural people should be considered in promoting the provisioning, access and receiving information that must be unremittingly without bias and impartiality. The optimum measure of a country's success in the field of access to information without bias is to adhere to the piece of legislations in order to guarantee and accommodate all citizens. Public servants must not only be accountable to their reporting structure but also and mostly above all they should be held accountable by the community at large. Therefore, all-encompassing shape of provision of information by South African public servants calls for intervention. There are impediments in accessing information for rural people such as relative non-electrified rural areas, where rural people cannot watch or listen to news. In that regard, services such as electricity should be a priority in the remaining rural areas that are not electrified. Providing electricity will be a solution for timely inaccessibility of information by rural populace. Therefore, in the meant time, the government should ensure that they go down to local people through organised meetings to deliver information for rural people through information dissemination team (GCIS).

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THE EFFICACY OF ELECTRICITY SMART METER SYSTEMS FOR INNOVATIVE SERVICE PROVISION IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

Access to safe, sustainable, convenient, and affordable energy services is regarded as important for socio-economic growth and development. The notion of electricity as a basic human right is becoming more widely accepted and adopted in countries across the globe according to some scholars. It is arguable that lack of access to appropriate levels of energy services is one cause of slow social growth and development worldwide. The new electricity system of smart meters was introduced to provide energy services to the households by some Local Governments. Recently, South African local municipalities have introduced the electricity smart meters in their communities. The theory behind smart meter systems the need by municipalities for improving grid reliability, revenue management, reduce electricity losses, address billing and credit control issues, and promote energy efficiency while providing improved services to their customers. However, having reviewed literature extensively, we argue that there have been many public concerns globally with this technology and challenges that are faced by utilities moving towards smart metering, one of which is the overbilling of smart meter system compared to the pre-paid meter systems. Billing concerns and complaints come from two primary sources, namely inaccurate billing and bills increased drastically through the use of time. There have been multiple reports of customers being overbilled since they have had smart meters installed in South African municipalities. This paper, therefore, observes that although there are arguments for smart meter systems their efficacy is compromised by a number of factors which must be resolved for a win-win scenario to be realised by both the communities and the citizens who are the consumers of electricity.

Keywords: Smart meters, Innovative Service Provision, Electricity Consumption.

1. INTRODUCTION

Smart meters provide a 'societal business case', this denotes that energy suppliers or companies can provide the public with benefits such as more efficient network operations, reduced costs, accurate readings and reduced levels of fraud. "A key enabler of both the internal energy market and integration of vast amounts of renewable energy" is considered to be the smart meters (European Commission, 2011b: 14). With regard to the individuals or customers who will be using smart meters, the new system of smart meters allows them to read their own energy consumption and cost and will be of an advantage when coming to budgeting for, and managing their energy consumption. In light of the smart meter's development, local municipalities in South Africa have recognized the centrality of electricity in all imperative human socio-economic activities. However, there are questions around the efficacy of these smart meter systems as they can be compromised by a number of factors. Municipalities need to ensure a win-win scenario where citizens as customers of electricity, and the municipalities as providers, mutually benefit from the systems. The paper outlines the background of the smart meters and present the challenges related to the implementation of smart meters. The technology acceptance model is used to interrogate the efficacy of smart meters. The paper concludes by weighing the cost and benefits of these smart meters in the context of increased technological use in government service delivery. A number of South African municipalities are currently considering deploying smart meters and smart metering systems, all as part of efforts to improve grid reliability, revenue management, reduce electricity losses, address billing and credit control issues, and promote energy efficiency while providing improved services to their customers. For billing and monitoring purposes, the new system of smart meters is going to be a great technology system because it communicates the

information via a certain network back to the local energy operator and it has been referred to as a type of an advanced meter (Ackermann and Andersson, 2001:199). The smart meter system was introduced firstly in the United States in the 1980s and 1990s, and they developed in market share compared to analog meters (Roche, 2008:80).

The new smart meter systems are more advanced compared to the old 'conventional' meters, in such a way that they measure the actual total gas and electricity usage as consumers use them, and this proves that they are the "next generation of gas and electricity meters" (Department of Energy & Climate Change, 2013b:44). The major advantage of this new system of smart meters is that it allows customers to manage and observe their own energy use. Smart meters also allow "two-way wireless communication between the customer and energy supplier" and can be "read automatically and directly by the energy supplier" than the mechanic to go home and read the meter (Department of Energy & Climate Change, 2013b:44). Smart meters also work hand in hand with the smart grid. A smart grid is "a digitally enabled electrical grid that gathers, distributes, and acts on information about the behavior of all participants (suppliers and consumers) in order to improve the efficiency, importance, reliability, economic, and sustainability of electricity services" (Bollen, 2011:44).

The way that energy is generated and distributed is being changed by the environment and security concerns and this leads to demand of energy rising, which is the most common challenge shared globally. This results in energy suppliers around the world to find reliable, secured, and efficient ways to manage energy transmissions, generation and distribution. Smart meter systems implementation development began as a system to help the suppliers of energy in given market with demand and reduce energy waste. The adoption of smart grid or smart meters' technology took place to reach certain goals, which include, to better manage peak energy loads, to give consumers the opportunity to control their own energy use and to combine the alternating power supply from some renewable energy sources. The implementation of smart grid technology more especially smart electricity meters in developing countries takes place as a solution to deal with energy theft (Marcacci, 2012:3).

Electricity smart meters are taken as the border between the consumers and the energy operators.

Smart meters allow households and businesses to monitor the usage of energy and have more control over it, in such a way that they can reduce their energy usage or shift usage to non-peak hours when the energy rate are lower and this can be done by switching of the non-working electric appliances in the evening. This can also be a benefit to the energy operator, in such a way that in peak hours there is a lower demand of energy and this will reduce the amount of energy produced at maximum cost, and limit their capital investment on energy production (Watanabe, 2013:55) Currently, most of the countries have invested in the smart grid technology, and this, globally, is expected to increase throughout the decades.

2. SMART METERING FOR LARGE-SCALE ENERGY CONSERVATION

Smart meters provide great opportunities when coming to reducing residential consumption (Steg, 2008:4451). Smart metering addresses a large group of energy consumers with behavioral interventions with its pervasiveness. According to the European detectives, the new system of smart meters should only be installed when a new building is connected to the electricity grid or when replacing a certain meter system and this can only be done if the equipment is technically feasible and economically reasonable. Globally, by 2020, 80% of households should be equipped with smart meters. According to Baeriswyl, Müller and Rigassi (2012:16) "the savings potentials of the households differ between countries due to different household characteristics according to impact assessment, the advocated roll-out strategy may not be the ideal solution for every state". South Africa can be an example, because the full rolling out of smart meters in South Africa would be more effective and cost-efficient than the current status quo that comprises traditional electricity meters and energy efficiency campaigns that are taking place. In other countries smart meters have not yet being deployed but they are being tested in the pilot projects and the roll-out timelines have been set. The implementation of smart meters requires a careful design of interventions in order to make the costly infrastructure more cost-efficient. For smart meters to provide energy customers with feedback on their electricity consumption the smart metering infrastructure is installed with the information system (Steg, 2008:4456).

Smart metering infrastructure includes information systems to provide energy consumers with feedback on their electricity, the consumption involves

three elementary components, which includes, communication and data processing infrastructure, metering devices and associated devices, and in-home energy use display. The new system of smart meters' measures customer's electricity consumption and transfers the data information directly or indirectly to the customers. Data is transferred by smart meters using a Home Area Network (HAN) and is revealed in the in-home display. Smart meter systems also transfer the data information to the electricity suppliers and operators through Wide Area Network (WAN). Electricity consumption feedback is then presented to the customers through web portals, invoices or a mobile phone (Balmert, and Petrov, 2010:22).

3. CURRENT PENETRATION IN CITY OF CAPE TOWN AND TSHWANE METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY

3.1 City of Cape Town

Smart meters have not yet been adopted by most municipalities on a large scale. Western Cape municipalities in South Africa have started deploying smart meters, these municipalities include the City of Cape Town metropolitan municipality. Residential smart metering in the City of Cape Town it is not a common system but it is not uncommon for municipalities to have industrial customers to be billed on time-of-use tariff through smart meter systems. Smart meters are recently existing fully on the higher end users of the municipality. Smart meters in the City of Cape Town are installed mostly at the households of customers that earn the municipality the most profit, and places where they can be of greatest benefit (Najjar, 2013:18).

3.2 Tshwane

Tshwane has launched an initiative called the Security of Revenue Project (SORP) that involves replacing all existing electricity meters in Tshwane with smart meters on a prepaid basis. The project was aimed at helping the municipality to overcome problems of inaccurate billing, loss of revenue and secure the financial position of the. The project of the SORP at Tshwane was unsuccessful. This was because the municipality did not address the customer's needs, and this was because that, the energy operators did not communicate and provide awareness programs with an incentive scheme to encourage customers to the potential benefit of smart meters.

Tshwane municipality installed smart meters for customers who usually pay their bills and this was done without informing the customers of the benefits of smart meters and customers convenience were not accrued before the installation. This resulted in customers being dissatisfied and not seeing enough benefits in the new system of smart meters because they were not well informed on how the smart meters operates (Ackermann, Andersson and Söder, 2001:21). Tshwane also faced challenges on how they started the project, process and costs they experienced when they wanted to cancel the supply of smart meters.

4. SMART METERS ACCURACY

As Smart Meter Systems have been installed nationally, concerns and reports have been raised in different parts of the country with regard to the accuracy of the new smart meter system. Even though, the word smart meter is new, the technology of electronic metering it has been used for the past decades for delivering accurate billing. The new systems of smart meters were developed with the same attentiveness and inspection associated with the previous or older mechanical matching parts. Every meter or new technology systems are required to meet national standards for meters' accuracy and operation (Watanabe, 2013:44).

Manufacturers have been working with the metering professionals to develop the electronic technology which is referred to currently as a smart meter. Electronic meters provide tighter accuracy tolerance compared to the mechanical counterparts. Modernized meters have the tendency of slowing down over time due to resistance, while electronic meters have no moving parts. Smart meters are also believed to be designed to function and be precise over the life of their production. Smart meters are also tested for assurance as this is a part of the manufacturing process and go through acceptance testing by the utility before they qualify for deployment. Nevertheless, smart meter systems are accurate and detailed devices, while individual meters can at times fail. However, in other countries, accuracy with regard to smart meters is still a concern, for example, South Africa is one of the countries that had accuracy concerns raised by customer groups. Customers complaints were with regard to the billing issue, the billing is higher than what they used to be billed when they were using pre-paid meters (Edison Electric Institution, 2011:21).

5. SMART METER SYSTEMS BILLING IMPACT

Smart billing is not actively promoted by the government nor used by the different utilities as a tool to help consumers use electricity more efficiently. Current bills give information on both electricity consumption and maximum power demand which reflects the country's issues with tight capacity margins. Although South African households are more knowledgeable about the challenges related to peak time electricity consumption than in most countries, the impact of the bill on peak power demand is likely to be negligible. Indeed, the current bills give no information to consumers as to what is actually consuming electricity in their homes or how they could reduce usage as such information campaigns are being promoted through other channels and there is an increase in electricity billing compared to the billing which was charged to customers when they were using conventional or pre-paid meters during peak time. The problem of the higher charges has been reported by multiple municipalities in South Africa, municipalities like Emfuleni Local Municipality, Tshwane and City of Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality (Dromacque, 2013:51).

6. CUSTOMER CARE AND COMMUNICATIONS

Communication with customers before the deployment of smart meters or any new project begins is one important aspect that needs to be done by the municipalities. This communication should be about informing the customers about the new smart meter system, its benefits and challenges and how its billing process differs from the conventional and pre-paid meters. It is important for utilities to address the issues and concerns that might rise or come with the implementation of smart meters. Communication with customers can take place through mailing or bill stuffers and news release. The satisfaction of customers comes through communication and education. Furthermore, customers can be informed face to face through the process of deploying smart meters or door hangers can be left for them with relevant information about the new meters. If the change of a meter could not take place at a customer's household, a notification on how to make an appointment should be left. Communication with customers is intended in helping the processes of deploying smart meters to run

smoothly and be accepted by customers (Edison Electric Institute, 2011:14).

7. BENEFITS OF SMART METERS

Smart meters implementation has challenges and benefits. The benefits of smart meters globally consist of the energy suppliers and operators benefiting from the reduction of customer's management processes costs, consumers benefiting from better service with customized tariffs, and better energy management benefiting the economy. Nevertheless, the above benefits are the benefits which are applicable to the whole world. South African municipalities with regard to the new system of smart meters benefit in the following way (Edison Electric Institute, 2011):

7.1 Customers

Smart meters' implementation provides customers with an actual consumption billing, better service delivery, and automatic reading system, provides better basis for energy efficiency measures, and provide more accurate metering values.

7.2 Municipality

Smart meters bring assurance to the municipalities, it improves their quality of service, structures the time of day tariffs, and it better the demand side control.

7.3 Eskom

The implementation of smart meters to Eskom is a huge improvement in such a way that it is a better data for network planning, it reduces customers service cost and it is more efficient for supplier switching.

7.4 Partners

Stakeholders and partners provide programs that will help with facilitating and obtaining empowerment, and skills transfer with local partners to deliver and support utilities on the metering "promise" (Edison Electric Institute, 2011:9). The above benefits of smart meters prove that electricity consumers will no longer receive unexpected bills and will be able to budget for and manage their consumption themselves according to amount of units credited. In the future they will be able to view their consumption pattern and adjust their usage to cheaper tariff periods should this become available. This allows the customer to better monitor how much electricity they are using and therefore budget better every month.

7.5 Smart Meters Implementation Challenges

7.5.1 Managing Customer Acceptance and Reaction Towards the New System of Smart Meters

The main point to the success of smart metering project is the customer's interaction. If the customers are not well informed and knowledgeable there are possibilities that the project might be unsuccessful, which is what happened in the city of Tshwane, where customers ended up manipulating the meter system. The success of smart meters lays in customer's participation in changing their behaviors in the energy usage to decrease the peak loads and this will not take place if the customers are not well educated about the system. Managing the customer's opinions on smart meters and informing them about the benefits of the system helps to reduce negative feedback coming from them. Customers are a vital link in the process to successfully implement smart meter systems. If customers do not experience any advantage their perception and rejection of the system can invalidate any planned benefits from making a significant investment in smart meters.

7.5.2 Increased Bills

Billing concerns and complains is one challenge that is taking place globally. There have been many reports on the overbilling that comes with the installation of smart meters in South Africa at Emfuleni Local Municipality. Overbilling in many cases has been taking place because of faulty meters and in others by tariffs increase during the winter time. The increase in billing takes time also mostly in the peak times and this can be blamed on the inaccurate meters.

7.5.3 Privacy and Security Concerns

The public have concerns with regard to the security that comes with smart meters. The concerns which the public raises are regarding the utilities having access to the information of customers, cost information about their usage of electricity that compromises their privacy. The public are also concerned with their security, in such a way that information delineating when users or consumers are at home will be exposed to the energy operator and this may be seen as a serious security threat.

7.5.4 Managing and Storing Vast Quantities of Metering Data

There is a huge amount of data generated by smart meters compared to the metering data which was

generated by pre-paid or conventional meters. The difference between conventional meters and smart meters, is that conventional meter's data was read once a month and it only produced kWh. The new system of smart meters can be read every 5 minutes and the new system also displays customer's usage profile. The information displayed by the smart meters can be of good use to the energy operators only if the information is managed, stored and interpreted well (Naone, 2009:66).

7.5.5 Municipal Staff Capacity

The majority of engineering departments in municipalities are facing a shortage of technical skills and therefore have limited resources available to drive the implementation of smart grids at the municipal level (Sustainable Energy Africa, 2015:10). The installation and maintenance of smart meters requires competent and well-trained personnel and a set of processes, information technologies and routines adapted to the needs of the meter. The field equipment constitutes a large machine-to-machine infrastructure, which requires special competence and skills to operate and maintain which might not be available within the municipality. Smart metering technology needs the support of experienced data scientists who will be able to assimilate and process the data generated by the advanced smart meters (Sustainable Energy Africa, 2015:10).

8. RECOMMENDATIONS

For the success of the implementation of smart meter systems in South Africa, there are recommendations that need to be considered by the municipalities of South Africa with regard to convincing consumers of smart meters, that the new systems will bring valuable benefits. According to the according to the technology acceptable model, convincing customers is vital for the successful implementation of the smart meter systems to be realized. Firstly, for the success of smart meters, energy companies need to make the public or the consumers of smart meters understand the benefits and challenges that might be brought by the new system. Literature review also proves that the public end-up rejecting or not accepting smart meters because they are not well informed about the new system and how it works. Customers are also not well informed on the advantages of the new system of smart meters, advantages which include the new system allowing them to view their own energy usage and making them understand that this will help them in managing and reducing their energy use.

In South African local municipalities, where the new system of smart meters is being implemented, the consumers of the new system do not know how the system works. Customers or consumers are also not aware of or given their weekly or bi-monthly statements that outlines the energy usage from their energy provider and still do not understand the difference between the new system of smart meters, conventional and pre-meters. This means that the consumers end-up rejecting or not accepting the new system of smart meters because of not being informed on how the system works and challenges that they might encounter when using the system. Secondly, consumers need also to be told what type of information smart meter systems display and how often the information is displayed. Information that outlines their energy consumption and the ratings, which is the most important information that customers are really interested in. Nevertheless, customers need to be informed that, the feedback that is displayed by smart meter systems can be of good advantage when coming to their energy use, because it "provides users with information about the results of their actions" (Abrahamse, Steg, Vlek, and Rothengatter, 2005:288). However, it is crucial for municipalities and energy suppliers to consider the information or feedback tool that the users of smart meters need to be well informed of. Thirdly, municipalities and energy companies need to make it clear to the consumer that the system will not bring any additional cost and its charges will still be same with the old conventional or pre-paid meter that it is replacing. This will most likely influence the customer's attitude towards accepting smart meters.

Lastly, it is also important for municipalities and grid operators to provide customers with additional information that might be useful to them with regard to smart meters and any other additional feedback tools that comes with smart meters. Moreover, in order for consumers to accept the smart meter, a particular focus need to be given to customers of the age group of above the age of 60 who are most likely to be resistant to change. For municipalities to be able to do this, presentations need to be given to the customers or communities, where they will be taught on how to use smart meters' system and give the customers the opportunity to ask questions with regard to the new system. This will motivate customers, specifically old customers to be enthusiastic and accept the new system of smart meters. Moreover, municipalities should also give notice letters outlining or explaining the use

of the electricity smart meters. If customers are not informed with letters, they can also be given brochures that will be explain the role of smart meters and how they work and their benefits. This needs to be done by both the municipality and grid or electricity operators in order to reach the majority of the population and for the implementation of smart meters to be a huge success.

9. CONCLUSION

This paper has demonstrated that there are both costs and benefits involved in the rolling out of smart meters to both customers and the municipalities. The most important factor that determines the future of the new system of smart meters is the views and the perceptions of the people or of the consumers of electricity. If the public or the consumers of smart meters do not accept the system, the implementation process can be slow or cannot take place in the future. High costs that come with the implementation of smart meters is another reason that makes the system to be an unattractive option for other municipalities and for most customers. According to the according to the technology acceptable model, convincing customers is vital for the successful implementation of the smart meter systems to be realized. Smart meters form an integral part of a smart grid, and despite their concerns they are being widely deployed around the world and they are expected to improve as the technology continues maturing.

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THE MEDIATING ROLE OF EFFECTIVE WORKING CAPITAL MANAGEMENT ON THE GROWTH PROSPECTS OF SMALL AND MEDIUM ENTERPRISES IN POLOKWANE MUNICIPALITY

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ABSTRACT

The paper assesses the mediating role of effective working capital management on the growth prospects of small and medium enterprises (SMEs) in Polokwane Municipality. SMEs form the backbone of the economies of most countries in the world. Hence growing the number of SMEs in the economy and growing the size of existing ones can go a long way towards achieving South Africa's developmental needs. Furthermore, improving the growth and sustainability of an SME sector is a remarkable milestone towards solving South Africa's developmental challenges such as unemployment, poverty and income inequality. The SME sector is an active and vibrant force for economic growth, innovation and job creation for both developed and developing countries. There is consensus among economists and policy makers on the importance of the SME sector as an engine for economic growth. However, SMEs in South Africa continue to fail. This random failure rate casts doubt on this sector's ability to be a sustainable solution to developmental challenges facing South Africa. This contribution is of the argument that a well designed and implemented working capital management can be a panacea to high failure rate of SMEs in South Africa. This study used a quantitative research methodology with a descriptive research design. 50 SME owner/managers participated in the survey and data was collected through a self-administered questionnaire. Data analysis included descriptive statistics, Pearson Correlation coefficient and the Canonical Correlation Analysis. The Cronbach's alpha was used to measure reliability of the data collection instrument. The results indicated that SMEs are not effectively managing their working capital. The paper concludes by emphasizing the need for SMEs to effectively manage their working capital as it is the lifeblood of all growing businesses.

Keywords: Working capital management, Developmental challenges, Growth, SMEs, Sustainability, Polokwane.

1. INTRODUCTION

Small and medium enterprises provide an impetus to the economic progress of developing countries (Padachi, 2006). SMEs play a crucial role in local economic development through their job creation capabilities (Javid, 2014). Policy makers, economists and business experts all agree that small and medium enterprises (SMEs) are drivers of economic growth (Mahembe, 2011). On that note, the South African Government has invested in a plethora of initiatives aimed at supporting and growing the SME sector for the past fifteen years (Ramukumba, (2014). SMEs seldom only contribute significantly to the economy, but can also serve as an impetus for economic diversification through their development of new and unsaturated sectors of the economy (Gatt, 2015). According to Jain and Chen (2013), SMEs have a multiplier effect on employment creation as each SME can increase its branches and hence its workforce overtime.

Furthermore, Small Enterprise Development Agency (2012) remarks that an SME sector is a better option than larger firms because they are labour intensive and hence possess a lower capital cost as far as job creation is concerned. Katua (2014) asserts that SMEs improve and enhance access to infrastructure in abandoned rural areas hence stimulating economic activities and improving living standards of the employees and their relatives. Importantly in South Africa SMEs employ the most marginalised groups such as low skilled workforce, women and the youth. Therefore, the potential for SMEs to be pillars of local economic development cannot be underestimated. As indicated by Abor and Quartey (2010), in South

Africa, approximately 91% of the formal business entities are SMEs contributing between 52 to 57% to GDP and 61% to employment.

Regardless of the much documented contribution of SMEs, regrettably SMEs in South Africa continue to fail. According to Fatoki and Garwe (2010), most SMEs in South Africa do not move from the first stage (existence) of growth to other stages such as survival, success, take off and resource maturity. Furthermore, Wallace (2013) reveals that 50% of small businesses fail within the first year and 95% fail within the first 4 years. Ramukumba (2014) remarks that in South Africa SMEs are failing to surpass the projected growth target for required job creation due to a plethora of challenges. Most SMEs fail due to the inability to effectively manage their working capital (Nyamao, Patrick, Martin, Odondo & Simeyo, 2012; Uwonda, Okello & Okello, 2013).

In most cases SME owners pay less attention towards managing their working capital or sometimes neglect it totally resulting in insolvency (Sunday, 2011). Padachi (2006) and Atrill (2006) concur by asserting that working capital constraints are generally considered as one of the major causes of SME failure. According to Atrill (2006) most SMEs do not have a credit control department and debt collection procedures which makes working capital management a nightmare in their businesses. Bowen, Morara & Mureithi (2009) found debt collection to be a challenging task for most SMEs. Poor working capital management causes the business to struggle and fail. If the business fails to meet the required level of working capital, it may result in the business failing to perform some of its day to day operations. The rate of SME failure can be reduced if SME owner/managers are trained to manage their working capital effectively.

There is limited research about the working capital management and SMEs growth in South Africa. Most studies have been conducted outside South Africa (Nazir & Afza, 2009; Jagongo & Makori, 2013; Kungu, Wanjau, Waititu, & Gekara, 2014). Therefore, this study aims to investigate, the mediating role of effective working capital management on the growth prospects of SMEs in a South African context. As such, the objectives of the study were; to establish the working capital management practices of SMEs, to investigate the impact of working capital on the growth of small businesses in Polokwane Municipality, to determine the ways used by SMEs to manage their working capital. The following hypotheses were pursued in this study:

H₀: The management of working capital has a lesser impact on the growth of SMEs.

H₁: The management of working capital has a greater impact on the growth of SMEs.

H₀: SMEs do not implement effective ways to manage their working capital.

H₁: SMEs implement effective ways to manage their working capital.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is grounded on the Operating Cycle Theory. This theory paves the way to understand working capital management as a field. The Operating Cycle Theory Forms a foundation for most studies in working capital management. According to Aminu and Zainudin (2015), Operating Cycle Theory provides a framework to understand the flow in the working capital management from the time raw materials are secured to the time receivables are collected (Richards & Laughlin, 1980). Operating cycle takes into consideration the receivables and inventories related to working capital hence giving a clear information about changes in working capital. Operating Cycle Theory addresses shortfalls of the traditional (static view) approach to working capital management where the current or acid-test ratios were used as solvency indicators.

3. WORKING CAPITAL MANAGEMENT

Sunday (2011) defines working capital as the proportion of a company's total capital which is employed in the short term operations. According to Jagongo and Makori, (2013:1), "working capital management is the ability to control effectively and efficiently the current assets and current liabilities in a manner that provides the firm with maximum return on its assets and minimises payments for its liabilities". Working capital management is primarily concerned with the day to day operations rather than long-term business decisions. Nazir and Afza (2009) assert that working capital management is mainly driven by the goal to maintain an optimal balance among each of the working capital components ensuring that a balance is achieved between risk and efficiency. On the same token, Muya and Gathogo (2016) elucidate that working capital management exist to closely monitor the relationship between current assets and current liabilities to avoid problems of insolvency and bankruptcy.

A firm can choose between aggressive and conservative working capital management policy depending on what it aims to achieve (Nazir & Afza, 2009, Kungu, Wanjau, Waititu, & Gekara, 2014). These two policies are chosen after a firm evaluate the risk/return trade-off associated with employing each policy (Mwangi, Muathe & Kosimbei, 2014). The aggressive working capital management policy is a high risk –high return working capital investment and financing strategy while conservative working capital management policy is a low risks and low return strategy. However, a firm can choose to employ both of the policies in order to maintain a satisfactory level of working capital (Charitou, Lois & Christoforou, 2016).

The composition of working capital depends on a variety of factors such as operating level, level of operating efficiency, inventory policies, book debt policies, technology used and nature of the industry (Padachi, 2006). Firms can achieve optimal management of working capital by making the trade-off between profitability and liquidity. The typical components of working capital that need to be managed include cash, accounts receivable, inventory, accounts payable and short term debt (Nyamao *et al.*, 2012; Charitou, Lois & Christoforou, 2016). As indicated by Padachi (2006), SMEs need to embark on different working capital management practices to attain success. These will be discussed below.

3.1 Stock or Inventory Management Practices

Inventory relates to goods or other items owned by a firm for sale or for processing before being sold, as part of a firm's operations. A firm's profitability and growth depends on the successful sale of its product or service while for non-service businesses, sufficient inventories must be available to meet demand (Maysami, 2009). Ross *et al.* (2008) identify the Economic Order Quantity model as an effective tool to determine the optimal inventory levels. The Economic Order Quantity model takes into account the inventory carrying costs, inventory shortage costs and total costs helps in the determination of the appropriate inventory levels to hold. According to Nyamao *et al.* (2012:5809), "maintaining optimal inventory levels reduces the cost of possible interruptions or of loss of business due to the scarcity of products, reduces supply costs and protects against price fluctuations."

3.2 Receivables Management Practices

Receivables represent unpaid credit extended to customers by the business (Aminu & Zainudin, 2015). Firms should employ policies that enable them to closely monitor their receivables. A combination of shortened creditor's collection period, low levels of bad debts and a sound credit policy improves the performance of a firm. Though it is healthy for a business to have receivables, Nyamao *et al.* (2012) advise SMEs to maintain an optimal level of debtors lest they suffer from costs associated with bad debts, managing credit among others. Moles, Parriso and Kidwell (2011) advise that it is very important for firms to consider the credit rating of a customer before granting credit to avoid bad debts.

3.3 Cash Management Practices

Cash management is the process of planning and controlling cash flows into and out of the business, cash flows within the business, and cash balances held by a business at a point in time (Pandey, 2004). Cash includes cash in hand and deposits repayable on demand with any bank or financial institution. According to Maysami (2009), cash is needed for transaction purposes, for example payment of raw material and taxes. Cash management helps firms to remain liquid and be able to meet day to day obligations. Furthermore, additional cash is also necessary to take advantage of special bargains such as supplier clearance sales of raw materials. Cash is the life blood of SMEs hence its management should be prioritised. Cash can be managed effectively and efficiently through the use of cash flow budgets and financial ratios such as monitoring the current ratio and acid test ratio.

3.4 Cash Conversion Cycle (CCC)

Charitou *et al.* (2016) define cash conversion cycle as the sum of days of sales outstanding (average collection period) and days of sales in inventory less days of payables outstanding while Nobanee (2006) define the concept as the measure of the effectiveness of working capital management that puts into consideration all the cash flows associated with inventory, accounts receivable and accounts payables. According to Aminu and Zainudin (2015), the cash conversion cycle is calculated as follows: $CCC = ACP + ICP - APP$ Where, ACP = Average collection period, a proxy for receivable management ICP = Inventory conversion period, a proxy for inventory management APP= Average

payment period, a proxy for payables. Firms should always aim to have a shorter CCC period if they are to maintain a healthy liquidity position (Temtime, 2016). However, as indicated by Bei and Wijewardana, (2012), the length of the CCC depends on whether the firm adopted an aggressive or conservative policy of working capital management.

4. WORKING CAPITAL MANAGEMENT AND THE GROWTH OF SMEs

SMEs Akinwande (2010) and Gul *et al.* (2013) asserts that good working capital management improves the growth of SMEs. The management working capital is crucial to the financial health of SMEs. Jagongo and Makori (2013) concur by advising that firms should effectively manage their working capital lest they risk bankruptcy and failure. Alagathurai (2013) remarks that working capital management is important as it have a bearing on the firm's liquidity and profitability which are crucial components for business sustainability. Working capital is the life blood of all businesses; hence SMEs need to maintain an optimal level of it to meet their day to day obligations as they pursue growth (Padachi, 2006; Atseye, Ugwu & Takon, 2015).

Effective working capital management forms a crucial component of well performing and growth oriented firms (Jagongo, & Makori, 2013; Knauer & Wöhrmann, 2013). According to Qazi, Shah, Abbas and Nadeem (2011) since liquidity and profitability are both essential objectives for any firm, a balance should always be maintained as over prioritising on one ignoring the later can result in serious problems. Muya and Gathogo (2016) strongly believe that effective working capital management sets a step towards firm success and growth as sufficient levels of working capital can allow a firm to expand its operations. Effective working capital management can assist SMEs to be financially independent. Padachi (2006) warns that since SMEs face challenges in accessing long term financing, they have to effectively manage the little finance provided by the owner or generated by the business lest they face demise. For SMEs to reach their projected growth goal they need to seriously manage their working capital (Uwonda, Okello, & Okello, 2013). Having cash at hand helps SMEs to take advantage of cash discounts therefore saving cash for expanding their operations. Atseye *et al.* (2015) assert that there is a direct relationship between SME growth and working capital.

5. METHODOLOGY

This paper utilised the quantitative research methodology with a descriptive research design. Data was collected through the use of self-administered questionnaire in a survey. Closed ended questions were used where respondents were limited to respond to a set of answers provided in the questionnaire. The questionnaire was adapted from extant literature. 50 SMEs participated in the survey. The participants in the study were owner/managers of SMEs in Polokwane Municipality. The parliament of the republic of South Africa (1996) quantitatively defines an SME as a business with (1) total full-time equivalent of paid employees less than 200 (2) total annual turnover of less than R50 million and (3) total gross fixed assets value (fixed property excluded) of less than R5 million. The above definition of an SME helped to set the boundaries to identify the respondents. The random sampling technique was utilised in the study. A pilot study was conducted on 10 SMEs to ensure face and content validity on the questionnaire. This enabled the researcher to make a few important changes on the questionnaire. The questionnaire consisted of two parts: (1) the biographical questions and (2) questions related to working capital management. Data analysis included descriptive statistics, Pearson Correlation coefficient and the Canonical Correlation Analysis. The Cronbach's alpha was used to measure reliability.

6. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

One hundred and twenty questionnaires were distributed to owners/managers of SMEs in Polokwane Municipality and fifty questionnaires were returned. The response rate was forty-two percent. As for the biographical information, the results showed that 63% of the respondents were males while 37% were females. Also the results indicated that majority of the SME owner/managers fall in the 25-40 age groups. Considering educational levels most respondent (56%) had matric as their highest qualification followed by 40% possessing tertiary education. Majority of SME owner/managers indicated that they have been in business for a period of between 2-5 years.

6.1 Descriptive Statistics: Analysis of Working Capital Management

6.1.1 Impact of Working Capital on Growth of SMEs

The primary objective of this study was to investigate the impact of working capital on the growth of SMEs in Polokwane Municipality. As indicated by the results

presented in Figure 1 below, 79% strongly agreed while 21% agreed that effective management of working capital contributes to business growth and success. This is consistent to studies such as Atseye *et al.* (2015) who indicated that there is a direct relationship between SME growth and working capital. Working capital is the life blood of all businesses; hence SMEs need to maintain an optimal level of it to meet their day to day obligations as they pursue growth (Padachi, 2006; Atseye, Ugwu & Takon, 2015).

6.1.2 Amounts of Working Capital

The respondents were asked to rank the extent to which their firms kept adequate amounts of working capital such as debtors, cash and inventory. Respondents were asked to indicate from a scale ranging from 1 "satisfactory level of working capital component" to 7 "non-satisfactory level of working capital management component". Most respondents indicated that they kept satisfactory levels of debtors.

From Table 1 below, 4% of the respondents ranked their level of inventory 2, while 52% of the respondents indicated that they rarely kept satisfactory levels

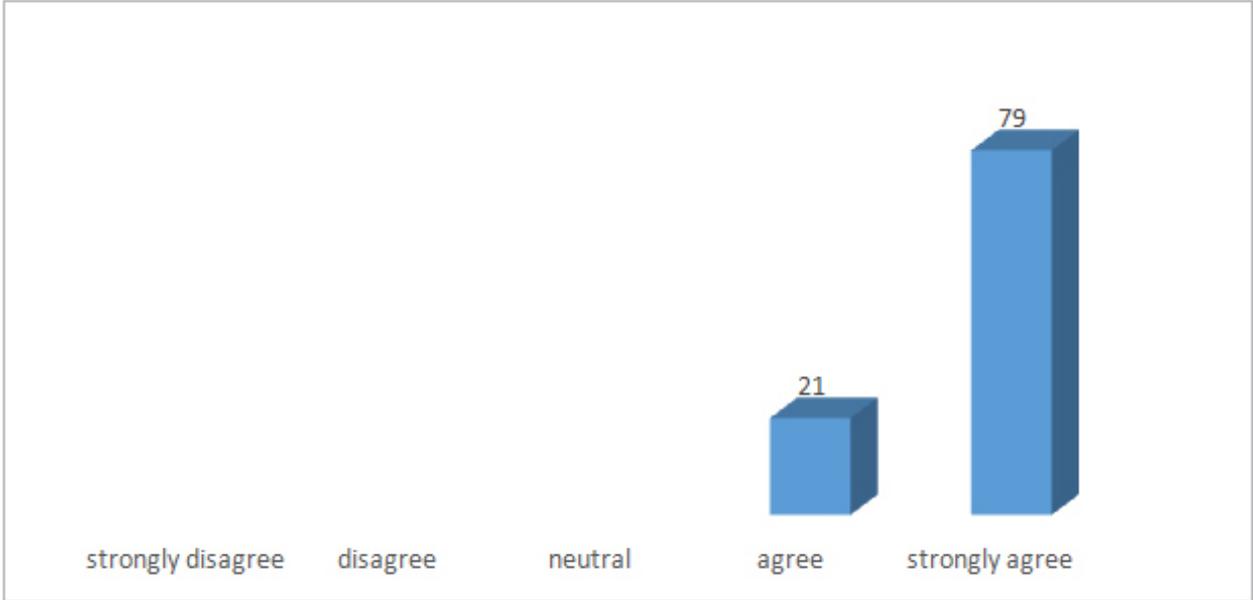
of cash. This shows that SMEs do not always have enough cash as a working capital component in their businesses. This tallies with similar studies such as (Bowen *et al.*, 2009; Uwonda *et al.*, 2013). On the study by Bowen *et al.* (2009), 55% of the respondents noted that debt collection was a serious challenge for SMEs. This explains the point by Uwonda *et al.* (2013) why SMEs always face cash flow problems. This make them to fail since it will be difficult to trade.

6.1.3 The Management of Working Capital

In this survey, 94% of the respondents indicated that they manage working capital on their own, 4% indicated that their working capital is managed by their employees and 2% indicated that it is their friends who manage their business's working capital. Majority of the respondents agreed that they do not hire accounting experts to manage their working capital. This can be shown by Figure 2 on the following page.

This is consistent with studies by Sunday (2011) and Atrill (2006), who point out that SMEs do not care about their working capital as indicated by absence of standard credit policies in their businesses.

FIGURE 1: Impact of working capital on growth of SMEs.



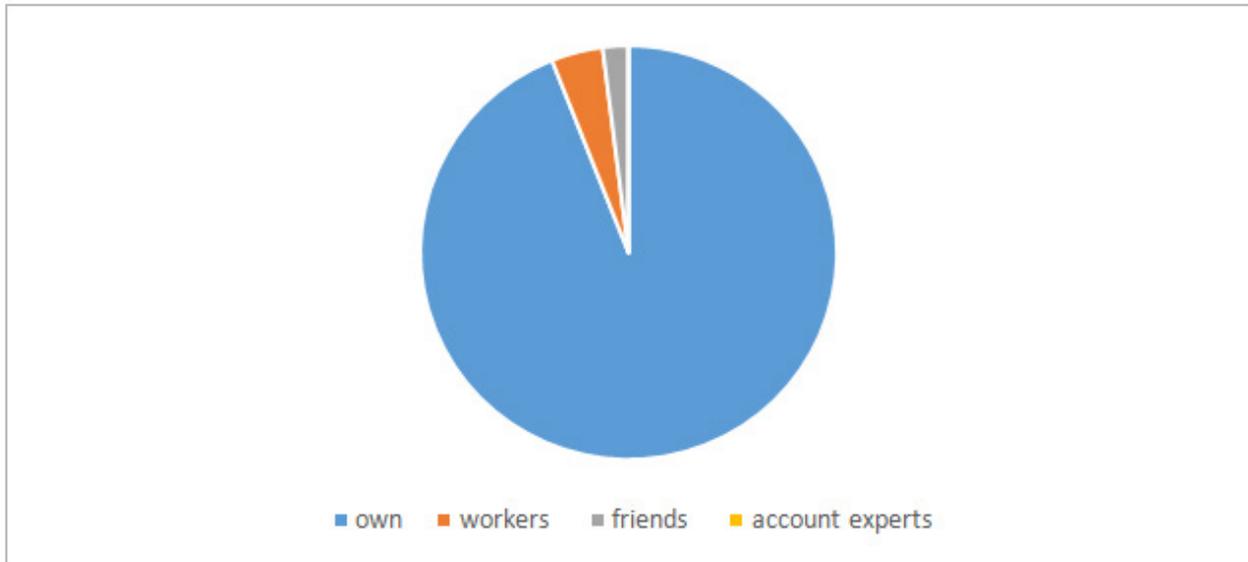
Source: Authors

TABLE 1: Components of working capital.

Debtors	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Cash	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
inventory	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Source: Authors

FIGURE 2: Management of working capital.



Source: Authors

6.2 Inferential Data Analysis

This section employed Pearson Correlation coefficient and the Canonical Correlation Analysis to test the hypothesis of the study.

6.2.1 The Impact of Working Capital on Growth of SMEs

The first null hypothesis states that the management of working capital has a lesser impact on the growth of SMEs.

As shown by Table 2, there is a positive association ($r=0.298$; $p=0.04$) between the impact of the level of debtors kept by a firm and the variables that cause

slow business growth. There is also a significant positive association ($r=0.531$; $p=<0.0001$) between the impact of excessive working capital on growth of SMEs and the amount of inventory kept by the firm. Furthermore, the correlation coefficient analysis indicates that there is a positive association between the effects of too much working capital and effective management of working capital. Therefore, from the above results the null hypothesis (**H₀**) was rejected and the alternative hypothesis (**H₁**) that the management of working capital has a greater impact on the growth of SMEs.

From Table 3 on the next page, the probability level is 0.012 which is less than 0.05 and this lead to the

TABLE 2: The impact of working capital on growth of SMEs.

	Eff Mgt	Imptoo	Impwkd	impactwc	impawi	slogr
Eff Mgt	1					
Imptoo	0.150	1				
Impwkd	0.098	-0.032	1			
impactwc	-0.135	-0.380	0.201*	1		
impawi	-0.088	-0.101	0.359*	0.531**	1	
slogr	0.078	0.165	0.298*	-0.208	-0.1890	1

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Source: Authors

TABLE 3: Canonical correlations section on hypothesis 1.

Variate Number	Canonical Correlation	R-Squared	F-Value	Num DF	Den DF	Prob Level	Wilks' Lamda
1	0.567597	0.322166	2.14	15	111	0.012732	0.495568

F-value tests whether this canonical correlation and those following are zero.

Source: Authors

TABLE 4: Canonical correlations section on hypothesis 2.

Variate Number	Canonical Correlation	R-Squared	F-Value	Num DF	Den DF	Prob Level	Wilks' Lamda
1	0.32085	0.102950	0.75	9	100	0.661144	0.85269

F-value tests whether this canonical correlation and those following are zero.

Source: Authors

rejection of the null hypothesis at 95% confidence level. The alternative hypothesis is supported which states that the management of working capital has a greater impact on the growth of SMEs.

6.2.2 Second Hypothesis Analysis

The second null hypothesis states that *SMEs do not implement effective ways to manage their working capital*. This hypothesis was tested based on the following variables; the management of working capital, planning of working capital, need for too much working capital, and the need for effective management of working capital. This hypothesis was tested using Canonical Correlation as indicated on Table 4.

Using the Canonical Correlation Analysis, the null hypothesis which states that *SMEs do not implement effective ways to manage their working capital* is not rejected at 95% confidence level. The p-value of 0.661 on table 4 above is greater than 0.05 which led to the non-rejection of the null hypothesis at 95% confidence level. The R-squared of 10% shows a weak positive association between the implementation of effective ways of management of working capital. The Wilks' Lamda of 0.852 is close to 1 which means that the Canonical Correlation is not statistically significant. The alternative hypothesis which states that SMEs implement effective ways to manage their working capital was totally rejected.

7. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study aimed at investigating the mediating role of effective working capital management on the growth

prospects of SMEs in Polokwane Municipality. Effective working capital management sets a step towards firm success and growth as sufficient levels of working capital can allow a firm to expand its operations. In addition, it was discovered that maintaining a positive liquidity position helps SMEs to take advantage of cash discounts therefore saving cash for expanding their operations. As indicated from the findings majority of SMEs are neglecting working capital management practices which augment failure. Most of the respondents indicated that they do not have guidelines and well documented policies to help them manage their working capital. An important observation made from the study is that SME owner/managers lack financial management skills, which is why they do not effectively manage their working capital. As this sector is important to the economy, concerned bodies such as the government, need to provide training facilities to this sector. The paper concludes by emphasizing the need for SMEs to effectively manage their working capital as it is the lifeblood of all growing businesses. The failure rate of SMEs continues to rise in South Africa. The extent literature indicated that the failure is somewhat attributed to ineffective management of working capital by SMEs. Worryingly the results indicated that SMEs still neglect the art of working capital management. Attached to that, the researcher found lack of financial management knowledge and skill as the main factor why SMEs do not actively embark on working capital management. The following recommendations are suggested.

The government is challenged to provide training facilities to SMEs to bridge the documented financial management skills gap. Furthermore, SMEs should be encouraged to embrace efficient working capital

management practices as a strategy to improve their liquidity and future growth prospects. On that note, SMEs owner managers are recommended to put in place credit policies, learn budgeting techniques, and master the art of cash conversion cycle to avoid following into insolvency and bankruptcy. Lastly, SME owner managers are encouraged to enrol for certificates or diplomas in financial management to enhance efficiency on how they manage their working capital or alternatively they should recruit employees with financial management skills.

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SOUTH AFRICAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION'S EDITORIAL COVERAGE OF COMMUNITY PROTESTS TOWARDS THE 2016 MUNICIPAL LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS: IMPLICATIONS FOR EDITORIAL POLICY

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ABSTRACT

This paper evolves from the South African Broadcasting Corporation's decision to selectively broadcast images of protesters expressing discontent over poor service delivery, particularly the destruction of public property towards the 2016 Local Government Municipal elections. It examines the editorial policy implications for such action against the public broadcaster's role to report news truthfully, accurately and objectively. As the sole provider of public broadcasting services in the country, the SABC is charged with the mandate to serve as a vehicle that carries the country's transformation agenda through contextualising national challenges, achievements and possibilities. This places high demands on the professional judgement of the editorial team to avoid being influenced by external pressure including that from political, commercial or other sectional interests in order to promote independent, transparent and non-partisan news coverage. However, following the new policy shift, the SABC was inundated with complaints as part of the national outcry that this action was tantamount to self-censorship and has the potential to trample on people's rights to freedom of expression, access to information and above all, their right to express unfettered dissent. Premised within the normative media theoretical framework, the paper argues that the editorial shift in news coverage has the potential to impede on the citizens' rights to exercise their "freedoms" in a democratic country. Furthermore, since the SABC is funded from the national fiscus, its editorial policy review initiatives must adhere to the standard code of practice, including holding consultative meetings with stakeholders. This will, among others, help the organisation to efficiently serve the populace to whom it is accountable as regulated in the broadcasting charter.

Keywords: Public Broadcaster, Transparency, Editorial Policy, Freedom of Expression, Protests.

1. INTRODUCTION

In the recent years, South Africa has been counted among countries with the highest rate of protest action globally owing to the modes of political engagement that arguably assist ordinary people to register their vested interests to satisfy their public demands (Ngwane, 2011). These community protests, also commonly known as "service delivery protests" are usually associated with poor provision or lack of clean water and sanitation, electricity, housing, and road infrastructure. This is further compounded by issues relating to high rates of unemployment, crime and non-availability of business opportunities among citizens, particularly those living in the townships (Mottiar & Bond, 2011). The Constitution of the Republic South Africa of 1996 provides that "everyone has the right, peacefully and unarmed, to assemble, to demonstrate, to picket and to present petitions", some scholars have noted with great concern the degree of violence and level of security risk that accompany such actions (Tshandu, 2010; Letsoalo & Molele, 2011). Nonetheless, these protests serve to highlight core issues relating to poor governance, ineffective management, poor housing administration (Mottiar & Bond, 2011) and possible poor implementation of existing policies. Hence, the country finds itself in a unique position where some critical aspects in governance operate in the defence mode against public demands for transparent governance and accountability.

After 1994, the need to reconstruct the national development goals through an all-encompassing South African identity has been the driving political imperative in South Africa. To communicate

this vision, the media, in particular public service broadcasting (PSB), has served as an important medium in the public sphere as it occupies a crucial role in strengthening democracy and the on-going process of democratisation (Horwitz, 2001). Although the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) has been the only provider of public broadcasting services in the country, it was transformed from a state controlled broadcaster into a public broadcaster after 1994 (Independent Broadcasting Authority Act 153 of 1993). The transformation of the SABC into a public broadcaster was intended to ensure the establishment of a public forum that is truly reflective of the political, social and economic outlook of the country and to serve as a pillar for the regeneration of the South African society (RSA: Government Gazette, 2009:18). However, in the period leading to the local government elections held on the 3 of August 2016, the SABC Chief Operations Officer (COO), Mr Hlaudi Motsoeneng announced the public broadcaster's decision to stop showing images of protesters expressing dissent in the form of violent community protests in its editorials. Special reference was made that the decision would apply particularly where the destruction of public property was involved. Arguably, the announcement was sparked by violent community protests following the ruling of the Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB) to include Vuwani community into the new Municipality of Malamulele in Limpopo Province (Tau, 2016). Protesters had blocked roads with debris, disrupted businesses and torched at least 23 schools in the Xitsonga speaking communities of Elim-kaBhungeni under Makhado Municipality. The new editorial policy shift sparked a national outcry from various stakeholders who view such action as being tantamount to self-censorship with potential to trample on citizens' rights to freedom of expression, access to information and above all, their right to express unfettered dissent. Therefore, the study examines the editorial policy implications for such action against the public broadcaster's obligation to report news truthfully, accurately and objectively in line with the standard editorial code.

2. PUBLIC SERVICE BROADCASTING, CIVIL RIGHTS AND MEDIA COVERAGE

2.1 The Role of the South African Broadcasting Corporation

Globally, public broadcasting is an initiative characterised by non-profit objectives, often government ownership, and involves the provision

of some form of broadcast service in the public interest (Armstrong, 2010:112). The entity is usually a government owned broadcasting company that does not focus on generating money through advertising but operates on the public-good principle. In South Africa, the SABC's duty can be understood in terms of its mandated responsibility to provide consistent, relevant and high-quality information which all South Africans can rely on as the basis for public debate, opinion formulation and achieving common goals.

2.2 The Mandate of the SABC

The SABC's mandate as a public broadcaster originates from the public broadcasting service and charter of corporation, which defines its objectives. The Charter is laid down in chapter IV of the Broadcasting Act 4 of 1999 (as amended) and requires the SABC to promote the development of South African expression by providing, in the eleven official languages, a wide range of programming that reflects South African attitudes, opinions, ideas, values, and artistic creativity. The Charter further promotes the development of South African talent in educational and entertaining programmes offering a plurality of views and a variety of news, information and analysis from a South African point of view to advance the national and public interest (RSA: Government gazette, 2009). Fundamentally, the public service broadcasting was established to promote cultural and educational programming of human interest and importance that would normally be ignored by other media platforms such as commercial channels. It is a service that is rendered to the public for pursuance of national goals relating to democracy, culture and development with a goal to overcome the short-term and unpredictable demands of elite consumers by focusing on the national interest (RSA: Government gazette, 2009). Essentially, the SABC is communally goal orientated, and focuses largely on the goals and informational needs of the entire citizenry. This is evident in its operational model which advocates for provision of services in pursuance of public goals based on accountability and responsibility, diversity and choice, contribution to national identity, social cohesion and development (RSA: Government gazette, 2009:16). This is applicable to all its 18 radio stations, 3 free-to-air television channels (SABC 1, 2 and 3) and 2 subscription-based channels (SABC Encho) and SABC news (Channel 404).

2.3 Funding Model

For a public service broadcasting, the funding mode is a central public interest principle which

ensures editorial freedom and limits the influence of advertising on content development. In a democratic environment like South Africa, diversity of opinion is intimately related to the principle of independence. Public broadcasters are not expected to raise funds in the same way as private or commercial broadcasters do. The need for independence from the corporate sector and government flows directly from the guarantee of freedom of expression and accompanying human rights (Mendel, 1999). Thus, independence and freedom from commercial pressures and government within a public broadcaster rests with the funding model as an attendant risk of interference. While it may not be assumed that the independently funded public broadcaster is immune to political interference (Ciaglia, 2015), the credibility of a public broadcaster should not be linked to its funding model alone. Instead, the level of creativity to foster the ability to be wholly independent from both the state and commercial pressures is what should be considered. In some instances, the public service broadcaster can become captured by the market where advertisers could in fact be a greater threat than any politician or political party (Mendel, 1999).

2.4 SABC Editorial Code and Programming Imperatives

Despite the significance of PSB elements such as geographic availability, national identity outlook, cultural relevance and inclusivity of minority interests, this section focuses on the editorial code, diversity of content and current affairs programming as critical aspects in understanding the editorial obligations of the SABC to society.

2.4.1 Editorial Code

The SABC editorial code provides that the public broadcaster must be independent, which entails that it should neither be state nor commercially controlled. The relationship between the SABC and the government must be as transparent as possible where the former must be able to resist political pressure, but maintain control of the provision of news and current affairs. The editorial obligation of the public broadcaster (SABC) is to address citizens' informational needs, through content that is intended to create an understanding of the citizens' cultures, histories and ideas, and contextualising the country's problems, achievements and possibilities (Fourie, 2009). Fourie further states that the SABC should be accountable to the public it serves by adhering to criteria documents such as the editorial

and programming policies as well as codes of practice drawn up to guide the public broadcaster's operations. These documents are also used as the foundation for self-assessment, which should be made available to the public.

2.4.2 Diversity in the Range and Variety of Content

As a public service broadcasting, the SABC provides a variety of programmes, including shows of an educational and informative nature. The obligation of diversity in programming derives from the public's right to know and serves to ensure that the public has access to information about a wide variety of issues and concerns including news on service delivery matters. The World Radio and Television Council (2000:10) outlines several dimensions of diversity in public broadcasting such as opinion-oriented diversity (based on individual assertions); individual and group-oriented diversity which provides important societal forces and groups with opportunities to express themselves; issue-oriented diversity that covers a sufficiently broad spectrum of issues in programmes; territorial diversity which addresses coverage of views and news from the various regions, local and supra-national areas and lastly, format diversity, which entails a balanced provision of content across the various programme categories, particularly information, entertainment, education, and consumer advice. Public broadcasting is structured so as to encourage competition in good programming rather than competition for audiences (Government gazette, 2009). This entails programmes that reflect a commitment to diversity of sources and provision of opportunity for public participation from viewers of diverse origins and socio-economic statuses. However, the number of independent content producers for South African public media remains a challenge due to, but not limited to geographic location in the various parts of the country and lack of human skills to ensure a diversity of voice and opinions.

2.4.3 Current Affairs Programming

In addition to promoting diversity of content, one of the key goals of public broadcasting is to provide quality programming which meets the informational, cultural and educational needs of the recipient population. This involves wide-ranging and full spectrum programmes which usually include news and current affairs, investigative reporting, talk shows and debates, cultural programmes, musicals and sport. In addition, the language policy requires the broadcaster to offer broadcasting services in

all of the 11 official languages of the country and provide both local and foreign content (Independent Broadcasting Authority Act 153 of 1993). While responsible scheduling informs all programming activities, on current affairs, the SABC is specifically required to report news truthfully, accurately and objectively. It is the responsibility of SABC journalists and editorial staff to ensure that their reportage does not lead to any form or perception of inequity or prejudice. In this regard, the staff may not allow their professional judgement to be influenced by pressure from political, commercial or other sectional interests (Press Freedom Commission, 2012).

2.5 Contextualisation of Community Protests and Media Coverage

An understanding of the context within which community protests occur in South Africa emanates from the mutual co-existence between the government of the day, recipients of service delivery and the media as intermediaries. This is so, because the government needs the media to communicate its policies whereas the public/society needs the media to inform them about the quality of services to be delivered. As such, the need for the media to monitor the quality of service delivery is a constitutional imperative associated with the upholding of human rights and maintenance of optimal standards of living among citizens. This constitutional obligation is further augmented by the *Batho Pele* policy framework, which implores the public to rely on the government to provide direction in line with the implementation of the National Development Programme initiatives. The principles also require that the media keep the public informed about the way in which services are provided (Tshishonga & Mafema, 2010:561). This stance concurs with Rosen's (2012:34) assertion that classifies the media as public opinion shapers that bring issues to the public's attention, affect how the issues are framed, and also give voice to stakeholders such as opinion leaders, civic groups and the citizens.

In view of the above context, service delivery must effectively be provided to the public in order to meet the basic needs of all South African citizens (Tshandu, 2010:46). Decisions about what services should be delivered is a subject that needs to be debated through public participation. However, such public participation is also subject to the guidelines of public accountability which in essence brings in the SABC as a major role player in public service delivery.

The involvement of the SABC also ensures adherence to democratic values and determines the nature of interaction that the public has with government. Thus, the media's coverage has a bearing on how the principle of public participation is realised, and therefore remains an indispensable tool to obtaining public participation and ensuring accountability in service delivery. As a "force multiplier", the media usually enhances proper adherence to the principle of public participation which requires constant communication and public involvement. This is essentially as a critical strategy for monitoring service delivery and promoting good governance (Tshandu, 2010:46-70).

3. THEORETICAL PROPOSITIONS FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING

3.1 Social Responsibility Theory

The social responsibility theory came as a result of the 20th century communication revolution in reaction to the libertarian emphasis on the free flow of information. It is associated with the new dimension of media ownership and control market structure that places an obligation on media operators to act in a socially responsible manner towards society. Firstly, this was to ensure that the views of both dominant and minority groups were represented in the media, and secondly, to ensure that the public were provided with sufficient information to enable them to form independent opinions (Roelofse, 1997). The theory maintains that the media have an important function to fulfil in society, especially with regard to supporting democratic political principles and to operate as an apparatus that should serve the public without government interference. It defines guidelines that the media should follow in order to fulfil its obligation of serving the public (McQuail, 1987) including the responsibility of journalists, reporters and producers of media content. This responsibility also implores media users to become media literate and maintain high, yet reasonable expectations of the media. As a moral obligation to society, responsible journalism empowers the public with the ability to determine what is right and what is wrong, and to take action to preserve the "public good" within the context of the law. In addition, the theory postulates that society is entitled to expect high professional standards from the media practitioners and justifies intervention if the media fail to meet particular standards of practice (Roelofse, 1997).

Furthermore, the theory advances the media's collective responsibility to represent all social groups and reflect the diversity of society by giving people access to a variety of perspectives as well as the right to respond to varying viewpoints. Notably, the media should also avoid publishing information that can lead to crime, violence or social disruption, as well as information that can offend ethnic or religious minorities (Roelofse, 1997:54). In this case, the media's obligation is for proper custody, care and safekeeping of media users' informational needs. Moreover, social responsibility entails the necessity for the editorial staff to keep society's interest as a top priority in an effort to promote collective or public interest responsibility. This concurs with the view that the media could be self-regulating by adhering to specific precepts such as the obligation to preserve freedom; self-regulation; upholding high standards of professionalism and objectivity, and balanced reporting of news (Press Freedom Commission, 2012).

3.2 Development Media Theory

This theory applies to the developing nations' adoption of alternative media paradigms in reaction to the normative approaches which have been associated with western democracies. It acknowledges that, for several decades developing nations have built their systems on a colonial legacy that made little provision for the unique conditions of poor countries. These countries' systems still lack adequate infrastructure, technical and professional skills, and resources for cultural development due to weak financial standings. This predicament is compounded by the high level of illiteracy and the diversity of languages applicable to these nations' formal and informal communication contexts (Roelofse, 1997). The theory deplores the dependency syndrome associated with the erstwhile neo-colonialism and cultural imperialism of the former colonial powers such Britain and France. After attaining independence, a majority of developing countries have advocated for the positive use of the media to promote national development, autonomy and cultural identity in order to deconstruct this syndrome (McQuail, 1987). They have adopted this approach as a development strategy to provide a delivery mechanism that thrives on the organic values of the recipients of their services. Thus, the approach is based on developmental attributes such as participation, cultural identity, community empowerment, and dialogical communication (Banda, 2003). For this reason, a new regulatory framework for broadcasting was adopted in South Africa in the early

1990s, to encapsulate a progressive broadcasting system compatible with a developmental state (Broadcasting Act 4 of 1999). In the current context, globalisation of the media and the imminent threat to poor nations' national cultural sovereignty presents potential for an overriding of local public interest imperatives. Therefore, public broadcasters in the developing world have to prioritise national content by promoting the expression of ideas, opinions and values of the society where they operate (The World Radio and Television Council, 2000).

4. THE SABC'S EDITORIAL ROLE, CIVIL RIGHTS AND DEMOCRATISATION

As highlighted by Hallin and Mancini (2004), in their daily operations, media entities tend to reflect the political, social and cultural characteristics of the environment within which they function. The discussion below describes the SABC's editorial mandate against civil rights and further examines how this interface impacts on the democratisation process in South Africa.

4.1 The Challenge to Editorial Independence

Editorial independence in any PSB system involves "maintenance of high standards and ... preservation of a high moral tone" (Scannell, 1990:13), in order for it to fulfill its obligated mandate. This is critical in ensuring professional and objective reporting of news that helps to foster accountability in governance. To ensure this, the SABC is subject to several monitoring mechanisms such as parliament, the regulator (Independent Communications Authority South Africa), Broadcasting Complaints Commission of South Africa (BCCSA) and Chapter 9 institutions to guard against editorial compromises. However, recent developments at the SABC have revolved around the controversial appointment of Mr Hlaudi Motsoeneng as Chief Operations Officer (COO) and his unfettered powers to make unpopular programming changes including unilaterally declaring 90% local content broadcasts on all SABC radio stations. This circus started when he took over as *de facto* Chief Executive Officer of the SABC, a position which is primarily an editorial role (Ciaglia, 2015:10). Such action irked some of the editorial staff and wide sections of civic society, leading to lawsuits where the courts reversed the SABC board's decision to appoint him as COO.

Following these events, there has been "back and forth" litigation battles until the parliamentary

committee on communications intervened by requesting the board to be dissolved amid conflicting views from stakeholders such as the ruling party (African national Congress), opposition parties and civic group organisations. As such, it can be observed that, while the SABC has drifted from a strictly controlled to a free and independent broadcaster with the advent of democracy, editorial independence remains under threat. This demonstrates the degree to which non-editorial management's personal political affiliation or preferences, may effectively interfere with the public broadcaster's editorial responsibility (Wasserman, 2010).

4.2 Effects of Gatekeeping and Self-Censorship on Delivery of Public Service

Although every news channel has its own editorial policies and code of practice, it is the editors who finally decide the news items for inclusion in their news bulletins. While most of the news items often make it to the copy stage, others get rejected due to organisational or ideological suitability in the gatekeeping process (Day, 2008:10). This often entails different forms of information control that arise based on decisions about message encoding such as selection, shaping, displaying, timing, withholding or the repetition of entire messages or message components (Kline & Tichenor, 2006:44). While gatekeeping is a system of rules, editorial checks and other verification processes important to journalism ethics, if poorly managed, it often leads to sanctioning of news. This often results from a culture of self-censorship or the so-called *don't rock the boat culture* which is on the rise at the SABC (Ciaglia, 2015:9). This culture of "fear" exerts indirect influence on the performance of the editorial team and has the potential to influence the quality and objectivity of media content delivered to the citizens (Evans, 2014:108). The work ethic gradually develops into a soft stance to appease authorities by avoiding serious critique of and any effort that may be deemed upsetting to the ruling party. Thus, self-censorship is a self-serving mechanism that does not advance the broader goals of the public broadcaster, but erodes the professional culture meant to fulfil the delivery of public service to citizens.

4.3 External Pressure Including Political Interference

Although public broadcasting entities are often exposed to the risk of politicisation for numerous reasons, the nature of their funding model is

arguably the most problematic element. In South Africa, the state has historically been one of the most effective influential agents in the public broadcasting sector due to the "parastatal" model which broadcast services are owned by the state. In the recent years, this relationship represents an indirect consequence of an overlap between the governing party and the public broadcaster (Ciaglia, 2015). Despite the subtle 'non-linear' political interference at play at the SABC, the recent legal altercations involving managers and board members over appointment of senior staff and composition of the board, are a symbolic offshoot of both the internal and external efforts to align the broadcaster towards "the powers-that-be ... particularly when it comes to controversial decisions that may offend the Government or the ruling party" (Duncan & Glenn, 2010:49). Hence, the fact that the public broadcaster finds itself dithering in a defense mode to justify both its institutional and editorial jurisprudence over who should do what and how, is symptomatic of clandestine political insinuations linked to broader power dynamics. While it is undeniable that political interference at the SABC still exists as before, Ciaglia (2015:10) observes that, the actual shift has drifted from a linear to an entrenched PSB politicization, albeit in subtler ways than hitherto. Under such conditions, it is clear that the public may lose confidence and no longer view PSB as the erstwhile espoused champion and carrier through which the transformational agenda of the country could be achieved.

4.4 Public Mandate, Public Participation and Democratisation

As the fourth pillar of the state, the media share a responsibility to contribute to political, economic and social development of any nation in ways consistent with democratic principles, particularly objective reporting. Despite the current global multi-media environment, PSB remains critical in organising and packaging content that people use to make sense of the world around them (Golding & Murdock, 2009). It is the means through which society obtains knowledge and an understanding of their immediate environment as well as experiences. In South Africa, the SABC occupies a distinctive position of trust based on its public mandate towards the delivery of public service to the people. This mandate is driven by broadcasting services in pursuance of public goals on the basis of accountability and responsibility to contribute towards national identity, social cohesion and development (RSA: Government Gazette, 2009:16). This is important in

a democracy where public participation is premised on the public's right to know. However, public participation works when citizens have adequate information about the decisions and actions of those in authority to hold them accountable. This serves to galvanise the emancipatory role that PSB plays in a democracy, as a thrust that prompts citizens to make more demands in terms of expected quality of services and fair distribution of resources (Ciaglia, 2015). Furthermore, public media also serves as an essential platform that helps to inform the electorate's decision making process regarding electoral processes and to interpret ideological positions presented by various contenders. As a result, people can elect their government based on an understanding of the democratic values that it stands for rather than on patronisation. This concurs with the view that economic and social development is more likely to be achieved and sustained in societies that are democratic and well informed (RSA: National School of Government, 2015). Thus, in this context, responsible reporting of events has the potential to enhance democracy through promoting transparent and accountable governance in the country's leadership.

5. CONCLUSION

This paper acknowledges that the post 1994 national communication paradigm in South Africa was adopted in recognition of the media's role as both the watchdog and gatekeeper in society "to serve as an intermediary between government and its publics" (Kline & Tichenor, 2005:43). In the initial years, the public broadcaster was lauded for its ability to influence and shape South Africans' understanding of the negotiated political transition and the popularisation of benchmarks of the new democracy such as the first democratic election in 1994, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the Constitution of 1996. Therefore, owing to its potential to intensify the uptake of the transformational agenda, the public broadcaster ought to be as comprehensive as possible in its coverage of critical issues of national interest including national and local government elections. Given that the media are accepted as transmitters of reality and have the capacity to influence public opinion (McCombs, 2004), it is essential that their coverage of issues with potential to stir controversy be holistic, and that they adhere to standards of professional practice. The paper argues that the said editorial shift in news coverage has the potential to impede on the citizens' rights to exercise their "freedoms" in a democratic country. As such, socially

responsible journalism should not be extended to undermine freedom of expression by side-lining views of persons with dissenting opinions and marginalising "trouble-makers who provide radical critiques of the political status quo" (Wasserman, 2010:14).

Furthermore, since the SABC is funded from the national fiscus, its editorial policy review initiatives or policy shift must adhere to the standard code of practice, including the willingness to hold consultative meetings with stakeholders. This will, among others, help the organisation to efficiently serve the populace to whom it is accountable as regulated in the broadcasting charter to avoid self-serving subjective stances. To guard against political interference at the SABC, there should be willingness from political office bearers, including those in the legislature and the executive, to abstain from interfering with the operational business of the public broadcaster. The broadcaster must resist political meddling by remaining in charge of the editorial policy and current affairs programming. This has the potential to restore public confidence and may result in the SABC developing requisite social capital among its stakeholders including civic groups and the general public. This is significant in order to convince them that the broadcaster is indeed independent of external pressure and therefore can be entrusted to spearhead transformation and strengthen democracy in the country.

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LACK OF SERVICE DELIVERY IN THE FORM OF QUALITY TEACHING AND THE SECONDARY SCHOOL LEARNER MIGRATION

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ABSTRACT

The paper critiques how persistent under-delivery of some secondary schools, orchestrate and trigger learner migration to better performing schools. The paper is both conceptual and empirical in nature. Document study and interviewing techniques were used to collect data from three selected secondary schools in one of the Districts of Limpopo Province. Research participants from whom data were generated included the school governors, members of the Representative Council of Learners and the School Management Team members. Research findings reveal that firstly, continuous excellent learner results, market a school. Secondly, that no single learner ever resists any good lesson in a school. Thirdly, that in any school, its learners serve as its own fundamental and dependable ambassadors in the wider community. Fourthly, that every school holds a key for its own greatness. As part of the conclusion, the researcher recommends that current public secondary school managers need to be instructional leaders par excellence, to continue to make their educational institutions schools of choices. Such a shift of focus and operation, is likely to enable schools to have a sustainable edge over their educational competitors.

Keywords: Context, Hurdle, Principles, Priority, Structure.

1. INTRODUCTION

Learners populating schools are normally not born and bred in schools. They are sourced from a society. The circle is completed when upon graduation, such learners get back to their societies to render a service. Thus, the connectivity between schools and a society is undisputable. No talk of a school to the total exclusion of a society and vice versa (Arden, 2013:16). When learners conduct themselves when at schools, they would largely be mirroring their

own society. The opposite applies. On the basis of the preceding argument, it makes absolute sense to expect the society to play an irreplaceable role in the affairs of a school. In case a school under-delivers in its mandate of dispensing knowledge, a society has every right of knowing why and how best to mediate. The relationship between a school and a society dates back to time immemorial. A society has a capability of perennially and perpetually keeping a school functional and as a high performing institution. That occurs when classroom teachers are revolutionaries' par excellence (Allen, 2014:33). This will be conspicuous when with lessons delivered to learners inside classrooms, teachers' instructional proficiency is being coupled with managerial acumen to assist in creating a memorable and a theatrical classroom interaction between all the stakeholders. Where the society has an indispensable partnership with schools, there will be a little space for schools to underachieve. The active involvement of a society in the affairs of a school ascertains that not a single learner inside a classroom experiences a lethargic teaching in an uninspiring learning environment (Olivier, 2012:56). A scenario where there are learners who do not value schooling or who have been conditioned to failure other than to success, will not be there. This explicitly suggests that the active involvement of a society in a school is even likely to rehabilitate all teachers there to be averse to institutional underperformance (Horowitz, 2014:10). In addition, the active participation of a society in the affairs of a school, keeps teachers awake to never ignoring learner heterogeneity in class. Societal participation emphasises that every learner ultimately mirrors her own teacher. For instance, where teachers have made a transition from educational mediocrity to educational excellence, learners will reciprocate (Mentz & van Zyl, 2016:79). Furthermore, societal involvement reminds that nothing replaces the quality teacher-learner relations as one of the bedrocks of institutional performance. Schools sow a culture and tradition of refusing to

settle for less than the best for the sake of learners entrusted to them. It will not be a mountain to climb for schools in turning a new leaf from institutional under-delivery to a high delivering school, with the support of a society to schools.

The critical role of a society in the affairs of a school becomes even more explicit where a school is helped to develop a bounce-back philosophy as a result of the support received from a society. This is a philosophy that enables a school to set its own operational structures, systems and processes that are sustainable enough to facilitate self-recovery in an event where in one year a school under-performed. Societal partnership could be summed up through noting that it is a society that can make the commodity called schooling to sell as best as in the past with the crop of learners populating schools. With the society alongside learning institutions, schools could resurrect their stuttering performance (Templar, 2015:94). A genuine and goal-directed partnership of a school and society enables collaboration in creating a harmonious atmosphere that could turn a school into a great institution. The partnership enlightens an educational institution to the reality that no school, is created for under-delivery and failing of learners. The connectivity emphasises that schooling challenges faced, however herculean they could be, would be surmounted. That would enable a society and a school to represent progress and no longer educational decadence (Nyangia & Orodho, 2014:77).

Hofstee (2010:107) advises that a research topic is not synonymous to a research problem. Noting that, the problem of this paper is critiquing how learner migration is ascribed to the absence of quality teaching and learning in some schools. A plethora of literature reviewed, confirms that a school that persistently underachieves is likely to lose learners to another school that continuously performs. This therefore, implies that underperformance by a school constitutes a disservice to its stakeholders (Shamase, 2016:33). The research questions addressed in this paper are anchored on the Complexity Leadership Theory (de Vos, Strydom, Fouche & Delpont 2011:313). Those research questions are as follow: What prevent teachers from offering quality teaching to learners despite their adequate years of teaching experience and impressive teacher qualifications they possess? What are the ideas, concerns and aspirations of school governors and school management team members regarding the migration of learners from their school to other schools?

2. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The Complexity Leadership Theory (CLT) undergirds this paper. Since this paper is conceptual, empirical and qualitative in nature, the Complexity Leadership Theory was partnered with the qualitative research approach. A research question such as "in what way could under-delivery of secondary schools be opposed and defeated irrespective of the stakeholder orchestrating that under-delivery", could at best be researched through the guidance of the Complexity Leadership Theory (de Vos, Strydom, Fouche & Deiport, 2011:313). The theory reminds that Education Departments across the globe are faced with rapidly changing interactions, policies, regulations, technologies and effects of globalisations in the realm of educational practices. As such, Departments of Education find themselves having to lead in the development of strategies and other interventions that are complexity-driven within the complexity-generative scenarios. The fact that Departments of Education throughout the world were not established solely to curb and combat institutional ineffectiveness in the form of under-delivery by secondary schools, makes the application of the Complexity Leadership Theory the most appropriate theory for current school dynamics and ecologies. This theory is not grounded on bureaucratic structures like other theories. Of peculiar nature about this theory, is that it is grounded on sophistication and complexity (Mouton, 1996 & Coveney, 2003).

The issue of some secondary schools under-delivering is not as simple as it appears. Given the type and nature of teachers and learners operating in classrooms, it requires a complex theory that resonates with the current schooling sophistication. The theory enables schools to contend with constant complexities due to the rapidly changing realm of educational practices. Issues of teaching and learning are complex in the sense that they involve who teaches? Who is being taught? What is being taught? What is the manner of delivering the subject matter and how is the teacher received by learners inside and outside a classroom? As things stand, today's schools require a certain level of complexity to oppose and defeat challenges experienced in schools in their mandate of dispensing knowledge. Current school ecologies, are knowledge-based (Uhl-Bien, Marion & Mckelvey, 2007). Such knowledge has to be dispensed to learners by teachers being generated within and outside schools. Through innovative means, knowledge has to be adapted to each school's classroom ecology and its

own learners. As such, knowledge is fast becoming the main commodity and the swift-paced generation of that knowledge and novelty becomes fundamental to the survival of schools. Complexity Leadership Theory enables schools in their process of delivering knowledge, to adapt their level of complexity so that it is commensurate to the ecologies in which those schools operate. Despite myriad challenges which schools face in their process of rolling out curriculum, they demand proportionate changes to ensure they stay afloat.

It takes complexity to defeat complexity. Complexity Leadership Theory ascertains that schools possess complexity equivalent to that of its environment in order to function effectively (McKelvey & Boisot, 2003). The Complexity Leadership Theory enabled the researcher to frame the paper as well as making meaning from the whole assertion of fallacious notions of under-delivery of secondary schools being ascribed either to teachers or to learners. The theory emphasises the importance of understanding and validating interpretations in their own contextual terms instead of stressing the need to verify interpretations against an "objective" world. The Complexity Leadership Theory allowed the researcher to learn the purpose of individual actors and social meanings that they share with each other in the process of teaching and learning. Much of the scholastic under-delivery by public secondary schools, is wrongfully attributable to either teachers or pupils. The Complexity Leadership Theory stresses that the traditional pattern that teachers teach, learners learn and administrators manage, is completely altered, to reflect the 21st century, where all stakeholders in a school, become lifelong learners.

Khanare (2008:37) cautions that these days teaching is about touching the souls of learners. This signifies that whoever teaches without reaching out at the souls of learners under her tutelage, could face antagonisms. Every teacher has to value the individuality of every learner as a precondition for quality teaching and learning that touches a learner's soul. Khumalo (2011:8) disputes the fallacious notion that it is learners in secondary schools who create institutional under-delivery and then learner migration. This is visible with his remarks to the effect that "do not try to fix learners, fix teachers". He proceeds to disclose that a good teacher makes a poor learner good and a good learner superior.

Davidoff & Lazarus (1997:16) articulate that in the 21st century, with the type of pupils populating

schools, it cannot be business as usual for teachers. This suggest that being guided by the Complexity Leadership Theory, the present day teachers have to lead with their hearts and excel with their souls when with current pupils. Apart from advising schools to always consider the complexity of their ecologies of operation, this theory warns schools to be involved in a renewal process. A school that operates along the Complexity Leadership Theory, is likely to take the concept of renewal very seriously such that learners there could as well be inspired and stimulated to remain teachable. The manner in which a school is structured, with systems and processes followed there, could emit an impression that pupils there are nuisance to the proper functioning of an institution and the production of brilliant learner results. That is no different from when a school succeeds and survives in projecting all its learners and teachers to be star performers of note. This suggests that some notions either correct or fallacious which members of the public have of schools; it is on the basis of how those schools project themselves to the wider public.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Out of the population of twelve public secondary schools in a Circuit, three were purposively sampled. In each institution, a School Principal, an SGB Chairperson and an RCL Chairperson were interviewed. The total number of research participants amounted to nine because every school contributed three. The three schools critiqued regarding the contribution of poor quality teaching to learner migration, are being referred to as Schools A, B and C. to protect their actual identities. That the three public secondary schools were still experiencing the challenge of learner migration, was a cause for concern that triggered this in-depth study. This paper is qualitative in nature because the problem addressed is critiquing why some public secondary schools are not offering quality teaching which could be a solution to learner migration. The nature of the problem was found to be researchable along the qualitative school of thought as against the quantitative line of thinking (Dawson, 2006 & Levin, 2005). The choice of the qualitative methodology, was triggered by the utilisation of the Complexity Leadership Theory. The researcher found a need to create a synergy between that theoretical framework and the qualitative approach as the overarching research methodology (Hofstee, 2010:115). Msina (2015:24) notes that with the Complexity Leadership Theory, issues of learner migration as experienced in some public secondary schools and being ascribed

to lack of quality teaching in schools, could be better critiqued.

The theory was applied to establish why some schools allowed learner migration to occur despite being aware of its dire consequences. Amalgamating the Complexity Leadership Theory and the qualitative research approach was based on the complexity of the problem under study. The combination enabled the researcher to make an in-depth understanding of how despite many years of teaching experience accompanied by impressive teaching credentials was quality teaching not occurring. In this paper, interviewing techniques and document study were utilised to construct relevant data. All the primary and secondary documents which contained information about poor quality teaching and learner migration were studied. To corroborate and triangulate the gleaned data, interviewing was conducted with three participants in each school. Responses were audio-taped for transcription later-on. The data collection tools were helpful in terms of accessing information pertaining to how the absence of quality teaching in some public secondary schools, is behind learner migration to better performing schools (Glattham & Joyner, 2005). Content analysis and the constant comparative methods were utilised to analyse the collected data. Analysis commenced when data collection started and was concluded immediately there were indications that all the collected data was making sense and talking to the aim of the paper. Again, data analysis was done in relation to the problem which the paper is attempting to address (Maykut & Morehouse, 1999, Hlogwane, 2016:36).

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The basis of these findings is the literature studied pertaining to quality of teaching in schools and how that inhibits learner migration away from schools (Knott-Craig & Rivett, 2015:53). In addition, the basis of these findings are the analysed data which were generated through the interviewing technique and the document study (Mouton, 1996). Focusing only on the sampled schools, ought not to create an impression that they are the worse off as regards lack of quality teaching which leads to learner migration. Suffice to disclose that the choice of those schools was on the basis of the researcher having familiarised himself with issues of learner migration and lack of quality teaching there. Some of the documents containing valuable data that emerged helpful as regards quality teaching in those schools included their School Improvement Plan (SIP) and Annual

Performance Plan (APP). Reports and minutes of the meetings held that related to the status of teaching and ways to improve it, were also perused. The Complexity Leadership Theory was instrumental in the analysis of the data to ultimately emerge with the findings which are the following: Excellent learner results market a school, learners do not resist a good lesson, learners are ambassadors in the wider community, and every learner holds a key for his own greatness. The discussion of the findings would confirm that quality teaching is one of the solutions for learner migration away from one school to the other (Olivier, 2012 89). A detailed discussion of each finding follows.

4.1 Excellent Learner Results Market a School

Brilliant learner performance helps to market a school. This is being confirmed by the fact that in schools, there are difficult-to-describe-factors which normally remain uncontrollable. From time immemorial, schooling has always been a complex process. As such, it is problematic to attempt to explain and interpret performance experienced in a school to a single cause. That way of doing things demonstrates a myopic and skewed view of schooling. On the above finding, Principal 1 of School A reasons that "it cannot be true to reduce poor performance produced by some secondary schools to the door-step of lack of quality teaching alone" SGB Chairperson 1 of School C proclaims that "it does not matter how much difficult or uncontrollable secondary school pupils could be, but arguing that when there are unpleasant results, teachers alone are the cause, is not convincing". RCL Chairperson 1 of School B intimates that "as secondary school pupils, the amount of power we could be enjoying cannot justify that underachievement of a school be chargeable to our beloved teachers alone to the total exclusion of other institutional factors". What stands out from the responses of the various research participants is that learner migration of public secondary scholars, as ascribed to poor quality teaching, is more complex than many notice. The intricacy and sophistication of schooling especially in the 21st century is such that any institutional under-delivery has to be comprehended in terms of all the variables and ecologies within which that school operates and functions (Badroodien, 2015:53). Excellent learner results market a school in the form of keeping learners in one school and even attracting others to come and school in their own institution other than migrating to other schools.

4.2 Learners as Not Resisting a Good Lesson

Current teachers and learners, require a different form of engagement and interaction given their evolution (Horwitz, 2014:35). No learner resists a good lesson (Tolsi, 2016:32). Principal 1 of School B contends that "being an institutional head of the 21st century requires one to place sufficient attention to quality lesson delivery inside the classroom to avoid disasters". SGB Chairperson 1 of School C notes that "by failing to service learners well in terms of preparing and presenting inspiring lessons, teachers would head for the learner defiance". RCL Chairperson 1 of School C remarks that "anything that borders on being wishy-washy and uninspiring to learners, will instantly be resisted against". Christie, Butler & Potter (2007) advise that in order to cope with the type of learners populating schools, teachers ought not to be found wanting.

4.3 Learners as Ambassador in the Wider Community

The survival and flourishing of schools and a society is impossible when de-linked to each other (Adam, 2005:68 & Sebola, 2015). The collaboration of schools and a society could turn every school into a real societal centre of excellence (Badroodien, 2015:41). Learners remain the reliable ambassadors of their own schools in the wider community. Principal 1 of School C advises that "members of a society benefit and gain more than they lose, by involving themselves in the affairs of their own schools". SGB Chairperson 1 of School A declares that "although at times we receive an implicit resistance when involving ourselves in the business of schooling, we know that this strengthens schools to provide quality schooling". RCL Chairperson 1 of School A consents that "without the societal participation in the business of teaching and learning, learners would remain burdensome to teachers and the image of a school could ground in the society". These findings emphasises how much schools and a society belong together (Union of South Africa, 1945:156).

4.4 Every School Holds a Key for its Own Greatness

Success and failure of every school resides in that school's teaching and learning classrooms (Xaba, 2004:314 & Tsheola, 2002). On the expressed point Principal 1 of School A asserts that "upon ensuring

that every minute of schooling is put to good use by school members, results produced will be a source of marvel and jubilation". SGB Chairperson 1 of School A concedes that "every school could surprise itself with the nature of results it produces, by learning to do things differently in line with conditions in its own school". RCL Chairperson 2 of School C emphasises that "each school that sticks to its plan of yielding magnificent learner results, will achieve wonders to the amazement of critics". All the responses remind that every school possesses a capability to perform beyond its measure (Hean & Tin, 2008:75 & Samier, 2008:7).

5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Some circuits in Capricorn District of Limpopo Province have secondary schools suffering from learner migration owing to lack of quality teaching. This is untenable and could make it difficult for the affected secondary schools to overturn their experienced perennial underperformance. This is a threat to overcome to salvage the future of learners. Considering that this paper only focused on one Education Circuit of Capricorn District, in Limpopo Province, it is vital that similar studies be carried out in other Circuits of this District or beyond, to establish the spread or severity of learner migration as ascribed to lack of quality teaching in schools. This could assist immensely in terms of determining how best to respond to it. Furthermore, the researcher recommends that learner migration need not be allowed to flourish because of its unpleasant consequences such as teacher rationalisation and redeployment. There is a need to determine from other Circuits how they deal with this problem of learner migration. This could enable the researched Circuit to be up to date on the progress and success made in containing learner migration. Finally, the researcher recommends that further studies be undertaken on this problem of lack of quality teaching and learner migration.

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THE STATUTORY ROLE OF SCHOOL GOVERNING BODIES IN SELECTED SECONDARY SCHOOLS: A STATIC CHANGE

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ABSTRACT

The paper interrogates why many secondary schools display semblances of operating like yester years despite the democratisation that occurred in 1994. The paper is empirical in nature. Document study and interviewing techniques were used to collect data from three selected secondary schools in one of the districts of the Limpopo Province. Research participants from whom data were collected included, School Governing Bodies, members of the Representative Council of Learners and School Management Team members. Research findings reveal firstly, that democratisation is more talked about than lived or experienced. Secondly, dearth of adequate accountability by institutional heads remains a disservice to many schools. Thirdly, failure to demand own space by institutional incumbents, remains a serious setback by organisational members. As part of the conclusion, the researcher recommends that public secondary schools have to genuinely embrace the 21st century manner of managing and leading schools, which is characterised by democracy and accountability by all institutional members. Such a refocus is likely to alert schools to the need of introducing the culture of institutional good governance other than sticking to what is currently happening in most schools.

Keywords: Context, Culture, Structures, Systems.

1. INTRODUCTION

How learners learnt prior to 1994 is different from how they are currently learning because of the evolutionary nature of schooling. Learners populating secondary schools are in the main difficult to subject under authority. Such learners are sourced from a society characterised by diverse social ills (Schutte, 2016:13). Those learners when in school, are not able to divest themselves of the

sordid influences from their society. Inability to adapt to a teaching and a learning environment of schools, creates a conflict between those learners and teachers. It behoves on a society to remedy that to allow appropriate teaching and learning environments in schools. The connectivity between schools and a society is never in doubt (Arden, 2013:16). When learners conduct themselves well when at schools, they would largely be mirroring their own society. School governing bodies as per law, are representing their communities in the affairs of schooling. They are awaited to influence the transformation of schooling to enable the provision of quality education to all learners (Allen 2014:33). This will be conspicuous when with lessons delivered inside classrooms, none of pupils displays signs of receding schooling. Such will assist in creating a memorable and a theatrical classroom interaction between learners and teachers. The support of a society remains invaluable. Again, a scenario where there are learners who do not value schooling or conditioned to failure other than to success, will not be there. This explicitly suggests that the active involvement of a society in a school is even likely to rehabilitate all teachers there to be averse to institutional underperformance (Horowitz, 2014:10). The active participation of a society keeps all teachers awake to never ignore learner heterogeneity in class. Societal participation emphasises that every learner mirrors her own teacher. For instance, where teachers have made a transition from educational mediocrity to excellence, learners will reciprocate. Societal involvement in schooling constantly reminds that nothing replaces the quality teacher-learner relations as one of the bedrocks of schooling. Societal involvement through partnering with schools, enables schools to sow a culture and tradition of always refusing to settle for less than the best for the sake of learners entrusted to a school. It will not be an insurmountable difficulty for schools in turning a new leaf from institutional

under-delivery to a high-delivering school, with the support of a society. Societies help schools to develop a bounce back philosophy which enables a school to set its own operational structures, systems, policies and processes that are sustainable enough to facilitate self-recovery in an event where in one year a school slipped with its scholastic learner results. Societal involvement could make a commodity called schooling to sell as best as in the past despite the nature of learners populating schools. With the society stand-by, schools are enabled to resurrect their stuttering performance (Templar, 2015:94). A partnership of a school and society enables a cooperation in creating a harmonious atmosphere that could turn a school into a great institution. It is the very partnership that enlightens an educational institution to the reality that no school, is created for under-delivery and failing of learners (Child, 2016:9). The connectivity of schools and a society emphasises that all schooling challenges faced, it does not matter how herculean they could be, a society and schools will always overcome them. That would enable a society and a school to represent progress and no longer educational decadence (Nyangia & Orodho, 2014:77).

Hofstee (2010:107) advises that a research topic is not synonymous to a research problem. On the basis of the above statement, the problem of this paper is interrogating why many secondary schools display semblances of operating like yester years despite the democratisation that occurred in 1994. A plethora of literature confirms that it takes long for a leopard to change its spots. This is to signify that an institutional head who has imbibed a particular culture of managing and leading a school, is likely to proceed in that manner of school management and leadership, despite the new dispensation in place. This is being aggravated by institutional incumbents who hardly fight for their space with regard to the way of school management and leadership which is out of zinc with present trends (Shamase, 2016:33). The research questions addressed in this paper are anchored on the Complexity Leadership Theory (de Vos, Strydom, Fouche & Delpoit 2011:313). Those research questions are as follow: What prevents School Governing Bodies from transforming schools to mirror the new dispensation of the country? What are the tactics, techniques and stratagems if any, which institutional heads employ to frustrate institutional transformation by School Governing Bodies? How can the performance of statutory roles by School, Governing Bodies enhance learner achievement?

2. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The Complexity Leadership Theory undergirds this paper which followed qualitative research approach in method and design. The theory was partnered with the qualitative research approach. The relevance the researcher finds in the theory and the qualitative research approach, triggered their amalgamation. A research question such as "in what way could under-delivery of secondary schools be resolved irrespective of the stakeholder orchestrating that under-delivery", could at best be researched through the guidance of the Complexity Leadership Theory (de Vos, Strydom, Fouche & Deiport, 2011:313). The theory reminds that Education Departments across the globe are faced with rapidly changing interactions, policies, regulations, technologies and effects of globalisations in the realm of educational practices. As such, Departments of Education find themselves having to lead in the development of strategies and interventions that are complexity-driven within the complexity-generative scenarios. Those interventions aim at addressing the prevailing under-delivery of secondary schools. The fact that Departments of Education throughout the world were not established solely to combat institutional ineffectiveness in the form of under-delivery by schools, makes the application of the theory most appropriate for such a dynamic ecology. The selected theory is not grounded on bureaucratic structures like other theories but on sophistication and complexity (Mouton, 1996, Coveney, 2003).

The chosen complex theory resonates with the current schooling sophistication and enables schools today to contend with constant complexities due to the rapidly changing realm of educational practice. Issues of teaching and learning are complex in the sense that they involve who teaches? Who is being taught? What is being taught? What is the manner of delivering the subject matter and how is the teacher received by learners? Today's schools, require a certain level of complexity to oppose and defeat complexities experienced in the schools' mandate of dispensing knowledge. Current schooling ecologies, are knowledge-based (Uhl-Bien, Marion & Mckelvey, 2007). Such knowledge has to be dispensed to learners by teachers and knowledge is generated within and outside schools. Through innovative means, knowledge has to be adapted to each school's classroom ecology and its own learners. Knowledge is fast becoming the main commodity and the swift-paced generation of that knowledge and novelty becomes fundamental

to the survival of schools. Complexity Leadership Theory ascertains that schools possess complexity equivalent to that of its environment in order to function effectively (McKelvey & Boisot, 2003). In the context of this paper, functioning effectively implies a situation whereby all vital and active educational stakeholders distinguish themselves as regards teaching and learning and having this being confirmed by learners through their talismanic scholastic learner results. Any talk of under-delivery of schools confirms that there is a stakeholder who is not yet excelling in the area of successful curriculum delivery. The Complexity Leadership Theory enabled the researcher to frame this paper apart from making meaning from the whole notion of fallacious notions of under-delivery of secondary schools being ascribed to learners. Acknowledging that teaching is an intentional and an interventional human activity, the theory was selected because of emphasising the importance of understanding and validating interpretations in their own contextual terms instead of stressing the need to verify interpretations against an "objective" world. The theory allows a researcher to learn the purpose of individual actors and social meanings that they share with others in the process of teaching and learning.

Khanare (2008:37) cautions that these days teaching is about touching the souls of learners. This signifies that whoever teaches without reaching out at the souls of learners, could face antagonisms. Every teacher has to value the individuality of every learner as a precondition for quality teaching and learning that touches a learner's soul and rehabilitates a learner from worrying less about fallacious notions of being pupils that create under-delivering schools, to remaining studious and goal-directed. Khumalo (2011:8) advises that "do not try to fix learners, fix teachers". He proceeds to disclose that a good teacher makes a poor learner good and a good learner superior. The implication is that under-delivery in secondary schools could at best be caused by teachers more than by learners. In view of the complexity of schooling, this is but not to exonerate learners altogether from the predicament of under-delivery. Davidoff and Lazarus (2002:16) articulate that in the 21st century, it cannot be business as usual for teachers. 21st century teachers have to be prudent classroom leaders and managers. Being guided by the Complexity Leadership Theory, current teachers have to lead with their hearts and excel with their souls when with pupils in schools. The theory warns schools to be involved in a renewal process (Herwitz, 2016:33). A school operating

along the Complexity Leadership Theory is likely to take the concept of renewal very seriously to inspire and stimulate learners to remain teachable.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Out of the population of twelve public secondary schools in a circuit, three were purposively sampled with a School Principal, an SGB Chairperson and a Representative Council of Learners' (RCL) Chairperson being identified for interviewing purposes. The total number of research respondents amounted to nine because every school contributed three. The three schools were interrogated as regards why they were displaying semblances of operating like yester years despite the democratisation that occurred in 1994. Those institutions were being referred to as Schools A, B and C to protect their actual identities (Ainley & Mckenzie, 2000:136). This paper is qualitative in nature because the problem addressed is interrogating why many secondary schools display semblances of operating like yester year despite the democratisation that occurred in 1994. The nature of the problem was found to be researchable along the qualitative school of thought as against the quantitative line of thinking (Dawson, 2006, Levin, 2005). The researcher found a need to create a synergy between the theoretical framework undergirding this paper and the qualitative approach as the overarching research methodology (Hofstee, 2010:115). Masina (2015:24) notes that with the Complexity Leadership Theory underpinning this paper, the challenge of why many secondary schools display semblances of operating like yester years despite the democratisation that occurred in 1994, is better interrogated. The theory was applied to establish why many School Governing Bodies in public secondary schools were allowing their institutions to operate in an untransformed fashion despite the current dispensation. This was despite some public secondary schools being served and serviced by erudite SGBs. Surprising was having such calibre of SGBs allowing schools to persist to offer poor quality teaching and learning as a result of the untransformed nature of those schools. In this paper, interviewing techniques and document study were utilised to construct relevant data. All the documents, primary and secondary which contained information about why some secondary schools were displaying semblances of operating like yester years, despite democracy, were studied. To corroborate and triangulate the gleaned data, interviewing was conducted with three respondents in each school. Responses were audio-taped for

transcription later-on. The two data collection tools were helpful in terms of accessing appropriate data on the problem under study (Glattham & Joyner, 2005). Content analysis and the constant comparative methods were utilised to analyse the collected data. Analysis of data commenced when data collection started and it was concluded immediately there were indications that all the collected data was making sense and talking to the aim of the paper. Again, analysis of data was done in relation to the problem which the paper is attempting to address (Maykut & Morehouse, 1999, Hlongwane, 2016:36).

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The basis of these findings is the analysed data which were collected through document study and the interviewing technique (Wragg & Partington, 1995:65). Focusing only on the sampled schools ought not create an impression that they were the worse-off as regards inability to transform and reflect the new dispensation currently in place and applicable in all schools in the country (Tsheola, 2002). The choice of those schools, was on the basis of the researcher having familiarised himself with issues of lack of performing statutory roles by SGBs there. Some of the documents containing valuable data that emerged helpful as regards placing those schools in the trajectory of transformation, included their School Improvement Plans (SIPs) and Annual Performance Plans (APPs). Reports and minutes of the meetings held, aimed at the transformation of those schools were studied. The Complexity Leadership Theory was instrumental in the analysis of the data. Findings discussed in this paper were drawn from the themes which would be shared underneath.

4.1 Democratisation as More Talked About Than Lived

Democratisation of public secondary schools is more talked about than actually experienced. This is being confirmed by the fact that in life just like in organisations, schools included, there are difficult to-describe-factors which normally remain uncontrollable. From time immemorial schooling has always being a contested terrain. It is problematic to attempt to explain and interpret lack of democratisation experienced in public secondary schools to a single cause (Horwitz, 2014:35). That way of doing things demonstrates a myopic and skewed way of looking at the enterprise of schooling

with its associated complexities. On the expressed matter, Principal 1 of School A reasons that "it cannot be true to reduce lack of democratisation in public secondary schools to resistance coming from the corner of school principals alone". SGB Chairperson 1 of School C proclaims that "it is true that it is not school principals alone who are launching a counter-revolution against the democratisation of secondary schools by SGBs, but that school principals are the primary instigators resisting change, is a point beyond dispute". RCL Chairperson 1 of School B intimates that "as secondary school pupils, we lament the inability of ourselves as internal stakeholders to work harmoniously to transform our schools to offer quality teaching and learning to all learners at all times. What stands out from the respondents is that yes there is failure to play the statutory roles by SGBs in some public secondary schools. The message is loud and clear. The intricacy and sophistication of schooling especially in the 21st century is such that all role players need to cooperate and corroborate in order to jointly take an enterprise of schooling forward. Failure to work collectively, could delay the democratisation of schooling which the current constitution and other Acts of parliament so passionately propagate (Badroodien, 2015:53).

4.2 The Absence of Accountability as a Disservice to Schools

Lack of accountability especially by SGBs remains a disservice to schools they are serving Tolsi (2016:32). SGB Chairperson 1 of School A admits that "there are instances when SGBs feel like intruders in the affairs of schools in terms of the rude treatment received especially from head-teachers when attempting to transform schools". RCL Chairperson 1 of School C reasons that "there are clear indications that many SGBs think their involvement in the affairs of schooling have to depend on the blessing of school principals who largely do not support power-sharing with SGBs who thus frustrate their involvement in schooling business". School Principal 1 of school B contends that "the whole arrangement of SGB being allowed to lead a certain section of schooling called governance, appears not to have been thoroughly researched, and as such it provides more problems than it could solve". The expressed statements reveal that yes there is shirking of responsibilities by SGBs but with reasons. One of the major rationale relates to conditions in many public secondary schools being hostile for SGBs to operate there and make an impact in institutional transformation (Christie, Butler & Potter, 2007 & Sebola, 2015).

4.3 Failure to Demand a Space Serves as a Setback

One of the reasons why many public secondary schools are not transforming to be in line with the new dispensation in operation, is because of institutional incumbents in those schools being contented with the status quo there (Shamase, 2016:33). Principal 1 of School C retorts that "in the 21st century, a school does not belong to the principal alone, but to all members inside and outside the school. But what happens when members withdraw? A principal will proceed to blow the trumpet as if it is still prior to 1994". SGB Chairperson 1 of School A declares that "although at times we receive an implicit resistance when involving ourselves in the business of our local schools, we know that it is human nature to do so, but do not forget, that because we have other responsibilities to discharge, we get tired of always pushing where we volunteer our services". RCL Chairperson 1 of School A consents that "serving in the SGBs with principals who are used to run schools alone, is more difficult and uncomfortable for many to know and continue to be school governors". On the basis of the utterances of the three respondents, the researcher gets a sense that things in schools are not a bed of roses. On the other hand, there is a sense of docility and gullibility by some institutional incumbents which allow principals free spaces of even reigning with terror. Some principals so much wield absolute powers with regard to what have to occur in their schools, such that without their blessings, nothing moves. Indications are that SGBs are in the main not fighting for their legitimate spaces to perform their legitimate governance function (Union of South Africa, 1945:156).

4.4 Misunderstanding of Statutory Roles as a Challenge

The execution of statutory roles by SGBs minimises institutional dys-functionality (Horwitz, 2014:35). School Principal 1 of School A asserts that "the whole SASA project is more contradictory than many notices, because on the one hand, it devolves powers to SGBs and on the other hand, accords a principal powers and status of being an accounting officer on functions not legitimately allocated to him to execute". SGB Chairperson 1 of School B reminds that "SASA as a guiding document is likely to have faults, but can't we work together as brothers and sisters and advance our schools to be admired by other nations, being guided by the same document? RCL Chairperson comments that "no doubt, clarity

is sought with regard to where the powers of the principal begin and end and where those of SGBs commence and end and what about those of RCL? The message sourced from the respondents confirm the confusion with regard to working together in schools by key stakeholders which SASA expects that they will together move a school forward but in vain. (Tsheola, 2002, Hean & Tin, 2008:75, Samier, 2008:7).

5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

There is a circuit in Capricorn District of Limpopo Province, whose secondary schools operate like in the past despite the new dispensation. This compromises the complexity of schooling and its evolutionary nature, as it is known to be. This is untenable and could make it difficult for the affected secondary schools to overturn their current perennial and perpetual stuttering performance. This is a challenge to overcome in the interest of salvaging the future of scores of school learners there. Pupils deserve quality public schooling. There is an urgent need for the 21st century school governing bodies to quickly learn to play their statutory roles especially in secondary schools, in order to influence those schools to be different when servicing current learners. This suggests that schooling has to be regarded to be a complex process that requires the active involvement of diverse stakeholders for its perpetual good learner results.

Considering that this paper only focused on one Education Circuit of Capricorn District, in Limpopo Province, it is vital that similar studies be carried out in other Educational Circuits of this District or beyond, to establish the spread of the problem of schools displaying semblances of operating like yester years despite current democratisation. Furthermore, the researcher recommends that transformation deserves to, be taken seriously by the Provincial Education Departments in view of its calamitous and disastrous outcomes when ignored for long. The researcher recommends that it be determined from other Education Circuits how they deal with this problem of not playing statutory role by SGBs. Finding out from fellow Education Circuits could enable the researched Circuit to be up to date on the progress and success made in resolving the challenge. Finally, the researcher recommends that further studies deserve to be undertaken on the articulated problem for better resolution purposes.

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OPERATION SUKUMA-SAKHE AS A SERVICE DELIVERY MODEL AT UGU DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY, KWAZULU-NATAL PROVINCE

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the potential role of employing of Operation Sukuma-Sakhe (OSS) as a service delivery model at Ugu District municipality. Ugu is one of the 11 districts of KwaZulu-Natal province in South Africa. Ugu has been selected as the case study due to the fact the district is challenged when it comes to service delivery and infrastructure development. The OSS programme has been designed to expedite service delivery and development by addressing communal challenges such as poor or non-existent service delivery and lack of coordinated government programmes and co-operative governance efforts. The paper argues that the effective success of OSS depends on political commitment and support. This can be done through interactive governance and social contract with various departments, the community, and citizens as both recipients and agents of service delivery. This paper is underpinned by social contract theory as the analytical framework. Primary data was sourced from interviews with OSS regional officials and supplemented by documentary data from the literature and state and local government sources.

Keywords: Operation Sukuma-Sakhe, Social Contract, Service Delivery Model, Ugu District Municipality, KwaZulu-Natal Province.

1. INTRODUCTION

Throughout the world, local government is distinct to other levels of government on the basis that it can perform the role of service delivery and of promoting good governance (Amtaika, 2013 & Sebola, 2015). In addition to these utilitarian and civic education duties, Mill (in Heywood, 2000:250) adds that local government as a means of guaranteeing liberty by checking the exercise of central power and as a mechanism through which popular participation can be broadened. Thus, local government is empowered to control local affairs, staff, institutional and financial

resources aimed at initiating and directing provision of services (Pillay *et al.*, 2015:35). These functions can only be executed through the devolution and active local participation of the citizenry. Effective and efficient delivery of services and the creation of a forum for people's input are central to the existence and function of local government (De Vries, 2016:67). Accordingly, for local government to be effective, efficient and productive in executing aforementioned functions, the decentralisation policies should be accompanied by administrative capacity to deal with the complex nature of local governance (De Vries, 2016). Without the administrative and financial capability, local government will dismally fail to provide public services such as education, health services, housing, infrastructure, local economic development, public order and safety, recreation and sports, water and sanitation.

The restructuring of local government since 1994 was spearheaded to redress the service' delivery backlogs and fast tract development at local level. Various policies and programmes were introduced to institutionalise local government as the sphere of government within developmental mandate (Constitution, 1996 and White Paper on Local Government, 1998). Nationally, legislations were accompanied by tailor-made programmes such as Project Consolidate, Siyenza Manje, Local Government Turnaround Strategy, and the Back to Basics. All these programme interventions were aimed at redressing service delivery and infrastructural development deficiencies encountered by municipalities throughout South Africa (Tshishonga, 2015).

Considering that KwaZulu-Natal province is one of the poverty stricken provinces hence various initiatives have been introduced to deal with service delivery related challenges. Programmes such **One Garden One Home** was introduced to encourage people to establish gardening in their respective homes. Accordingly, the programme became an important

initiative especially in combating food insecurity in the province. Through the programme, homes, school-grounds and communities were encouraged to start food gardening aimed at reducing poverty and underdevelopment, thereby promoting a nutritious diet (Tshishonga, 2012:21). Operation Sukuma-Sakhe (OSS) is one of the programmes introduced to provide services through social contract among government departments, civil society and citizens. In this paper OSS programmes is interrogated as a service delivery model within the Ugu District Municipality. The paper argues that the effective success of OSS depends on political commitment and support. Primary data sources were elicited from interviews with OSS regional officials, supplemented by documentary data from the literature and state and local government sources.

2. GROUNDING SOCIAL CONTRACT ON GOOD GOVERNANCE

Fox and Meyer (1996:120) define social contract theory as a theory of government that states that the justification and origin of the state is based upon a contractual agreement amongst members of a society. In the South African local government context, social contract is based on the interface between governance and citizenship. Social contract is known as a theory of social order which was made popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Marshall, 1998:609). The theory could be traced back to the idea of Plato as an unwritten agreement between the state and its citizens whereby rights and duties are expressed. Rousseau, for example lays the ideal contract, unfortunately with no real distribution of power while Hobbes argued that security and order could only be achieved by contract in which all citizens could give up all their individual powers to a central power (the sovereign), in return for the protection of life and property (Marshall, 1998:610)

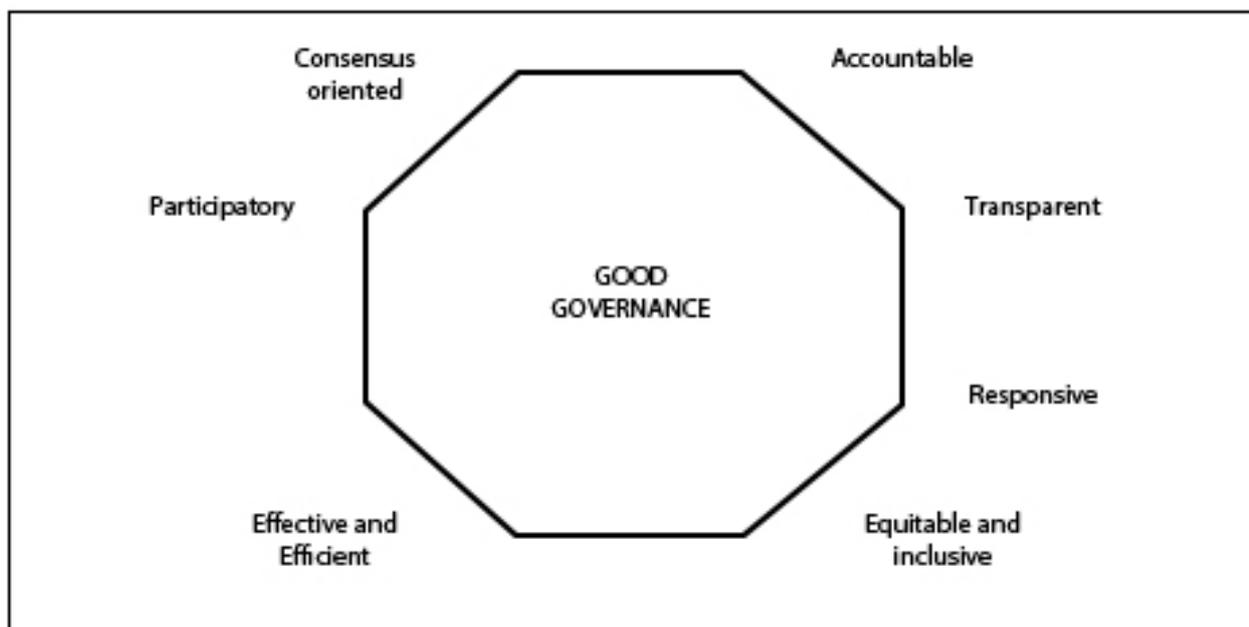
The theory on social contract is grounded on good governance. In essence, the intrinsic relationship between the state and citizens is based on values and principles of accountability, transparency, responsiveness and equitable inclusiveness, consensus oriented, participatory, follows the rule of law and should be effective and efficient (ESCAP, 2007:3). Thus, social contract is underpinned by supply and demand side of governance which takes place within a negotiated deliberation and dialogue between the state and its citizens (Knight *et al.*, 2002). Knight *et al.* (2002:164) associate supply side of governance to include what the state can do while

the demand side has to do with the actions of the citizens. Dassah and Tshishonga (2011:1) argue that governance and good governance are ubiquitous phenomena and occupy centre-stage in global political and developmental discourse. Whereas, the 'notion of governance is old and familiar,' 'good governance' is a recent term reflecting citizens' new expectations of governing actors (Druke, 2007:61). Good governance focuses on norms (Ayee, 2007:2) and the quality of governance is determined by the impact of exercising authority through formal and informal institutions in the management of state resources on the quality of life enjoyed by the citizen (Huther and Shah, 2005:40). The notion of good governance gained its prominence in international aid circles from the 1990s (Doornbros, 2003:3). Such prominence ascends to the public arena due to a decline in citizens' confidence or trust in governance (Nye, 2004:4) and a growing concern about development, particularly in Africa, it has become customary not to just talk about governance, but good governance. The United Nations Economic and Social Commissions for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP, 2006:1 & ESCAP, 2007:3) identified eight characteristics as attributes attached to good governance (see Figure 1 on the next page).

One of the attributes of good governance is participation which involves the marginalised in decision making. Consensus is of vital importance as well as accountability and transparency at all levels. Another attribute is responsiveness to the needs of the people (ESCAP, 2007:3). It is advocated that there should be equity and inclusiveness for all citizens and stakeholders.

Good governance exists alongside bad governance and Weiss (2000) characterises bad governance as personalisation of power, lack of human rights, endemic corruption and unelected and unaccountable governments. It could be argued that bad governance is the violation of the attributes of good governance as stipulated by Hyden and Braton (1993:7). These include issues such as trust in government; responsiveness in the relationship between government and civil society; accountability to the electorate and the nature of authority a government exercises over society. Poor governance, according to Onimode (2004:21) involves the pervasive lack of democracy, the denial of human rights and the crisis of the legitimacy of authority – which encouraged military dictatorships, political instability and widespread conflicts. For example, Africa is criticised for having a historical record of

FIGURE 1: Attributes of good governance.



Source: ESCAP, 2007:3 in Weiss and Steiner, 2006:1549

bad governance (Hope, 2003:2) aggravated by what Pausewang (2011:xv-1) called 'pretend democracy'. According to Pausewang (2011) states are called pretend democracy because of their claim to be based on democratic principles, the changes from absolute rule which are claimed to have been made are more nominal than real. Binns *et al.* (2012:372) argue that apart from being supposedly democratic with regular free and fair elections, these countries' level of corruption and lack of transparency militate against effective development planning and implementation.

3. SOCIO-ECONOMIC SITUATION AT UGU DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY

Geographically, Ugu District Municipality is located in the southern end of the province known as the South Coast of KwaZulu-Natal (Ugu IDP, 2012/2013-2016/17). Ugu is one of the 11 districts of KwaZulu-Natal. It consists of six local municipalities, namely Hibiscus Coast, Eziqoleni, Umuziwabantu, Vulamehlo, Umzumbi and Umdoni (Ugu Annual Report, 2008-2009:12). According to Stats SA 2011, Ugu District's population is approximately 722 484. The new local government structure brought with it three categories of municipalities (Van der Waldt, 2014:8). Category A falls within the Metropolitan municipalities and have exclusive municipal executive and legislative powers. Category B comprises of the ordinary local municipalities that share municipal executive and

legislative power with Category C. Category C is district municipalities and often comprise of more than one local municipality. Ugu has been classified a Category C, Grade 5 Urban Municipality by the Municipality Demarcation Board in terms of section 4 of the Local Government: Municipal Structures Act of 1998 (Ugu Annual Report, 2008-2009:12).

Ugu has been selected as the case study due to the fact that the district is challenged when it comes to service delivery and infrastructure development. This district municipality is poor with 44% of households earning less than R1 500 per month and almost 60% earning less than R2 500 per month. This situation is further aggravated by 30% unemployment rate. At Ugu a high unemployment rate is blamed to a low skills base (Ugu IDP, 2012/2013-2016/17:22). Thus, a total of 84% of the population of the Ugu District Municipality resides in the rural areas and only 16% in the urban areas (DPLG and Business Trust, 2007). According to ANC Transformation Committee (2007:1), many rural areas within the Ugu District Municipality are deprived of basic infrastructure such as roads, water and electricity supply. Thus based on the findings of this Committee, the lack of infrastructure does not only underlie the problems of abject poverty, but it also limits the potential of communities to sustain economic growth, rural livelihoods as well as social development. According to Ramphela (2008:79), apartheid orchestrated socio-economic disadvantages reinforced by structural inequalities continue to be a stumbling

block for the previously disadvantaged majority. The Stakeholder Consultation conducted in March and April 2009, revealed key challenges faced by Ugu Municipality. These challenges include a high rate of unemployment and poverty, low income levels, high prevalence of HIV/AIDS, skills shortage within the economy, high number of child-headed households, high illiteracy among school going age, water and sanitation backlogs, housing and electricity backlogs, poor condition of roads and transport (Ugu Annual Report, 2008-2009:13-14). The combination of all these predicaments reinforces the clusters of disadvantage and the deprivation trap as outlined by Chambers (1983:108-111). Similarly, to Ugu Municipality, poverty, physical weakness, vulnerability, isolation and powerlessness (Chambers, 1983:109) manifest themselves through poor services deliver and infrastructural development.

4. BACKGROUND OF OPERATION SUKUMA SAKHE (OSS) PROGRAMME

Operation Sukuma Sakhe (OSS) programme is a service delivery model introduced in KwaZulu-Natal province. Operation Sukuma Sakhe is a Zulu phrase which means 'Stand Up and Build' and is the brain child of the former KwaZulu-Natal Premier Dr Zweli Mkhize in 2011. The history of OSS programme can be traced to the 'War on Poverty' Campaign introduced by former President Mbeki in his State of the Nation Address in February 2008. Considering the service delivery challenges in KwaZulu-Natal province in particular and the South Africa in general, OSS became an Implementation Model (2012:1). The programme aims to expedite service delivery through the application of an integrated community development approach.

OSS is a service delivery model which makes use of an integrated development approach to deal with developmental challenges (KZN Sukuma Sakhe, 2012). This model is aligned to the IDP as the comprehensive plan to address the socio-economic needs of the people. OSS operates through constants and continuous engagement based on interaction between government and communities in an effort to achieve the 12 National Outcomes, to meet the 12 challenges as identified by the National Development Plan, to respond to the 7 Strategic goals as outlined by the Provincial Growth and Development Strategy as well as to respond to the Millennium Development Goals (eThekweni IDP Review, 2014-2015:106). Thus, the rationale underpinning the

OSS is to commit the Premier and the Provincial Executive Council in the building of a strong and willing team of fieldworkers committed in working together in improving the lives of all the people. The initiation of OSS came through the realisation that the government cannot win the battle of uprooting poverty alone without the citizens' participation. In this programme there is a need for full and active participation is imperative hence (Diaho, 2010:2). argues that problems faced by communities are often not addressed due to lack of opportunity for stakeholders to come together Having said that the government also realised that there is a lot of potential from local communities that is lying unused. Working together for all stakeholders meant that there is no duplication of services in communities. Working together also meant that the service delivery process is fast tracked through mobilisation and integration of resources aimed for service delivery by various service providers (KZN Sukuma Sakhe, 2012).

5. ANALYSIS OF OSS AT UGU DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY

5.1 Strengths, Opportunities and Achievements

5.1.1 Balancing Rural-Urban Municipalities

Ugu District Municipality is not only vast, but has also rural and poverty stricken local municipalities under its jurisdiction (Cebekhulu, 2013 & Ugu IDP 2013/13-2016/17). Thus, all the areas that do fall under the metropolitan are partitioned into local and district municipalities. Geographically, district municipalities are by design bigger than the local municipalities. South Africa has 47 district municipalities. In this regard, Amtaika (2013:96) argues that district municipalities utilise their executive and legislative powers to enable better regional planning and delivery infrastructural development. For a district municipality like Ugu which has six local municipalities whose majority population is poor and without a strong tax base, its capacity, power and resources are fundamental in reaching the most indigent citizens. Thus, the respondents hinted that:

- service delivery could be expedited through leading and coordinating projects and programmes aimed at reducing poverty and underdevelopment as well as minimising community and service delivery dubbed strikes.

- integration and collaboration of stakeholders and communities are given opportunities to participate in their own development that can lead to empowerment.

Considering that Ugu consists of both affluent and impoverished local municipalities, OSS is instrumental in balancing the delivery of services to the neediest municipalities. As highlighted during the interviews with OSS regional officials, this entails strong budget and the effective and efficient implementation of project and programmes with measurable outcomes. Thus, the challenge is to engage in developmental service delivery and infrastructural development that closes the gap between rural and urban areas. The failure to develop the poor in the rural local municipalities has led to migration into well-off municipalities within the same district.

5.1.2 Recommitting Both Politicians and Official to Serve the Citizens

OSS in Ugu district is at the vanguard of committing both politicians and official to serve the needs and aspirations of the people to their best interest. In order to avoid the situation politicians, formulate policies and budgets without strategic and operational plans from the district central IDP with those of specific local municipalities. Thus, integrated and synergy of development and infrastructural planning especially roads, water and sanitation could increase the integration of various areas and further expedite developmental service delivery within the district. Hence Ugu envisaged itself through its vision as 'a place where everyone benefits equally from socio-economic opportunities and service' (Ugu IDP, 2012/13-2016/17:12). In this regard, Picard and Mogale (2015:201) note that policy and administrative framework are well thought of however the reality on the ground is different with administrative weakness, bureaucratic corruption, party nepotism and hierarchical rigidity. Thus, OSS could put pressure on the district council and its respective local councils to be accountable and transparent through constant reporting and giving feedback on the progress made. On the issue that some officials are 'corrupt and arrogant' when asked to account, OSS thus limits the disconnection between the officials and the reality. One OSS officials, highlighted that:

Officials need to be made aware that they are not doing people a favour, but are employed to serve the people with honesty and dignity more particularly in delivering services based on BathoPele principles.

The above was also emphasis by OSS representative from DSD by saying:

One way to recommit both the politicians especially the ward councillors, as chairpersons of the 'War Rooms as well as officials from different spheres and officials from district and local departments is to institutionalised the OSS programme.

However, one of OSS officials warns that:

The institutionalisation of OSS should not be a pathway by the provincial and district elites to centralised power without decentralised power and administration especially for the grassroots to be part of decision making processes.

Overall, Amtaika (2013:96) hinted that district municipalities exist to perform a 'redistributive and capacity building for local municipalities' since local municipalities are the ones at the coalface of service delivery.

5.1.3 OSS and the Utilisation of Available Resources

Amtaika (2013) and Cebekhulu (2013) highlighted that most of the district municipalities in South Africa are confronted by development and service delivery deficits also compounded by old and unmaintained infrastructure. These deficits have been aggravated by district municipalities' incapability and skills shortages, corruption and maladministration, lack of resources and play a lackey role. Consequently, Tshishonga (2015:114) argues that the unresponsive government results into most local municipalities faced with multiple hindrances such as poverty, violence, unemployment, income inequality, lack of resources, HIV/AIDS. Thus, despite provincial and local government being given executive and legislative powers to make their own decisions and use their resources as well as delivering services and enhance public participation, Graham (2015:103) report that these spheres of government are dysfunctional hence are less trusted.

Despite the setbacks suffered by most of the people at Ugu, most of the OSS officials identified various resources and capitals that could be used to deal with socio-economic challenges. Thus, it was suggested that the optimal use of frameworks such as Assets-based approach to Community Development by Kretzmann and Mcknight (1993) and Mathie & Cunningham (2002 & 2003) as well as Sustainable Livelihood Approach could unleash the potential

of Ugu District and its associated municipalities to embark on developmental municipal planning and execution of such plans. Through this approach, Tshishonga (2015:115) highlighted that people and communities are engaged and motivated to be self-reliant and be able to sustain development processes and initiatives. The following comments attest the importance of OSS especially through well-run War Rooms:

Functionality of war rooms was commended to have been helpful in Life expectancy improvement. Child and infant mortality reduced. Community Care Givers put into good use; their roles and responsibilities clearly defined. Communities coming together working as one unit; identifying and scraping from local resources. In addition to the approach's focus on assets, Nel (2006) points out that it is also holistic, integrated and interdisciplinary in character. Venter (2010:20) concludes that 'there are many untapped resources within the communities, many people with gifts, skills, talents and other assets that go unnoticed and therefore unavailable.

6. SERVICE DELIVERY THROUGH DEPARTMENTAL COORDINATION AND PLANNING

In service delivery especially at impoverished districts like Ugu, planning and coordination of services is imperative (Cebekhulu, 2013). Thus without centrally coordinated efforts and strategic deployment of skilled and competent personnel to effectively implement the plans and programmes could undermine the fiscus of the district municipality and further contribute to wasteful expenditure of scarce resources. The importance of programme coordination cannot be underestimated hence the following comments:

- Considering that Ugu is a District Municipality composed of 6 local municipalities, for it to be effective it should play a coordination role especially to the implementation of OSS in all its local municipalities.
- Thus, coordination of OSS activities around local municipalities should be accompanied by support mainly through strategic intervention in the form of capacity building for OSS co-ordinators and fieldworkers such as Community Caregivers.

The role of coordinating departmental service delivery can be reinforced through aligning OSS

activities to people's needs to departmental staff's score cards or performance targets. Strategically, this approach will encourage staff from inter-spheres and intra-departmental to take the OSS more seriously. According to KZN-Sukhuma Sake (2012; 2), OSS encourages the coordination of comprehensive service of different service providers such as Government departments, State-Owned enterprises as civil society since it views the delivery of anti-poverty programmes as a collective responsibility. However, it is noted that the coordination and planning of services from service providers should not be perceived as an end in itself but a process through which communities and other stakeholders are engaged to ensure that they contribute to their own development. In the context of Ugu and its affiliated local municipalities, an anti-poverty programme like OSS has been associated with accessing services which according to most officials interviewed would transform people's lives for the better by securing and improving their livelihoods. Despite the Ugu Municipality being voted the best in South Africa in 2008, Cebekhulu (2013:189) posits that it is still struggling to provide basic services such as water, electricity and sanitation.

6.1 Weaknesses, Challenges and Threats

There are various challenges that undermine Operation Sukuma Sakhe (OSS) at Ugu District Municipality. These include poor and lack of participation by ward councillors, poor and lack of participation by communities, non-responsive attitude to outstanding issues by departments, poor and lack of involvement by NGOs as the engine of development. However, these challenges vary from one local municipality to the other.

6.1.1 Poor and Lack of Participation by Ward Councillors

Poor and lack of participation by councillors render OSS especially the War Rooms dysfunctional. One OSS official highlighted that:

OSS operate through War Room and since Ward Councillors are the chair, and are the gatekeepers, if are not actively participating or are not brought on board, development and service delivery progress are often hindered.

The active participation of councillors is critical for the effective and efficient functioning of OSS or War Rooms. However, an official revealed that 'their non-participation can be detrimental to the progress of the municipalities, mainly the poverty-stricken wards'.

In the case where Councillors are not empowered, OSS programme has been turned into a battle field for personal political struggle and manipulation. In the case where traditional leadership co-exists with democratically elected leaders and Councillors happened to be chairs of the War Rooms, councillors were accused by people for playing a double agenda and using War Rooms to consolidate their power and exclude those who belong to the opposition.

Thus, councillors as per the organogram of OSS have power not only to hold officials from different departments accountable, but also to motivate ordinary people to be part of War Rooms. An ex-OSS official said that 'unless officials are held accountable to respond timeously to the needs and challenges faced by people, communities ended up with an unfunded mandate'. The role of the councillor is instrumental in pulling together the 'serve delivery team'. In the case of Ugu the team involves traditional leadership, Community Caregivers, youth ambassadors, extension officers, Government Departments, Non-profit Organisations and Community-based Organisations as well as Faith-based Organisations.

6.1.2 Poor and Lack of Participation by Communities

Communities in all the 6 local municipalities form part of the crucial stakeholders for OSS programme. Thus, targeted communities are therefore the backbone of the programme hence the delivery of immediate, medium-terms and long-term services. The targeted communities entail vulnerable groups such as women, youth, children, unemployed adults who are either jobless or earn below minimum wage, unskilled and illiterate adults, the chronically sick disabled persons and the elderly. The delivery of basic services through partnership approach occupies the central priority of OSS programme, hence its desired outcome is the implementation of a compressive, efficient, effective quality service delivery via the active participation of all the stakeholders (KZN Sukuma Sakhe, 2012). Currently, some of the setbacks of OSS programme as highlighted by OSS officials were that:

- From its inception, the OSS programme created an impression that it was government orientated and managed programme as opposed to be community-driven with people being the office bearers. Instead communities in dire need for service delivery intervention have taken the backseat while the government departments are at the driving seat.

- In this case, communities are reduced into spectators in their own development with the outcome of undermining the potential of people and further consolidate dependency syndrome among the poor.

For Ugu District Municipality to succeed in eliminating poverty and reduce inequality, a new approach is required that moves away from a passive citizenry receiving services from the state to one that systematically includes the socially and economically excluded (Ugu IDP, 2012/13-2016/17:19). Thus, the success and sustainability of OSS depends on people taking their responsibility for their own development. As a golden rule, Burkey (1993:211) warns that 'don't do anything for people that they can do for themselves'. In essence, it can be argued that an active and full involvement of service delivery affected communities is a pillar to decentralise power and decision-making for developmental service delivery. Skweyiya (2006:2) highlighted that the delivery of services to the South African masses remains a complex process hence it demands interrelated, intersect oral and integrated service delivery developmental framework that involves various sectors. Arguably, communities are not only the recipients of service delivery through programme such as OSS, but are also agents for integrated and sustainable community development. The challenge faced by OSS is the paradigm shift that view people as masters of their own development as opposed to handouts that failed to develop and empower people, groups and communities to be self-reliant.

6.1.3 Non-Attendance of War Rooms by Government Officials

This paper found that one of the biggest challenges is that senior government officials do not attend OSS meetings, let alone the Ward War Rooms. One of the factors for officials not attending the meeting was that OSS activities were not part of their score cards or performance targets. Some of the challenges and weaknesses outlined by respondents were:

1. Poor Infrastructural development.
2. Lack of resources.
3. Lack of monitoring.
4. No understanding on how OSS operates.
5. Ill definition and clarity of stakeholders' roles.
6. Lack of clear demarcation of wards leading to conflict.

Although these were acknowledged as genuine challenges, people and NGOs blamed government for service backlogs on the lack of political will to address their needs. This situation was further aggravated by department's non-responsive attitude to long outstanding issues. Officials highlighted work overload, shortage of vehicles and role conflict as some of the reasons for their poor attendance hence lack of feedback on the progress of issues raised during the War Room meetings. Accordingly, lack of buy-in from government departments pushed public institutions and other relevant stakeholders working in silos. Officials' non-attendance and narrated challenges were conceived as mere excuses for government's unwillingness to support communities hence no uniformity in monitoring OSS activities.

7. CONCLUSION

The paper explored the potential role of Operation Sukuma-Sakhe (OSS) as one of the programmes initiated in KwaZulu-Natal to mitigate side effects of services delivery deficits at Ugu District Municipality. This paper is underpinned by social contract theory as an analytical framework to understand both opportunities and challenges embedded within OSS programme. It became apparent that in poor and rural municipalities under Ugu, service delivery challenges manifest themselves through poor infrastructural development coupled by abject poverty, high unemployment and gross income inequalities. Opportunities and challenges facing the programme were deliberated. It was revealed that OSS has the potential to address socio-economic and services delivery challenges and backlogs by recommitting and activating intergovernmental relations whereby various spheres and departments in partnership with affected people and communities can become a formidable force to be reckoned with. Among the challenges besetting the Operation Sukuma Sakhe (OSS) at Ugu District Municipality were poor and lack of participation by ward councillors, affected communities, non-responsive attitude to outstanding issues by departments, etc. these challenges reinforced themselves in undermining OSS to fulfil its developmental service delivery and infrastructural development mandate.

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THE REVIEW OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT INTERVENTIONS ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT: A CRITICAL REVIEW

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ABSTRACT

This paper reviews government intervention strategies implemented on local government. The paper reviews various strategies and interventions used to curtail challenges facing the local government. The paper examines four interventions namely; Project Consolidate (2004-2006), Siyenza Manje Programme (2006-2009) Local Government Turnaround Strategy (LGTAS) (2009), Operation Clean Audit Programme (2009-2014) and Back to Basics Programme. The paper considers the programmes' specific mandate particularly the methods used to activate struggling local governments to be effective, efficient, self-reliant and more proactive. The author argues that despite funding and technical tools allocated in order to assist, the interventions were limited in their scope. The interventions fractionally met their goals and objectives. In this instance the programmes failed to transfer skills to the local municipal officials. The paper also argues that it is difficult to measure the impact of these interventions as they had little to do with improving financial performance which is an indicator of a well-functioning local government. Another problem identified was the weakness of some of the programmes such as the LGTAS which used a one-size-fits-all approach. Evidence shows that such a prescriptive approach is bound to fail because local governments differ as they have different needs and flaws. The paper concludes that remedies are short-lived and tend to gloss over real issues.

Keywords: Project Consolidate, Siyenza Manje Programme, Local Government Turnaround Strategy, Operation Clean Audit Programme and Back to Basics Programme.

1. INTRODUCTION

Despite policies and democratisation processes since 1994, local government is always in the

spot light due to its failure to fulfil its utilitarian and civic education duties as stipulated in the Constitution (1996) and White Paper on Local Government (1998). Amtaika (2013:14) argues that the philosophy of utilitarianism attached to local government can be achieved and fulfilled through service delivery. Consequently, this has escalated to what is commonly known as 'service delivery protests' thus 'taking to the streets' (Atkinson, 2007). However, this situation manifested itself through local government dysfunctionality in most municipalities. In response to this crisis, both provincial and national governments spearheaded programmes aimed at redressing the situation. In this paper four interventions namely; Project Consolidate (2004-2006), Siyenza Manje Programme (2006-2009) Local Government Turnaround Strategy (LGTAS) (2009), Operation Clean Audit Programme (2009-2014) and Back to Basics Programme (2014-Current) are examined. These interventions are evaluated within their specific mandate, thus considering their challenges and opportunities in activating struggling municipalities to be effective, efficient, self-reliant and more proactive. These attributes are part of the criteria to evaluate the projects especially in relation to activating non-performing municipalities. Thus, the inputs through these interventions are vital to gauge the adequate or inadequate response to community needs (Ile *et al.*, 2012). Evaluation is an integral part of these programmes hence constant reporting and feedback to beneficiaries and different task teams. Accordingly, the process of monitoring and evaluation encourage various stakeholders to take interest in measuring their performance and further determine the impact such interventions are making at community level through empowered, effective, efficient and responsive municipalities. This paper is based on formative (monitoring) and summative (evaluation) forms. In the context of the municipality intervention programmes, Marsden and Oakley (1991:328) view monitoring and evaluation as instruments of liberation and tools for

empowerment. Monitoring and evaluation (M&E) in this paper is both participatory and developmental. Swanepoel and De Beer (2011) advocate for the participatory evaluation where learning takes place through experimenting. According to Marsden and Oakley (1991:315), participation, capacity-building, sustainability and empowerment are the building block of participatory M&E. the developmental aspect of M&E is anchored at improving the quality of lives of citizens by ensuring that services are appropriate, accessible and are of quality standard (Ile *et al.*, 2012:13). Through the five programmes, the primary aim is to empower the struggling municipalities so that once they are skilled and equipped will be in the position to engage their respective communities proactively. Swanepoel and De Beer (2011:210) highlighted that projects or programmes' evaluation should be a collaborative venture whereby projects beneficiaries play a major role especially in describing the process and analysing as well as determining the results. Overall, the paper makes use of secondary sources such as accredited journals and books, government official documents.

2. THEORISING LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND ITS CHALLENGES

This paper is based on theories underpinning local government. These are holistic-integrationist, democratic-participatory and the efficiency-service theories. Importantly, these schools are important for the establishment of local government as a sphere of governance (Pillay, Reddy and Sayeed, 2015). The holistic-integrationist theory advocates that local government is not only well oiled and better equipped than the central government, but can also be instrumental in stimulating initiatives, strategically positioned to instil the feeling that can drive and promote participation by local communities. Central to this school of thought is decongesting central government, increasing people's understanding of economic development, enabling programmes to foster socio-economic upliftment and finally training people in self-government. These functions are in line with the objects assigned to local government by the Constitution (1996:87) more particularly those pertaining to providing democratic and accountable government, provision of services and the promotion of social and economic development as well as community participation. The second theory is democratic-participatory and the promotion of democracy and participation are central to this school. This theory according to Pillay *et al.* (2015:46) does not centralise principles and objectives embedded

in democratic public participation, but also take these values and principles as essential ingredients for solid relationship based on political will and administrative competency. This school is of great importance especially in fulfilling one of the crucial role of providing political education, thus enabling citizens to make informed decisions. In line with this function, De Vries (2016:67) also pointed out that despite the effective and efficient delivery of services, local government is tasked to provide a forum for citizens input with the ultimate purpose of enhancing quality service delivery. The third theory is efficiency-services and its focal point is centred on effective and efficient delivery of services. This school underlies the core existence of local government and its constitutional mandate as stipulated in Chapter 7 of the Constitution. Thus, in the context of South Africa, the failure by local government to fulfil this function saw people taking to the streets protesting against the lack and poor service delivery (Amtaika, 2013; Atkinson, 2007).

Local government is created as either the second or the third sphere/level and is often accorded to render services to the local populace (Reddy, 1999) and enhance local democracy thus affording people to govern and facilitate development at local level. Meyer (1978:10) defines local government as ...local democratic units within the democratic system... which are subordinate members of the government vested with prescribed, controlled government powers and sources of income to render specific local services and to control and regulate the geographic, social and economic development of a defined local area. This definition of local government fits in with the features of the apartheid version of local government where it was elevated to a subservient status and role by the national government. As such local government was recognised as a tier of the state as opposed to being a sphere with its own legislative and administrative power, functions to fulfil its mandate.

Within the intergovernmental relations (IGR) (Watts, 2001) local government is regarded as an integrated, interdependent as well as distinct in relation to provincial and national spheres of government (Constitution, 1996). As an equal government partner, local government is charged with the responsibilities of creating a conducive environment within which local citizens could exercise the Freedom Charter phrase 'people shall govern'. Reddy (1999:9) views this local sphere of government as...the level of government created to bring government the local populace and to give citizens a sense of participation

in the political processes that influence their lives. In the same vein, van der Waldt (2007:4) defines it as ...the decentralised and representative institution with general and specific powers as stipulated by the Constitution (1996) and the White Paper on Local Government (1998). Since local government is the sphere closest to the people (Thornhill, 2008:59) and van der Waldt (2007:2) argue that ...is an invaluable socio-political laboratory hence various new government proposal are often experimented at this small scale level.

The challenges faced by local government range from policy formulation and decision making to policy implementation geared towards addressing the adverse and unjust effects of autocratic and bureaucratic apartheid local government (Ismail, Bayat and Meyer 1997). In addition, Tapscott (2008) argues that lack of administrative capacity and co-ordination in the South African local government remains a major challenge for policy makers and practitioners in exercising the local government developmental mandate (Nel 2004; de Visser 2005:72-3). Thus the challenge faced by the local government is to bring democracy and development in the local sphere through citizen participation.

Despite the local democratic processes inherent in the new local government system, residents of a municipality might still be alienated from it due to local government's incapacity to deliver basic services (South African Cities Network, 2004:136; Cloete, 2002:286 and Mogale, 2003:226). The challenge of service delivery according to Reddy (2008:70) is daunting considering that demand for service exceeds the resources available. The local government's failure to fulfil its mandate and perform effectively has led to the widespread disillusionment which results in communities losing trust in the institution (Tapscott, 2008:226). In South Africa, distrust has given way to 'democratic deficit' and 'participation fatigue' which according to Tapscott (2008:226) is due to people 'growing tired with the rhetoric of participation and empowerment without any material gain'. The result is that it could promote non-compliance with municipality by-laws and breakdown of communication between the local polity and its constituency (ibid, 229).

3. OVERVIEW OF GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION STRATEGIES

In an attempt to address the above mentioned challenges, various strategies and interventions were designed mainly to deal with the predicaments

undermining local government (Amtaika, 2013; Picard & Mogale, 2015 and Tshishonga, 2015). For the purposes of this paper, five programme interventions were selected, namely Project Consolidate (2004-2006), Siyenza Manje Programme (2006-2009) and the Local Government Turnaround Strategy (LGTAS) introduced since 2009 as well as the Operation Clean Audit Programme (2009-2014) and Back to Basics Programme (2014-current). Importantly, these programmes are critically reviewed in terms of their specific mandate in particular and as instruments geared towards activating local government to be effective, efficient, proactive and productive.

3.1 Project Consolidate (2004-2006)

Project Consolidate was established in 2004 with the intention to capacitate under-performing municipalities through support from experts and partnerships. All in total, 136 municipalities were identified as having blockages resulting into negative feedbacks and complaints received during the national and provincial elections. Thus, Sikhakhane & Reddy (2009:224) noted that Project Consolidate was one of the national government's key initiatives to support capacity building within local government. According to DPLG (2006) project consolidate was a concerted programme to address shortcomings at the local level which Tapscott (2008:228) further highlighted that its mandate in terms of building capacity and providing programme support to municipalities known to be struggling administratively. This entails that any meaningful interventions would have to take into account the different capacities of local government in order to adjust their policy or programmes.

Previous research identified similar challenges suggesting that the provision of basic services and infrastructure remains a thorny problem in many municipalities (see Hemson *et al.*, 2004 and Amtaika, 2013). Although the government was tackling poverty and providing basic services, many households still lacked access to electricity, sanitation or drinking water. Realising that many municipalities had numerous backlogs and incapacity to fulfil their constitutional mandates, the then Ministry of Provincial and Local Government launched Project Consolidate. To tackle the escalating problems of poor service delivery, the project enabled provincial governments and key private sector partners to find innovative ways of supporting local government to boost service delivery. According to Pieterse and van Donk (2008:53) the local government institutional failure to redress the apartheid legacy

in terms of poverty alleviation, service delivery and employment creation led to an institutional crisis which manifested in the form of shortage of appropriate skilled municipal staff, particularly in managerial and technical positions including the weak and fragmented financial management systems.

Project Consolidate's main aim was to promote a culture of performance and accountability within municipalities by creating collective responsibility, governance and performance in municipalities (CMTP, 2003-2008). The two-year project was earmarked to connect national and provincial governments with the private sector to collaborate in reconstruction and local development by capacitating the 'failing' municipalities. The project involved the deployment of experts to assist municipalities in addressing practical service delivery and local governance issues (Department of Provincial and Local Government, 2006:1). Specific areas were identified as needing assistance in the development and implementation of indigent policies, and free basic services and billing systems. Municipal debt and poor local development were also identified as areas in which Project Consolidate could assist. Project Consolidate introduced performance management and public participation, key features that put an emphasis on anti-corruption which was also identified as a serious challenge in the 'failing municipalities'.

Project Consolidate was tasked to assist and encourage municipalities to ensure that they complied with the Municipal Financial Management Act's internal audit control measures to safeguard them from the incompetent and corrupt management by supporting the municipalities with financial auditing skills. Former Local Government Minister, (Mufamadi), in 2006 envisaged that Project Consolidate would ensure efficient utilisation of resources drawn from national revenue to benefit the poor and accelerate service delivery. Many programmes followed Project Consolidate were initiated in order to sustain and consolidate the implementation of its policies. According to Pieterse and van Donk (2008:54), Project Consolidate targeted failing municipalities which subsequently managed to elevate themselves through tremendous achievements and progress, but with some remaining trapped in the vicious cycle of under-performance mainly due to inherent institutional weaknesses coupled with skills and financial management challenges. This intervention was according to Powell (2012:18) directed at those municipalities under stress due to a systematic crisis in local government.

3.2 Siyenza Manje Programme (2006-2009)

Siyenza Manje are Zulu words translating to 'we are doing it now'. This programme talks to the urgency of providing sustainable services at municipal level (Tshishonga, 2015). Thus, the programme was initiated to offer support mainly to overstretched municipalities identified during the Project Consolidate tenure in 2006 hence the it was managed by the Development Bank of Southern Africa in partnership with National Treasury. Treasury was instrumental in funding 70% towards the implementation phase while the DBSA constituted 30% (Kaufman, 2008). Overall, Siyenza Manje was hands-on support and skills transfer geared towards empowering low-capacity municipalities. Through this programme, experts were recruited and deployed to low performing especially the poor and rural municipalities. Funds were also provided to assist in developing plans, feasibility studies and more particularly in implementing plans and strategies aimed at delivering services effectively and efficiently (Kaufman, 2008).

Project consolidate had 136 low capacity and poor rural municipalities and Siyenza Manje increased to 160 and 485 professionals were deployed with various apprenticed skills and expertise, 51 in total, drawn from Further Education Training (FET), colleges and universities (Kaufman, 2008). Importantly, this programme utilised these professionals to assist distress municipalities not only to access and spend Municipal Infrastructure Grants (MIG), but also to unlock service delivery bottlenecks as well as sustaining their entities (Letsholo, 2007).

3.3 Local Government Turnaround Strategy (LGTAS)-(2009)

Local Government Turnaround Strategy (LGTAS) intervention similarly to Project Consolidate was introduced in 2009 in response to local government distress which according to Powell (2012:21) manifests itself through 'huge service delivery backlogs', hence local government is in a state of crisis. The intervention was justified by Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA) (2009:13) through inter alia, a breakdown in council communication with and accountability to citizens, political interference in administration, corruption, fraud, bad management, increasing violent service delivery, factionalism in parties and depleted municipal capacity. More than nineteen years into the new Local Government System there have been worrying

trends and signs that undermine the progress and achievements made thus far which are a threat in service delivery and socio-economic development (Tshishonga, 2015). Predicaments such as systemic factors (linked to model of local government); policy and legislative factors; political factors; weaknesses in the accountability systems; capacity and skills constraints; weak intergovernmental support and oversight; and issues associated with the inter-governmental relations were highlighted to be the root causes of dysfunctional municipalities (COGTA, 2009).

The main objective of the national "local government turnaround strategy" is to renew the vision of developmental local government. Broadly, the strategy was aimed at achieving the following: better planning and overseeing of local service delivery – remove constraints on service delivery; address constitutional and legislative weaknesses in municipal governance; professionalization and administrative stabilisation of local government – under-take steps to strengthen professionalism of local government; establish a single window of co-ordination for local government – establish a single point of entry for the support, monitoring and intervention in local government (Local Government Turnaround Strategy 2009:29-39). Accordingly, this entails the national sphere informing the sub-national spheres when they will visit municipalities; deepen people-centred government through a refined model of ward committee; priorities of all three spheres of government. Thus, finding expression in the work of ward; committees and these committees should be coordinated at a municipal, district, provincial and national level; and reform the inert-governmental fiscal system – improve coordination of various grants to local government and address equity and compliance challenges.

In fulfilling this mandate, the strategy sought to improve the organisational and political performance of municipalities and therefore that would translate to improved delivery of services. Its primary goal was to improve the lives of citizens, and progressively meet their social, economic and material needs, thereby restoring community confidence and trust in government.

3.4 Operation Clean Audit Programme (2009-2014)

Operation Clean Audit is the brainchild of the Department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional

Affairs as one of the Flagship Projects, 2014 (www.dplg.gov.za). The programme emanates from the Auditor-General's reports highlighting constant queries relating to ineffective institutions, ineffective structures (internal audit units and audit committees), poor performance or absence of systems, especially financial management and systems (COGTA, 2009-2014:1). Its target was mainly to assist all the municipalities and provincial departments to achieve sustainable improvement in financial management and governance aimed at yielding clean audit opinions by 2014. The following challenges were highlighted to have a negative picture affecting government service delivery plans in general and corporate governance in particular. Such challenges include; inadequate skills on planning, budgeting; public financial management, including expenditure management; poor interface between financial and non-financial information; inability to manage cash-flow significantly; inadequate skills on credit and debt management, including basic financial accounting and filling or record keeping; duplication of payments in some instances and amounts not accounted for (lack of financial accountability); and lastly lack of systems to manage audit queries and recommendations, both internal and external auditing, etc. (COGTA, 2009-2014:1).

3.5 Back-to-Basics Programme (2014-Current)

Back to Basics programme is a constant reminder about the core function of municipalities which is providing services (Amtaika, 2013; Picard & Mogale, 2015 and Siddle & Koelble, 2012). These services are fundamental to the improvement of the quality of life especially for those residing in the townships and rural areas (Cebekhulu, 2014). The core services that local government provides, for example, are clean drinking water, sanitation, electricity, shelter, waste removal and roads are not only basic human rights, but also essential components of the right to dignity enshrined in the Constitution and Bill of Rights. The central goal of this programme is to improve the functioning of municipalities to better serve communities by getting the basics right (www.gov.za/about-government/government-programmes/back-basics). Thus, the Department of Cooperative Governance is therefore charged with the responsibility of building and strengthening the capability and accountability of municipalities by ensuring that basic services are delivered. During the Presidential Local Government Summit in Midrand in Johannesburg, Gordhan (2014 in Stone and

Magubane, 2014) highlighted that the new plan was expected to focus municipalities on getting small things right such as fixing street lights, leaking taps and collecting refuse. Thus, the programme was considered to be an attempt aimed at breathing new life into municipalities. He rebuked municipalities to move away from outsourcing core functions, including financial management. According to Gordhan (2014) the Back to Basics Strategy was in line with the president's vision for local government to be at "the forefront of improving people's lives and creating conditions for inclusive economic growth and job creation". Overall, Back to Basics is designed to ensure that in every municipality, traffic lights work, potholes are filled, water is delivered, refuse is collected, electricity is supplied, and refuse and waste management takes place.

The programme is anchored on creating decent living conditions, good governance, public participation, sound financial management and institutional capacity as its building blocks (COGTA, 2014). Accordingly, the delivery of services such as water and sanitation; human settlements; electricity; waste management; roads and public transportation should be based on fundable consolidated infrastructure plans. Good governance based on public participation through various structures should be institutionalised in order to ensure the effective functioning of municipalities (COGTA, 2014:10-12). This can be achieved by installing sound financial management as an integral part of running the competent local government. Finally, institutional capacity building is imperative for municipalities to function to their full capacity and capabilities. This entails shifting the focus towards building strong municipal administrative systems and processes. It includes ensuring that administrative positions are filled with competent and committed people whose performance is closely monitored. Targeted and measurable training and capacity building will be provided for councillors and municipal officials so that they are able to deal with the challenges of local governance as well as ensuring that scarce skills are addressed through bursary and training programmes (COGTA, 2014:10-12).

4. CRITICAL REVIEW OF INTERVENTION STRATEGIES

This paper evaluated five intervention strategies namely; Project Consolidate (2004-2006), Siyenza Manje Programme (2006-2009) Local Government

Turnaround Strategy (LGTAS) (2009), Operation Clean Audit Programme (2009-2014) and Back to Basics Programme. These initiatives and support programmes were meant to strength and enhance the capacity and performance of local government. Considering the underperformance of this sphere of government, interventions were also introduced to transform local government to be responsive, accountable, efficient and effective (Reddy, 2015:327). Thus, local government should not only be decentralised, organised and participatory in order to deliver essential services, but should also be able to build the capacity of its constituencies. In this context, capacity building is central for failing municipalities to deliver services effectively, efficiently and sustainably. Viewed from the various local government theories outlined in section 2 of this paper, it is apparent that all three theories are relevant to the effective functioning of municipalities. Thus, according to holistic-integration theory, local government is not only decentralised, but should be well equipped to fulfil its mandate of service delivery and enhancing public participation. For decentralised and democratic local government advance its mandate, power, authority, responsibility and financial resources should be transferred from the national or provincial to the local sphere of government. Unfortunately, it is not the case with the underperforming municipalities hence the interventions. Due to lack of capacity especially the technical and financial management competencies coupled with corruption, most municipalities were unable to perform satisfactory. This mandate is underpinned by democratic-participatory theory which in the context of South African local government is expressed through the developmental model (WPLG, 1998:17). This entails that local government is obliged to engage people in their respective communities in its quest to seek sustainable solutions to socio-economic and material challenges. This in turn will enable local government to provide efficient services in partnership with the people as the primary stakeholders and agents of change.

With regard to programme interventions, despite the 'abundance of technical tools to support municipalities' the Auditor-General Report (2011) revealed that Project Consolidate had only fractionally performed better than the previous year. Gasela (2007:1 in Reddy, 2015:328) noted some qualitative and quantitative progress made despite that the programme did not achieve its mandate completely. Project Consolidate

TABLE 1: Brief evaluation of the 5 interventions based on the challenges, interventions and the progress made.

Project	Challenges	Intervention	Progress
Project Consolidate (2004-2006),	Under-performance Backlogs in service delivery Lack of human capacity Weak administration	Promote a culture of performance & accountability Connect national & provincial gvt with pvt sector Introduce performance management Introduce public participation Support with financial auditing skills	Achievements in some municipalities Other municipalities still under-perform due to institutional weaknesses
Siyenza Manje Programme (2006-2009)	Overstretched municipalities	Skills transfer Technical support	Increased capacity to some extent Unlocked service delivery bottlenecks Failed to transfer skills
LGTAS (2009)	Service delivery backlogs Lack of accountability Lack of capacity & skills Weak intergovernmental support	Improve coordination Address corruption	Improved organisational & political performance Improved people's lives Restored confidence in government
Operation Clean Audit Programme (2009-2014)	Ineffective institutions Ineffective structures Poor performance Absence of systems Inadequate skills	Assist with human and financial capacity and management	Limited progress Due to the number of disclaimer, adverse and unqualified audit Limited capacity and skills
Back-to-Basics Programme 2014-	Inefficient basic service delivery	Breathe new life into municipalities Improve lives	Got small things right Training & capacitating councillors

Source: Author's analysis

was followed by Siyenza Manje which aimed at capacitating human resources in low-capacity, poor rural municipalities. Despite the good intention of Siyenza Manje programme, it failed to transfer skills to the local municipal officials as envisioned in its objectives. Powell (2012:18) argues that it was difficult to measure the impact of these capacity building measures on one hand while on the other hand these interventions were labelled to have little to improve the financial performance of municipalities which according to Powell is perhaps the most important indicator of the health of local government. Ndletyana and Muzondidya (2009:35) acknowledged that:

Overall, the presence of Service Delivery Facilitators (SDFs) has reportedly made a huge difference where they have been stationed. However, by July 2007 on 85 of the 139 designated municipalities had been assisted through this programme.

There were fewer SDFs than required, even though by September 2006 a total of 181 individuals, including technical experts, graduates and students are said to have been involved in the Project Consolidate programme. This was meant to assist those underperforming and ailing municipalities in terms of municipal services (see Reddy, 2015:328). In addition, the programme was hit by another challenge of resistance staged by municipalities as they suspected that SDFs were sent to expose inefficiency and corruption. According to Ndletyana and Muzondidya (2009), the programme was undermined by the high SDFs turnover which further compromise the progress already made. The study conducted by Mafema *et al.* (2009:114) at Umzumbe local municipal revealed that 'inadequate institutional capacity' undermines the municipality to be effective, innovative and responsive to the needs and aspirations of its residents. The authors advocate that:

"the building of human resources and institutional capacity is the prerequisite of organisational development and transformation and hence the empowerment of public officials and citizens generally" (Mafema *et al.*, 2009:114)

The introduction of a Local Government Turnaround Strategy (LGTAS) was a reactionary trajectory brought by the change of administration from Mbeki to Zuma in 2009 hence the disbandment of the Ministry of Provincial and Local Government to the Ministry of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA). COGTA including the LGTAS was over-ambitious, its findings revealed nothing than that the local government was showing signs of distress which contributed to 'huge service delivery backlogs' (COGTA, 2009:2). Operation Clean Audit programme has a log frame with clear performance indicators, means of verification and assumption. Without adequate human capital to perform basic financial management (COGTA, 2009-2014:8). Similarly, to LGTAS, the Operation Clean Audit Programme was over-ambitious and was further accused of having unrealistic time frames hence unattainable objectives. Both programme failed to yield desirable results because government had applied 'a one size fits all approach' (COGTA, 2010:1). For example, Siddle and Koelble (2012:215) alluded to the fact that between 2010 and 2011, no municipalities ... achieving adverse and disclaimer audit opinions. The Auditor-General, 2011:4 reported for 2009/10 that only 53 municipalities received disclaimers, seven received adverse opinions; 50 received qualified opinions; 120 received financially unqualified opinions; and seven financially unqualified opinions. To make matters worse, the Auditor-General (2011) also found that most of the municipalities engaged external consultants to prepare their financial statements, despite having full complements of staff in their finance departments.

5. CONCLUSION

This paper reviewed various government intervention strategies introduced and implemented in order to address challenges faced by municipalities. Thus, strategies and interventions such Project Consolidate (2004-2006), Siyenza Manje Programme (2006-2009) Local Government Turnaround Strategy (LGTAS) (2009); Operation Clean Audit Programme (2009-2014) and Back to Basics Programme (2014-current) were scrutinised and evaluated within their potential and predicaments to revive their mandate to provide quality and sustainable services. Despite the constitutional mandate bestowed on local government

as an independent, distinctive and integrated sphere of government (Kahn *et al.*, 2011), the author argues that local government is burdened with multiple responsibilities hence its imperfections in transition. The paper highlighted that 'local government crisis' or distress manifests itself through democratic and service delivery deficiencies further aggravated by poor human and limited financial resources including corruption which culminated into country-wide protests since 2005.

Importantly, poor performance in terms of service delivery compared to other spheres of government has contributed to the distrust of local government. Poor leadership, especially in running municipalities as well as financial mismanagement were found to be the lead factors that spark violent protests and demonstrations. The paper revealed that the success of a decentralised local government should be grounded on political will and should be accompanied by implementable policies and resources. For an effective, efficient and responsive local government, it is recommended that both financial and human capacity should be committed to this sphere of government. In addition, the creation of an enabling and conducive environment is imperative for municipality based resources to be utilised optimally for common good. Equal opportunity should be extended to all who reside within various municipalities if it is to attract skilled and competent human resources particularly at a managerial level.

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ADDRESSES AS A BONE OF CONTENTION IN ENSURING FREE AND FAIR LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS

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ABSTRACT

The test for democracy is the regular free and fair elections. In South Africa, in order for one to be eligible to exercise ones right to vote one has to register for elections in the common voters' roll. The settings in which the national and provincial elections on the one hand, and the local government on the other, take place and are conducted are different. Although the IEC has a duty to record the addresses of the voters in the common voters' roll, the importance of the recordal of addresses in the local government elections is the more prominent. This is so because local government elections are conducted on ward basis as opposed to the national and provincial elections that are conducted on party list system. The importance of addresses in the local government elections cannot be underestimated: they assist in ensuring that only voters eligible to vote in particular wards do so. Addresses also enable candidates to canvass the votes from the eligible voters. Although the IEC has a duty to record addresses of the voters such duty arises where the addresses are available. Failure by the IEC would not per se render the elections not to be free and fair. The impact of such irregularity must be proven before the elections could be held not to have been free and fair.

Keywords: Democracy, Elections, IEC, voters, Free and fair.

1. INTRODUCTION

Regular elections are one of the measures of democracy in a country. The right to vote is essential for the legitimisation of governments. According to Adar, Hamdcock and Rukambe (2004) elections are a precursor to the creation of a democratic government. One of the functions of elections is the entrenchment of democracy. Multi-party elections

is the prerequisite for a democratic state (Adar, Hamdcock and Rukambe, 2004). This is reflected in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (hereafter referred to as the Constitution) which states that the Republic is founded on, among others, "universal adult suffrage, a national common voters' roll, regular elections and a multi-party system of democratic government to ensure accountability, responsiveness and openness." These abstract ideas have been concretised in section 19(2) of the Constitution which guarantees to every citizen the right to free, fair and regular elections. The freeness, fairness and regularity of elections are what grants legitimacy to the ruling government as they reflect the leadership preference of the electorate (see Adar, Hamdcock & Rukambe, 2004; Ojo, 2011). Although the regularity of elections does not necessarily tantamount to democracy, regular elections are still a vital element in any democratic society. In South Africa elections are held at the three tiers of government, being the national, provincial and local spheres of government.

The rationale for this paper is to discuss the role of the recordal of addresses by the Electoral Commission (popularly called the IEC) in the national voters' roll especially for the administration and conduct of local government vis-à-vis the national and provincial government elections. The importance of this aspect has been highlighted by the Constitutional Court in the case of *Kham v Electoral Commission* (2016 (2) SA 338 (CC)). In this case the Constitutional Court set aside the by-elections that were held in Tlokwe in 2013 on the basis that they were not free and fair because the IEC had failed to provide the candidates in those elections with the certified copy of the segments of the voters' roll that contained the addresses of the electorate in those by-elections. Because of the decision in *Kham v Electoral Commission* 2016 (2) SA 338 (CC), the IEC had harboured some doubts as to whether the

(national) local government elections that were due to be held in August 2016 would suffer the same fate as the Tlokwe by-elections as the IEC had failed to scrupulously record the addresses of the electorates even after that became a requirement after December 2003. The importance of the recordal of addresses in the local government elections as opposed to the national and provincial elections is that the former are contested on ward based system as opposed to a party list system at the national and provincial level. Thus, the recordal of addresses of electorate in the voters' roll plays a significant role in assisting to ensure that only those voters' who reside within the demarcated area (ward) and eligible to vote do so to the exclusion of others. Given the above, with regard to local government elections, the ultimate objective of this paper is to scrutinise, in light of the Constitutional Court judgments, the role the voters' addresses play in the determination of the freeness and fairness of elections in local government. In other words, what is the value that the recordal of addresses in the common voters' roll add in the determination of whether local government elections are free and fair or not? Qualitative research would be utilised in this paper. The study would mainly draw from the decisions of the courts relating to the role the residential addresses have in the determination of whether elections are free and fair. In addition, the study would rely, for content analysis, on legislation and other materials including books and journal articles.

2. THE MEANING OF FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS

The phrases "Free" and "fair", in the context of elections, have defied a precise definition and are determined with regard to the prevailing circumstances and context of particular elections. It is in this regard that Ojo (2011) posits that all nation states are still in search of an ideal electoral system i.e one endowed with all the elements of freeness and fairness. He further states that "all the elements of free and fair elections are difficult to come by, though they are a necessity in the attainment of a democratic polity, but a minimum number of such prerequisites is required for democracy to be consolidated." This, therefore, presuppose that there is a threshold that has to be met before the elections could be said to be free and fair. However, no internationally accepted definition of free and fair elections exists. The freeness and fairness of elections must be considered and assessed in context (Kham v Electoral Commission 2016 (2) SA 338 (CC)). Thus, a move away by the

international observers from rigidly searching for a universal definition of free and fair in assessing the integrity of elections towards a new meaning. The criterion they have adopted to determining the integrity of elections is whether or not the "election is a legitimate expression of the will of the people or properly reflects the wishes of the people" (Kham v Electoral Commission 2016 (2) SA 338 (CC)).

The freeness and fairness of the elections is not a once off election-day phenomenon but is a culmination of processes and events leading to the election-day (Kham v Electoral Commission 2016 (2) SA 338 (CC); Booysen, 2002). It is on this basis that some flaws in the election process may be countenanced but not others. It is not each and every irregularity in the election process that would render the elections unfree and unfair. It is the nature, the gravity and the extent of the irregularity that must be considered in determining whether elections were free and fair or not (Electoral Commission v Mhlope 2016 (5) SA 1 (CC)). The Constitutional Court, in Kham v Electoral Commission 2016 (2) SA 338 (CC), has distilled four elements that must enjoy pre-eminence in the determination of the freeness and fairness of elections. They are:

First, every person who is entitled to vote should, if possible, be registered to do so.

Second no one who is not entitled to vote should be permitted to do so.

Third, in so far as the elections have a territorial component, as is the case in municipal elections where candidates are in the first place elected to represent particular wards, the registration of voters must be undertaken in such a way as to ensure that only voters in that particular area (ward) are registered and permitted to vote.

Fourth, the Constitution not only protects the act of voting and outcome of elections, but also the right to participate in elections as a candidate and to seek public office (my emphasis).

There is disagreement among commentators whether the phrase free and fair is composite or whether it consists of separate and independent requirements. According to Bishop and Hoefler (2016; see also Booysen, 2002) the two are separate but interdependent on each other. The freeness of elections refers to rules governing the elections and processes leading up to the elections whereas the

fairness refers to the events taking place on the day of the elections. They argue that elections cannot be fair if the run up to the elections was not free. The Constitutional Court, on the other hand, views this as a composite requirement which cannot be separated (Kham v Electoral Commission 2016 (2) SA 338 (CC)). However, the common thread running through these divergent views is that it is meaningless to exercise the right to vote if those elections do not meet certain minimum. For instance, a legitimate registration process (if the elections are subject to registration), each vote carry equal measure, the right of those who qualify to stand for office etc (see Currie & de Waal, 2005). Free and fair elections lie at the heart of any constitutional democracy ((Kham v Electoral Commission 2016 (2) SA 338 (CC); Bishop & Hoeffler, 2016). It is only through free and fair elections that the substantive content of the right to vote could be given effect to and legitimacy. The right to vote can only be meaningful when exercised within a free and fair environment (Kham v Electoral Commission 2016 (2) SA 338 (CC); Currie & de Waal, 2005). The freeness and fairness of the elections cannot only be determined by how the electorates have been treated but extend to how the participants (candidates) are also dealt with (see Lotter v Electoral Commission [2013] 4 All SA 152 (Elect Ct)). Section 19(3)(b) guarantees the rights of the citizens to stand for public office and, if elected to hold office. The law entrusts the IEC with the duty to preserve and maintain these ideals. Failure to diligently carry out its mandate may result in the elections not being free and fair. It is clear that these requirements are not an event, but a process. It is in this light that the failure by the IEC to record the addresses of the voters after this became a requirement in 2003 must be viewed. The next section deals with the role of the IEC in ensuring free and fair elections.

3. THE ROLE OF IEC IN ENSURING FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS

Electoral integrity is easily determined by establishing whether the elections engender the confidence of the electorate in the process leading to the election as well as the outcomes thereof. In order to ensure this, institutionalised mechanisms for the administration of the elections must be built and maintained. These are normally found in the legislative framework (The Electoral Knowledge Network, 2013). In South Africa, section 190 of the Constitution, through the Electoral Commission Act 51 of 1996, establishes the Electoral Commission and entrust it with the

duty to ensure that elections are free and fair. The primary object of the Commission is to strengthen constitutional democracy and promote democratic electoral processes (Ndletyana (ed), 2015). This is in recognition that "the mere existence of the right to vote without proper arrangements for its effective exercise does nothing for a democracy; it is both empty and useless" (Kham v Electoral Commission 2016 (2) SA 338 (CC)). The IEC must ensure that contestation in elections is on a level playing field (Kham v Electoral Commission 2016 (2) SA 338 (CC)). Thus the freeness and fairness of elections depends, in large measure, on how the IEC has carried out its constitutional and legislative duties in the administration and conduct of the elections ((Kham v Electoral Commission 2016 (2) SA 338 (CC)). The Constitutional Court (Kham v Electoral Commission 2016 (2) SA 338 (CC)) has posited that the IEC has to be held to higher standards in the execution of its constitutional mandate. Legislation entrust the IEC with a range of duties and responsibilities. It is in the main the compliance with these statutory duties and responsibilities by the IEC as well as the contestants and the electorate that would be decisive in determining whether the elections were free and fair (The Electoral Knowledge Network, 2013). Not all of these duties and responsibilities would be considered in this paper but only those pertinent to this discussion.

The first duty of the IEC is to compile and maintain the national common voters' roll and that potential voters are registered in the common voters' roll (sections 5 and 8 Electoral Act 73 of 1998). The same national common voters' roll is used for municipal elections (section 5(1) Local Government: Municipal Electoral Act 27 of 2000). A voter must be registered only for the district in which that voter is ordinarily resident (section 8(3) Electoral Act 73 of 1998). Generally, a voter must cast his or her vote in the district in which he or she is ordinarily resident. However, in the national and provincial elections the law admits certain exceptions in this regard (see section 24A Electoral Act 73 of 1998). In relation to local government elections the law requires the IEC to ensure that a voter may only vote if his name appears "on the certified segment of the voters' roll for a voting district which falls within the municipality" (section 5 (2) Local Government: Municipal Electoral Act 27 of 2000). In other words, a voter must not be allowed to vote beyond the borders of the ward in which he or she had registered. It is the duty of the IEC to establish the voting districts whereas wards are delimited by the Municipal Demarcation

Board. In order to ensure that the electorate cast their vote in the correct ward and district, legislation requires that his or her address, where available, be recorded in the common voters' roll (Section 16(3) Electoral Act 73 of 1998). In order to ensure the legitimacy and integrity of the voters roll the IEC must make it available for inspection in the national and provincial elections and, in the case of local government elections, segments of the voters roll for the districts to be used in elections (see section 16 Electoral Act 73 of 1998 and section 6 Local Government: Municipal Electoral Act 27 of 2000). This assist parties and candidates participating in elections to investigate the eligibility and existence of the voters appearing on the voters roll and whether they have registered in a particular ward. Furthermore, it enables the candidates to visit and canvass voters (Kham v Electoral Commission 2016 (2) SA 338 (CC)).

In addition, legislation affords any disgruntled party to object to any segment of the voters roll (section 15 Electoral Act). Section 65 of the Local Government: Municipal Electoral Act (see s 55 of the Electoral Act in relation to National and Provincial Elections) grants an opportunity to any party to object to any aspect that may be material to the declared results. The IEC has a duty to address these issues. In terms of section 18 of the Electoral Commission Act the Electoral Court may review any decision of the Commission relating to an electoral matter. In other words, the jurisdiction of this court is limited to electoral matters. Although the duty and responsibility to administer and conduct elections in a free and fair manner rest with the IEC, where there are disputes the Electoral Court would serve as an impartial arbiter.

4. THE COURTS AND THE FREENESS AND FAIRNESS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS

As already stated, the Constitutional Court regards the requirement that elections be free and fair as a composite one. In the context of local government elections, the most important element for regarding elections as being free and fair is that registration of potential voters must be undertaken in such a way that only voters within a particular area are registered in that area and only those so registered are allowed to cast the vote in that area. This has been confirmed by the Constitutional Court in the cases of (Kham v Electoral Commission 2016 (2) SA 338 (CC) & Electoral Commission v Mhlope

2016 (5) SA 1 (CC)). In the case of Kham v Electoral Commission (006/2013) [2015] ZAEC 2 (19 March 2015) the applicants challenged the freeness and fairness of the by-elections held in Tlokwe in 2013 on the basis that the IEC had allowed voters who did not register for those elections in the wards in which the by-elections were held to vote. The essence of the applicant's complaint was that more voters had registered in the relevant wards than it could be justified by the influx of new residents in those areas. In other words, the relevant segments of the common voters' roll were inaccurate, incorrect and unreliable. The contention by the applicants was that voters may have been "bussed" from areas outside the wards where the elections were held.

The applicants argued that the IEC had failed to record the addresses of the registered voters and this made it impossible for the candidates to verify the existence of particular voters or their right to register in the particular wards. Because of these issues the applicants sought an order from the Electoral Court in Kham v Electoral Commission (006/2013) [2015] ZAEC 2 (19 March 2015) declaring those by-elections irregular and thus not free and fair. The respondents (the IEC) conceded that voters who were not entitled to be registered and therefore vote in those wards had been so registered and partook in those by-elections. However, the IEC argued that the elections should not be declared to have been unfree and unfair because the number of such voters was so negligible as to not affect the outcome of the elections. The Electoral Court upheld the IEC's contentions and dismissed the application.

The applicants appealed to the Constitutional Court. The Constitutional Court held that the IEC had failed in its duties to ensure that only the eligible voters voted in the by-elections. The nature of local government elections required the IEC to uphold the principle that only voters ordinarily resident in the wards where elections are held vote. This principle was of outmost importance in the local government elections as these elections are conducted on ward basis as opposed to the national and provincial elections which are conducted on a party list system (Kham v Electoral Commission 2016 (2) SA 338 (CC)). The IEC argued that it had no obligation to include addresses of the potential voters in the voters' roll. To this argument, the Constitutional Court held that the addresses of the potential voters was of cardinal importance in ensuring that only eligible voters cast their vote in the by-elections. Despite the Constitutional Court reaffirming the

proposition that not all irregularities in elections rendered the elections unfree and unfair, it found that the by-elections in Tlokwe were not free and fair and set them aside. In this regard the Constitutional Court held that the applicants' complaint did not much relate to the outcome of the by-elections but on how the by-elections were conducted. The Constitutional Court, although convinced from the statistics provided by the IEC that even if the number of votes that were irregularly cast could be given to the applicants' the applicants would still have lost the by-elections, it found for the applicants' in the following words (*Kham v Electoral Commission* 2016 (2) SA 338 (CC)):

[The applicants] ability to participate fully and effectively in the by-elections was hampered by the failure of the IEC to fulfil its obligations in regard to the registration of voters, and the content and the timing of the production and provision of the relevant segments of the voters' roll. The focus must be on the impact that this had on their exercise of the right to stand for public office. It is not on whether or not they would have won or lost had the arrangements for the by-elections being different and not suffered from the flaws of which they complain, but on whether they were seriously hampered in their participation in the electoral process.

And the Court ultimately held (*Kham v Electoral Commission* 2016 (2) SA 338 (CC)) :

These seven by-elections fail that test [that of freeness and fairness]. They were conducted against the background of fears that voters had been wrongly registered in wards where they were not ordinarily resident and not entitled to vote. It transpired that these fears were well-founded. The freeness and fairness of the elections is not only a mathematical or statistical game. That a party to elections has received many votes does not in itself speak to the integrity of those elections. As already indicated, the processes leading to the casting of votes are equally important. And it is on that basis that the Constitutional Court held that the by-elections were not free and fair.

5. ADDRESSES AS BONE OF CONTENTION FOR FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS

In *Kham* the Constitutional Court had found the by-elections in Tlokwe to have been unfree and

unfair and set them aside. It ordered that the new by-elections be held. With regard to the recordal of addresses, the order of the Constitutional Court read as follows:

- (c) It is declared that when registering a voter to vote in a particular voting district after the date of this order the Electoral Commission is obliged to obtain sufficient particularity of the voter's address to enable it to ensure that the voter is at the time of registration ordinarily resident in that voting district.
- (d) It is declared that in all future municipal elections or by elections the Electoral Commission is obliged in terms of section 16(3) of the Electoral Act 73 of 1998 to provide all candidates in municipal elections, on the date on which they are certified, with a copy of the segment of the national voters' roll to be used in that ward in that election including the addresses of all voters, where these addresses are available.

The orders in 5(c) and (d) are prospective in their operation from the date of this order and do not affect the validity of any election or by election held prior to the date of this order.

Several days before the by-elections were to be held as ordered by the Constitutional Court the independent candidates lodged a complaint with the IEC the effect of which was that the IEC had failed to comply with the *Kham* order in that the voters roll did not contain the physical addresses of some 4000 voters. In reply to this complaint, the IEC argued that the order in *Kham* had a prospective effect which meant that the IEC was only obliged to provide a voters' roll which contained the addresses of the newly registering voters or those that were re-registering after the date of the *Kham* order. With regard to those who had registered before *Kham*, the IEC was only obliged to provide the addresses if they were available to the IEC. The IEC contended that it had no obligation to obtain such addresses if it did not have them. Dissatisfied by the IEC's response the, independent candidates approached the Electoral Court for an order setting aside the relevant segments of the certified voters' roll and the postponement of the by-elections. The Electoral Court upheld the independent candidates' application (*Mhlophe v Independent Electoral Commission of South Africa* (001/2016 EC) [2016] ZAEC 1 (10 March 2016)).

The IEC appealed¹ against the decision of the Electoral Court and also applied for direct access² to the Constitutional Court. The justices of the Constitutional Court were not in agreement as to the meaning to be attached to the Kham order. Three judgements were written as a result. With regard the appeal all the justices agreed that it should be dismissed. The essence of that was that in Tlokwe, for both the by-elections and the local government elections that were scheduled for August 2016, the IEC had a duty to provide a certified voters' roll that contained the addresses of the voters where available. In other words, the IEC was absolved from providing the voters' roll that contained addresses in other parts of the country. With regard direct access the two judgements found that it should be granted, while Japhta J dismissed it.

Although the first two judgements orders are substantially similar, the reasons for their conclusions diverge materially. The reason for this divergence lay in the interpretation of section 16(3) of the Electoral Act, in particular the meaning to be ascribed to the term "available" in that provision and the "prospective" nature of the order in Kham. According to the majority judgement, penned by Mogoeng CJ, "available" in section 16(3) mean "objectively available" or "reasonably available" (Electoral Commission v Mhlope 2016 (5) SA 1 (CC)). Mogoeng CJ interpretation of this term is rooted in the history of the promulgation of this provision. Before December 2003 it was not a requirement that the IEC record the residential addresses of the voters whether available or not. Although Mogoeng CJ held that (Electoral Commission v Mhlope 2016 (5) SA 1 (CC)):

Available addresses within the context of this section [section 16(3)] does not mean those that the IEC chooses to make available or that happen to have been recorded by the IEC and are thus available to be produced together with the voters' roll, when required by those contesting the elections. It is much more than what the IEC has in its records.

However, Mogoeng CJ concluded by holding that section 16(3) does not envisage a situation where

the IEC is under the duty to record the pre-2003 addresses despite the fact that those addresses may be objectively available. In other words, section 16(3) does not impose on the IEC a retrospective duty to record the addresses of the voters who registered prior to 2003. Put differently section 16(3) does not impose a duty on the IEC to record the pre-2003 addresses even where they are objectively available if the IEC had not recorded them during the registration then. This is so because, although the legislature was aware of the fact that the IEC did not have a duty to record the addresses when processing the amendment, it did not provide that section 16(3) must apply retrospectively. There is no duty on the IEC to go back to correct its pre-2003 registration records to include the registrant's addresses (Electoral Commission v Mhlope 2016 (5) SA 1 (CC) 49-50).

With regard to the prospective effect of the Kham order, Mogoeng CJ held that:

"When registering a voter to vote in a particular voting district after the date of this order, the Electoral Commission is obliged to obtain sufficient particularity of the voter's address."

This means that the recordal of addresses referred only to the new registrants as well as to those who were re-registering. This means that every time the IEC registers a new voter or re-registers an old voter it must record that voters' address. The order in Kham is prospective in nature. Mogoeng CJ held that to require the IEC to record the pre-2003 available addresses would throw our electoral process in disarray because participants in the election could easily challenge the freeness and fairness of elections based on the non-availability of the pre-2003 addresses despite the fact that prior to this period the IEC was not required to record such addresses (Electoral Commission v Mhlope 2016 (5) SA 1 (CC)).

Madlanga J on the other hand sees matters differently. "Available" in section 16(3) does not necessarily refer to the addresses that are available to the IEC's database but those that are objectively or reasonably

¹ With regard to appeal, the IEC requested the Constitutional Court to set aside the order of the Electoral Court. It is limited to the record of the proceedings in the Electoral Court. In other words, generally parties could not raise issues beyond those dealt with by the Electoral Court.

² The application for direct access was dependent on the Court dismissing the appeal. The basis for the IEC to seek direct access was that the IEC be absolved from fulfilling the Kham requirements in relation to providing a voters' roll that contained addresses of the voters in the local government elections that were forthcoming in August 2016, as it could not, in the time available to those elections fulfil that requirement. The IEC contended that there were about 12 million registrations without addresses and it (IEC) was in no position to achieve the feat of ensuring that such addresses would be obtained before the elections. In essence the IEC sought a moratorium on its obligation.

available – those that exist. According to Madlanga J, if the word "available" in section 16(3) was of limited application i.e only to those addresses available to the IEC, then the mischief (that of visiting and canvassing voters on the one hand and verifying whether the voters had registered in the correct voting districts) intended by this provision could not be achieved. If the voters' roll was to be left to self-correct as contended by Mogoeng CJ that would mean that until such time that this has been achieved the participants in elections would be saddled with a useless or partially useless voters' roll. Failure to ensure that even the pre-2003 available addresses are recorded in the voters' roll would imperil the requirement that voters are only allowed to register in the districts in which they are ordinarily resident. For this reason, the IEC must take pro-active steps to ensure that addresses that are reasonably available are recorded in the voters' roll. Available in the context of section 16(3) mean ordinarily available and it is only in instances where the voter does not have a physical address that the IEC should be absolved from providing one. According to Madlanga J, this makes sense because when the legislature passed this provision it was aware of the circumstances prevailing in our country where there are residents who do not have the conventional addresses, for instance those living in villages and informal settlements (*Electoral Commission v Mhlope 2016 (5) SA 1 (CC)*).

With regard to the prospective nature of the Kham order, Madlanga J held that what the order meant was that the obligation to provide addresses does not apply to past elections. In other words, the validity of elections that took place before the order in Kham cannot be impugned based on *Kham v Electoral Commission 2016 (2) SA 338 (CC)*. In relation to the Tlokwe by-elections the Court held that it would be anomalous that the Court in Kham declared the 2013 by-elections invalid on the basis that the voters' roll did not contain addresses, for it (the Court) to now find that the 2015 by-elections could proceed without the defect identified not being remedied (*Electoral Commission v Mhlope 2016 (5) SA 1 (CC)*).

Japhta J would, in addition to dismissing the appeal, have also dismissed the application for direct access. This is despite the fact that his reasoning largely corresponds with that of Mogoeng CJ. "Available" according to Japhta J means available to the IEC. The duty to record the addresses was bestowed on the IEC from December 2003. Despite the IEC's failure to comply with section 16(3) Japhta J would have dismissed the moratorium sought by the IEC because

the voters roll without addresses could not be said to be defective to the extent of prohibiting its use at the scheduled August local government. Japhta J concluded that:

"It follows that on the construction preferred here, the inability of the Commission to provide a voters' roll that contains addresses will not affect the upcoming municipal elections, except in Tlokwe" (*Electoral Commission v Mhlope 2016 (5) SA 1 (CC) 84*). In essence, Japhta J's view was that there was no evidence before the Court to prove the extent of the irregularities with regard to the voters roll.

6. SYNTHESIS

The order in Kham proved to be vexing. The proof of this is the production of three judgements by the justices of the Constitutional Court (*Commission v Mhlope 2016 (5) SA 1 (CC)*). The vexing issues, as already stated, were whether the IEC had a duty to record the addresses of the voters who registered pre-2003, the meaning of "available" in section 16(3) of the Electoral Act 73 of 1998 and whether the IEC should be exempted from the duty to furnish participants in elections with a voters' roll that contained addresses for the scheduled August 2016 municipal elections. Although the majority of the Constitutional Court (per Mogoeng CJ) found that the IEC did not have a duty to record addresses pre-2003, the Constitutional Court failed to establish whether the missing addresses in Tlokwe were for voters who had registered pre-or post-2003. Although the duty to record addresses arose in 2003, the order in Kham makes it clear that, where available, the IEC must provide candidates in municipal elections with a voters roll that include the addresses of the voters, even for the pre-2003 registration where available. The provision of a voters' roll with addresses is not necessarily material to the freeness and fairness of the elections. What is important is the extent to which failure to provide a voters' roll that does not contain the electorates addresses might have on the integrity of the elections. The elections in the Tlokwe by-elections were declared not to be free and fair not necessarily because the voters' roll did not contain the addresses but because voters had registered in districts in which they were not ordinarily resident. This therefore made them legible to vote where they were not supposed to vote. Although the perfunctory reading of Kham seem to suggest it was for the absence of the addresses in the voters' roll that made the Court to declare the by-elections unfree and unfair, thus the IEC sought an order exempting

it to providing a voters' roll that did not contain the addresses for the August 2016 elections, a careful reading of the judgement suggest otherwise.

The prime reason the Constitutional Court declared the by-elections unfree and unfair was that there was a number of electorates who had registered in districts they were not supposed to have registered and therefore eligible to vote in wrong wards. Put differently, the Constitutional Court might not have declared the by-elections unfree and unfair only on the basis of the absence of addresses in the voters' roll without the substantive proof that the electorate were indeed registered in wrong districts. Section 16(3) of the Electoral Act 73 of 1998 itself places a duty on the IEC to provide addresses where they are available. It is axiomatic that there are instances where the voters might not have addresses. This eventuality is unlikely to lead to the declaration of elections as being unfree and unfair. However, a perplexing element of the judgement in Kham is that despite it being numerically or statistically proven that even without the irregular registrants the independent candidates might still have lost the elections as held by the Electoral Court, the Constitutional Court was still prepared to hold the elections unfree and unfair. This underscores the Constitutional Court holding that in administering and conducting elections the IEC must be held to higher standard and the participants (candidates) in elections have a legitimate expectation that they will be treated fairly despite the electoral muscle.

As held by Japhta J there was no need for the Constitutional Court to grant the IEC the moratorium it sought on the basis that the common voters' roll did not contain addresses. The reason for this, as held by the Constitutional Court, absence of addresses per se is not sufficient to render elections unfree and unfair. With regard to the elections that were scheduled in August 2016, no irregularity had been proven as regard the voters' roll. This despite the admission by the IEC that it did not record the majority of the electorates addresses. That the absence of addresses is not sufficient is buttressed by the fact that the Constitutional Court did not shut its door to complaints that could be raised even after the 2016 elections. That is even if such complaints related to addresses, each case would have to be dealt with on its merits. In principle the Constitutional Court should have dismissed the application for direct access on the basis that no live issue was brought before the court i.e the mere fact that the voters' roll did not contain addresses was not sufficient irregularity to result in the elections not being free

and fair (as held Japhta J), however the judgements of Mogoeng CJ and Madlanga J were more pragmatic in that they forestalled any challenge that might be brought against the IEC on the basis that the voters' roll did not contain the addresses of the voters. This prevented a deluge of applications to the Electoral Court on this aspect.

7. CONCLUSION

In this paper it has been argued that although the recordal of addresses is important in ensuring that, in particular local government elections, are free and fair, failure to record addresses would not per se render the elections not free and fair. This is more so because the provision prescribing that addresses be recorded requires that they be provided only where they are available. Although the judgements in the case of Kham adopted different interpretations to the terms "available". It is contended in this paper that "available" means existing. In other words, failure by the IEC to record the address of the voters where such addresses are available would amount to the failure by the IEC to fulfil its duties in terms of legislation. However, such failure on its own is not sufficient to render the elections not free and fair. In addition to this failure, the complainant must prove the impact that this failure would have on the freeness and fairness of the elections.

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AUDIT OUTCOMES AND THEIR ROLE IN CLEAN ADMINISTRATION IN MUNICIPALITIES WITHIN LIMPOPO PROVINCE, SOUTH AFRICA: A DETERRENCE THEORY APPROACH

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ABSTRACT

In a period of three months subsequent to the end of every municipal financial year, the Auditor General of South Africa (AGSA) receives financial statements from municipalities within which to express various audit opinions which relate mainly to financial affairs. This paper is merely a legislative compliance exercise rather than one seeking to correct the status quo by attaching punitive measures to officials found to be responsible for non-conforming transactions. To sustain its argument, the paper uses the Deterrence Theory. The paper further argues that the use of punitive measures particularly in the recommendations by AGSA could serve to deter poor financial management and misuse of municipal funds. It could further assist in strengthening accountability and enhance municipal service delivery. The paper adopts a Content Analysis method to interrogate Audit Outcomes of Local Government: Limpopo Province to analyse the trends in relation to Audit Outcomes for the financial years ranging from 2011-12 to 2013-14.

Keywords: Auditor General of South Africa, Audit opinion, Auditing, Prevention, Deterrence Theory.

1. INTRODUCTION

In a period of three months subsequent to the end of every municipal financial year (1 July to 30 June the following year), the Auditor General of South Africa (AGSA) receives financial statements which municipalities are required to submit within which to express various audit opinions which relate mainly to financial affairs. This paper argues that the use of punitive measures utilising the Deterrence Theory as the theoretical framework particularly in the recommendations by AGSA could serve to deter poor financial management and misuse of municipal funds.

This could assist in strengthening accountability and enhance municipal service delivery and clean administration. The paper adopts a Content Analysis method to interrogate Audit Outcomes of Local Government: Limpopo Province to analyse the trends in relation to Audit Outcomes for the financial years ranging from 2011-12 to 2013-14. In doing so, this paper specifically focus on findings arising from the audit of financial statements, findings arising from the audit of supply chain management and findings arising from the audit of unauthorised, irregular, fruitless and wasteful expenditure. This is so because; these are the areas which have been over the years as indicated by the AGSA as areas of major concern at a local government level. The paper attempts to do this by firstly explaining the design and methodology used to execute the paper, the conceptualisation of auditing as an activity, the theoretical framework used to view and address the challenges, the legislative framework underpinning auditing, explaining various audit opinions, findings and finally the conclusion and recommendations.

2. DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

A research design according to Mouton (2014:107) is a set of guidelines and instructions to be followed in addressing the research problem and enables the researcher to anticipate what the appropriate research decisions should be in order to maximise the validity of the results. In an attempt to interrogate audit outcomes and their role in clean administration this paper has adopted literature review and content analysis. Although closely related to hermeneutics, content analysis is a method used to analyse the content of documents (such as policy documents, annual reports and pieces of legislation) for any meanings, pictures, symbols, themes or messages that could be communicated (Wessels & Thani, 2014:167). The paper adopts a Content Analysis

method to interrogate Audit Outcomes of Local Government: Limpopo Province to analyse the trends in relation to Audit Outcomes for the financial years ranging from 2011-12 to 2014-15. The intended goal therefore is to identify inclinations in audit opinions and the frequency to establish the impact of audit outcomes to clean administration. This will assist in proving a linear path for financial governance which is aimed at producing unqualified audit outcomes for all municipalities in South Africa which in turn will enhance the delivery of services.

3. CONCEPTUALISING AUDITING AS AN ACTIVITY

The term audit is derived from the Latin term '*audire*,' which means to hear (Online). The original objective of auditing is to detect and prevent errors and frauds. Auditing grew rapidly after the industrial revolution in the 18th century with the growth of the joint stock companies in which the ownership and management became separate. The objective of audit and auditing shifted and it was expected to ascertain whether the accounts were true and fair rather than detection of errors and frauds. In the South African context and in terms of section 1 of the Public Audit Act (25 of 2004), audit as an activity refers to the examination or investigation, in accordance with any applicable audit standards, which in this case is municipalities in Limpopo Province. Economic decisions in every society must be based upon the information available at the time the decision is made. If there is lack of coherence between a decision and what informs it, information used in the decision-making process will be unreliable (Inavona & Gibcus, 2003). In a municipal environment for instance, unreliable information can cause ineffective use of financial resources in particular and subsequently undesired outcomes in relation to service delivery. As local government has become more complex (Nkuna, 2011), there is an increased likelihood that untrustworthy information is provided to a municipality. It is because of this that auditing has become a mechanism in which techniques in terms of Generally Accepted Accounting Principles (GAAP) are used as a common way to obtain reliable information particularly by independent persons. The audited information is then used in the decision making process on the assumption that it is reasonably complete, accurate and unbiased. Conventionally, auditing is an examination of books of accounts and transaction of a concerned municipality, wherein the Auditor General of South Africa (AGSA) is to satisfy himself that the balance

sheet is properly drawn up, so as to give a true and fair view of the state of municipal affairs and that the financial statements gives true and fair view of the profit/loss for the financial period, according to the best of information and explanation given to him and as shown by the books; and if not, in what respect he is not satisfied (AGSA, 2012). This paper interrogates the role of audit outcomes and their impact on clean administration in the context of the South African local government using municipalities within the Limpopo Province as a unit of analysis. By so doing, the Deterrence Theory is adopted to justify for the positive punishment and deterrence for those municipal officials charged with and responsible for municipal financial affairs and thereby producing undesired audit outcomes.

4. THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: DETERRENCE THEORY

Deterrence is the control of behaviour that is affected because the potential offender does not consider the behaviour worth risking for the fear of its consequences (Elliot, nd). It involves the threat of punishment through some form of sanction. In the context of this paper, the mismanagement of municipal's financial and other resources is viewed as a behaviour that needs to be controlled through the imposing of sanctions. The paper argues that this has the potential of assisting in minimising and curbing unethical behaviour which results in undesired audit outcomes.

"Proponents of deterrence believe that people choose to obey or violate the law after calculating the gains and consequences of their actions. Overall, however, it is difficult to prove the effectiveness of deterrence since only those offenders not deterred come to the notice of law enforcement. Thus, we may never know why others do not offend". (Bosworth, 2005).

The Deterrence Theory is positive in nature and aims at preventing 'wrong' actions in society. In South African municipal context, the theory can be viewed and applied in a verge to ensure that mismanagement of financial resources in particular is minimised through imposing punishment to offenders. Executive management in municipalities ought to conduct their daily affairs with the conscious and knowledge that their undesired actions are punishable by law and other means. The theory is traced to the early works of philosophers such as Thomas Hobbes, Cesare Beccaria and Jeremy Bentham (online).

In Hobbes's thinking, people generally pursue material gain, reputation and safety. However, in doing so, public resources bestowed upon those running government machinery get manipulated and exploited. In terms of the Deterrence Theory, punishment for mismanagement, looting and corruption must be greater than the benefit that comes from committing such crime. Deterrence is the reason municipal officials must be punished for violating social contract and the public trust bestowed upon them. A piece of legislation such as the Local Government: Municipal Finance Management Act (56 of 2003), must be amended to criminalise and deter financial mismanagement resulting from deliberate non-compliance and disregarding the recommendations of the AGSA. The paper acknowledges that the legislative framework is insufficient to deal with financial mismanagement. Mathebula (2014) acknowledges that although punishment and deterrence alone are insufficient for promoting ethical conduct and clean administration particularly in public sector financial management, morality and *Ubuntu* equally play a critical role in curbing unethical conduct. It is in this view that there are various legislative frameworks that are promulgated to promote clean administration and financial management. However, they are not comprehensive enough to deter and criminalise financial mismanagement.

5. LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK: UNDERPINNING FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT AND AUDITING

South Africa has promulgated various pieces of legislation that are aimed at ensuring that auditing and financial management in the public sector in general and municipalities in particular is performed in a way that minimises and curb the misuse of funds and critical resources aimed at the development of the general citizenry. Some of these pieces of legislation include the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996), Local Government: Municipal Finance Management Act, (56 of 2003), and Public Audit Act, (25 of 2004). It must however be acknowledged that pieces of legislation on their own cannot be able to address corruption and financial mismanagement prevalent to municipalities. Hence Mathebula (2014) argues that Acts of parliament fail to inculcate appropriate public sector culture and morality for reducing and curbing financial mismanagement and corruption. This however does not underscore the importance of having these legislative frameworks in place.

5.1 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996

Chapter 9 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 establishes the Auditor-General of South Africa as one of the state establishments supporting constitutional democracy (AGSA online). The Constitution (1996) recognises the significance and pledges the independence of the AGSA, stating that the institution must be impartial and must exercise its supremacies and execute its functions without fear, favour or prejudice. The functions of the AGSA are pronounced in section 188 of the Constitution (1996) which mandates the AGSA to perform constitutional and other functions. Constitutional functions are those which the AGSA performs to comply with the broader mandate described therein. With all the powers vested on the AGSA, all government departments, municipalities, state organs and institutions are bound by law to comply with the requests of the AGSA to supply their financial statements for the purposes of audit.

5.2 Local Government: Municipal Finance Management Act, 2003 (56 of 2003)

In terms of section 92 of the Act, the Auditor-General must audit and report on the accounts, financial statement and financial management of each municipal entity. The word 'must' as contained within the Act is a clear indication of the obligation without discretion that must be performed by the AGSA as a matter of bound legislative requirement. It is in this vein that section 95 of the same Act places responsibility upon the accounting officer (i.e. municipal manager) to keep full and proper records concerning the financial affairs of a municipality in an effective, efficient and economic manner. Furthermore, in terms of section 102 of the Act irregular or fruitless and wasteful expenditure must be detected and reported to the mayor so that appropriate steps can be taken. It is on this basis that the AGSA will act in accordance of those financial statements and supporting documentation to make a determination in the form of audit outcomes. Of course, the drafters of the Act had a good intention of ensuring that municipal funds are utilized for the purposes of improving the livelihood of the citizenry. However, despite these legislative prescripts, funds continue to be misused, hence this paper argues for the punitive measures that could have been incorporated in the Act to curb and minimize corruption particularly in municipalities.

5.3 Public Audit Act, 2004 (25 of 2004)

The Public Audit Act, 2004 (25 of 2004) was promulgated to give effect to the powers of the AGSA as enshrined in section 188 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996. The Act provides for the AGSA to be the external auditor of all national and provincial state departments and municipalities, and any other institutions and accounting entities in terms of law. In carrying out the audit functions in terms of section 10 of the Act, the AGSA must submit annual reports to the National Assembly about; the standards to be applied to audits, the categories of services provided, and the institutions and accounting entities to which such services have been rendered. Section 14 (1) of the Act further indicates that financial statements submitted to the AGSA by an auditee subject to Local Government: Municipal Finance Management Act (56 of 2003), must be submitted within the period (i.e. three months subsequent to the end of every municipal financial year), be in a format, contain the information as required by legislation. For operational purposes in terms of section 1 of this Act, auditee refers to an institution or accounting entity that is or is to be audited and includes any group of such institutions or accounting entities whose financial statements are consolidated in terms of legislation. In the context of this paper, the term auditee will be used to refer to municipalities in the Limpopo Province audited by the AGSA. Section 19 (1) of the Act states that an auditee must; render all reasonable assistance to the AGSA to enable the auditor to complete the audit within any applicable timeframes. It is after the AGSA has performed an audit that a report on the audit must be prepared in terms of section 20 of the Act which will reflect on the opinion and statements. A determination is therefore made on this basis of an audit opinion being expressed by the AGSA.

6. AUDIT OPINIONS EXPRESSED BY THE AUDITOR GENERAL OF SOUTH AFRICA

There are four common audit opinion that can be expressed by the Auditor-General.

6.1 Disclaimer of Opinion

The Auditor General of South Africa (AGSA) shall disclaim an opinion in extremely rare circumstances. This is so because this opinion is only possible when the auditor is unable to obtain sufficient appropriate audit evidence on which to base an opinion. This could simply imply that the AGSA was unable to issue

an opinion either that the disclaimer as a result of lack of financial statements and other records. The question then is; who is to blame for lack of financial record? It is in cases such as this that this paper calls for extreme punishment and deterrence particularly to accounting officers of municipalities. Mechanisms that enhance the reliability of information and foster accountability, transparency and good governance, are the functions of the internal audit committee (Ngope & Ngulube, 2013:45) within the reporting municipality. One can therefore conclude that municipalities that receive disclaimer of opinion are falling short in relation to internal auditing mechanisms. It is therefore expected that municipalities who receive disclaimer of opinions strengthen their internal audit mechanisms. This according to the Act is the principal function of the municipal manager with the assistance of the chief financial officer.

6.2 Adverse Audit Opinion

The AGSA expresses an adverse opinion when auditors have obtained sufficient audit evidence from the municipality concerned but concludes that the financial, accounting standards and transaction(s) are both material and inescapable to the financial statements. In this instance, the municipality has failed to confine its accounts, transactions and financial statements to specific elements. A practical example in this regard would be to purchase a billing machine without having obtained a minimum number of quotations as may be required by legislation. Should the AGSA find out while in the audit process, an adverse opinion shall be expressed. It is in instances like this that this paper advocates for deterrence and punishment in the event of municipalities deliberately ignoring legislative prescription for whatever reason.

6.3 Qualified Audit Opinion

The AGSA expresses this opinion after having sufficient evidence, concludes that the municipality's financial records are material but not pervasive to financial statements in terms of the Generally Accepted Accounting Principles. In such an instance the AGSA is unable to obtain sufficient audit evidence in which to base the opinion. To this end, a question to which the reader can be a referee of is; whether this is due to incapacity on behalf of financial officers and accountants or rather a deliberate act of the unwillingness to disclose malicious transactions or records and allow the auditor to express an opinion?

This is comprehensively answered by Ngope and Ngulube (2013:45) who clearly point out that accountability in government requires a system of reporting and control in which record-keeping forms the base for such a system.

6.4 Unqualified Audit Opinion

Once the AGSA expresses an unqualified audit opinion it means that the municipality's financial records and statements have been presented fairly and appropriately in terms of the Generally Accepted Accounting Principles. This is a type of an audit opinion which South African municipalities should strive for as it translates to sound financial management and the financial statements are free from misstatements unlike a qualified audit opinion. The following section presents the AGSA findings of the municipalities within Limpopo Province.

7. THE STATE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN LIMPOPO PROVINCE: FINDINGS

As indicated earlier, the findings presented in this paper do not include all the audit findings as expressed by the AGSA. However, finding presented concern those arising from the audit of financial statements, supply chain management, and unauthorised, irregular, fruitless and wasteful expenditure. Furthermore, the findings are period focused.

7.1 Audit of Financial Statements

In the 2011/12 financial year, only two auditees submitted financial statements with no material misstatements (AGSA, 2012). This basically means that, majority of the auditees in Limpopo Province failed to produce credible and reliable financial statements. The continued reliance on the AGSA to identify misstatements in order to produce an unqualified audit opinion is deemed an unacceptable practice. Overall, 15 (52%) auditees failed to correct all the material misstatements identified during the audit process due to unavailability of information and documents to determine amounts as reflected in financial statements (AGSA, 2012). There are also a great number of repeat and new qualifications which of course is a cause for concern. This is so because as the AGSA noted; qualifications are increasing despite the appointment of consultants in the majority of the auditees with Limpopo Province. Shockingly these findings continue to show a similar trend of lack of improvement during the financial years under study. This, taking into account that there are

recommendations provided after each audit report, is worrying. A more drastic step of holding those responsible for managing municipal financial affairs is necessary.

7.2 The Audit of Supply Chain Management

The audit for supply chain management (SCM) includes procurement processes, contract management and the related controls in place (AGSA, 2013). To ensure a fair, equitable, transparent, competitive and cost-effective SCM system, the processes and controls need to comply with legislation and minimise the likelihood of fraud, corruption, favouritism and irregular practices. SCM audit was conducted only in 29 auditees for the 2011-12 financial year (AGSA, 2012). It is noteworthy that two municipalities (*Agang and Fetakgomo*) regressed from no findings on SCM to findings on SCM (*Ibid*). In total, 26 (90%) auditees showed direct correlation with irregular expenditure and non-compliance with legislative frameworks. No consequences for poor performance and non-compliance with SCM laws and regulations resulted in officials being negligent in adhering to legislation underpinning transparent procurement processes. The leadership failed to give attention to ensuring that municipalities and entities operated within the ambit of the law. There is no doubt that deviations from legislation is a direct result of poor control measures.

7.3 The Audit of Unauthorised, Irregular, Fruitless and Wasteful Expenditure

Section 32 of the Local Government: Municipal Finance Management Act (56 of 2003), requires accounting officers to take effective and appropriate steps to ensure that unauthorised, irregular, fruitless and wasteful expenditure is prevented. The Act makes it compulsory for auditors to disclose such expenditure in cases where it happens in the financial statement. Such expenditure must therefore be investigated. If the investigation determines that an official is liable for the expenses, disciplinary steps should be taken and the expenditure recovered.

In the 2011-12 financial year, a total of 28 (90%) auditees incurred one or more type of unauthorised, irregular, fruitless and wasteful expenditure (AGSA, 2012). Findings on compliance related to unauthorised, irregular, fruitless and wasteful expenditure remain the second highest non-compliance area in all auditees. The findings

regressed to 27 (87%) of the auditees from the 24 (77%) auditees in the 2011-12 financial year. The most common finding was irregular expenditure not prevented at 24 (77%) auditees, which is a regression from 16 (55%) in the previous year. A total of 22 (77%) auditees failed to conduct investigations and take action against officials who made or permitted unauthorised, irregular, fruitless and wasteful expenditure. During the 2012/13 financial year, all municipalities within the Limpopo Province accounted to R418 million worth of fruitless expenditure (AGSA, 2013) with little insignificant improvement of the 2011/12 financial year. Furthermore, R859.6 million was irregularly spent in the same period due to noncompliance of SCM regulations. Irregularities in SCM management range to wide issues such as failure comply with regular awarding of tenders, price fluctuations and total ignorance of the policy framework underpinning supply chain.

8. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This paper attempted to interrogate the state of financial affairs of municipalities within Limpopo Province. This was done through literature review and Content Analysis of Municipal Audit Reports of the AGSA. The paper was espoused within a notion that if recommendations contained in the Reports were implemented, the misuse of funds can be prevented. However, such is not the case and this paper views this picture very worrying as the municipal citizenry continue to live in abject poverty due to lack of services. It is therefore incumbent that strict implementation and political will be sought for with regard to the AGSA recommendations. This paper therefore calls for the criminalisation and imposing of harsh measures against transgressors if clean administration within municipalities is to be achieved. Such can be done within the notion of the Deterrence Theory as indicated in the paper.

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SERVICE DELIVERY PROTESTS RESULTING IN THE BURNING OF LIBRARIES: A STUDY OF SELECTED PUBLIC LIBRARIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

South Africa is taking significant steps to improve access to information to all communities in the nine provinces. Since 1994, great strides have been made to build new public, school libraries and to upgrade historically less equipped library facilities throughout the country. People visit libraries to search for employment, government information, writing assignments, research, and study space and to seek many other information resources. The absence of libraries acts as an effective barrier to development, reconstruction and economic development. It is also becoming increasingly clear that access to information and communications technology is the key factor in bridging the gap between the developed and developing countries, hence the efforts to provide free Wi-Fi to public libraries in South Africa. In addition, the provision of free internet access to communities has also been enhanced through partnership with some foreign funding. Even though the South African government is building more libraries in rural communities, during service delivery protests some of these libraries have been deliberately set alight. University libraries are now being targeted as well. Protestors complain about the government's not satisfying communities' mixed basic needs. Maslow's premise is that if people's needs are not satisfied that may create tensions that can influence people's attitudes and behaviours. He further indicated that it is only an unsatisfied need that can trigger violent behaviour resulting in libraries being burned as collaterals. Librarians are challenged to remain active partners to steer public discourse around government's provision of libraries, the negative impact of burning libraries and more. This paper, therefore, investigates the nature of mixed triggers leading to protests and identifies those relating to the burning of libraries, and look into ways librarians can protect libraries by getting involved in community issues.

Keywords: South Africa, Service Delivery Protests; Burning Libraries; Triggered Displaced Aggression.

1. INTRODUCTION

Libraries are a very valuable social resource, giving job seekers, entrepreneurs, students and learners access to information, the internet and photocopy facilities, in addition to serving the reading needs of the public (South Africa Department of Arts & Culture, 2013). However, from 2005 South Africa started witnessing protests from many corners of the country whereby communities complained about the government's failure to address their basic needs. Basic needs are enshrined in the Bill of Rights. Communities expected better life when the ANC took over as a new government in 1994. During elections politicians and the government officials make promises of addressing people's needs, but after elections communities complain that the government officials have forgotten promises they made to communities. Failure of the government to give people what they want has led to communities destroying anything that is associated with the government. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (RSA) 1996 provides for the need for community participation in planning for service delivery. Grassroots tools have been created to enhance developmental local government, such as the imbizos, indabas, masethethisane, masakhane and door to door campaigns, the development of a leadership cadre prepared to listen and serve its citizenry, such as Presidential Hotline, the establishment of government customer care centres and Thusong... (Shaidi, 2013:40). However, it does not identify clear measurements of its successes and failures in development planning at the grassroots problem. Williams (2006) as cited in Madzivandila & Maloka (2014:655) adds that scheduled meetings have been marred by lack of the requisite facilitation or coordination infrastructure and skills to optimise

community participation, lack of public transport to and from the venue of the meeting; and a lack of logistical capacity and human resource. The political scientist, Tapscott (2009) cited in Hart & Nassimbeni (2014:4), lays the blame with local government:

"Despite the best intentions of legislators and policymakers, however, it is evident that the majority of municipalities have thus far failed to give effect to the principles of Batho Pele [putting the people first] and participatory democracy. Indeed, public frustration with what is perceived to be meaningless exercises in participation through ward committees, public meetings ... and the like is steadily growing."

Bitso (2015) points out that the tragedy of this problem is that these incidents often happen in historically disadvantaged, impoverished communities that need resources (information included) to emancipate them from poverty and other social perils. Ndlozi (2015) points out that during fees must fall, students took to the streets of all major cities without any permission and hit the heart of city centres where, many township protests normally cannot arrive. These protestors usually close roads, burn tyres; loot shops, and in extreme cases burn libraries. These protests are often violent. But Karamoko (2011) rejects labelling a protest violent as this fails to distinguish between those protests that were initially violent, from those that became violent. Pillay (2016) cites Lizettee Lancaster, manager of the crime and justice hub at the Institute for Security Studies when she said "In most cases, people have a high expectation of response and often people that mobilise feel that there is no other way to address their grievances". She adds that some of the key triggers that determine the escalation or de-escalation of a protest included; failed infrastructure and services, the media's interest in the issues, police action and response, low level

of access to resources, trust and distrust of official authorities, highly motivated individuals and official's response to the violence, among others. The aim of this paper is to attempt to get a deeper understanding of triggers behind the burning of libraries.

In achieving the objectives of the paper authors intends to describe the nature of triggers behind the protests which led specifically to the burning of several libraries, examine the triggers articulated by those who support the burning of libraries, highlight the cost effects associated with the burning of libraries and to consider ways in which librarians could play a constructive role for protesting communities to value libraries rather than destroy them. Burning libraries is not a new phenomenon but South Africa has been experiencing the burning of libraries as far back as 2005 due to non-service delivery protests. It is not possible to trace all libraries which were destroyed during the service protests as some do not make the headlines. The paper does not cover libraries destroyed during wars. Firstly, the focus is on those South African libraries which were burned partially or to the ground from 2005 to 2016.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

There are protestors who have burned libraries after government's failure to address communities' needs. Then the failure triggered them to be violent and destroy government structures even though they directly were not related to their grievance. Before addressing the Triggered Displaced Aggression as a theory for this paper, it is important to briefly begin with Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (HON) as a guide to human needs as it is used in many environments. HON consists of five areas of human needs:

The stages in the HON are not mutually exclusive and may overlap based upon which needs dominate and

TABLE 1: Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (HON).

Needs	Examples
Physiological and Biological needs	food, water, shelter (housing), excretion, etc.
Safety/Security needs	security of body, of employment, of resources, of morality of the family, of health, of property
Love and belongingness needs	friendship, intimacy, affection and love, - from work group, family, friends, romantic relationships.
Esteem needs	achievement, mastery, independence, status, dominance, prestige, self-respect, and respect from others.
Self-Actualization needs	morality, creativity, spontaneity, problem solving, lack of prejudice, acceptance of facts.

Source: Authors

motivate the individual at any one-time dependent upon individual psychological and physical circumstances (King-Hill, 2015). An earlier paper on service delivery protests by Louw (2007) as cited in Nell (2013:1) points to the important underlying psychological fact that when basic human needs are not met (security, respect, freedom and personal power) frustration builds up. At that time the victims of poor service delivery identify with the methods of the aggressor and thus respond with violence as the only means to achieve their goal. In the process of looking at means and ways to address these basic human needs, their anger may be displaced, meaning it gets directed towards something or someone else that/who has nothing to do with the original conflict. This is the idea of a triggered displaced aggression.

3. TRIGGERED DISPLACED AGGRESSION (TDA)

A more relevant theory for this paper is the TDA which occurs when people have anger towards someone that they cannot confront directly, and then later a mild trigger of annoyance, or irritation, causes them to explode with anger due to the pent up frustration that they could not express earlier, emitted by the eventual target of aggression (not the original provocateur), (b) it is by itself a provocation, and (c) it has differential effects depending on its intensity (Pederson, Gonzales & Miller, 2000:914). Meloy (2000) as cited in Vandreal (2011:39) indicates that triggers tend to be acute experiences or circumstances that aggravate an individual or group toward a violent act. South Africans have seen how protestors who feel provoked end up directing their anger at the government infrastructure such as libraries. A provocation can be an action or speech that makes someone angry or sometimes even violent. Evidence shows provocative triggers as complex and has several interrelated elements but in some cases they show some similarities. Other trigger elements serve to convert 'private troubles' into more visible 'public concerns' at a more popular level (Von Holdt, Langa, Molapo, Mogapi, Ngubeni, Dlamini & Kirsten 2013).

Although there are valid reasons why communities protest for no service delivery, Nleya (2011) argues that the link between service delivery and protests has perhaps been overstated. Reasons are that the exact configuration of grievances varies from protest to protest and community to community, invariably, issues linked to deficits in service delivery –housing, water, sanitation and electricity –have

featured prominently. And many protests appear to shift from one issue to another. An example of water service delivery issues has been (and still are) a part of a range of conflated grievances that masquerade under the general rubric of 'service delivery' issues and underpin many rallying calls for social protest action. Although such conflation reflects the inter-relatedness of social services, it also masks the precise nature of the specific water service delivery issues in question (Tapela, Ntwana & Sibanda, 2015).

Bandieri & Higson-Smith (2011) group the causes of protests into three and each group covers as many sub-causes.

3.1 Root Causes

Root causes are described as long standing factors that may have been latent for a long period but are critical to address systemic violence. Examples of root causes are high levels of unemployment, poverty and are closely related to the physiological and safety needs as in HON. South Africa has both an unemployment problem and a working poverty problem. When examining basic needs Karamoko (2011) show that housing topped the list. But those with houses ask "What is a house when people are unemployed and without food?" Many black South Africans are unemployed and living below poverty line and expecting the government to satisfy create employment opportunities. Leshoro (2016) indicates that South Africa's rate of unemployment went up above market expectations to 26.7% of the labour force in the first quarter of 2016, from 24.5% in the fourth quarter of last year. In its quarterly labour force survey, Statistics South Africa indicates that this means over 5.7 million people were without jobs in the first quarter compared with 5.2 million previously. The expanded definition of unemployment, which includes people who have stopped looking for work, went up to 36.3% in the first three months of the year, compared to 33.8% in the last quarter of 2015.

3.2 Proximate Causes

The proximate causes are described as causes which are closer to what is causing protests. Vandreal (2011:39) describes them as events which are closest to, or immediately responsible for causing some observed results. These exist in contrast to higher-level root causes which are usually thought of as the 'real' reasons when something happens. Proximate causes are:

3.2.1 Poor Local Governance Includes

Corruption, lack of communication with communities, competition for access to resources, indifference to the needs of the community, patronage networks, politics of excess, use of outsiders in official positions, gender as an issue in local governance, internal conflict, lack of accountability, poor treatment of community members by officials, use of sex in exchange of opportunities, nepotism, inadequate leadership, conflict between officials and civic leaders.

3.2.2 Other Causes Relate to Problems with Service Delivery (Housing, Electricity, Education, Health, Water, Sanitation, Lack of Recreational Spaces)

Political friction in the community (between different parties and within the ANC), failure of previous peaceful protest actions, high levels of crime, lack of judicial institutions such as a police station, high number of foreign nationals, civic organisation take over, low education levels, high levels of substance abuse in community, contested border, high density of population, workers protest action close to the community. Under proximate level an example is one on a contested border between the Venda and Tsonga tribes in the Vuwani region which stemmed from ethnic conflict shocked the country (Praag.org, 2016). Officially however, ethnicity does not exist in South Africa, despite the country having eleven official languages. During the days of white rule, care was taken to apportion to each tribe its own territory and institutions, in an effort to minimise so-called "black-on-black violence". However, the advent of Afro-Marxist rule in 1994, has led to the phenomenon of "dominant tribes" prevalent in the northern region of South Africa, the Venda tribe which used to have its own "Republic of Venda" under the apartheid system, is asserting its power over the Tsonga people. Three districts previously under Tsonga control have been incorporated into the Venda-ruled territory, leading to the current rioting and burning of schools, post offices and government buildings (Praag.org, 2016). It further comments that the incorporation of another area is a normal tactic, as whitest Afrikaner towns in the country have also been merged with other municipalities to disenfranchise them completely at the local level. However, Afrikaners do not burn their own schools as a form of protest.

3.2.3 Accelerators

Accelerators are factors which make the protests to increase the speed of a reaction. Vandreal (2011:39) defines them as destabilising factors that increase the potential for individuals to resort to violence.

These stems from police use of aggression against the protestors and being confused, weak and incompetent, inactive, use of outside units, use of torture, unable to access area. Other causes are related to political entrepreneurs, economic entrepreneurs, youth involvement, collective violence occurs nearby.

One shocking case of police brutality was the violence that turned a small-town protest into a fiery national spectacle where Andries Tatane, a teacher in a small town of Ficksburg in the Free State was killed on 13 April 2011. It started as a peaceful march and when Tatane tried to talk to the police he was shot dead. The death of Tatane placed both the issue of rising anger over a lack of service delivery as well as police brutality in the media spotlight. During the #feesmustfall at universities police were condemned for using violence as student's claims provocation by the police. Sometimes what triggers protestors are frustrations with the indifference and unresponsiveness of authority to the plight of the community. People are very patient, angry and tired of waiting. A protesting member of the Concerned Group (CG) at Voortrekker informal settlement near Johannesburg said: 'That the houses were burnt down was the mistake of the premier. He promised to come but did not.' Finally, the full-force appearance of police units from outside the local police service on the scene was often a signal for a shift to violent repertoires, usually in response to police violence (Von Holdt *et al.*, 2011:26).

One explanation is that communities are seriously and even desperately frustrated as they feel they are not being listened to. If we pay attention to the thinking of people participating in burning of schools and libraries, one thing becomes immediately clear: these protests are in response to a local democracy, rather than of service delivery. Protests and the burning of schools and other state property are an indication of the deepest levels of frustration in communities and a deep crisis of local democracy (Buccus, 2016). However, the Acting National Police Commissioner, Kgomoitso Phahlane, says the fees must fail protest across the universities have now been infiltrated with certain elements with an agenda to destroy property and commit violence (SABC News, 2016).

3.2.4 What Triggers This Behaviour Towards Libraries?

To best understand the triggers behind the burning of libraries, many documents such as magazines, newspapers and social networks were used. Responses identified here are comments made

by those who justify the burning of libraries. In a case study into collective violence in communities consisting of a mix of small rural towns, large urban settlements originating in informal settlements, partially upgraded with RDP housing, an urban formal township, and a rural informal settlement, all within a radius of 500 km from Johannesburg, the researchers found conflicting and ambivalent views (Von Holdt *et al.*, 2011:9). In Kungcatsha, young men who participated in the protests explained that:

"You go to the library and there is no newspaper, nothing. There's no Internet... That was not a library. What we burnt down was just a room. We burnt a place down so they would build us a proper library... that thing was there when we were born."

At Voortrekker, the community felt that 'we deserve better'. As for the library – 'It was a library by name only. You go inside, there is no content.' A member of the claimed that the library was deficient and the local librarian was hardly ever there as she ran a tavern.

This is a reality that the South African government has to deal with as many libraries which are without the necessary resources. So the community is not getting value for money yet, nor is the government. During a visit to cost eight libraries by the National Department of Arts & Culture they found one library with no books, computer rooms equipped with computer desks and cabling, but no computers. In one, the electricity had been cut off for more than two weeks as the municipality nor had the province paid the bill. No electricity means a borehole cannot pump water, so the librarian had to fetch water with a bucket for the toilet. This is not unique to this librarian now that South Africa is faced with shortage of water.

According to Lor (2013) one reason includes libraries being burned as collateral damage because they are located in municipalities 'buildings which are often targeted during service delivery protests. Jansen (2011), cited in Hart (2012) also states that libraries have always been a target during service delivery protests because most South Africans view libraries as irrelevant collections of books for the educated, the middle class and students. The burning down indicates the lack of value placed on books and libraries. Another reason is that public libraries are often perceived as elitist institutions serving only the most educated living in cities and ignoring the rural people (Davis, 2009). According

to Zaiden (2003), public libraries became viewed from a social perspective as elitist places, book depositories, or somewhere to do schoolwork. These problems prompted the emergence of a conflict of views between the information professional and the wider community. Zaiden furthermore argues that librarians considered for a long time that the main purpose of a library was to preserve its collection, and that made the circulation and dissemination of books difficult. This notion promoted the creation of "useless" [public] libraries (2003).

A recent home opinion section in The Daily Vox website reads as follows "Libraries are the stories of our past and future. But what are they in the face of an abusive present? If libraries are sacred ground, the sustained of that which is good and powerful, then why do they burn so easily? Is knowledge not meant to be a living, breathing thing, created to make the world a better place and not ensconced in ivory towers? When we revere libraries more than we do people, we only create new symbols of oppression"?

When the African National Congress (ANC) and Democratic Alliance (DA) condemned the protesters who set fire to the books few tweets in support of the students read:

- "That library had not even one single black author, maybe there's 2, but the rest was all colonial Dutch-law bull...t that came 1652 #ken". This point was made immediately after the UKZN Howard Law library was burned. Hansen (2016) in an email sent via heligliasa@googlegroup.com said "Some of the student demands all over the country have been the fact that our syllabuses and libraries don't reflect South Africa's history and culture. An example is that the UCT library only has one copy of I Write What I like by Steve Biko, one of South Africa's most well-known philosophers. The writings of the student activists have reflected a wide variety of philosophers from European, Africa and the US. Amongst these philosophers cited are Michel Foucault, Frantz Fanon, Audrey Lorde (herself a librarian) and James Baldwin.
- "When you make books more important than humans, you have a new oppressor."
- "The students were raising their issues in the past weeks and they were ignored. The library burns & now it's a hot topic. #UKZN."

- "The burning of the books is not a reflection on the students, but on a failure of leadership."

On the use of email and Web-based comments Lor (2013:366) questions whether, when the posts provide data for research, persons posting messages on discussion lists and similar media should be considered to be authors or research subjects. Lor cites the suggestions by Association of Internet Researchers (Ess & AoIR, 2002) that this depends on how secure and private the venues are. In the case of "e-mail postings to large listservers" and posts on public Web pages and blogs, the posters "may be understood as authors intending for their work to be public" (2002:7). It would therefore be legitimate to identify the authors of the material considered. However, since the identities of the authors (other than office bearers) are of no consequence in this paper, the authorship posts is not attributed to named individuals (adopted from Lor, 2013).

4. THE COST EFFECT OF DISPLACED AGGRESSION

"These destructive protests are disturbing trends, that communities would channel their anger at libraries which are supposed to be agents of change and transformation," said Ndima (2015), stressing that the onus was on citizens to protect libraries and understand how much money was spent on buildings, technology and print materials. The South African Department of Culture, Arts and Traditional Affairs has received a conditional grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York (CCNY) dating back from 2007. The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation that has given National Library of South Africa a R32 million grant to pilot the Gates Foundation Global Libraries Project. The extent of libraries destruction explains why the damages to libraries went up to millions of rands.

Van Onselen (2013) compiled a list showing that in 2005 fifteen libraries were burned. Seven of public or community libraries listed were "burnt to the ground"; another four were partially burnt or damaged by fire. The cost of damage in the nine libraries for which estimates were provided, was almost ZAR26 million (c. USD 2.6 million) a mean of R2.9 million (c. USD, 290,000) per library. These costs are an understatement, as in one case the cost of replacing the building was not reported. When public protestors destroyed the Gugulethu Community Centre, in Khutsong in 2005, including a library and computer center, the estimated damage

was R8 million. So, a moderate average of at least R10 million a year. Certainly some R40 million over the past four (Van Onselen, 2013).

More libraries have been burned since Van Onselen's study which covered libraries from 2005-2012. The Department of Public Works, Roads and Infrastructure (DPWRI) conducted an assessment of 31 schools in Malamulele and revealed that R462 828 500 is required to schools assessed (Mandlwana, 2016:3). If the government has to rebuild the schools, this will deprive other communities without proper schools with libraries. Protestors do not take into account the cost to the community of the unavailability of information resources and of safe, quiet spaces for children to study. Many black communities in rural areas need a conducive reading space as in most homes there are no study rooms. School learners faced with demanding projects can no longer flock to public libraries. School libraries are meant to support curriculum, teaching and learning.

5. WHAT ROLE SHOULD LIBRARIANS PLAY?

In many developing countries like South Africa, a high proportion of citizens are likely to be unaware of their rights and responsibilities. Public libraries, alongside Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) can help in civic education programmes and provide the necessary information aimed at developing informed communities. Public libraries, through their Internet facilities, can be used to reach out to politically dissatisfied or unmotivated citizens and publicise party positions, solicit feedback, new ideas and new members (Drake, 2001 cited in Arko-Cobbah, 2006:353). They can also provide the information and opportunities for dialogue that the public needs to make decisions about common concerns and ensure accountability from the government (Kranich, 2003 as cited in Arko-Cobbah). The library venue could be used as spaced have discussions on to addressing government issues, aggression, displaced aggression and ensuring that public hearings become productive.

Lanes (2011) as cited in Wilkinson (2011) argues that librarians must be aware and make communities to be politically aware. Political awareness is an important aspect of being an active citizen. There is so much potential for librarians to make a real difference in 'turbulent times'. There is an agreement about the fact that libraries in community building can help ameliorate some of today's social ills, including isolation, a lack of well-being, a lack of

access, and the inability to engage (Scott, 2011:193). Skelton (2011) outlines the role of librarians in providing inspiration, creative spaces, and creating opportunities for healthy and positive dialogues between different populations. They can rebuild the information landscape too, helping society move away from displacing their triggered aggression on libraries. Librarians can actively participate in political deliberations that address the interests and concerns of the communities. Supply communities with materials emanating from the government. As the public library is storehouse of knowledge, it can be viewed as a free society's insurance that all ideas will be accessible to everyone who may want them. Ideas and information are certainly available elsewhere, but no other agency or organization can guarantee such a wide accessibility to ideas of all kinds that will be free of charge to all its customers. Without this kind of accessibility provided somewhere within society, the danger of tyranny increases. The importance of the public library, then, lies in its availability somewhere within society (Mattson, 1998:106).

Maphisa (2015:19) during a librarian's conference on 2015 library theme "Connect @ your library" acknowledges that the theme resonates with the belief that libraries connect people to each other and to knowledge and information. "It is through that connection that I wish to challenge our people and leaders to publicly denounce destruction of these valuable assets and to make sure that there are campaigns to educate communities about the value of libraries. Our people should access not only books but up to date information about services that can improve their lives", he concludes. Lor (2013:371) is critical of the superficial response of South African librarians to the burnings, when he claims that "after brief expressions of dismay, they go back to business as usual" He contends that the profession needs to reflect more on the complex context in which South African libraries are situated and examine their role in townships and shack settlements. His words on the need for *relevance* echo those of the various think-tanks of the transition to democracy in the early 1990s.

6. CONCLUSION

In this paper the limitation is related to a lack of in-depth interpretation and application of the triggered displaced aggression as this is not meant for psychologists but to support an assumption that libraries are targeted because of failure to show aggression towards the source (government).

Librarians should also learn about the mixed nature of these triggers and address them during their meetings with communities. Findings from the literature show that there are a number of triggers which led to the burning of various libraries. One could address the concerns of the public library community with the broader context of a democratic political system. Librarians are challenged to organise talks in the library with the possibility of understanding their concerns as libraries are spaces for information sharing.

Also the effects of burned libraries are massive as when protests end millions or rands are required for repairs of the infrastructure and replacement of technologies, furniture and books. Those who relied on libraries no longer have access to information and knowledge. Even though it is difficult to satisfy all the needs at all times, it is important that communities remain informed as to what is delaying service delivery. It is important to utilise as many stakeholders in the community in terms of dissemination of information. Government should seek to partner with libraries wherever possible as a way to regularly inform communities about issues in a variety of fields, including health, agriculture, civic engagement, education, information literacy and others. Librarians are also challenged to communicate with communities so that they are aware how libraries are meant for all people whether literate or illiterate. In his analysis of South Africa librarians' responses to the recent spate of library burnings that was cited earlier, Lor (2013) warns that the profession needs to confront the social and political factors underlying the incidents, if it is to have any relevance to the vast majority of South Africans.

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A CRITIC OF NEMA: WASTE ACT 59 OF 2008, SO MANY PROMISES, LITTLE IMPLEMENTATION AND ENFORCEMENT

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ABSTRACT

The study is focused on the management of Waste in South Africa by investigating and analysing the National Environmental Management Waste Act 59 of 2008. The current trends review that challenges have been noted on the interpretation and enforcement of the Act. The definition of Waste in the Act has been described as restrictive, which means it has been difficult to apply the act owing to the definition which excludes other types of Waste. The study will also expose the need for more corporative governance as far as waste management is concerned. The study will further interrogate how other jurisdictions define the term 'Waste' and South Africa's commitment to international instruments dealing with waste management and the need for sustainable development. The study will draw its focus from the Constitution, National Environmental Management Act and other instruments.

Keywords: South Africa, Constitution, Development, Environment, Environmental law, Waste and Waste Management.

1. INTRODUCTION

South Africa is governed by the Constitution (1996). One of the most important things that the Constitution does is to make South Africa a "constitutional democracy" and a constitutional state (Act 3 of 2000). The constitutional era brought about a lot of changes and transformation within South African communities, amongst which is the right to a clean environment, which has laid the foundation for effective and sustainable waste management frameworks. This transformative agenda was entrenched in the rights of individuals that are illuminated and adumbrated in chapter 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, the Bill of Rights which includes the right to a clean

environment (Constitution, 1996). Developmental socio economic rights include the right to a clean environment that is free from pollution, which drives the burning constitutional concept of development and sustainable development for the benefit of the current generation (intra generation equity) and for the benefit of the future generations (inter generation equity) (Mafunganyika, 2009). These concepts therefore all envisage sustainable waste management in South Africa. Waste management is one of the critical elements of sustainable development primarily because sound waste management practices contribute to sustainability (Kidd 2012). Legislation regulating waste management in South Africa has historically been fragmented and still is, to some extent. However, the coming into effect of the National Environmental Management: Waste Act (Act No. 59 of 2008), presents more holistic approaches to waste management regulation. The paper utilises a non-empirical (qualitative) approach generally acceptable in legal research activities Pursuant to this, existing literature will be used as legal sources to analyze and examine each legal issue raised in order to come up with a novel opinion on the issue. Also, it will be library based and will rely on numerous scholarly legal lexicons relevant to the issues surrounding waste management in South Africa. The paper is meant to give a critique of waste management in South Africa. The Constitution under Section 24 (b) states that everyone has a right to have the environment protected, for the benefit of present and future generations, through reasonable legislative and other measures that prevent pollution and ecological degradation; as such the spheres of government must give effect to this provision by creating legislative frameworks that control and manage waste to avoid contamination of the environment. Therefore, this study aims to examine and critique the National Environmental Management Waste Act 59 of 2008 since it is the main statutory provision regulating waste in South

Africa, to check if it is meeting the mandate of providing with sound waste management systems.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Waste is one of the most critical concerns facing South Africa presently; this led the legislature to take steps to pass a specific piece of legislation that directly deals with waste management which is the National Environmental Management Waste Act. According to the Department of Environmental Affairs (2016), "waste management is one of the critical elements of sustainable development primarily because sound waste management practices contribute to sustainability". The National Waste Management Strategy outlines that the legacy of inadequate waste services, poorly planned and maintained waste management infrastructure, and limited regulation of waste management persistently threaten the health and wellbeing of everyone in the country. Addressing this legacy and its negative environmental and social consequences advances people's constitutional right to a healthy environment (Department of Environmental Affairs, 2012).

According to Fiehn and Ball (2005), they state that key issues which face South Africa with regard to waste management include the lack of available or current waste information from all sectors, illegal dumping and illegal dumping sites, salvaging at waste disposal facilities, use of unpermitted landfills by municipalities, limited environmentally accepted landfill airspace, large portions of the population not receiving a weekly or adequate waste collection service, recycling not generally undertaken or encouraged by municipalities, waste minimisation which is almost exclusively industry driven, government departments' lack of waste databases, lack of regulation and enforcement of legislation and limited waste legislation.

In a research dissertation, Mbamuku (2012) stated that waste management is a global challenge due to high waste generation resulting from high industrialization, urbanization and challenges relating to the efficient implementation of waste management policies acts and standards. Although South Africa has established a number of good waste management policies and related acts and standards, most municipalities still find it challenging to efficiently implement waste management strategies. These challenges led to the introduction of the National Environmental Waste Act, which according

to the Department of Environmental Affairs (2012) introduced an improved system for licensing of waste management activities, and in order to control these activities and to ensure that they do not impact on human health and the environment. It is interesting to note that the Act also introduces a part that deals with polluted or contaminated land and requires anyone who has polluted land to take responsibility to assess the extent of contamination and to pay for the cleaning and rehabilitation of such land. This is a new provision in waste legislation in the country. The Waste Act also legislates some of the issues which have been common practice in the waste management sector but not compulsory, for example, reporting to the waste information system, development of integrated waste management plans and development of the national waste management strategy.

2.1 Waste Management Legislative Frameworks

2.1.1 *Environment Conservation Act, 1989 (Act No. 73 of 1989) – the ECA*

The ECA was the first piece of legislation formally regulating waste management in South Africa. The ECA provided for a definition of 'waste' and regulated mainly the disposal of waste. Following the publication of the IEM Guideline, the 1989 amendment to the ECA contained provisions to give the IEM Guideline the force of law: However, eight years were to elapse before this was done. During this time IEM Guideline documents were issued and numerous environmental assessments were conducted on a voluntary basis (Fuggle 2008). Not only were the provisions in the ECA a first step towards EIAs, but it was also the first significant piece of legislation regulating effective protection and controlled utilisation of the environment with specific reference to waste management in South Africa. The ECA did not only define waste, but also regulated the disposal of waste at disposal sites.

2.1.2 *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996*

The promulgation of the Constitution was the first step towards the provision of integrated framework legislation for the management of the country's natural resources and other environmental-related issues. According to the Constitution, all South African people have the right to an environment that is not harmful to health or well-being (Constitution RSA 1996) is fundamental right underpins all environmental policies and legislations, in particular

the framework environmental legislation established by the National Environmental Management Act, 1998.

Section 24 in the Bill of Rights of the Constitution specifically states:

"24. Environment: Everyone has the right – (b) to have the environment protected, for the benefit of present and future generations, through reasonable legislative and other measures that – (i) prevent pollution and ecological degradation;"

2.1.3 The National Environmental Management Act

The NEMA did not per se regulate waste management as part of the Act, but regulated waste management-related aspects as part of the EIA listed activities, promulgated in terms of the NEMA. The NEMA therefore did not only regulate the disposal of waste but also other waste management-related aspects, such as the recycling and recovery of waste. The NEMA does not provide for a separate definition of waste and as a result, reference was still made to the definition of waste as envisaged in terms of the ECA, and therefore many recycling and recovery activities were not regulated (Fuggle 2008). NEMA introduced a number of additional guiding principles into South African environmental legislation, including the life-cycle approach to waste management, producer responsibility, the precautionary principle and the polluter pays principle. Chapter 5 of NEMA provides instruments for integrated waste management. NEMA also places a duty of care on any persons who may cause significant pollution or degradation of the environment, requiring them to institute measures to either prevent pollution from occurring, or to minimise and rectify the pollution or degradation where it cannot reasonably be avoided. The Waste Act echoes the duty of care provision by obliging holders of waste to take reasonable measures to implement the waste management hierarchy.

2.1.4 The National Environmental Management Waste Act

The Waste Act establishes cooperative governance mechanisms for dealing with matters such as waste planning, designation of waste management officers and performance reporting. National and provincial government departments are also constitutionally obliged to support municipalities in the execution of their functions. Based on the NEMA framework, the most innovative feature of the NEMWA is the preference for the regionalisation

of solid waste management services. The Act also places considerable emphasis on the development of an integrated waste planning system, through the development of interlocking integrated waste management plans by all spheres of government and industry waste management plans for specified waste generators (Department of Environmental Affairs 2012).

2.2 Analysis of the NEMWA

Waste management is one of the critical elements of sustainable development primarily because sound waste management practices contribute to sustainability. Legislation regulating waste management in South Africa has historically been fragmented and still is, to some extent. However, the coming into effect of the National Environmental Management: Waste Act (Act No. 59 of 2008), presents more holistic approaches to waste management regulation (Department of Environmental Affairs 2011).

The Act was primarily promulgated to give effect to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa and the National Environmental Management Act on the management of waste to ensure environmental protection. The Act further promotes the prevention of pollution and ecological degradation and for securing ecologically sustainable development, by providing with efficient waste management principles both locally and globally to ensure a healthy environment. The management of waste also calls for corporative governance amongst all the spheres of government so as to ensure that the law is enforced to all sectors in the republic, since lack of enforcement is one of the chief reasons leading to poor waste management. The major challenge has been the fact that waste management practices in many areas of the Republic are not conducive to a healthy environment and the impact of improper waste management practices are often borne disproportionately by the poor (Act 59 of 2008). Therefore, the problems associated with waste disposal and management are largely felt on the local sphere of government.

The removal and disposal of medical waste is therefore the duty of local authority. If local authority cannot perform its duties the provincial executive must intervene to ensure and to create a co-operative government. Municipal councils must not judge their own functions; checks and balances must be controlled by another institution. The public must therefore be pro-active in order to build an environment that is

sustainable in accordance with section 24 of the Constitution (Van der Bank 2011). The Waste Act is called Specific Environmental Management Act (SEMA) under NEMA. This means that NEMA applies to this Act and the principles which are outlined in section 2 of NEMA also apply. These principles include the fact that pollution and degradation of the environment must be avoided and where it cannot be avoided, minimised and rectified or remedied, polluter pays principle, and the promotion of public participation (Van der Bank 2011). The Waste Act places minimum requirements for any person who undertakes an activity which produces waste or a person who handles any waste which has already been produced to comply with. This includes storage of waste, transportation, processing, including people who are reusing or recycling waste. The State has an obligation required by the Constitution, to protect the environment and prevent ecological degradation and it does that by making different Regulations which everyone must comply to. (Van der Bank 2011).

2.3 Waste Management Hierarchy in terms of NEMWA

This new innovative way towards waste management put emphasis on the following key elements:

- Reduction: products and materials must be designed in a manner that minimises their waste components or in a manner that reduces material quantity and potential toxicity of waste generated during the production, and after use
- Re-use: materials can be used in a similar or different purpose without changing form or properties. This approach seeks to re-use or recycle a product when it reaches the end of its life span. In this way, it becomes inputs for new products and materials
- Recycle: This involves separating materials from the waste stream and processing them as products or raw materials. The first elements of the waste management hierarchy are the foundation of cradle-to-cradle waste management
- Recovery: reclaiming particular components or materials or using the waste as a fuel. Where the quantity of waste cannot be further reduced, they will be discharged to landfill. Landfill is considered the most affordable way to manage the final stage of waste. Currently, there is no more sufficient land space available for landfills. This is no longer

a favourable option in South Africa (Department of Environmental Affairs 2012).

The Waste Act has introduced an improved system for licensing of waste management activities, in order to control these activities and to ensure that they do not impact on human health and the environment. It is interesting to note that the Act also introduces a part that deals with polluted or contaminated land and requires anyone who has polluted land to take responsibility to assess the extent of contamination and to pay for the cleaning and rehabilitation of such land. This is a new provision in waste legislation in the country.

The Waste Act also legislates some of the issues which have been common practice in the waste management sector but not compulsory, for example, reporting to the waste information system, development of integrated waste management plans and development of the national waste management strategy (Department of Environmental Affairs 2012). Key issues which face South Africa with regard to waste management include the lack of available or current waste information from all sectors, illegal dumping and illegal dumping sites, salvaging at waste disposal facilities, use of unpermitted landfills by municipalities, limited environmentally accepted landfill airspace, large portions of the population not receiving a weekly or adequate waste collection service, recycling not generally undertaken or encouraged by municipalities, waste minimisation which is almost exclusively industry driven, government departments' lack of waste databases, lack of regulation and enforcement of legislation and limited waste legislation (Fiehn & Ball 2005).

2.3.1 Principles Underpinning Waste Management

In South Africa, waste management is closely connected to the environment as such some environmental protection principles apply as provided by NEMA to ensure proper management of waste. NEMA introduced a number of additional guiding principles into South African environmental legislation, including the life-cycle approach to waste management, producer responsibility, the precautionary principle and the polluter pays principle. NEMA also places a duty of care (Act 107 of 1998) on any person who causes significant pollution or degradation of the environment, requiring them to institute measures to prevent pollution from occurring, or to minimise and rectify the pollution or degradation where it cannot reasonably be avoided. The Waste Act echoes the duty of care provision by

obliging holders of waste to take reasonable measures to implement the waste hierarchy whilst protecting the environment and public health. The sustainable waste management principles allow for the prevention, generation, collection, transportation, treatment and final disposal of waste. The applicable principles would be discussed hereunder: -

Section 2(4) (p) of the NEMA embodies the polluter pays principle provides that: The costs of remedying pollution, environmental degradation and consequent health effects must be paid for by those responsible for harming the environment. This is a vital environmental principle which envisages that all costs associated with waste management should, where possible, be borne by the waste generator. The principle is further interpreted as defining pollution as any by-product of a production or consumption process that harms or otherwise violates the property rights of others. The polluter would be the person, company, or other organization whose activities are generating that by-product. And finally, payment should equal the damage and be made to the person or persons being harmed (Cordato 2001). Therefore, with the definition of the principle, it is clear that with regard to waste management the person responsible for creating the waste should be responsible for the costs for disposing such waste. The principle was applied by the court in the case of *Rainbow Chicken Farm (Pty) Ltd v Mediterranean D Woollen Mills (Pty) Ltd* (1997 4 SA 578 (W)) where the court held that the producer of the effluent owes a common law duty of care towards others; the duty is then contained in NEMA which means that a person has to pay for the damage caused to others.

3. CHALLENGES IN IMPLEMENTATION AND ENFORCEMENT OF NEMWA

South Africa as a developing country is in a growth path both in terms of population as well as economic growth. In essence, this growth means that citizens become more productive and therefore produce more waste (Act 107 of 1998). This varies from industrial waste which results from manufacturing and processing plants as well as general or domestic waste which include packaging material (paper, cardboards, plastic, bottles and steel/aluminium cans) and anything that the user does not have further use of. The general approach of the Act is that it gives enabling powers to the Minister of Environmental Affairs as well as Members of Executive Committee (MECs) responsible for environmental management at provincial level to pass further regulations on different aspects.

The Act does not spell out all the details required to manage different waste types, for example building waste, e-waste, garden waste, batteries, agricultural waste etc. Such details are or can be spelled out in regulations, Municipal by-laws as well as other guiding documents which are published by government from time to time. The NEMWA Act has been noted with various challenges as far as its implementation and enforcement is concerned. The wording of terms in NEMWA has also led to challenges in interpretation and results in conflict. The definition of 'waste' as contained in the NEMWA is very broad and open to different interpretations. Different interpretations sometimes result in conflicting situations between industry(s) and government (Taljaard 2001). This has led to challenges in trying to determine the meaning of 'waste', as such a lot of matters have been left unresolved. Some of the challenges will be discussed hereunder.

3.1 Interpretation and Principles

The Waste Act has a long list of all the terms which have been used in the text where a dictionary definition may not be sufficient, the wording in the Act has to be interpreted contextually to allow proper interpretation of terms. The main terms defined include 'waste'. Waste is defined as any substance irrespective whether it has a potential to be reduced, re-used, recycled or recovered; that is surplus or the owner or generator does not need it anymore. This critically exposes the fact that the definition of waste is exclusionary to other types of waste for instance medical waste which may not be recycled. This brings about challenges as far as cases involving the excluded types of waste in court. The Waste Act does not apply to areas that are regulated by other sectoral legislation, including radioactive waste residue deposits and residue stockpiles the disposal of explosives and the disposal of animal carcasses (Department of Environmental Affairs 2012). These aspects are regulated by other empowering provisions; this is however a problem since the waste act is supposed to have an overriding effect on all the other legislations on all matters governing waste management.

3.2 Inadequate Waste Disposal Services

A historical backlog of waste services for, especially, urban informal areas, tribal areas and rural formal areas. Although 61% of all South African households had access to domestic waste collection services in 2007, this access remains highly skewed in favour of more affluent and urban communities. Inadequate waste services lead to unpleasant living conditions

and a polluted, unhealthy environment (Department of environmental affairs). This problem is highly prevalent in areas that were disadvantaged by the system of Apartheid; as such the local government must allocate more resources to such areas for proper waste management.

4. LACK OF CORPORATIVE GOVERNANCE

The local sphere of the government is primarily responsible for waste collection and disposal from communities. However, there have been challenges noted as far as areas of competence are concerned. The Waste Act does not include certain types of waste, for instance medical waste which is very hazardous to the environment. If the municipality cannot remove medical waste, the community must be notified that the service is outsourced and to whom the contract will be given (s 4 (2) Municipal Systems Act, 2000). In exercising its executive and legislative authority the municipality must promote a safe and healthy environment (s 4 (2) (i) Municipal Systems Act, 2000). Finally, the municipality together with the other organs of state must promote the fundamental rights in the Constitution and other rights that are directly related to the fundamental right in section 24 of the Constitution (1996). This means that they must ensure that the collection of waste is done in a sustainable manner that is in compliance with Section 24(b)(i), which states that they must enforce measures that reduce pollution and ecological degradation. It is therefore clear that there is lack of corporative governance between the spheres of government, this is evident by the fact that in terms of waste disposal, the national and provincial sphere are supposed to assist the local sphere with disposal of certain types of waste especially medical waste. The failure of the organs of state is dominantly noted on the increase of illegal dumping of medical waste across South Africa, especially on the recent case of medical waste that was washed off shore in Durban (News 24 2016). This is contravention of Section 24 of the Constitution, and has devastating effects on the health and wellbeing of every citizen, hence the government must take steps to encourage corporation on the disposal of such dangerous waste.

4.1 Addressing the Challenges

The challenges presented by the NEMWA Act demand maximum corporation from all spheres of the government and other stakeholders to ensure that waste management is conducted in a sustainable

and concise manner that promotes environmental conservation and protection. The National Waste Management Strategy suggested a number of solutions to address the waste crisis in South Africa, it calls upon the government, private sector and civil society to all work together to ensure that waste is reduced, recycled and reused as per the waste management hierarchy. Indeed, without corporation from all sectors in society it is clear that the problem will not cease, considering the fact that the illegal dumping of waste is not the rise as pointed out by the Centre for Environmental Management (Ross 2012).

The current situation clearly shows that waste is a challenge in various provinces in South Africa, especially medical waste. The case of *Millennium Waste Management v Chairperson Tender Board* (2007 SCA 165 (RSA)) showed that Limpopo was one of the provinces experiencing the illegal dumping of waste especially on sites not meant for that purpose. The Department of Health and Social Development decided to issue tenders to companies for the disposal and removal of such waste. This is a proper solution considering the fact that the local government might not have the resources and manpower to dispose of such waste. Medical waste is very dangerous; as such it must be disposed of in the proper manner, which may include incineration. An unreported case of *State v Waste Man*, also showed a circumstance wherein there was illegal dumping of such waste in Welkom therefore measures need to be taken to ensure such incidents are reduced.

In order to ensure compliance with the current waste laws, the government must draft legislation, regulations, standards and Integrated Waste Management Plans (Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism 2012). They would go a long way in ensuring that companies and the general public take waste management seriously and would also fill the gaps in the waste management Act. The legacy of inadequate waste services, poorly planned and maintained waste management infrastructure, and limited regulation of waste management persistently threatens the health and wellbeing of everyone in the country (Department of environmental affairs and Tourism). Therefore, the integrated waste management plans need to be implemented so that Municipalities may produce yearly a document on how they plan to regulate and dispose waste.

The government must also come up with a comprehensive way of assisting in the disposal of waste since certain types of waste are very expensive to

dispose. An example is that of medical waste as demonstrated in the case of *State V Aesthetic Waste Services (Pty) Ltd* whereby the DEA received a complaint that Heath Care Risk Waste ("HCRW") was being stored unlawfully at a location in Butterworth, Eastern Cape. The complaint was followed up and a site investigation was executed by EMIs from DEA and the Eastern Cape Provincial Department, who discovered a large amount of HCRW being stored on site. As is often the case in matters of this nature, the area smelled of rotten and decaying human flesh and posed a threat to both human health and the environment.

Waste services involve collecting waste from households, organisations and businesses, and disposing of this waste safely. Waste services are the Constitutional responsibility of local government, and municipalities are the primary interface between the public and government around waste management. It is clear that the government is not doing enough as far as waste management is concerned as envisaged by the current problems that are imminent. Therefore, the government must progressively expand access to at least a basic level of waste services, and to ensure that waste that cannot be re-used, recycled or recovered is disposed of safely in properly permitted landfill sites. These objectives address historical backlogs and inequalities in access to waste services, and improve the quality of life for the entire community by providing a cleaner place to work and live. Expanded waste services will also create jobs and so contribute to socio-economic growth.

Awareness of the impact of waste on health, well-being and the environment is very uneven across different communities, as evidenced by the extent of littering. The objectives of this goal are to create awareness of waste management issues and to add practical waste projects to basic education curricula. For maximum effectiveness, waste awareness and anti-littering campaigns will be linked to the recycling infrastructure and to extended waste services. This will be particularly important in separating waste at source. For this reason, municipal campaigns designed and implemented in partnership with local stakeholders, including labour, industry, civil society and NGOs, form the foundation of the strategy to create awareness about waste. DEA will launch a long term awareness campaign on waste management, to be implemented in a sustainable and incremental manner, with the objective of achieving behaviour changes.

5. CONCLUSION

Therefore, in conclusion, it can be stated that waste management in South Africa has challenges that need to be addressed. The main challenge is the enforcement of such instruments which includes the waste Act. The NEMWA Act makes provision for the spheres of government to work together although the local sphere has more responsibilities to ensure that waste management is conducted in a sustainable manner. The Act also has the waste management hierarchy which encourages recycling of waste products in order to avoid contaminating the environment. The other challenge is also the fact that the definition of waste as mentioned in the Act gives problems since its restrictive, the NEMWA however is a sound piece of legislation which requires enforcement to ensure that the environment is protected for current and future generations to come.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS

From the aforementioned it is clear that there is a conflict of interest between certain stakeholders involved with the interpretation of the definition of waste as contained in the NEMWA. Should the interpretation of the DEA be followed (as a long-term solution), which includes an all-encompassing definition of waste, such interpretation will promote environmental protection but at the same time discourage the implementation of the waste hierarchy as determined in the NEMWA. On the other hand, should the other interpretations as suggested by industry be followed as a long term solution, such interpretations will support the implementation of the waste hierarchy but may undermine environmental protection. It is therefore clear that there should be a trade-off between the protection of the environment and the re-use, recovery and recycling opportunities of materials available to industry on the short-term as well as the long-term. In order to achieve such a trade-off, it is suggested that the 'End-of Waste' criteria in South Africa be reconsidered and re-evaluated to ensure more legal certainty with regard as to exactly constitutes waste and to provide for a definition of 'waste' which is clearly defined. This re-evaluation process should be done in the form of a public participation process by all the relevant stakeholders.

The paper further recommends that all spheres of government must ensure the effective and efficient delivery of waste services. Waste services involve collecting waste from households, organisations and businesses, and disposing of this waste safely.

Waste services are the Constitutional responsibility of local government, and municipalities are the primary interface between the public and government around waste management. This would prevent illegal dumping of waste especially industrial and medical waste which is being dumped on illegal landfills not designated for such purposes. It is also apparent that the general populace is not well informed of the effects of improper handling of household waste. Therefore, the study further recommends that the government must carry out workshops and outreach programmes to educate people, and to ensure that people are aware of the impact of waste on their health, well-being and the environment. This would ensure that waste levels are reduced and that the waste management hierarchy is complied with.

The paper further puts forward that the Department of Education must also get involved by teaching learners about the importance of waste management; this would ensure that learners avoid littering and would also spread such teachings to various communities. The Department of Environmental Affairs in collaboration with the Department of Education must start a campaign to encourage community service to learners wherein they move around their respective communities picking and disposing litter to ensure a clean environment. Finally, meanwhile the Waste Act creates a comprehensive legal framework for waste management, its provisions will be meaningless without measures to monitor and, where necessary, enforce compliance. Government cannot do this alone. Business and civil society have a vital role to play in creating a culture of compliance, and in reporting instances of non-compliance. For its part, government will systematically monitor compliance with the Waste Act, which includes regulations published in terms of the Act, licences, industry waste management plans and integrated waste management plans. Therefore, effective compliance with and enforcement of the Waste Act is mandatory in order to ensure that the provisions of the act are fulfilled.

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PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE AND SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE CHALLENGES IN UTILITY-SCALE RENEWABLE ENERGY DEPLOYMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA: A BIRD'S EYE VIEW

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ABSTRACT

The rainbow nation of South Africa is fraught with contradictions and complexities brought about by centuries and decades of colonialism and apartheid. These contradictions include the 'visible' income gap between residents of suburbia and informal settlements. The complexities find expression in the triple challenges of inequality, poverty, and unemployment. The democratic government uses legislation and programmes to redress these contradictions and complexities. In fact, any legislative intervention and its associated programmes and projects should be viewed within the context of redressing the negative legacy of colonialism and apartheid. Legislation and programmes within the energy sector follow this national trend. The energy sector of South Africa faces additional challenges from its carbon intensity, and hosting international sustainable development and climate change summits have added pressure to the country to act on its high Greenhouses Gases (GHG) emissions. In response, the South Africa government has enacted legislation and programmes including the Renewable Energy Independent Power Producers Procurement Programme (REIPPPP) – a public tendering process that awards potential Independent Power Producers (energy companies) contracts to produce renewable electricity. Successful bidders are awarded the contract on price (70 points) and socio-economic (30 points) factors. Legislation requires that the local communities residing within a 50 kilometres radius of the renewable energy project be involved before, during, and after construction of such projects. Inasmuch as this is a legislative requirement, the reality on the ground suggests that energy companies are not complying with this requirement and government agencies tasked with monitoring, evaluation, and enforcement lack the will and/or power to act. Energy companies

appoint not-for-profit organisations that seem ill-equipped to deliver on the socio-economic aspects of the independent power producers-government contract. Local communities felt left out and resorted to protest to blockade the deployment of renewable energy in some pockets of South Africa. In turn, this caused delays and eroded the trust of local communities towards renewable energy developers and government officials. In retrospect, this highlights a unique South African challenge-of good policy but poor implementation. To ameliorate this, the author presents public participation and social acceptance challenges that might obligate scholars to develop guidelines that can be used as benchmark to engage local communities in renewable energy projects in Sub-Saharan Africa-if we are to avoid 'dangerous' stakeholders that might delay a transition to a low carbon society.

Keywords: Challenges, Participatory governance, Renewable Energy Independent Power Producer Procurement Programme, Social acceptance, South Africa, Utility-scale renewable energy.

1. INTRODUCTION

The miracle of freedom in South Africa has become a model for nation building, peace, tolerance, and unity across the world. South Africa is also known as the rainbow nation with the spectrum of colours representing its biodiversity, ethnic diversity, multiculturalism, and multiparty democracy. However, the 'rainbow colours' in the rainbow nation also exudes the complexities and contradictions in South African society. These complexities and contradictions are mostly the resultant effects of the negative legacy of centuries of colonialism and decades of apartheid. In the present day, residents of townships, informal settlements, and rural areas continue to languish in squalor and live below

official poverty lines whilst the country forges ahead as a leading economic powerhouse on the African continent. Since the dawn of democracy, in 1994, successive governments have committed themselves to redressing colonial and apartheid legacies while realising national development that meet the needs of South Africans-particularly the poor citizens. These successive governments use legislation to redress past colonial and apartheid imbalances. Legislation in the energy sector of South Africa also follows this national trend. In the past decade, South Africa has passed legislation that is intended to unlock the potential of the renewable energy section, in line with plans of growing the green economy. Hence, the objectives of renewable energy deployment are threefold, namely: promoting economic development, attaining energy security, and environmental protection.

2. PROMOTING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

It is this objective to redress the legacy of colonialism and apartheid that drives South African government initiatives including the transformation of the energy sector. Government policies, programmes, and projects are mainly geared towards poverty alleviation through job creation-especially for the youth. Unemployment rate in South Africa stood at 25.1% in 2015, and it is even higher for young people (Statistics South Africa, 2012). Unsurprisingly, South Africa's Vision 2030, or the National Development Plan, is geared towards economic prosperity through employment creation, poverty alleviation, reducing inequality, and raising living standards whilst protecting the environment (National Planning Commission, 2012). The deployment of renewable energy into the South Africa's energy mix offers the potential for local economic development (DoE, 2013). More so, in the context of the "distributed nature of renewable energy generation [which] may include a more geographically dispersed pattern of [local economic] development, and renewable energy sites can be highly suited to rural locations with otherwise poor potential to attract local inward investment" (Wlokas, Boyd, & Andolfi, 2012:46).

3. PROMOTING ENERGY SECURITY

To achieve this, the National Development Plan focuses on specific key areas including the economic infrastructure and environmental sustainability. The National Development Plan identifies the need for South Africa to invest in a strong network of economic

infrastructure designed to support the country's medium- and long-term economic and these social objectives (Mandela Institute & Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2014) whilst protecting the environment (National Planning Commission, 2012). The energy infrastructure has to be robust and extensive enough to support commercial, households, and industrial needs. A robust energy infrastructure is more important in the context of recent protracted rolling black outs that negatively affected commercial and industrial establishments and households alike. Also, the urgent need for an extensive energy infrastructure is driven by the political imperative to connect residents in remote rural areas to the electricity grid. Pressure from existing and new political parties threatens to 'eat into' the ruling party's electorate particularly among the Black youth and the Black middle class that originate from these remote rural areas. The need to connect rural and township residents to the national electricity grid is even more important in the context of the recent local government elections results in which the ruling party lost key metropolitan municipalities to opposition political parties (Independent Electoral Commission of South Africa, 2016). In the opinion of the South African government, renewable energy offers a unique opportunity to meet both domestic demands (through rural and township electrification) and international obligations related to environmental protection.

4. REALISING ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

The fight against apartheid compelled the isolation of the white minority government and the internationalisation of the anti-apartheid struggle movement. The negotiated dismantlement of apartheid and the voting into power of a democratic government necessitated that South Africa join the globalising international community. The Global Summit on Sustainable Development hosted by the City of Johannesburg in 2001 and the United Nations Climate Change Conference hosted by the City of Durban in 2011 put South Africa on the spotlight of international responsibility. As part of these and other international events, the South African government acceded to progressive international treaties including the Kyoto Protocol-a plan to cut harmful greenhouse gases (GHG) emissions to 1990s levels. Morally, the South African government continues to be bound by international standards and should set an example on the African continent. Although the government is playing a leading role,

reducing GHG emissions is also act in favour of the South African society including industry and big businesses. Export products of South African industry and businesses will be under pressure from carbon taxes from its trading partners-mainly from the European Union member states. Carbon taxes will make these products uncompetitive in major trading partners' destinations. This is because of the high carbon intensity of South Africa's electricity generation that becomes embedded in end products including consumables destined for foreign markets. This predicament compels a transition of the South African electricity system towards renewable energy. In cognisance of this, the South African government initiated the Renewable Energy Independent Power Producer Procurement Programme (REIPPPP).

5. SOUTH AFRICAN ENERGY LANDSCAPE IN TRANSITION – REIPPPP PROCESS

South Africa is among the twenty (20) global emitters of harmful greenhouse gases (GHG) because of its high dependence on coal as a primary energy sources (Department of Energy, 2009). The Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa recognises that promoting economic development, attaining energy security, and achieving environmental sustainability will require investment in renewable energy (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). The constitution has set a firm foundation for succeeding laws and strategies including the White Paper on Energy Policy (1998), Renewable Energy White Paper (2003), the National Climate Change Response Policy White Paper (2011), and the Integrated Resources Plan (2013) that ushered the transition to renewable energy in South Africa.

It is through these laws and strategies that the National Development Plan (NDP) requires the development of 10 000 MWs additional electricity capacity to be established by 2025 against the 2013 baseline of 44 000 MWs. The (policy adjusted) Integrated Resource Plan (IRP) 2010 then developed the preferred energy mix with which to meet the electricity needs over a 20 years planning horizon to 2030. In line with the national commitment to transition to a low carbon economy, 17 800 MW of the 2030 target are expected to be from renewable energy sources, with 5 000 MW to be delivered online by 2019 and further 2 000 MW (i.e. combined 7 500 MW) online by 2020. These renewable energy sources will come from Onshore wind, Concentrated

solar power, Solar photovoltaic (PV), Biomass, Biogas, Landfill gas, and Small hydro (Mandela Institute & Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2014).

The South African government realises renewable energy within its national energy mix through the Renewable Energy Independent Power Producers Procurement Program (REIPPPP). The REIPPPP was launched in 2011 by the Department of Energy of South Africa (Wlokas *et al.*, 2012). The REIPPPP invites request for proposals (RFP) from potential Independent Power Producers (IPPs) through a public tendering process. The Republic of South Africa's Preferential Procurement Policy Framework (Act 05 of 2000) and the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (Act 53 of 2003) strongly recommend that IPPs be awarded tenders to develop renewable energy based on 70/30 allocation of points to price factors and non-price factors (economic development) respectively. The Department of Energy (DOE) insists that the renewable energy developers identify socio-economic needs of the surrounding territorial communities within the fifty (50) kilometres radius that IPPs operate in. Although there is clarity in terms of the price factor (which account for 70 % during bid evaluation), the confusion regarding the economic development factors (which accounts for 30% during bid evaluation) persists. The confusion stems from the lack of guidance on how surrounding territorial communities' empowerment targets should be prepared and evaluated, the incorporation of local stakeholder's concerns is not based on economic analysis, and short timeframes to prepare proposals between the bidding periods (in Windows 1, 2, and 3) have added to the problem (Eberhard, Kolker, & Leigland, 2014).

Regardless of these ambiguities, IPPs forged ahead and supposedly delivered on this surrounding communities' empowerment targets (job creation and socio-economic development). The Department of Energy (DOE) appointed "Economic Development [Independent] Monitors" to monitor and evaluate IPPs reporting and confirm their compliance with economic development (surrounding community empowerment) targets. Economic development factors are designed to incentivise bidders to promote job growth, domestic industrialisation, community development, and black economic empowerment through job creation, local content, local ownership, management control, preferential procurement, enterprise development, and socio-economic development (i.e. through community

trust). The term "local community empowerment targets" refers to specific community-based initiatives that directly benefit the community instead of "economic development" that may include domestic industrialisation, local content, and preferential procurement.

This 30% apportionment of economic development factors in the bid evaluation process is used as vehicle to include different stakeholders during the REIPPPP process and beyond. These stakeholders are mainly emerging Black (Africans, Indians, and Coloureds) entrepreneurs and surrounding communities. It is highly unlikely that Black emerging entrepreneurs can compete with multinational corporations that are bidding for renewable energy projects on the price factor that accounts for 70% of the bid evaluation. Instead, the 30% apportionment of economic development factors becomes a vehicle to support emerging Black entrepreneurs in the renewable energy sector. Part of the 30% apportionment is on local community empowerment targets that are intended to benefit community within the fifty (50) kilometres radius of the awarded renewable energy project. During the bidding process, the IPPs are expected to submit a plan detailing how they will deliver the local community empowerment targets during the operation of their renewable energy project. Local community development targets include job creation for locals, promoting local content, supporting local businesses and community-based organisations, and setting up a community trust that will disburse around 1% of IPP profits to surrounding communities. To comply with this, IPPs meet with surrounding communities and conduct a community needs analysis and the final report forms part of their bidding documents (Wlokas *et al.*, 2012).

The Department of Energy (DOE) expects that once the successful IPP bidder has been awarded the tender to follow up and deliver on its economic empowerment and local community empowerment promises. IPPs make lofty promises during the REIPPPP bidding process and once they are awarded the tender, challenges in the implementation of their commitments started to emerge. These challenges are related to the participation of various stakeholders (particularly surrounding community members) in the renewable energy infrastructure development and management processes—thus, the problem of participatory governance of renewable energy projects emerges (Eberhard *et al.*, 2014; Wlokas *et al.*, 2012).

6. PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE IN THE REIPPPP PROCESS

General literature points that participatory governance, involves not only state but also organised and not organised citizens, the civil society, namely economic and social actors, community-based organisations and unstructured groups and the media at the local, national, regional and global levels (Weiss, 2010). Moreover, participatory governance denotes forms of governance in which non-governmental actors, usually citizens, are empowered to use the resources of the State to make decisions about matters that directly concern them (Lukensmeyer & Torres, 2006; Marsh, 2002; OECD, 2003). In fact, meaningful participatory governance is an approach capable of facilitating involvement of citizens in decision-making about issues impacting their lives. This approach should be capable of addressing specific needs and priorities relevant to citizens and at the same time assisting in their empowerment in order to fully participate (Lukensmeyer & Torres, 2006; Marsh, 2002; OECD, 2003). However, participatory forms do not come easily. In fact, when these forms of participation emerge spontaneously, are mostly informal and ephemeral or ad hoc, hence not sustainable, whereas when they are promoted and driven by public decision maker's questions around their sustainability and effectiveness arise as they rely on active strategies to sustain them over the time (Keast & Brown, 2006). Researchers and practitioners believe that participatory governance can improve the outcomes of development projects as well as good governance (Weiss, 2000). It is believed that participatory governance leads to improvement of governance systems and provide an impetus to development, which increases circulation of information, transparency and accountability (Coelho & Favareto, 2006). In fact, meaningful participatory governance is an approach capable of facilitating involvement of citizens in decision-making about issues impacting their lives. This approach should be capable of addressing specific needs and priorities relevant to citizens and at the same time assisting in their empowerment in order to fully participate.

Participation as the key equation of participatory governance is, in theory is an easy thing, however in praxis it is seen as a difficult process (Jordhus-Lier & de Wet, 2013), and different levels and forms of participation exist, from simple consultation and manipulation or tokenism, to substantial delegation of power in decision making to total control (Arnstein,

1969). Moreover, participation is considered beneficial due to its potential to enhance learning processes and improve the quality of decisions as well as its potential to contribute to empowerment and to promote democratic citizenship (Turnhout, Van Bommel & Aarts, 2010). However, "participation unavoidably involves some degree of restrictions about who should be involved and about the space for negotiation, some assumptions about what the issue at stake is, and a level of expectations about what the outcome of participation should be and how the participants are expected to behave" (Turnhout, Van Bommel & Aarts, 2010). Furthermore, the theoretical aspect related to public participation is highlighted in the work of Arnstein's 'ladder of citizen participation'. Arnstein's theory focuses on the meaning and purpose of public participation, and consists of eight rungs, with two levels of non-participation (Manipulation and Therapy), three degrees of tokenism, (Informing, Consultation, and Placation) and three degrees of citizen power (Partnership, Delegated Power and Citizen Control). Arnstein illustrated the characteristics of each type with examples from well-known federal programs. (Arnstein, 1969). In analysing the South African context of complex transformation of the energy sector into renewable made by different levels and categories, ranging from transforming the way energy is produced, distributed, and used, to how it is managed, including the market structure their key changes are identified, namely its leadership, the decision-making and good governance processes (Winkler, 2005).

7. CHALLENGES IN PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE OF LARGE SCALE RENEWABLE ENERGY PROJECTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Africa Progress Report 2015 points out the fact that Renewable energy is registering a massive conscientiousness to a low-carbon need as a result some remarkable advances in solar, geothermal and wind power has been seen in several African countries. The report underscores the importance of African leaders to take appropriate steps to promote renewable technologies in order to improve agricultural productivity and resilience to climate change contributing to long-term carbon emissions reductions. More it highlights the fact that this is the moment Africa should use the energy crisis as a catalytic opportunity to turn it in a real Africa's moment to lead the world into a new era of energy systems (The Africa Progress Report, 2015). As a

matter of fact, today, energy system in South Africa is in huge need to transform in order to address the issues of ageing infrastructure, energy demand, and growth and diversification of the energy mix. For a very long time, South Africa, use to have one of the lowest prices of electricity in the world, which comes from coal, and, however growing, the successful deployment of renewable energy sources is far from a given (Winkler, 2005). Although, in the past five (5) years there has been an increase in electricity prices, thus putting South Africa among the fifteen (15) countries with lower prices (Masullo & Brown, 2014). Public participation is thus essential for dealing with issues such as conflict resolution, social/public acceptance of energy-transition and technological choices. However, scientific evidence of public participation in renewable energy projects in South Africa is still under documented.

7.1 Public Participation Challenges

However, few case studies show that more participatory approach to the policy-making process are key in integrating renewable energy into South Africa's energy planning and setting up more ambitious renewable energy targets, as well as aligning renewable energy policy with its broader climate and development policies (Masullo & Brown, 2014). In fact, civil society groups and private sector stakeholders expressed their concerns through a government-led public consultation process which led to more demand for investment in renewable energy.

7.1.1 Stakeholder Identification and Management

Although there has been ample participation at the policy making level, the situation is different at the project implementation level. This highlights a uniquely South African problem-of good policy but poor implementation. Public participation challenges start at the planning phase with the problematic issue of identifying territorial (geographic) communities that resides within the fifty (50) kilometres radius of the IPP project. This challenge is further compounded by the complicated process of stakeholder identification and management (Wlokas *et al.*, 2012). Various stakeholders play different roles at varying phases of the renewable energy project lifecycle, but the focus of this paper is the delivery of economic development elements to territorial (geographic) community members. These community stakeholders might include ordinary community members, community based organisations (i.e. schools, churches, self-help

groups, community enterprises etc.), not-for-profit organisations, and traditional authorities and so forth. Once the stakeholders are identified (from communities within the 50 kilometres radius) then the question of how they will benefit during and after the project implementation life cycle arises. The REIPPPP process identifies job creation, local ownership, enterprise development, and socio-economic development as areas within which these stakeholders can derive benefits (Eberhard *et al.*, 2014; Wlokas *et al.*, 2012).

7.1.2 Unskilled Labour

Both skilled and unskilled labour is required during the construction and management of the renewable energy project. Renewable energy projects are mostly located in remote rural areas with unskilled labour. This unskilled labour can only participate during the construction phase as manual labourers on site and thereafter become redundant and are laid off during the complicated operations and maintenance of the renewable energy facility. This form of job creation is unsustainable. The challenges of unskilled personnel are not limited to 'unsustainable' job creation but can extend to revenue management that links directly with the management of stakeholder expectations.

7.1.3 Community Trust

IPPs are expected to set aside between 1% to 1.5% of their annual profits to support enterprise and socio-economic development in the local communities within the 50 kilometres radius of the renewable energy project. IPPs set up community (development) trusts to manage these revenues (Eberhard *et al.*, 2014; Wlokas *et al.*, 2012). However, the challenges of uneducated and unskilled community members might leave room for dominant stakeholders (including local Chiefs, educated elite, and political leaders etc.) to abuse their status as community trust board members.

7.1.4 Land Ownership

Land ownership is a burning issue in South African society due to centuries and decades of land dispossession by the colonial administration and apartheid regime respectively. Land ownership provides pathways through which community members can participate in the renewable energy projects, more so, if community members jointly own the land on which the renewable energy facility is constructed. However, various types of land ownership exist in remote rural areas. It is common in rural remote areas that the land rights are mostly held by either local traditional leaders or commercial

farmers. The latter form of ownership (i.e. land rights held by White commercial farmer) will not offer the local community members any opportunity to participate in the renewable energy project via land ownership. These challenges highlight the fact that public participation, as an element of participatory governance, is crucial at the project level of REIPPPP process if we are to obtain the buy in of local communities through social acceptance of renewable energy deployment.

7.2 Social Acceptance Challenges

Public acceptance (Cohen, Reichl, & Schmidthaler, 2004), or social acceptance (Wustenhagen, Wolsink, & Burer, 2007) or local acceptance (Nadai, 2007) of renewable energy technologies was largely neglected in the eighties because of the high levels of support from communities-particularly with reference to wind energy. However, there is now overwhelmingly evidence of public resistance and concerns to the implementation of renewable energy technologies near residential communities. Such public resistance has been recorded in Australia (D'Souza & Yiridoe, 2014), China (Liu, Wang, & Mol, 2013), Colombia (Rosso-Ceron & Kafarov, 2015), Germany (Musall & Kuik, 2011), Japan (Maruyama, Nishikido, & Iida, 2007), Netherlands (van Os, Herber, & Scholtens, 2014), United Kingdom (Lock, Smallman, & Rydin, 2014), Scotland (Shamsuzzoha, Grant, & Clarke) and even in South Africa (Pegels, 2010). Public resistance to energy technologies is not a new phenomenon and it can be traced back to the contested siting of decisions of nuclear power plants, nuclear waste storage facilities, or large hydropower dams (Wustenhagen, Wolsink, & Burer, 2007). Recently, the success of the protest action from the Treasure Karoo Action Group (TKAG) has compelled the South African government to put a moratorium on Shale Gas exploration in the pristine Karoo region of the Northern Cape. The public resistances to large scale renewable energy deployment is mainly driven by environmental (i.e. noise, visual, and birds route impacts), cultural (i.e. ancestral burial land), financial (i.e. investors, consumers), and socio-political (i.e. job creation, trust, social justice) factors (Wustenhagen, Wolsink, Burer, 2007; de Araujo, & de Freitas, 2008). Scientific literature also points to the fact that in certain cases these concerns have been addressed-for example by-designing wind turbines that minimise noise, recognising the aesthetics and tourism potential of wind turbine sites, contributing to an increase in quality of life through increased income of local population, availability of electricity,

and upgrading of infrastructure (de Araujo, & de Freitas, 2008; Yazdanpanah, Komendantova, & Ardestani, 2015). However, the starting point towards realising social acceptance is the inclusion of diverse stakeholders in the renewable energy project-with the REIPPPP process in the case of South Africa. REIPPPP process requires that IPPs include diverse stakeholders including representatives from surrounding communities in their planning and management. The participation of surrounding communities in the governance of the renewable energy projects might lead to social acceptance and avoidance of construction delays. Again, social acceptance literature argues that participatory governance that include the public in decision making thus raising their awareness of the benefits of renewable energy technologies improves the success of such projects (Devine-Wright, 2008; Evans, Parks, & Theobald, 2011; Strazzer, Mura, & Contu, 2012; Cohen, Reichl, & Schmidthaler, 2014).

Challenges are not limited to social acceptance of renewable energy technologies but also extent to issues around monitoring and evaluation of whether or not IPPs are delivering on promises they made to surrounding communities in the bidding process. The Department of Energy established a team dedicated to monitoring and evaluation of IPPs on various matters including stakeholder engagement with surrounding communities. Whether or not this monitoring and evaluation team holds IPPs to their promises remains to be seen. IPPs have taken it upon themselves to meet the socio-economic requirements in their contract with the government. To this end, they appoint national not-for-profit organisations to deliver the community development aspects of their contract-these includes setting up a community development trust, managing profits allocated by IPPs to surrounding communities, and assisting community-based organisations and so forth. Although contracted, such national not-for-profit organisations are not visible in surrounding communities and are beyond the reach of community members and even community liaison officers of IPPs. Often, these not-for-profit organisations are located in large cities that are far removed from the remote locations of renewable energy project sites and surrounding communities. This has frustrated both the community members and the community liaison officers of the IPPs. One consequence of the absence of these contracted not-for-profit organisations has been the sidelining of powerless and vulnerable stakeholders-the very same beneficiaries the REIPPPP process was targeting.

In terms of local economic development, the REIPPPP process requires that IPPs acquire services such as raw materials and technology from local suppliers. The government hoped that this will boost local Black entrepreneurs and also develop the local renewable energy manufacturing industry. In reality, IPPs sourced raw materials from established local companies that are owned by White South Africans. These IPPs still complied with the local content requirement because they sourced their raw materials within South Africa albeit from a historically advantaged racial group. To enable genuine participation of Black (Africans, Coloureds, and Indians) people the government should answer the questions: How local is local? Who should IPPs buy from? The first question addresses the fact that IPPs might source materials from established suppliers (who are generally White South Africans) and ignore the emerging Black suppliers whilst not violating the terms of their contract with the government. Indeed, Black emerging suppliers in their surrounding communities were overlooked for established suppliers based in large cities. The second question fits directly into the first one and asserts that the government should monitor whether or not IPPs are sourcing services from emerging Black entrepreneurs. The South African renewable energy technology manufacturing industry is still in its infancy and IPPs prefer buying from the Far East and Europe and this has excluded the local entrepreneurs from participating in the REIPPPP process.

8. CONCLUSION

There are many thorny issues with the implementation of the REIPPPP process, particularly on the participatory governance side (Eberhard *et al.*, 2014). Like our constitution, the South African government policies on renewable energy have won praise worldwide (Department of Energy, 2015). However, the reality on the ground is far detached from the praise singing of the international community. To address this short coming, the Department of Energy (DOE) and other government stakeholders should prop up their monitoring and evaluation team that can hold IPPs and their contractors to account. If not, other stakeholders (including public universities and not-for-profit organisations) should take it upon themselves and call for such actions. Last, all stakeholders (particularly the powerless and vulnerable ones) should participate in the REIPPPP process and benefit from the trickle-down economics of such a top-down process or risk 'a dream deferred' in which the poor will lose hope in the miracle of the new South Africa and become

the so-called 'dangerous stakeholders' that holds both power and urgency (Reed *et al.*, 2009). Last, poor participatory governance risks the potential of South Africa from realising the triple objectives of economic development, energy security, and environmental protection.

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THREE WORLDS OF WELFARE CAPITALISM AND SOCIAL SERVICES: A CASE OF SOUTH AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

Much has been said about the fact that South Africa's welfare system is universal, and it is therefore regarded as a welfare state. The purpose of this paper is to determine whether South Africa is a welfare state in terms of Esping-Andersen's seminal work on the three welfare regimes. To that end the paper discusses the actors, funders and funding models to locate the South African welfare system within Esping-Andersen's (1990) typology. The aforementioned aim of this paper is achieved through documents review and thematic analysis. Welfare states are functional insofar as they legitimate capitalism and secure a stable labour force, while Keynesians also promote the state's spending capabilities to mitigate against capitalist crisis tendencies. Findings suggest that to embrace a social welfare system that is more just, equitable, participatory and appropriate in meeting the needs of all South Africans and furthermore, the key priority is to fast-track the social welfare sector's delivery on socio-economic goals in order to impact on the deep-seated poverty and inequality in which South Africa's social crises are entrenched.

Keywords: South Africa, Social Services, Three Worlds, Welfare Capitalism.

1. INTRODUCTION

In South Africa, social assistance can be traced back to the 1920s, with the introduction of the non-contributory pension for poor whites (Seekings & Natrass 2005). Social assistance followed the European model of developing income transfers for groups of deserving poor facing acute vulnerability, but with the filter of racial politics. Social pensions were restricted to Whites initially, but later incorporated Indians and Coloureds and then Blacks. The conditions of entitlement and benefit levels were differentiated along racial lines, until the mid-1990s when discrimination was abolished.

Barrientos (2008) posits that over time, the range of direct transfer programmes expanded to include disability and family grants. By the time that first African National Congress (ANC) government came to power in 1994, social assistance was fragmented due to the homelands policy of Apartheid, and acutely under resourced (Lund, 2008). The fall of Apartheid led to a new Constitution of South Africa Act 108 of 1996 which reaffirmed a commitment to social assistance. Section 27 states that "everyone has the right to access to ... (i) social security, including, if they are unable to support themselves and their dependents appropriate social assistance" (Seekings, 2008). The ANC government took steps to review and strengthen social assistance provision. It established the Lund Committee which led to proposals for a Child Support Grant to replace the family maintenance grant. In 1997 the Government also published a White Paper on Social Assistance which stated the objective of replacing poverty relief with a developmental approach to welfare. The Child Support Grant was initially designed to address child malnutrition and was focused on children 0-6 years of age (Besley & Ghatak, 2007). Over time, it was extended to include children up to 17 years of age. These measures led to a significant expansion of the reach of social assistance grants.

Wooland & Leibbrant (2010) state that, in South Africa (SA) one in every two households has received social assistance beneficiary and the budget since 1994 has doubled from 0.5 per cent to 3.5 per cent of the Gross Domestic Production (GDP) and as such Malpass (2008) argues that the housing system in accordance to the welfare system of SA has its own dynamics, rooted in market mechanisms, and that housing policy should be understood as essentially supportive of the market. Social assistance (services) is the main policy instrument addressing poverty, vulnerability and exclusion in South Africa. Thus, in SA as a welfare state these grants are widely perceived to be effective in reducing poverty and

vulnerability, to promote social inclusion and equity, and to have facilitated a difficult transition from Apartheid rule (Leibbrandt *et al.*, 2006).

The Taylor Committee supported the basic income proposal (Seeking, 2006). The ANC rejected the basic income on three main grounds: Firstly, the White paper on Welfare had argued for a change in the orientation of social assistance in South Africa, from poverty relief to a more developmental function. The basic income proposal was a step back from this objective. Secondly, there was no support within the ANC and outside for extending grants to the white population, especially given the large income differentials between them and the black population. Thirdly, maintaining fiscal responsibility would have meant reducing the scope and generosity of social assistance in order to finance even a low level of the basic income (Webster & Fakier, 2010).

It is by this background that much of the recent debate on the growth of three worlds of welfare states has focused on the comparative history of social reform, tracing the uneven development of public benefits in capitalist societies (Esping-Andersen, 1990). Alesina (1999) cited in Devarajan & Widlund (2007) allude that a common feature of both comparative and national research in recent years has been an emphasis on the role of the state and its personnel in setting the welfare agenda and promoting policies which meet with the approval of leading state actors or 'managers'. Welfare capitalism to recent revisionist claims for the primacy of state institutions and politics in the framing of public welfare programmes, it can be argued that the evolution of social reform was driven by material and discursive struggles in society as well as conflicts within the state the structure of welfare politics was determined not only by the momentum of government growth or the workings of the political system, but by the attempts of different groups of producers and consumers to extend the practical boundaries of citizenship in the period before 1914 (Fizbein & Schady, 2009).

Furthermore, Esping-Andersen (1990) identified three worlds of welfare capitalism in distinct patterns of state intervention in advanced capitalist countries. In SA case, the state intervened with social and (to a lesser extent) labour-market policies to reduce inequality, but the form of that intervention differed in terms of the scale of public expenditure and the extent to which the state displaced the market and the family in determining the incomes and welfare of

its citizens. In contrast, emphasis is partly due to the fact that there is generally little direct redistribution from rich to poor via the government budget in developing countries, thus emphasise that different welfare state regimes are "embedded" indifferent production regimes, that is, "different patterns of relationships between enterprises, banks, labour and government" (Huber and Stephens, 2001). The focus of the paper is on the three worlds of welfare capitalism and social services on which South Africa is welfare state. This involves examining a two-way process. On the one hand, welfare states as key to social assistance and on the other hand the extension of South Africa as a typological state in welfare capitalism and reflects growing attention to welfare state and social service exclusion.

2. METHODOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

This paper methodologically was based upon desktop research and document(s) review for the purpose of data collection. Among others, a review of documents on history of welfare capitalism and social exclusion, nature of the South African welfare regime and welfare regime model was carried out. Thus, it was supported by discussions on South Africa's (SA) transitions and transforming the distributional regime. The analysis of data was employed through thematic analysis on data collected under themes and identifying common themes in it. As a theoretical framework, institutionalist approach as articulated by Cohen (2005) was adopted. It explains that institutional approach deeply discounts the significance of ideology and culture values in welfare politics, though it is evident that 'welfare' and even the notion of the state itself is an ideological construction which emerged (in Britain at least) from the political discourse of the late nineteenth century. Thus the state 'exists' not only as an institutional-legal structure, or as a set of organizing principles, but also as a normative order which defines the terms of the citizen's individual and collective rights.

In relation to this Skocpol (1988) cited in Holliday's (2000) explanation of welfare growth brings the state back into the centre of historical study and illuminates the long-term institutional arrangements and political structures which provided state actors with the capacities to engage in social reform. This perspective is also a source of weakness, as the analysis remains firmly trained on the structure of the national state and its main welfare programmes. Such institutionalist writers replace the discarded

'industrial logic' explanation of social reform with a state modernization thesis.

From this viewpoint South African social policy is seen as the 'exceptional' case in the world of welfare, developing only late and weak schemes of social security while other countries moved to universal benefits these are based on the developmental approach an axis of the institutionalist approach that that social development and economic development are interdependent and mutually reinforcing. It acknowledges that economic growth without social development is meaningless, as growth on its own does not benefit the whole population. By the same token, social development cannot take place without economic development (Midgley, 1996:3) thus attest that South African social policy is seen as the 'exceptional' case in the world of welfare, developing only late and weak schemes of social security while other countries moved to universal benefits. Skocpol's emphasis on state institutions rather than the economic environment also understates the extent to which states have been involved in the industrialization process, and the degree to which economic growth affects their own structure and capacities. The institutionalism model of welfare growth does not fully encompass the varied sources of social power which determine the state's relationship to civil society. Political managers and civil servants appear as the leading actors in the 'state elite', though their connections with different social constituencies remain obscure. It is not clear just how social actors relate to the state or the political system. In South African welfare systems and social services in accordance to institutional approach the classical political economists suggest that democratic institutions have much influence on welfare state development; and also that the fear of full democracy might jeopardize markets and inaugurate socialism wherein, subsequently freedom, in the view of Bevan (2004) necessitated a defence of market against political intrusion. Wood (2000 & 2001) in view of institutional approach in relation to South African welfare and social services attest that any effort to isolate the country's economy from social and political institutions will destroy human society; thus the economy must be embedded to social communities in order to for it survive.

3. WHAT IS A WELFARE STATE?

Welfare state is a social system or concept of government in which the state plays a key role in the protection and promotion of social and economic

well-being of its citizens (Webster & Omar, 2003). Welfare states are based upon questions such as how do we know when and if a welfare state responds functionally to the needs of societies, industrialism or to a capitalist reproduction and legitimacy? (Esping-Andersen 1990; Gelissen & Arts, 2002). As such, welfare state restructuring rarely imposes itself without some unevenness and contingency, as each locale (and agency) filters broader tendencies through its own pre-existing 'institutional layers' and regulatory pressures (Devarajan & Widlund, 2007). Esping-Andersen (1990) identifies forms of welfare states through what is known as welfare capitalism, that entails that the advanced capitalist countries are in accordance to the way in which the state affects distribution using a combination of social policies (including especially the public provision of welfare by social assistance) and labour-market policies. Furthermore, in 1990 Esping-Andersen used the term "regime" to emphasise the relations among social policies, employment, and the social structures (Esping-Andersen, 1990). Esping-Andersen (1999) suggested that emphasis on welfare regime allowed for the combination of state, market and family; thus through consideration of socio-economic policies that included labour-markets policies (maintenance of full employment). The three worlds of welfare capitalism are characterised by their welfare-state and labour market regimes (Gelissen & Arts, 2002; Yacob, 2007).

4. HISTORY OF WELFARE CAPITALISM IN SOCIAL SERVICES EXCLUSION

The welfare capitalism and social exclusion mechanism in all states globally is according to Rose (2000) a series of strategic control mechanisms and technologies that aim to regulate conduct by placing individuals in 'circuits of inclusion' and by acting on social pathologies through 'circuits of exclusion'. Inclusion is achieved through the use of circuits of security, which are expressed in institutions, conventions and associated rights. Prime examples of such inclusionary circuits are nationality, citizenship and welfare services. Conversely, exclusion is achieved through circuits of insecurity, which are expressed in individual liabilities and responsibilities and under the guises of risk management technologies. The circuits of inclusion are also designed and formalised in such a way as to allow for the easy policing (social control) of their entry points, for example the requirement for a permanent address and specific identity documents to access services. The three concepts of circuits

of inclusion, exclusion and the policing of entry points can be adapted to describe the use of welfare states, the criminal justice system and migration in the governing of marginality in South African (SA) context of a welfare regime (state).

Welfare regimes incorporate inclusionary and exclusionary dimensions. Building upon Esping-Andersen's welfare regime typology, several theorists have attempted to demonstrate the importance of welfare systems to the outcomes for migrants. As Sainsbury (2006) puts it, 'Of primary interest is the inclusiveness of the regime and who are included.' The inclusionary/exclusionary dimension in South Africa consist of conventions governing the possibility of becoming a citizen, of acquiring residence and work permits and documents and of participation in economic, cultural and political life (Gelissen & Arts 2002). The second dimension that needs to be considered concerns selective differences in the awarding of social rights based on the different statuses of immigrants. This is important because of the frequent conception of the identity of migrants as a single group and the tendency to focus on one group while giving little reflection to implications for others with different 'immigration status'. Sainsbury (2006) identifies 'labour migrants or economic immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers or political immigrants, family members, ethnic "citizens", and undocumented immigrants'. Each category has varying social rights, and while some (e.g. refugees and ethnic citizens) may indeed have full access to social rights and the benefits of the welfare state, others (e.g. asylum seekers and the undocumented) are often without any claims to entitlements of any sort. This can 'create a hierarchical differentiation of immigrants' social rights, and the pattern of stratification is quite different from the stratifying effects conceptualized in the welfare regime typology.

4.1 Characteristics and Differences of Social Service in a Capitalist Country

Esping-Andersen (1990) has grouped capitalist countries into three types of welfare states based on the concept of de-commodification or the ability of social programmes to reduce the extent to which labour is a commodity. This grouping and distinction is one of the most frequently cited one (Skocpol, 1988) and will be used here to highlight the characteristics and the differences in the formal social security systems in the currently dominant capitalist countries. According to Esping-Andersen (1990), one can label the three types of welfare regimes: '*liberal*,

'conservative' and '*social-democratic*' – see Table 1 on the following page. As with every typology, there are always overlaps and the social security system of one country, while having predominantly elements of one type, is naturally not free of other elements as well.

5. THE NATURE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN WELFARE REGIME

Deveraux (2007) postulate that social welfare (services) in South Africa had been and remains categorised into two systems; the provision of direct welfare services or social services; and a system of public social assistance (also known as social security) incorporating cash transfers (also known as grants or pensions) to the elderly, disabled and some women and children. Judt (2009) indicate that social services include subsidising organisations and welfare workers in the fields of care: family, child, disabled and elderly; and furthermore, mental health, rehabilitation of offenders and programmes with substance abusers (Barrientos, 2008). During apartheid these services were racially skewed in favour of white South Africans, towards urban areas, biased towards organisations linked to the Dutch Reformed Church, and actively promoted the ideal of nuclear families (Lund, 1992 cited in Lund, 2008). Van der Berg (2006) and Fakier (2010) state that by 1995, all South African citizens who qualified (met the means test) were entitled to Old Age Pensions (OAPs), Disability Grants (DGs), Foster Care Grants (FCGs) and Care Dependency Grants (CDGs). The State Maintenance Grant (SMG) which incorporated between 80 and 100 per cent of social security was the most far-reaching of all the grants, but because it was inconsistently applied in the bantu-stands where the majority of African people officially resided, it was also the most racially-skewed form of social assistance.

At the end of apartheid, the social welfare (service) system had a particular form. The welfare budget was skewed towards a small white minority; and towards means tested social assistance over social service (Bhorat and Oosthuizen, 2006; Paton, 2010). That is, social services, or state provided care for the young, elderly or disabled was severely neglected and non-existent beyond the parameters of big urban settlements. Institutionalised care for the physically and mentally disabled people was the most neglected and care for such dependent people ended up as unpaid work of women in ill-equipped households and communities (Paton, 2010).

TABLE 1: Types of welfare regimes according to Esping-Andersen, 1990.

TYPES OF WELFARE REGIMES	CHARACTERISTICS			EXAMPLES
	Principle	Role of the state	Social services as a social right	
Liberal	System is based on traditional liberal work-ethic, social assistance (services) for low income class, strict entitlement rules associated with stigma, modest benefits	Minimisation of state activities; services seen as private and 'relative equality' of welfare recipients and market-differentiated welfare amongst the majority.	Social security as a social right is not well developed	USA, Britain
Conservative (corporatist)	Preservation of status quo according to class and status; principle of subsidiarity; regime is shaped by the church.	Historical corporatist-statist legacy: therefore the state is seen as the administrator of welfare. Private insurance plays a marginal role. System does not have a strong redistributive character and aims at upholding traditional norms;	Social services and welfares as a social right is attached to class and status.	South Africa, Germany, France, Austria, Italy
Social democratic	Principle of universalism and solidarity, welfare state should promote equality strives towards full employment.	Redistribution is the task of the state, crowding out of the market, socialisation of the family hood and maximisation of the capacities of individual.	social services as a social right is naturally accepted and enjoyed independently of class and status	Scandinavian countries, Denmark

Source: Authors

In 1995, the Lund Committee was convened with the broad remit of investigating the best way to provide (non-racial) support to family and children. This committee made two recommendations. Firstly, the SMG grant was reconstructed and became the Child Support Grant (CSG) (Matisonn & Seeking, 2003). An important difference between the SMG and the CSG is that the CSG does not include a parental allowance. This was a pragmatic decision made by the committee to ensure a grant for all needy children, rather than focus the grant on the notion of a nuclear family with a male breadwinner (Lund, 2008).

In 2010, the CSG, like its predecessor the SMG, reached the highest number of dependant people. The CSG of R350 per month is paid to 9.4 million recipients. Since 2010 the budgetary increase of R10 per annum was implemented. However what has had greater budgetary and social impact is that the maximum age of recipients of this grant has increased from 14 to 18 years. The OAP of R1540

goes to 4.5 million. The DG and Care Dependency Grant (CDG) are also at R1540 and are dispensed to 2.3 million and 120 000 people respectively. The FCG grant of R1 100 has 770 000 recipients. In 2008, the CSG comprised 68% of the total budget for social assistance (SASSA 2008). This significance is sure to increase with the extension of the CSG to children between 15 and 18 years old; an estimated increase of 2 million child recipients (SASSA, 2015).

Despite the increase in budgeting for social assistance and the inclusion of all racial categories in the system, social welfare in South Africa remains biased towards privatised welfare as the greater proportion of the welfare budget is for social assistance, with little remaining for welfare services. In fact, between 2010 and 2015, the welfare budget dedicated 97 per cent of its resources to the payment of grants. In 2012/13, the Department of Social Development noted, "97 per cent of the department's 2012/13 budget is for social assistance just like in 2007, with

just fewer than 9.5 per cent going to social assistance administration, leaving less than 1 per cent for other core activities" (SASSA, 2015).

Munck (2002) indicated that although prioritising social grants over the direct care services which institutions such as old age homes, state crèches and facilities for the mentally and physically disabled could provide, care for the needy remains predominantly a private household concern. The CDG, for instance, according to Majavu (2010) is a grant for "caregivers of profoundly physically or mentally impaired children to enable the children to be cared for at home rather than in residential institutions." However, Paton (2010) unequivocally suggest that R1,540 is barely enough to feed and clothe a growing child, without even considering additional expenditure for special needs, while publicly provided assistance, such as physiotherapy or occupational therapy and counselling, cannot be provided. This is a move away from the notion of 'developmental social welfare' as proposed by Patel (1992). With this term Patel (1992) cited in Lund (2008) and Seeking (2008) suggested a welfare model for South Africa which focused on building society with the help of social service and community organisations which had grown strong and been community anchors during the liberation struggle, rather than the negligible focus on 'treatment' which infused apartheid and, sadly, post-apartheid models of welfare.

6. SOUTH AFRICA'S TRANSITIONS

Webster & Omar (2003) indicate that the opportunity to embark on an alternative employment led developmental growth path arrived in 1994 with the election of South Africa's first democratic government. However, South Africa was to embark on a transition under difficult circumstances as it was faced by enormous economic, political and social challenges. South Africa, it has been argued, was faced with a triple transition; a transition to a globally competitive economy towards political democracy and towards racial equity (see Figure 1 on the next page). The economic transition led to pressures to restructure work. Central to the second transition, the consolidation of democracy is the idea of social citizenship. The third transition, the removal of apartheid structures and practices is central to the changes taking place in the workplace and society.

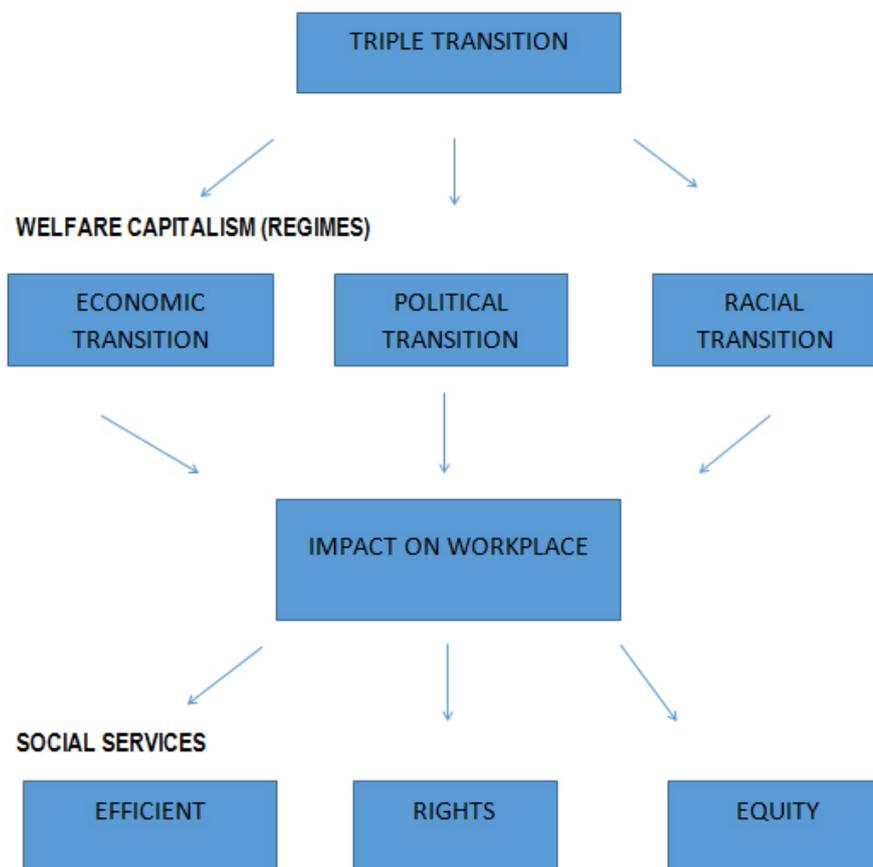
According to Wooland & Leibbrandt (2010) signpost that although significant progress has been

made over the past 20 years towards these goals, features of the apartheid past persist in the labour market. Since 1994, when South Africa held its first democratic elections, there has been a systematic removal of apartheid legislation and the introduction of laws and policies designed to promote equal opportunity in society. This has resulted in the introduction of a new labour relations regime made up of 6 core statutes:

- The National Economic Development and Labour Council Act of 1994
- The Labour Relations Act of 1995 (LRA)
- The Basic Conditions of Employment Act of 1997 (BCEA)
- The Skills Development Act of 1998
- The Employment Equity Act of 1998
- The Social Plan Act of 1998

The relationship between these three transitions is a contradictory one and in the process of attempting to reconcile the transformation of the labour market with social security six key issues are identified. This approach of the triple transition argues that welfare provision formed part of the growth in the infrastructural power of the state, as government penetrated civil society by providing key services, without seriously disturbing the balance of power between the capitalist class and the ruling elite. Social actors as well as the state have access to different sources of power (political transition), which enables the economically powerful to maintain their position and to promote the ideology of market rationality in the midst of social reform (O'Donnell, 2001). Capitalist firms (workplace impact) relied on the political authorities to provide an infrastructure of institutions which would enable markets to function, exchanges to be made and contracts to be legally executed. Yet employers remained (and remain) extremely sensitive to any interference with the terms on which the labour contract should be enforced. The problem of enforcing the implicit contract with workers and deciding on the effort bargain with labour remained one of the keys to management prerogatives and real control of production. The claim of the firm to exercise their extra-legal (rights) prerogatives over labour was a central feature in the contradictory and contested relationship between employers and the state (equity) (Bhorat *et al.*, 2001).

FIGURE 1: Diagrammatic representation of South Africa's triple transition.



Source: Webster and Omar (2003)

6.1 Transforming the Distributional Regime

Adams *et al.* (2000) posit that the new South Africa was born in 1994 amid great hope for the future: the demise of apartheid would surely lead to policies that addressed the economic and social needs of the poor. Ten years later, the record was disappointing, with income inequality persisting and perhaps worsening. This was primarily due, that South Africa as a case study attest, to the strong continuities between the apartheid distributional regime and the post-apartheid distributional regime (Dollery, 2003). In terms of SA as welfare capitalism state and capitalism states and the provisioning of social services attributes that in relations to the three ideals of the typology of Esping-Andersen that revolutionarily address issues been profiled (Schmidt & Hersch, 2003) thus the market-led type; state-led capitalism; and negotiated or consensual capitalism. In the market-led type, dominant players are private actors (welfare capitalism) and key values promote individualism and liberalism the role of the state with regard to social protection is one

of minimal allocations to low-income groups and private insurance is mainly employment-based in state-led capitalism, public agencies collaborate with private enterprise.

7. RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Relieving Poverty

An essential objective of the modern welfare state is poverty relief, with nearly all South African citizens receiving some form of minimum income guarantee especially orphans', elderly and children, and many undertaking to offer basic shelter. Whether this entails elimination of poverty or alleviation of poverty is subject to political decisions and depends on a number of factors. Reducing inequality entails both vertical redistribution (from rich to poor households through progressive taxation) and horizontal redistribution (ensuring that households with similar characteristics, such as age, family size etc., are treated equivalently). Addressing social exclusion is a broader and more normative

objective of the welfare state. It includes increasing social solidarity and the dignity of welfare clients by delivering benefits without unnecessary stigma.

7.2 Macro- and Microeconomic Efficiency

A welfare state reacts to market failures wherever there are deviations from optimal outcomes, in particular uninsurable risks. Government intervention is therefore justified, even in the most libertarian systems, because it increases economic efficiency over time. Improving aggregate as well as individual economic efficiency lies at the heart of most aspects of welfare provision.

7.3 Consumption Smoothing

Social services in the form of provision of cash benefits for pensioners and for families with young children assists in welfare states and hence allows individuals to smooth out their financial expenditure and consumption over their lifetime.

Pension schemes (social services/assistance) in SA allow individuals to redistribute income from their younger to their older selves in a secure manner and student loans (financial assistance) enable students to consume more than their current income allows through claims on their future income.

8. CONCLUSION

South African society was transformed during the four decades of apartheid. Processes of class formation remade town and countryside. Hence, the political economy grew rapidly with industrialisation and the growth of services (including those in the public sector). A large, settled urban African working class was formed, and a significant African middle class emerged, and as important, large numbers of African families lost access to land and became entirely (rather than primarily) dependent on wages. Throughout this period inequality remained at a high level. In the 1970s and 1980s this was clearly due in part to the direct effects of public policies of systematic racial discrimination and segregation. When, in the 1990s, the state began its slow retreat from direct racial discrimination in public policy, interracial inequality began to decline but the overall level remained largely unchanged. Inequality under apartheid was not the product of public policy alone but rather resulted from the interaction of public policy and the dynamics of capitalist development.

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EXPLORING INCONGRUENCE IN THE FUNDING OF NON-PROFIT ORGANISATIONS AND THEIR EXPECTED DELIVERABLES IN THE LIMPOPO DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, SOUTH AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

In Limpopo Province, the delivery of social welfare services is the joint responsibility of the Limpopo Department of Social Development, (herein referred to as the LDSD), and Non-Profit Organisations, (herein referred to as the NPOs). These partnerships are very important in ensuring that the poor, vulnerable and excluded people in the Province secure a better life for themselves. The LDSD conserves this beneficial partnership by providing financial support to organisations that render services that are in line with its priorities and also address the strategic objectives of the department. The services that are priorities of LDSD include developmental services to poor and vulnerable groups, and those with special needs such as children, youths, older persons, persons with disabilities and women. This study seeks to determine the reasons behind the incongruence in the funding of NPOs and the services they offer to communities as expected by LDSD in South Africa. The paper support the notion that NPOs play an important role in the provision of social welfare services in the Province by implementing early intervention and prevention programmes targeting children, youth, elderly and people with disabilities. Therefore, collaboration between government and NPOs is seemingly predominant and preferred alternative service delivery approach in the delivery of social welfare services. The findings of the study revealed that funding provided to NPOs by LDSD for delivery of social welfare services is inadequate. This inadequate funding and late disbursement of funds by LDSD is contributing negatively on the ability of the NPOs to achieve the expected results or planned outputs.

Keywords: Non-Profit Organisation, Partnership, Service Delivery, Outputs, Performance indicators, Limpopo Department of Social Development.

1. INTRODUCTION

In Limpopo Province, non-profit organisations play an important role in helping government to achieve its constitutional mandate by making social welfare services more accessible and responsive to the needs of the vast majority of the population. Khamba (2006:22) contended that the proximity and practical experience of NPOs in the field of social development necessitated government to form partnerships with NGOs for development purposes. The LDSD has increased its reliance on NPOs in accelerating service delivery through redirection of services and resources to ensure effective and efficient delivery (Wyngaard & Henndrick, 2010:37). The NPOs that render services which are viewed as citizen entitlements and which have significant benefits to communities are provided with funding by LDSD. A larger proportion of social welfare services are provided by NPOs than by the department itself (Budlender & Proudlock, 2010:2). Khamba (2006:10) suggests that through the provision of the necessary funding and other forms of assistance by the government, the NPOs are able to cater for indigent, destitute and frail persons in the communities with eminent needs. The Acts of Parliament, such as Children Act (Act 38 of 2005), Older Persons Act (Act 13 of 2006) and other laws give the provincial MEC for Social Development an obligation to provide funding for social welfare services to vulnerable groups within the budget appropriated to the department by the provincial legislature.

2. COLLABORATION BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND NON PROFIT ORGANISATIONS

The NPOs are a vital part of the social safety net providing a wide range of services in the modern welfare countries. In France, governments have largely realized the important role of NGOs, especially concerning service provision to the socially excluded (Ulleberg, 2009:23). MacIndoe and Sullivan (2014:4) indicate that NPOs often face turbulent funding environments that bring uncertainty as far as their future survival and uncertain financial futures are concerned. In a study of NGO relations with government and communities in Afghanistan, Jelinek (2012:19) states that government-NGO relations are likely to be more productive in a situation where a confident and capable government works together with an NGO to pursue mainstream development programmes. In the delivery of the Budget Vote speech for the Department of Social Development, the former MEC for LDSD, Dr Norman Mabasa stated that the delivery of social and welfare services is a collaborative effort, and is in line with the government's motto of "Working together we can do more" (LDSD, Budget Vote Speech, 2012:18). Scholars, such as Muchie (2004:7), have reasoned that the strength of civil society has stood firm on the premise that the state is established in partnership as well as in cooperative arrangements.

2.1 The Importance of Partnership Amongst Government and NPOs for the Provision of Social Welfare Services

The partnerships amongst government and NPOs do not only contribute towards the strengthening of democracy but also to promote an environment for growth, redistribution and the extension of services to the poor and historically disadvantaged communities. Wallace and Dollery (2005:497) argue that policymakers must demonstrate a considerable interest in NPOs because they assist government in providing frameworks that address the important issues of social policies. Many NPOs work on the ground with the vulnerable people and therefore have a better understanding of the issues confronted by the people as well as the challenges that would be encountered when implementing any programme or policy. The Parliament of the Republic of South Africa has realized the important role that NPOs play by enacting the Non-Profit Organisation Act (Act 71 of 1997) as part of the legal framework that creates an enabling environment for the non-profit sector.

Ishikawa (2006:7) points out that the government alone has been largely ineffective in reaching the poor, due to capacity constraints. Indeed, successful implementation of developmental social welfare services depends on role players who can bring expert knowledge, skills, financial resources and commitment to achieve the desired results. James (2000:99) contends that "the organisation that you chose to partner with needs to have the same commitment to powerful notion and the same ability to deliver on these as you do".

2.2 The Benefits of Partnership Between Government and NPOs

The NPOs are set up to provide services for the public's benefit in assisting the government to achieve its objectives. These organisations have a deeper understanding of working with communities and may be more effective in identifying and implementing initiatives that will make a substantial impact. Another benefit for government is the positive public perception, interest and commitment of the NPOs towards the community and its development. To develop and sustain the LDSD and NPO collaboration, both the LDSD and NPOs must see considerable gain from it, and if both stand to gain from the collaboration, they have much to contribute (DSD, 2015:22). Table 1, on the next page, depicts the benefits to be gained and the contributions to be offered by each sector in this partnership.

Jelinek (2012:19) believes that both the government and NGOs should realize that they are working together to fill the void in this empty space relative to development. This suggests that the NGOs' and government's roles in the delivery of social welfare services are complementary.

3. ALIGNING NPOs DELIVERABLES WITH BUDGETARY REPORTING AND PERFORMANCE INDICATORS

The management of ongoing programmes is very important for the efficient delivery of government initiatives, and it is a requirement of the outcomes and programme framework that the department allocate budget in support of programme delivery (Australian National Audit Office, 2011:67). To ensure that public service delivery is as efficient and economical as possible, all government institutions are required to formulate strategic plans, distribute resources to the implementation of those plans, monitor and report the results (National Treasury,

TABLE 1: The Benefits of Partnership between Government and NPOs.

	DSD	NPO
Benefits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Better developmental social services to the communities with higher coverage; • Re-allocation / Reprioritisation of funds to other priorities, especially for the vulnerable populations; • Greater programme sustainability. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enhanced image to the community of responsiveness towards social issues; • Shared risks and results; • Higher visibility and credibility; • Competitive advantage gained.
Contribution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legitimacy/institutional support; • Facilitative regulatory mechanisms, less bureaucracy; • Resources channelling and resource allocation; and • Best practices and global vision. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Client-oriented services • Resources; • Helping sustainability of developmental social services; • Community sensitisation and awareness building.

Source: DSD. Draft Developmental Social Welfare Services Partnership Model

2007:1). The programme deliverables need to be aligned to funding and performance indicators in order to provide a transparent and consistent framework for reporting across the government. The purpose of aligning the performance indicators with the planning and reporting requirements is to measure how well expenditure is achieving its purpose. The process for setting of the key performance indicators (KPIs) is aligned to the planning and reporting requirements for the departments against pre-determined objectives as specified in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (The constitution), the Public Finance Management Act (Act 1 of 1999 as amended by Act 29 of 1999), the Treasury Regulations and Public Service Regulations and the Government Notice No. R1 of January 2001.

4. THE FUNDING FRAMEWORK FOR EFFECTIVE AND EFFICIENT DELIVERY OF SERVICES

The LDSD provides a wider array of social services to society, but is more often than not constrained by limited resources. These inadequate financial resources necessitate utilization and prudence in the management of financial resources to ensure that public funds are spent as planned or utilized efficiently, effectively and economically. A funding model that enhances the partnership contributions between the LDSD and NPOs is needed. Sokolov

(2014:13) believes that the sustainable mode of funding requires NPOs to restructure themselves according to the business model, where sustaining resources became the primary goal at the expense of mission objectives.

5. RESEARCH DESIGN

The paper adopted a qualitative research approach. The population group for this study is the senior management (SMS) and middle management (MMS) officials of Limpopo DSD at head office. There are 65 officials in total, of which 22 are SMS and 43 are MMS. A semi-structured interview technique was adopted to collect data from the respondents.

5.1 Sample, Sampling Methods and Sample Size

A sample refers to the members of the population selected to participate in the study. Du Plooy (1995:54), cited in Snyman (2013:272) indicates that there are generally two categories of sampling, namely probability-based sampling and non-probability based sampling. The study applied the non-probability sampling method known as the purposive or deliberate sampling method for the qualitative data collection. Wamundila (2008:25) indicates that purposive sampling is a non-parametric sampling technique in which the researcher purposively identifies respondents as sources of data.

The sample size comprised of 12 participants (5 SMS and 7 MMS) from LDSD who have information about the inner workings of LDSD and NPOs' partnership.

5.2 Data Collection Methods

Khothari (2004:17) indicates that data at hand are often inadequate to resolve the research problem, therefore it is necessary to collect data that are appropriate using suitable data collection methods. The data collection methods are the procedures, techniques and tools that are utilized to collect data from the sample. Semi-structured interviews using open-ended questions were used to collect data from the sample. According to Greef (2011:364-365), the semi-structured interview consists of carefully framed and sequenced questions based on the goals and objective of the study in order to gain detailed answers to each question.

5.3 Limitations

The limitations of this study involved interalia; firstly, that it was conducted over a short period of time, therefore an appropriate sample that would give the needed information was chosen. Although the sample represented only 18% of the population, it did not in any way affect the outcome of the research. Secondly, the researcher experienced difficulty in interviewing all identified participants. The participants rescheduled the interview appointment on numerous occasions. The participants interviewed were 09 and 04 participants ended up being not unavailable for interview due to work commitment, and lastly that the study focused only on the perception of LDSD and did not include the perspectives of the NPOs and beneficiaries.

6. DATA ANALYSIS

Rubin and Babbie (2011:627) defined the qualitative data analysis as the non-numerical examination and interpretation of observations for the purpose of discovering underlying meanings and patterns of observation. Terre Blanche, Durrhein and Painter (2006:52), state that the aim of data analysis is to transform information or data into an answer to the original research question. The researcher combined Creswell's analytical spiral with the processes of Marshall and Rossmann (1999) as cited in De Vos (2005:334) to analyzed data. The interview recordings and notes were summarized to enhance the collected data. Finally, the data was integrated, summarized and the report was produced.

7. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In accordance the reporting of qualitative research, discussion of the findings is presented in the thematic manner.

7.1 Collaboration Between Government and NPOs

The findings reveal that the delivery of social welfare services has become a joint responsibility of the government and NPOs, with government providing the necessary funding (DSD, 2004:1). The Policy on Financial Awards to Service Providers (2011:4) reflects that government continues to make efforts to ensure greater collaboration and partnerships with NGOs and civil societies in general. The Limpopo DSD's Annual Performance Plan for 2016-17 financial year indicated that almost 90.00% of the services of the department are delivered through NPOs (2016:14). The partnership between DSD and NPOs needs to be based on the shared vision of "a caring and self-reliant society" as articulated in the LDSD Annual Performance Plan (2016:76). The LDSD has to show commitment to its vision by developing appropriate policies, programmes and attainable plans that are in line with their constitutional mandate. This commitment has to be accompanied by fundamental forces of policy and programme success which is the availability of resources (people, money and information), practical and coordinated use. Warwick (1982) cited in Cloete and De Coning (2013:147) argued that government may have the most logical policy imaginable, but if those responsible for carrying it out are unwilling or unable to do so, little will happen. Rapoo and Tshiyoyo (2014:28) concluded their article titled "Management of collaborative partnership for the delivery of social welfare services" by saying that DSD and NGOs are committed to collaborating in the process of delivering social services, but the current policy framework seems inadequate in ensuring that the partnership is managed effectively.

7.2 The Management of Funding to NPOs to Effectively Deliver Developmental Social Services to the Poor and Vulnerable People

The findings indicate that the subsidies that DSD provide to NPOs for delivery of social welfare services is tightly managed by the LDSD in terms of budget allocation and spending. Hughes (2003:81) mentioned that fulfillment occurs when the government provides a budget to the NPOs

for provision of particular services where the government is involved in monitoring the fulfillment of the allocated funds. The NPOs that adhere to the funding requirements of the DSD are awarded funding in terms of the Policy on Financial Awards to Service Providers. This funding is provided in accordance with the Business Plan as drawn up from the application forms submitted by NGOs which set out the main cost-drivers of each service output and predetermined objectives.

7.3 The Funding Policy and Guidelines for the Provision of Social Welfare and Community Development Services

Chapter 2 of Non-Profit Organisation Act (Act 71 of 1997) indicate that within the limits prescribed by law, every organ of state must determine and coordinate the implementation of its policies in a manner designed to promote, support and enhance the capacity of NPOs to perform their functions. The findings indicated that the LDSD does not have the approved Provincial NPOs Funding Policy and Guidelines. Due to the lack of Provincial NPOs' funding Policy and guidelines, the majority of NPOs in the Province are not conforming to legislative requirements, norms and standards which have a negative impact on the delivery of social services. The (DSD, 2014:25) Monitoring and Evaluation Framework for Funded NPOs states that the policies of social welfare services are developed at National DSD, and are implemented in district offices, local offices and NPOs. It is important that those policies are implemented as planned, monitored and evaluated for effectiveness. Cloete *et al.* (2013:37) mentioned that "policy implementation encompasses those actions by public and private individuals (or groups) that are directed at the achievement of objectives set forth in prior policy decisions".

7.4 The Alignment of NPOs' Deliverables with the Departments' Funding, Priorities and Performance Indicators

The findings support that there is a link between the budget proposed and attainment of department's priorities and objectives. The framework for Strategic plans and Annual Performance plans (2010:15) mentioned that an institution is expected to identify a set of programme performance indicators and targets in its annual performance plan to track its on-going performance. The indicators should reflect value for money in the fulfillment of resources. The funding requires to be linked with performance indicators to

better understand how well budgets are translated into outputs and outcomes. It the responsibility of the LDSD to ensure that reporting control processes and procedures, accuracy, completeness and validation of reported predetermined objectives are maintained.

7.5 Capability of the NPOs to Play their Envisioned Roles in the Delivery of Social Welfare Services

The findings show that majority of NPOs members in the Province has lower educational level and lack managerial skills, leadership, governance, administration and financial management skills. The funded NPOs are required to become more effective, efficient and execute better on the Limpopo DSD strategic objectives by doing more with fewer resources in order to remain viable. According to Ulleberg (2009:18), capacity development constitutes a way for NPOs to scale up their actions, not simply by doing more of the same, but by changing functions or gradually assuming more areas of responsibility. Philbin (1996), cited in the Non Profit Capacity Building Framework (DSD 2009:8) defines capacity building as the "process of developing and strengthening the skills, instincts, abilities, processes and resources that organisations and communities need to survive, adapt and thrive in the fast-changing world". The capacitated organisations provide the skills and expertise the DSD needs to achieve its goals and remain sustainable. The President of Republic of South Africa, Jacob Gledleyihlekisa Zuma contends that South Africa cannot claim to be moving forward if we don't see practical and sustainable improvement in the lives of our most vulnerable compatriots (Vuk'uzenzele Newspaper, 2016:3).

7.6 The Planning, Reporting, Monitoring and Evaluation for Achieving the Expected Outputs

The findings show that NPOs are doing more than just use the funding provided to them for delivery of social welfare services by the LDSD. For example, LDSD does not provide a building nor employs staff for ECD. It is the community that takes the initiative to establish the ECD centers and DSD is only supporting them with funding and ensuring they register with DSD in terms of compliance with norms and standards. Monitoring and evaluation is also the responsibility of officials of the LDSD to assess the relevance and the fulfillment of the departmental objectives, efficiency, effectiveness and sustainability of the NPOs in the delivery of social welfare services.

The adequate planning and reporting combined with a method to track progress and ascertain obstacles that contribute to the attainment of the desired results. The findings reveal that reporting of the progress against the planned performance goals and objectives on a regular basis provides organisations the opportunity to embrace the full extent of the outputs that can be achieved. Monyane (2014:30) indicated that those involved in implementing and monitoring activities must understand the objectives, indicators, expected outputs, outcomes, and their linkages.

8. RECOMMENDATIONS

To address the findings of this paper, the researcher is putting forward the following recommendations:

8.1 The Management of Funding to NPOs to Effectively Deliver Developmental Social Services to the Poor and Vulnerable People

Although the LDSD is rendering many social welfare services to the communities, the bulk of social services are provided by the NPOs. The LDSD must commit much greater financial resources for transfer payments to NPOs so that they could deliver social services to communities in a timely and cost effective way. The NPOs' funding unit of the LDSD must be capacitated in order to have dedicated staff for monitoring and providing support to NPOs.

8.2 The Funding Policy and Guidelines for the Provision of Social Welfare and Community Development Services

The LDSD must develop the provincial NPOs' funding policy and guidelines to make it easier for NPOs to access funding and enforce adherence to SLA. These funding guidelines must streamline the NPOs' funding process, including the funding conditions, approval processes, funding appeal processes, transfer of funds and monitoring of programmes implementation.

8.3 The Alignment of NPOs' Deliverables with the Departments' Funding, Priorities and Performance Indicators

To ensure proper alignment of the NPOs' deliverables with the departments' funding, priorities and performance indicators, the LDSD's and NPOs' service delivery plans must support the delivery process in an optimum and accountable manner. The performance indicators of LDSD should be reported on against the planned targets on a quarterly basis.

8.4 Capability of the NPOs to Play their Envisioned Roles in the Delivery of Social Welfare Services

The effective delivery of the programmes is dependent on the capacity of the service provider. The capable NPOs implement the government's policies and programmes without difficulties in improving the lives of vulnerable people. The LDSD must improve the NPOs' efficiency and co-operation towards delivery of social welfare services by providing training and educational programmes. The accredited training should be offered to both funded and unfunded NPOs in the administrative areas of financial management, governance, monitoring and evaluation and project management.

8.5 The Planning, Reporting, Monitoring and Evaluation for Achieving the Expected Outputs

A credible plan helps an organisation to align the limited resources with the priority activities to achieve the desired results. The LDSD and NPOs need to have a mutual understanding about the higher-level results that they want to achieve and develop strategies to achieve the expected results. The government's delivery of service requires working together in developing budget and performance reporting arrangements that meet accountability obligations and also contribute to the collective achievement of the outcome (Australian National Audit Office, 2011:19). The lessons drawn from monitoring and evaluations must be used to make appropriate decisions

9. CONCLUSION

This study explores the incongruence in the funding of non-profit organisations and their expected deliverables in the Limpopo Department of Social Development. The findings show that there is stringent alignment of the NPOs' deliverables with the department's funding, priorities and performance indicators. The alignment of the allocated budget and approved annual performance plan (APP) presumes that programme performance indicator and allocation efficiency have been optimised.

The study concluded by suggesting that the LDSD needs to commit adequate funding for effective delivery of social welfare services by NPOs. The funding required is for ensuring the sustainability of the funded NPOs and financing all service areas

provided by NPOs in the delivery of social welfare services including capacity building to NPOs' members. The department must also devote proper planning and coordination of services and resources to enhance service delivery.

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THE EFFECT OF REVENUE PLANNING ON MUNICIPAL FINANCIAL PERFORMANCE: A CASE STUDY OF THE POLOKWANE LOCAL MUNICIPALITY IN THE LIMPOPO PROVINCE

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ABSTRACT

There are recent findings that signify municipal consumer debt and revenue planning as problematic in the South African local government system. This is caused by non-payment of municipal services partly due to poverty and ever-increasing unemployment in the local communities. Despite these challenges municipalities remain obligated to provide services to communities as they are mandated in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996. Revenue planning develops critical approaches to achieve effective financial performance in municipalities. Financial performance in turn grants municipalities with the ability to render services to its concerned citizens. The paper investigates the effects of revenue planning on municipal financial performance in the Polokwane Local Municipality. The study focuses on the Polokwane Local Municipality in the Limpopo Province, because this municipality is the heartbeat and backbone of an emerging city of Polokwane. Furthermore, the paper argues that revenue planning and financial performance of the municipality requires a holistic approach. This is because amongst other things, there is minimal ward committee's involvement in the revenue planning process; there's lack of constant training to address identified financial issues, non-payment of municipal services and the culture of non-payment of service seems to grow rapidly particularly in rural communities. Despite the issue of non-payment, the municipality implement water and electricity restrictions where customers fail to settle their debts. The study is qualitative in nature. In its investigation face-to-face interviews will be conducted with municipal officials. The findings of the study will significantly contribute to the understanding of the implication of municipal revenue planning on the financial performance. The study concludes by recommending the development

of proficiency through separated training material and programmes with regard to municipal revenue planning on financial performance, and the involvement of role players in the revenue planning process, as well as the employment of good strategic methods of raising adequate municipal revenue.

Keywords: Revenue Planning, Financial performance, unemployment and holistic approach

1. INTRODUCTION

There are recent findings that signify municipal consumer debt and revenue planning as problematic in the South African local government system (Kanyane, 2011:953; Berstein in Kanyane, 2011:939). This is caused by non-payment of municipal services partly due to poverty and ever-increasing unemployment in the local communities (Omarjee, 2016:16). Despite these challenges municipalities remain obligated to provide services to communities as they are mandated in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996. Revenue planning is highly more dependent on market forecasting which are clear and precise, as well as on convenient and customer-oriented schedules offerings and competitive prices (Sabreairline, 2011:1). Revenue planning develops critical approaches to achieve effective financial performance in municipalities. Financial performance in turn grants municipalities with the ability to render services to its concerned citizens. Measuring a municipality's ability to generate revenue through the use of its assets constitute to financial performance. However, on the other hand revenue planning represents a prominent factor of increasing of the effectiveness of financial performance of municipalities in general, but in particular the Local Economic Development (LED). The demands of contemporary society in local government places the need for

sustainability in financial position, and influences the continuity to render the basic services as obligated by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 to the inhabitants of local communities. The substantial works of James & James (2016:17) provide that revenue should be predicted or rather be recognized over time or at some point in time. Tax advisers (2016:1) attest that recognizing revenue when an organization satisfies a performance obligation is important. This proves that employing a revenue plan in time will assist a municipality recognize either over time if certain performance targets are met, in a way that reflects good financial performance. Martin & Van Linden (2015:1) argues that an organization must be aware of whether revenue is materially misstated in the financial statements, and this may probably assist the municipality not to record misleading information in the financial statements. Abraham, Martin & Fairbanks (2016:102) contend that organizations must consider changes to information technology systems, methods, and internal controls to record new data and address changes in financial reporting, in order to curtail long and time-consuming of old systems. This paper investigates the effect of revenue planning on municipal financial performance, as well as indicating the model for enhancing municipal revenue and on how to deal with the revenue model, by suggesting three methods which include amongst others; continuity in revenue care, ensuring sound revenue plan, and maintaining a solid revenue-base. The main thrust of this paper is to investigate the effect of revenue planning on municipal financial performance in the Polokwane Local Municipality. The objectives are to analyse the sources of revenue of the municipality, legislative framework on the collection and management of municipal revenue and to make possible recommendations to enhance the collection of revenue.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Revenue Planning

In terms of section 64 of Local Government: Municipal Finance Management Act (MFMA), 2003 (Act 56 of 2003) municipal revenue planning ought to involve effective revenue collection system, calculation of monthly revenue, preparation of monthly accounts to receive all monies due to the municipality. The revenue plan must be based on management, accounting and information system, internal control-debtors and revenue, charges

interest on arrears and the encouragement to generate own revenue from internal and external sources. A concrete revenue plan can create a solid platform for sustainable financial performance of a municipality. The paper will mainly focus on generating own revenue from internal and external sources for the municipality.

2.2 Sources of Revenue for a Municipality

According to Mazibuko (2014:132), the main sources of revenue in South African municipalities includes amongst other, property rates, levies and service charges (inclusive of water, electricity, sewage and sanitation, and refuse removal), unconditional and conditional grants from the national government, municipal borrowing and own revenue. For the Polokwane Municipality there are two major own sources of revenue (property rates and service charges) which account for 56% of total revenue. The biggest contributor to municipal revenue is the state. Grants make up 32.7% of the municipality's revenue. Capital grants make up 8% and operational grants make up 24.3% of total revenue. Other contributors of note include agency fees, interest on investments, sale of stands, water surcharge and revaluation of inventory (Polokwane Integrated Development Plan, 2012/2016:67). To this end, it is fair to say that the municipality remains to be largely self-financing as expected by the National Treasury (National Treasury, 2008:22).

2.3 Financial Performance

Financial performance is defined as "a general measure of a firm's overall financial health over a given period of time, and can be used to compare similar firms or organisations across the same industry or sector (Investopedia in Maphalla, 2015:15). Therefore, in case of municipality financial performance can be measured by comparing financial statement which includes the statement of financial position (balance sheet), statement of financial performance, cash flow statement and explanatory notes. In terms of the MFMA for a municipality to ensure financial viability and sustainability a credible and realistic budget must be prepared in line with the act. This may increase the accuracy of revenue and expenditure projections and contributes to financial health of a municipality. The financial position of a vast number of South African municipalities has become so precarious causing the issue of bankrupt, insolvent and lack of cash flow have become prevalent (Venter & Landsberg,

2011:150). The Polokwane Municipality's financial position is seemingly good, and according to the findings the municipality received an unqualified audit report, albeit it can be argued that unqualified audit report does not guarantee constant success of a municipality. A municipality is only a custodian of government funds (Gildenhuys, 1997:15). Therefore, before any risky financial problems can be experienced appropriate measures must be taken in order to ensure financial viability. Some of the appropriate measures to improve financial performance may include strengthening the revenue base and financial capacity of a municipality through necessary programmes. The National Treasury (2016:24) indicated that a data portal will be launched in order to provide all stakeholders with comprehensive and verified information on municipal financial and non-financial performance. This will surely assist stakeholders formulate solid strategies regarding financial issues having provided with verified information on municipal financial performance.

3. LEGISLATIVE IMPERATIVES

In terms of Section 96 of the Local Government: Municipal Systems Act (MSA), 2000 (Act 32 of 2000) be it a rural or urban municipality:

- must collect all (monies) that (are) due and payable to it, subject to this Act and any other applicable legislation; and
- for this purpose, must adopt, maintain and implement a credit control and debt collection policy which is consistent with its rates and tariff policies and complies with the provisions of this Act.

Strong revenue base can be achieved by carefully revisiting the MFMA and the MSA which clearly state that the Accounting Officer (Municipal Manager) must ensure that the Municipality develops all the necessary policies and these includes, amongst others, a credit control policy, a debt collection policy, an indigent management policy, a tariff policy; and an information system policy.

In terms Section 64 of the MFMA it is clearly stated that the accounting officer is responsible for the management of the municipal revenue. The Section further provides that the accounting officer must take all reasonable steps to ensure that:

- the municipality has effective revenue collection system consistent with the municipality's credit control and collection policy;
- revenue due to the municipality is calculated every month;
- accounts for municipal tax and charges for municipal services are prepared every month, or less often if the monthly accounts are uneconomical;
- all monies received is promptly deposited into the municipality's primary bank account;
- the municipality has and maintains a management, accounting and information system that recognizes revenue, accounts for debtors, and accounts for receipts of revenue;
- the municipality has and maintains a system of internal control over debtors and revenue;
- the municipality charges interest on arrears, except where the council has granted exemptions in accordance with its budget-related policies; and
- all revenue received by the municipality, including revenue received by any collection agents on its behalf, is reconciled at least every week.

This paper does not exclude the importance of other various legislative frameworks guiding the municipal finance. For instance, Section 160(2), 215 and 227 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 deals with municipal budget, revenue and expenditure. Chapter three of the Local Government: Municipal Property Rates Act (MPRA), 2004 (Act 6 of 2004) deals with how a municipality must recover rates from responsible property owners, and chapter four sets out how municipalities must value and prepare for general valuation of rateable property, such as preparation of valuation rolls, inspection of properties and appointment of values. Furthermore, the purpose of the stated Acts such as the MFMA is to regulate municipal financial management and also to set requirements for the efficient and effective management of revenue, expenditure, assets and liabilities of municipality, since the focus of the paper is based on revenue planning and its effect on financial performance.

4. CHALLENGES OF REVENUE PLANNING IN SOUTH AFRICAN MUNICIPALITIES

The Auditor-General Kimi Maketu highlighted at a press briefing on 1 June 2016 that the financial health of most municipalities appears to be at risk. The challenge is that most municipalities mentioned spent in excess of their available resources, which gave rise to deficits. Current liabilities exceeding current assets, making liquidity an issue. The Auditor-General also highlighted that municipalities are struggling to collect revenue from ratepayers. This is caused partly due to poor revenue planning in most municipalities. However, the findings provided by the Auditor-General are that services are being delivered in area where there are poor households and high unemployment, limiting the ability of municipalities to generate adequate revenue (Omarjee, 2016:16). The functionality of municipalities depends on effective revenue and debt collection practices in order to continue service delivery. Van der Waldt, Khalo, Nealer, Phutiagae, van der Walt, van Nieker & Venter (2014:221) argue that this is mostly and unlikely to happen since it partly seems like an impossible task to most municipalities. The authors continue to argue that due to high poverty and unemployment rate, a municipality finds it hard to withhold basic services to destitute members of the society since this is their right as enriched in chapter two of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 to be provided with essential services.

The General report on the audit outcomes of the Limpopo Local Government for financial year 2012 and 2013 identified some of the key issues affecting municipalities. Challenges that were diagnosed include amongst others; inadequate of requisite skills, combination of skills and vacancies that were not job-related. The most common issues found was based on the competencies of key officials in the finance units and their inability to implement controls over basics of everyday functions in financial and performance management, as well as non-compliance with legislation. Given the aforementioned challenges, it is only fair to state that a vast number of municipalities predominately rural lack the ability to strengthen their revenue-base and fail to raise own revenue. Additionally, this increases the number of challenges that include amongst others; governance, finance, planning and human capital (Kanyane, 2011:935). Urban and rural municipalities are judged by the same criteria. For instance, in Limpopo Province, rural municipalities have a low revenue base due to limited resources (Kanyane, 2011:941).

5. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This paper followed the qualitative research methods. According to Leedy & Ormrod in Murwamuila & Lethoko (2014:785) the nature of data and the problem being researched dictate the research methodology to which a researcher will conform. Literature review was based on sources such as books, journals, legislations and policies. Leedy in Murwamuila & Lethoko (2014:785) assert that qualitative research methodologies are utilised to deal primarily with numerical data. For the purpose of this study, face-to-face interviews were conducted with 25 respondents in order to reach a conclusion related to revenue planning and financial performance. De Vos in Murwamuila & Lethoko (2014:785) defines interviewing as the predominant mode of data or information collection in qualitative research. Interviews, views and expressions and perceptions were analysed using qualitative approach in the form of percentages, written words and text (Murwamuila & Lethoko, 2014:785). In conducting the research, permission was obtained in writing from the Municipal Manager of the municipality. The code of ethics of the Polokwane Municipality was adhered to and followed.

6. RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

6.1 Revenue Planning

According to the Polokwane Municipality 2016 revenue planning means the enhancement of revenue collection and ultimately the contribution towards Local Economic Development (LED). Furthermore, 96% respondents indicated that a revenue plan grants the municipality with a holistic approach to ensure that revenue collection improves in order for the municipality to serve the community. To this end, it is important to note that revenue planning includes both short-term and long-term integrated functions to plan and carry out the right schedule for maximum income and customer satisfaction (Sabrearline, 2011:3).

6.2 Challenges Contributing to Poor Financial Performance in the Polokwane Municipality

The municipality challenges arise in the case of poor collection of revenue from customers which in turn impact negatively on financial performance.

The municipal management inclusive of the finance unit argues that without revenue no services can be sustained. Other challenges include infrastructure, knowledge being poor with regard to financial management, inadequate training of relevant officials. However, Chapter 2 of the Skills Development Act, 97 (1998) provides that each government institution must budget for the training of its employees. The majority of respondents which constituted 88% in face-to-face interviews indicated that the municipality needs to go back to basics in order to address these challenges.

6.3 Methods Used by the Municipality to Collect Revenue

The municipality has in place various methods used to collect revenue which includes the credit control policy, restriction of water, termination of electricity or block the usage thereof, pre-paid purchases, and hand over to debt collectors. Looking profoundly on these methods, the restriction of water and termination of electricity or block the use thereof are the frequently used and effective methods. In terms of electricity revenue, the amount of R793, 523 which constituted 32% of the total revenue was planned for in 2015, and R872, 876 (33.7%) is expected to be generated for the 2016/17 financial year. On the other hand water revenue of R258, 995 (10%) was planned for in 2015, and R274, 535 (10.6%) is also expected to be generated for the 2016/17 financial year (Polokwane Municipality Annual Report, 2014/15). In an interview with the municipal management, the researcher posed a question on how the municipality deal with non-payment of water and electricity by consumers, and an official dealing with the billing system of the municipality provided that the municipality cannot restrict residents to receive the supply of water due to non-payment. In addition, 76% of the respondents stated that what the municipality does is to allow each household to consume about 200 litres of water per day. This is done simply because people can hardly survive without the supply of water. With regard to electricity usage or supply this is terminated due to non-payment reasons being that a person can survive without electricity as compared with one without water. These two methods are said to be costly, but effective for the municipality.

6.4 Direct and Indirect Personnel Involved with the Collection of Revenue

The Polokwane Municipality is a highly committed municipality which generates its own revenue from internal and external sources of revenue. This in

turn grants the municipality to remain financially sustainable. In relation to the collection of revenue, the municipality has about ten (10) internal and responsible officials for revenue collection. Seven (7) are external responsible debt collectors which are inclusive of companies. However, the names of the companies involved in debt collection were not given while conducting the research. The municipality has about seventeen (17) responsible debt collectors internally and externally. Two internal auditors and other officials who constituted 16% confirmed these results.

6.5 The Understanding of the Indigent Policy by the Community

Policies are put in place to elaborate this kind of policy as indicated by 8% of the overall respondents. While 88% of the respondents indicated that the municipality and Ward Councillors need to inform the people in their wards and ensure that the indigent policy adopted by municipality is fully understood by concerned residents in various wards. The possible assumption with regard to the understanding of the indigent policy was that it could be that some ward councillors may only communicate from time-to-time only when they need the votes of citizens.

6.6 The Use of Collected Revenue

The municipal management who constituted 98% of the overall sample agrees with the fact that money must be collected and money must be used. Furthermore, the municipality's argument is that there's a condition to every action in life and people need to spend public funds wisely. This was the final advice provided by the Polokwane municipal management for the 2016 financial year.

7. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The objectives of the study were evaluated against the research and new information was detailed and documented. The majority of the respondents indicated that the municipality has effective revenue collection methods in place. 20 out of 25 participants indicated that the municipality's current financial performance was satisfactory. The municipality does comply with the legislation governing municipal finance. Revenue is being collected with the requirements of the relevant legislation. The first objective was to analyse the sources of revenue and secondly the effect of legislative framework on revenue collection. Both this objective was achieved.

Recommendations are suggested in the following section, which fulfils the third objective.

8. RECOMMENDATIONS

The majority of the respondents indicated that in order to improve persistent sound financial performance and the collection of revenue, the municipality's staff need constant training. They also indicated that the municipality needs to go back to basics, such as performing work in accordance with the stated organisational objectives and that stakeholders' participation must be strongly or highly considered. Apart from this, the Polokwane Municipality is doing well in terms of revenue collection and financial performance. Below are the suggested recommendations:

8.1 Development and Training of Municipal Officials Within the Finance Unit

Institutions of higher learning and other service providers play an important role in equipping employees, learners, practitioners with necessary skills and knowledge (Ambe & Badebhorst, 2012:254). Without considering proper and adequate development and training of municipal officials within their field, municipalities will continue experiencing a shortage of qualified and skilled personnel. Effective programmes introduced by educational institutions can help secure sound financial performance since such institutions are broad and exposed to various challenges.

8.2 Improved Quality and Timeliness of Data

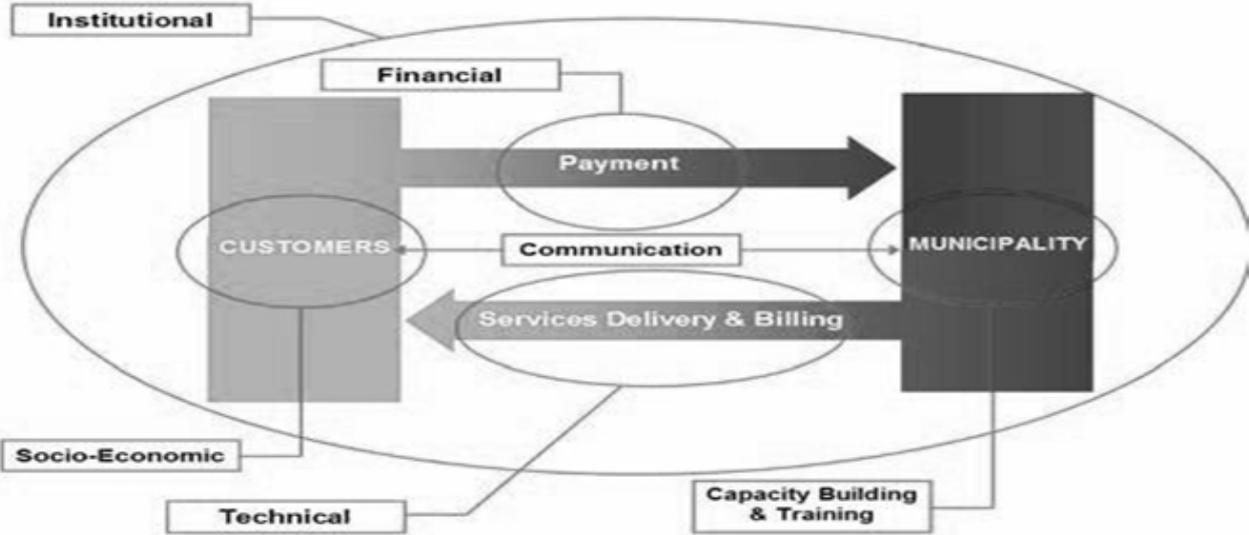
Revenue collection systems, used by municipality have to perform manual transactions which may results in loss of data integrity, multiple and conflicting reports (Sabrearlne, 2011:6). Therefore, an integrated and technologically improved credit and debt collection system need to be in place. This will help ease the burden of accumulating required data for revenue collection on behalf of the municipality.

8.3 Stakeholders' Involvement

Municipal revenue planning resulting to non-payment of service could be limited to the employment of stakeholders such as ward committees to be part of the revenue planning process. The active and timely involvement of ward committees and their councillors should encourage citizens to be acquainted with the importance of paying for property rates, service charges and so forth since municipalities are expected to generate own revenue. Section 135 of the MFMA stipulates that the primary responsibility to avoid, identify and resolve financial problems in a municipality rests with the municipality. Therefore, involving possible stakeholders may partly help in meeting financial commitments.

According to the United State Agency for International Development (2005:5) as shown on the model a sound communication between the municipality and customers is essential. The municipality must

FIGURE 1: Strategic revenue collection model.



Source: Adapted from USAID, 2005:5. A Guide for Enhancing Municipal Revenue

bill the customers for services rendered. Municipal sustainability is based on critical elements such as the communication strategy, provision of metered services, accurate billing, and revenue collection inclusive of debt and credit management (USAID, 2005:2-3). Each of the elements from the model and those suggested should not be neglected because it may hinder the successful implementation of a revenue enhancement project. This study suggests three critical elements to be considered as well in order to maintain the above revenue model in a municipality. Below are elements which includes amongst others, continuity of revenue care, ensuring sound revenue planning, and maintaining a solid revenue base:

8.3.1 Continuity of Revenue Care

Taking care of revenue means that there should be a lack of interruption in collecting and generating revenue for the municipality. Available sources of revenue should not be compromised for the sake of ensuring sustainable municipal financial performance. The revenue collection model should avoid the vulnerability of the revenue base. This may be done by taking care of any municipal revenue with careful attention to what may directly or indirectly hamper revenue collection throughout the financial year.

8.3.2 Ensuring Sound Revenue Planning

A municipality needs to firstly constitute the above revenue model. Secondly, calculate a solution on how revenue is going to be collected from whom, where and when. Lastly, the revenue collection model has to be implemented by the responsible municipal officials.

8.3.3 Maintaining a Solid Revenue-Base

The revenue collection model should be maintained for a sound revenue-base. For instance, if the municipality has an effective revenue model then all monies due to the municipality will be collected as stated on the agreed dates as indicated in their revenue plan. This may sustain and maintain a solid revenue-base depending on how the municipality chooses to implement the above revenue collection model. Solid revenue-base ensures financial sustainability.

9. CONCLUSION

This paper provided that revenue planning and financial performance is of importance in order to ensure a sound and sustainable financial position of

a municipality. Legislative imperatives were clearly discussed. Three elements in dealing with revenue planning were suggested, these elements included amongst others; continuity of revenue care, ensuring sound revenue planning, and maintaining a solid revenue-base. The paper argues that these elements of key methods can only be achieved by appointing skilled and competent officials with qualifications and relevant experiences in public administration, finance, and accounting and by placing relevant officials to related vacancies within the finance unit of local municipalities. The research findings were analysed and discussed in a clear, concise and readable manner. The methods used for revenue collection by the municipality are apparently effective, and their effect on generating own revenue is positive on the municipality's financial position.

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CAN INVESTMENT ACTIVITIES IN THE FORM OF CAPITAL FORMATION INFLUENCE ECONOMIC GROWTH IN SOUTH AFRICA?

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ABSTRACT

The study examined the impact of investment activities as measured by gross fixed capital formation (GFCF) on economic growth of South Africa for the period from 1960 to 2014. The Johansen co-integration and the vector error correction model (VECM) were used to examine the impact. Results revealed that gross fixed capital formation has a positive relationship with economic growth both in the short and the long run. There is also bidirectional causality between the gross capital formation and economic growth. It is recommended that investment activities can be a tool both in the long and short run to boost the economy, and ultimately improve the citizen's livelihood.

Keywords: Gross fixed capital formation, Investment activities, Economic growth, South Africa.

1. INTRODUCTION

A few years ago South Africa decided to take upon the direction of adopting privatization policies, in an attempt to try to stimulate the improvement in investment activities in the form of capital formation of the country. Privatisation policies lead to expectations of efficiency, economic resources allocation efficiency, increase in aggregate supply, reduce unemployment and maintain a low inflation rate (Karim *et al.*, 2010). A development process that can be followed in achieving capital formation included three correlated conditions: existence of savings to be invested, existence of financial institutes to manage the channelling of funds, investing the return in savings into capital goods (Jhinghan, 2003). Capital formation can be defined as investment because the part of current income is saved and invested in returns for future incomes (Bakare,

2011). Capital formation can influence the country's economy by assisting citizens in maintaining and improving standards of living. Mathematically, it weighs the value of recently bought or existing assets (fixed) by businesses, government and households. This process involves the purchasing of productive capital goods, equipment, machinery as well as buildings. Capital formation may be in the form of a country increasing its tangible capital stock by inserting more money in the social and economic infrastructure. Two subclasses of gross fixed capital formation are gross private domestic investment and gross public domestic investment. Private domestic investment involves the investing of private enterprises such as Anglo-American, whilst the public domestic investment includes investments by public organizations like Mr Price Group and government (Bakare, 2011).

In the past few years, some studies showed that capital formation played an important role on growth of an economy in developing countries (Ghura and Hadji, 1996; Ghura, 1997; Beddies, 1999; Kumo, 2012; Ugochukwu and Chinyere, 2013). As the economic growth rate rises, it has been verified to be associated with an increase in capital formation in Nigeria (Ugochukwu and Chinyere, 2013; Adegboyega and Odusanya, 2014). Pathunia (2013) suggested that there are linkages between capital formation and exports growth in an economy. Therefore, through capital formation a country can increase its tangible capital stock by inserting more money in the social and economic infrastructure, and ultimately influence economic growth. However, Karim (2010) found no significant long run relationship between net investments and economic growth in Malaysia. South Africa experienced a gradual increase in gross fixed capital formation from 73 065 ZAR

Million in 1962 to 624 408 ZAR Million in last quarter of 2014 (Stats SA, 2015). This could be adhered to South Africa trending towards adopting privatization policies, in an attempt to try to stimulate the improvement in capital formation of the country (Perkins *et al.*, 2005). The intention is to allocate economic resources efficiently, increase in aggregate supply, reduce unemployment and maintain a low inflation rate. Based on the contradicting evidence shown by scholars above, and the trends shown by gross fixed capital formation (GFCF) in South Africa over the years, it was interesting to investigate if this increase in GFCF can increase economic growth. Therefore, the aim of this study is to examine the impact of GFCF on economic growth in South Africa in the period 1960-2014. The paper is structured as follows, section two deals with literature reviewed, section three methodology, section 4 results and discussions and the last section concludes.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to provide a conceptual framework and appropriate policy recommendations in this study, it is important to present a theoretical framework which underpins the study. This section examines some of the established theories on gross fixed capital formation and economic growth. In addition to the various theories that will be discussed in this section, empirical literature is also presented.

2.1 Theoretical Literature

The study applied the following theories to unfold the investment behaviour of organisations and government. In the Harrod-Domar model, stimulating investment would result to more growth of an economy. In order for a country to invest in capital formation, it should save some of its resources from current consumption. Diverting a proportion of current consumption is called savings. Bakare (2011) states that to replace a worn out capital good, an economy must save a proportion of its national income. However, Pettinger (2014) suggested that increasing the saving ratio may be inappropriate when you are struggling to get enough food to eat, hence increasing the saving ratio is mostly difficult for developing countries. Harrod-Domar model ignores factors such as labour productivity, technological innovation and levels of corruption. The Neo Classical Approach to investment had an objective to obviate the shortcomings of the Harrod-Domar model. In this approach capital stock is determined by the rental cost of capital

and level of output (Uremadu, 2012). The cost of capital is endorsed by the Tobin Q investment theory published in 1968, which states that investments would still be made if the market value is not equal to the book value (Kanu and Ozurumba, 2014). In the Marginal efficiency of capital hypothesis, the level of investment is determined by the value of capital comparative to the interest rate (Kanu and Ozurumba, 2014). If marginal rate of capital is lower than interest rate, investment would be discouraged, if otherwise, investments would be stimulated. The rate of return over cost and the rate of interest rate determine the level of investment in any direction (Fisher, 1930).

2.2 Empirical Evidence

Studies on different aspects of capital formation and economic growth are reviewed. Some studies reviewed employed the ordinary least squares (OLS) and Vector Error Correction Model (VECM) to reveal a role played by capital formation on economic growth. For instance, Ugochukwu and Chinyere (2013) investigated the impact of capital formation on economic growth in Nigeria. Their results showed that capital formation is positively and significantly related to economic growth in Nigeria. Furthermore, capital formation showed a positive impact on stock market, on the other hand a negative impact for interest and inflation rates (Ugochukwu and Chinyere, 2013). The most important conclusion was that accumulation of capital formation in Nigeria would in the long run boost the economy and develop its state. Shuaib and Dania (2015) found a significant relationship between gross domestic capital formation and growth. Adegboyga and Odusanga (2014) investigated the nexus of FDI, trade openness, capital formation to growth in the economy of Nigeria, whether there was a positive correlation using time series data. According to Adegboyga & Odusanga (2014) the study indicated that capital formation can positively influence economic growth. It was further recommended that Nigeria should raise efficacy in its fiscal and monetary policies to increase its exports for economic growth. Moreover, government should look into its institutional framework due to positive but insignificant to the volume of FDI on growth in an economy.

Other studies investigated the capital formation growth nexus utilizing the Granger causality test. For example, Rajni (2013) investigated the causality between exports, imports and capital formation in India, using the Granger causality test. Data was

collected on the economic survey and handbook of India. Rajni (2013) found that there is bidirectional causality between gross domestic capital formation and export growth while on the other hand unidirectional causality between capital formation and import and export as resulted from the Granger causality test. Malawi (2005) examined the trends in gross fixed capital formation and money supply on economic activity in Algeria in the period from 1971 to 2003. The method to be followed was the Granger-causality test, the decomposition of variance, and the impulse response functions. Findings showed that both variables fixed capital formation and money supply according to Granger test can boost economic growth.

Kanu and Ozurumba (2014) investigated the impact of capital formation on economic growth of Nigeria using multiple regression techniques. The study used gross fixed capital formation, economic growth, total exports, total imports, total savings and inflation as variables. Findings ascertained that in the short run gross fixed capital formation had no significant impact on economic growth, however in the long run VAR model indicated that gross fixed capital formation and total exports and lagged values of GDP had a positive long run relationship with economic growth in Nigeria. Bakare (2011) determined the relationship between capital formation and economic growth using the Harrod-Domar model to test its application in reality on Nigeria' growth. The OLS was used to estimate the model. Bakare (2011) discovered that the Harrod-Domar model proved to work in Nigeria, which detect that national income is positively related with savings and capital formation.

An analysis of investment activities has been reviewed. For example, in South Africa Perkins and Fedderke (2005) revealed that the connection between economic infrastructure and economic growth appears to run in both directions. It was further stated that poor investment in infrastructure could create holdups in opportunities for promoting economic growth. Kumo (2012) studied infrastructure investment and economic growth in South Africa using the Granger Causality analysis. Findings showed that a strong connection exists between economic infrastructure investment and GDP growth. Nowbutsing (2012) was interested on whether Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) matters in capital formation and economic growth in Mauritius using the bounds testing method. Findings revealed that in the long run FDI has a positive and significant

effect, furthermore states that a percentage increase in FDI contributes 0.17% economic growth as per Mauritius data.

Looking at how investment activities can influence employment, Iocovoiu (2012) focused on analyzing the correlation between the evolution of net capital investment and unemployment in Romania. The study used capital investments, net investments, investment rates, unemployment, and economic crisis as variables. Results of the research showed that a significant reduction in net investments, due to the global economic crisis has led increasing unemployment by lowering the number of employees. Malawi (2005) showed causality of gross fixed capital formation on economic activity in Algeria using Granger causality tests, the decomposition of variance and the impulse response functions. Bader and Malawi (2010) further investigated the effect of real interest rate on investment level in Jordan. Bader and Malawi (2010) witnessed that the findings were in line with economic theory, capturing that real interest rates have a negative impact on investment. A case of an increase of 1% in interest rate, decreases investment levels by 44%, while income level has a positive impact.

Karim, Karim and Ahmad (2010) aimed at testing the linkages between economic growth, fixed investment and household consumption in Malaysia. The study employed the structural vector error correction model. Findings were that household consumption and fixed investment were significantly affecting economic growth. It was stated that demand side policies affecting the household consumption and investment are ineffective to boost economic growth in the long run. Karim *et al.* (2010) concluded that fixed investments are significant only in the short run in Malaysia.

3. METHODOLOGY

In an attempt to examine the impact of gross fixed capital formation (GFCF) on economic growth, secondary quarterly data covering the period 1960 to 2014 was obtained from the South African Reserve Bank. The following linear model was estimated:

$$LGDP_t = \beta_0 + \beta_1 LGFCF_t + \beta_2 LGOVEXP_t + \beta_3 LCONS_t + \beta_4 LBOP_t + \beta_5 CPI_t + \varepsilon_t \quad (1)$$

Where β_0 is the intercept, β_1 to β_5 are slope coefficients of explanatory variables and ε is the error term. In this model, economic growth (LGDP) is regressed

against Gross Fixed Capital Formation (LGFCF), and control variables such as government expenditure (LGOVEXP), consumption expenditure (LCONS), net exports (LBOP), and consumer price index (CPI) are included. LGDP is logged real gross domestic product at market price used to measure economic growth. LGOVEXP is logged Gross fixed Capital Formation (Investment) at constant 2010 prices. LCONS represents logged final consumption expenditure by households and LGOVEXP logged final expenditure by general government. LBOP denotes logged balance of payments and CPI consumer price index used to measure inflation.

The analysis began by testing for stationarity in the time series. The formal tests conducted are the Augmented Dickey-Fuller (ADF) and the Phillips-Peron (PP) tests. According to Brooks (2008) these tests are the very key as they give understanding into the structural breaks, trends and stationarity of the data. The ADF test modifies the work done by Dickey and Fuller (1979 and 1976 respectively). The rejection of the null hypothesis under these tests means that the series does not have a unit root problem, meaning that they are stationary.

The weakness of the Dickey-Fuller test is that it does not take account of possible autocorrelation in error process, ε_t . If ε_t is auto-correlated, then the OLS estimates of coefficients will not be efficient and t-ratios will be biased. In view of the above mentioned weaknesses the Augmented Dickey-Fuller test was postulated and is preferred to the Dickey-Fuller test (Brooks, 2000). The calculated value of ADF is then compared with the critical value. If the calculated value is greater than the critical, we reject the null hypothesis that the series have unit root, thus confirming that the series are stationary.

The Phillips-Perron tests are a more comprehensive theory of unit root non-stationarity. The Phillips-Perron use non-parametric statistical methods to take care of the serial correlation in the error terms without adding lagged difference terms. According to Brooks (2008) the tests are similar to Augmented Dickey Fuller test, but they incorporate an automatic correction to the DF procedure to allow for auto correlated residuals. The Phillips Perron test and the Augmented Dickey Fuller test have the same asymptotic distribution. The Phillips Perron tests often give the same conclusions as, and suffer from most of the same important limitations as, the Augmented Dickey Fuller tests (Brooks, 2008).

The study employed Johansen Co-integration test and the Vector error correction (VECM) to find long and short run relationship of the empirical model (Greene, 2000; Johansen and Julius, 1990). According to Greene (2000) the following steps are used when implementing the Johansen procedure. Step 1: Testing for the order of integration of the variables under examination. All the variables should be integrated of the same order before proceeding with the co-integration test. Step 2: This step involves setting the appropriate lag length of the model. Also in the step is the estimation of the model and the determination of the rank of Π . Step 3: With regards to the deterministic components in the multivariate system the choice of the appropriate model is made. An analysis of the normalised co-integrating vector(s) and speed of adjustment coefficients is made. Step 4: includes the determination of the number of co-integrating vectors. Causality tests on the error correction model to identify a structural model and determine whether the estimated model is reasonable is done in this last step.

Other econometric advances include the Granger causality tests to see the direction of causality. Also, variance decomposition is included to indicate the proportion of the movements in a sequence due to the dependent variable's own shocks versus shocks to the other variables (Green, 2000). Furthermore, impulse response functions are employed to trace out the response of the dependent variable in the Vector Auto Regressive (VAR) system to its own shocks and shocks to each of the variables (Gujarati, 2004).

To validate the outcomes achieved by the estimated model, diagnostic tests of serial correlation, heteroscedasticity and normality were checked. Diagnostic testing is very vital in the analysis of the impact of gross fixed capital formation on economic growth in South Africa because it validates the variables estimation outcomes achieved by the estimated model (Gujarati, 2004). Diagnostic checks test the stochastic properties of the model such as serial correlation, heteroscedasticity and normality.

Serial correlation happens when the error terms from different time periods (or cross-section observations) are correlated (Gujarati, 2004). In time series studies it occurs when the errors associated with observations in a given time period carry over into future time periods. Serial correlation (also called autocorrelation) in the residuals means that they contain information, which should itself be modeled. The Durbin-Watson statistic is used in the study to test for the presence

of first order serial correlation in the residuals. The null hypothesis is no serial correlation ($H_0 : \rho = 0$).

The assumption of normality is $\varepsilon_t \sim N(0, \sigma^2)$. The null is that the skewness (α_3) and kurtosis (α_4) coefficients of the conditional distribution of Y_t or, equivalently, of the distribution of are 0 and 3, respectively. The normality assumptions can be tested using the Jarque-Bera test (JB) (Gujarati, 2004). The JB test follows the null hypothesis that the distribution of the series is symmetric. The null hypothesis of normality would be rejected if the residuals from the model are either significantly skewed or leptokurtic or both. The Ordinary Least Squares makes the assumption that $V(\varepsilon_j) = \sigma^2$ for all j. The variance of the error term is constant a condition termed homoscedasticity (Gujarati, 2004). If the error terms do not have constant variance, they are said to be heteroscedastic.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

This section presents results and discussions of the analysis of the impact of gross fixed capital formation (net investment) on economic growth in South Africa.

4.1 Unit Root Tests (Stationary Tests)

Table 1 (a) shows the Augmented Dickey-Fuller (ADF) results.

TABLE 1(a): Stationarity results of the Augmented Dickey-Fuller test.

Variable	Intercept	Trend and intercept	Order of integration
LGDP	-2.052288	-3.033451	I(0)
DLGDP	-4.154147*	-4.419391*	I(1)
LGFCF	-1.612248	-2.536551	I(0)
DLGFCF	-4.994711*	-5.016505*	I(1)
LGOVEX	-3.51234	-2.872191	I(0)
DLGOVEX	-9.686113*	-10.35761*	I(1)
LCON	-1.761395	-2.877167	I(0)
DLCON	-4.512414*	-4.512414*	I(1)
LBOP	-1.309569	-1.306015	I(0)
DLPOP	-21.58229*	-21.60308*	I(1)
CPX	-3.015719*	-2.968273	I(0)
DCPX		-11.26469*	I(1)
Critical values:			
1%	-3.461327	-4.002142	
5%	-2.875062	-3.431265	
10%	-2.574054	-3.139292	

Notes: The values marked with * signals stationarity significant at 1%, and ** represent stationarity and significant at 5%, and *** marked values signals stationarity and significant at 10%.

Source: Own compilation from SARB data

The test has a null hypothesis of unit root and the calculated value of ADF was compared with the critical value. If the calculated value is greater than the critical, we then reject the null hypothesis that the series have unit root, thus confirming that the series are stationary. The ADF tests reported variables in (i) intercepts and (ii) trends and intercepts. In levels, all variables were non-stationary except for CPI and were stationary after first differencing. Table 1 (b) shows the Phillips-Peron (PP) results.

TABLE 1 (b): Stationarity results of the Phillips-Perron test.

Variable	Intercept	Trend and intercept	Order of integration
LGDP	-2.351511	-3.176743**	I(0)
DLGDP	-22.43886*		I(1)
LGFCF	-1.142430	-2.011139	I(0)
DLGFCF	-16.95964*	-16.94317*	I(1)
LGOVEX	-1.896417	-5.235670*	I(0)
DLGOVEX	-49.79766*		I(1)
LCON	-0.952606	-7.349592*	I(0)
DLCON	-45.69107*		I(1)
LBOP	-1.239034	-1.720941	I(0)
DLBOP	-21.32013*	-21.39780*	I(1)
CPI	-5.125000*	-5.088392*	I(0)
Critical values			
1%	-3.460173	-4.000511	
5%	-2.874556	-3.430477	
10%	-2.573784	-3.138828	

Notes: The values marked with * signals stationarity significant at 1%, and ** represent stationarity and significant at 5%, and *** marked values signals stationarity and significant at 10%, if values are found significant at levels then no value is found after differencing.

Source: Own compilation from SARB data

According to Brooks (2008) PP tests are similar to ADF tests, but they incorporate an automatic correction to the ADF procedure to allow for auto correlated residuals. Both methods used to test for stationarity significantly revealed that the data series were non-stationary in levels and stationary when first differenced.

4.2 Johansen Co-Integration and VECM

The lag length used in the VECM estimation was determined, and the lag length selection criteria reported two as the optimum lag length as chosen by most criteria (see Table 2 on the next page).

The co-integration tests were employed and results showed that there are two co-integrating equations implying a long run relationship in the series exist (Table 3). This means in the long run, increasing capital formation could help in boosting economic growth.

TABLE 2: VAR Lag Order Selection.

Endogenous variables: LGDP LGFCF LCONS LGOVEXP LBOP CPI						
Exogenous variables: C						
Sample: 1960Q1 2014Q4						
Included observations: 218						
Lag	LogL	LR	FPE	AIC	SC	HQ
0	756.1773	NA	4.13e-11	-6.882360	-6.789209	-6.844735
1	2014.840	2436.493	5.56e-16	-18.09945	-17.44739	-17.83607
2	2204.380	356.4738*	1.36e-16*	-19.50807*	-18.29710*	-19.01894*

* indicates lag order selected by the criterion

LR: sequential modified LR test statistic (each test at 5% level)

FPE: Final prediction error

AIC: Akaike information criterion

SC: Schwarz information criterion

HQ: Hannan-Quinn information criterion

Source: Own compilation from SARB data

TABLE 3: Johansen Co-integration results.

Hypothesized		Trace	0.05	
No. of CE(s)	Eigenvalue	Statistic	Critical Value	Prob.**
None *	0.194411	124.7208	95.75366	0.0001
At most 1 *	0.165464	77.80929	69.81889	0.0100
At most 2	0.084655	38.55835	47.85613	0.2782
At most 3	0.057782	19.36388	29.79707	0.4670
At most 4	0.026117	6.448293	15.49471	0.6425
At most 5	0.003246	0.705555	3.841466	0.4009
Trace test indicates 2 cointegrating eqn(s) at the 0.05 level				
* denotes rejection of the hypothesis at the 0.05 level				
**MacKinnon-Haug-Michelis (1999) p-values				
Unrestricted Cointegration Rank Test (Maximum Eigenvalue)				
Hypothesized		Max-Eigen	0.05	
No. of CE(s)	Eigenvalue	Statistic	Critical Value	Prob.**
None *	0.194411	46.91152	40.07757	0.0073
At most 1 *	0.165464	39.25094	33.87687	0.0104
At most 2	0.084655	19.19447	27.58434	0.3997
At most 3	0.057782	12.91558	21.13162	0.4600
At most 4	0.026117	5.742737	14.26460	0.6464
At most 5	0.003246	0.705555	3.841466	0.4009
Max-eigenvalue test indicates 2 cointegrating eqn(s) at the 0.05 level				
* denotes rejection of the hypothesis at the 0.05 level				
**MacKinnon-Haug-Michelis (1999) p-values				

Source: Own compilation from SARB data

The VECM estimate the effects of explanatory variables where economic growth is the function of gross fixed capital formation, government expenditure, consumption expenditure, balance of payment and consumer price index. The VECM corrects long run equation through short run adjustments leading the system to short run equation. Table 4, on the following page, confirms that the error term of the co-integrating equation is negative (-0.005147). This means that in the error correction model, variables adjust to long run shocks affecting the natural equilibrium and there is a short run relationship in the series.

Equation 2, derived from Table 5 the normalised co-integrating coefficients, indicates that there is a positive relationship between economic growth and

gross fixed capital formation. A one unit increase in capital formation will lead to an increase in economic growth by 19,2 (equation 2). This is in accordance with the literature reviewed that gross capital formation can positively influence economic growth (Beddies, 1999); (Kumo, 2012); (Ugochukwu and Chinyere, 2013).

The estimated equation derived from the normalized co-integration coefficient is as follows (Table 5):

$$LGDP = 0.005174 + 0.192225LGFC - 0.1260267LCONS + 0.2291942LGOVEXP - 0.166804LBOP - 0.008857CPI \quad (2)$$

Equation 2, above, further reports a unit increase in consumption will lead to a decrease in economic growth by 12.6%. Government expenditure seems to

TABLE 4: Summary of the VECM estimates.

Variables	Coefficients	Standard error	t-statistics
Co-integrating equation	-0.005147	(0.01139)	[-0.45172]
Constants	0.005174	(0.00081)	[6.42625]

Source: Own compilation from SARB data

TABLE 5: Estimates of the Normalised Cointegration Coefficients.

Normalized cointegrating coefficients (standard error in parentheses)					
LGDP	LGFCF	LCONS	LGOVEXP	LBOP	CPI
1.000000	-0.192225	0.1260267	-0.2291942	0.166804	0.008857
	(0.15555)	(0.39540)	(0.31660)	(0.07299)	(0.00255)

Source: Own compilation from SARB data

TABLE 6: Pairwise Granger Causality Tests.

Sample: 1960Q1 2014Q4				
Lags: 2				
Null Hypothesis:	Obs	F-Statistic	Prob.	
LGFCF does not Granger Cause LGDP	218	10.9131	3.E-05	
LGDP does not Granger Cause LGFCF		4.10278	0.0179	
LCONS does not Granger Cause LGDP	218	89.9185	5.E-29	
LGDP does not Granger Cause LCONS		55.2041	5.E-20	
LGOVEXP does not Granger Cause LGDP	218	2.17757	0.1158	
LGDP does not Granger Cause LGOVEXP		13.9623	2.E-06	
LBOP does not Granger Cause LGDP	218	0.19554	0.8225	
LGDP does not Granger Cause LBOP		4.11104	0.0177	
CPI does not Granger Cause LGDP	218	2.83723	0.0608	
LGDP does not Granger Cause CPI		0.57890	0.5614	

Source: Own compilation from SARB data

be influencing the economic growth positively. A unit increase in balance of payment will lead to a decrease of 16.7% in economic growth. Lastly, in this model inflation is negatively related to economic growth, meaning that when an increase in investment is expected to boost economic growth inflation should be taken care of.

4.3 Granger Causality Results

Granger causality is based on the prediction that if a signal on one variable can 'Granger cause' a signal on another variable, then the past values of that variable should contain information that helps predict the other variable above and beyond the information contained in the past values of the other variable alone (Gujarati, 2004). Table 6 above indicates a significant bidirectional causal relationship between economic growth and capital formation. This means gross fixed capital formation can predict information contained in the past values of GDP.

4.4 Impulse Response Functions

The impulse response functions illustrate the shocks or reactions of LGDP to a one standard deviation of changes on the explanatory variables (Gujarati,

2004). They further indicate the directions and persistence of the response to each of the shocks over a particular period of 10 months. Figure 1 on the next page shows trending downwards towards the third period and thereafter the shock shows some trend of improvement. The impulse responses further indicate the same direction response of gross fixed capital formation to GDP from the second quarter.

4.5 Variance Decomposition

Variance decompositions indicate the fraction of the forecast error variance for each variable that is attributable to its innovations and to innovations in the other variables in the system (Brooks, 2008). The variance decomposition results are presented in Table 7 using Choleski decomposition method to identify the most effective instrument to use in targeting each variable of interest. This helps in separating innovations of the endogenous variables into portions that can be attributed to their own innovations and to innovations from other variables.

Table 7 notes variance decomposition for 10 periods and it also illustrates an effect of each variable towards economic growth fluctuation in the short and the long run. If the second quarter is considered,

FIGURE 1: Impulse response functions.

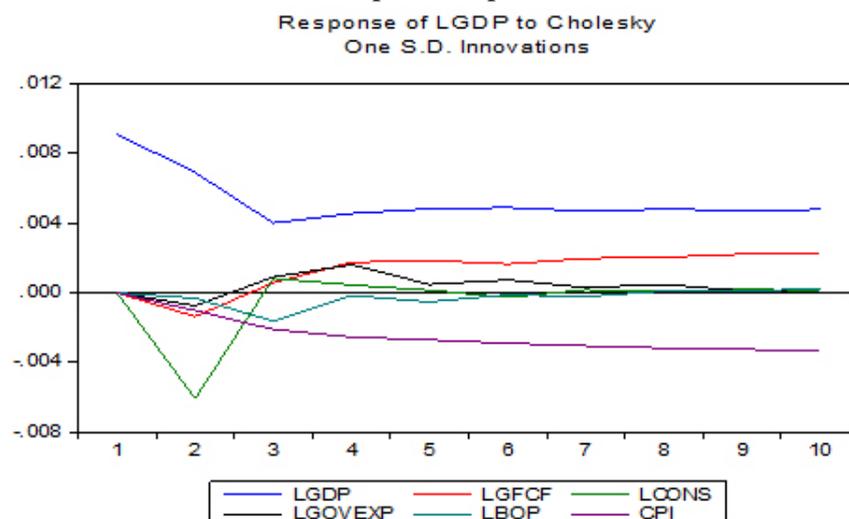


TABLE 7: Variance decomposition of LOGGDP.

Period	S.E.	LOGGDP	LOGGFCF	LOGCON	LOGGOVE	LOGNTEX	INFLA
1	0.009107	100.0000	0.000000	0.000000	0.000000	0.000000	0.000000
2	0.013082	76.32018	1.081961	21.60413	0.330503	0.057679	0.605539
3	0.014004	74.79546	1.113980	19.19877	0.712397	1.399138	2.780253
4	0.015137	73.05031	2.280586	16.52125	1.729217	1.208499	5.210134
5	0.016239	72.29817	3.289147	14.36256	1.591049	1.153963	7.305115
6	0.017303	71.67872	3.812434	12.67393	1.583421	1.020335	9.231154
7	0.018297	70.67967	4.572041	11.34402	1.443228	0.926276	11.03476
8	0.019294	69.73940	5.235945	10.20293	1.359398	0.835732	12.62659
9	0.020253	68.74427	5.959095	9.268722	1.237275	0.759816	14.03083
10	0.021197	67.83725	6.583410	8.464819	1.138639	0.709798	15.26608

Source: Authors

TABLE 8: Diagnostic checks results.

Test	Null Hypothesis	Probability	Conclusion
Jarque-Bera (JB)	No normal distribution	0.961315 > 0.05	We fail to reject H0, there is no normality
White (CH-sq)	No heteroscedasticity	0.1770 > 0.05	We fail to reject the H0, there is no heteroscedasticity
Breusch-Godfrey Serial Correlation LM Test	No serial correlation	0.257461 > 0.05	We fail to reject H0, there is no serial correlation

Source: Own compilation from SARB data

the impulse or innovation shock, economic growth accounts to 76.3% of its own shock or fluctuation. However, with shocks for the independent variables, the fluctuations for economic growth are 1.08% for investment, 21.6% for consumption, 0.33% for government expenditure, 0.057% for balance of payment and 0.6% for inflation. In the long run that is for period 10, economic growth accounts to 67.8% of the fluctuation. Investment in the long run accounts for 6.6% and inflation 15.2%. This implies that throughout the whole period of forecast economic growth is influenced by its own shocks in the short run and in the long run.

4.6 Diagnostic and Stability Checks

The diagnostic tests in the model are done so that the chosen model is checked for robustness (Engle and Granger, 1991). For heteroscedasticity the p value of 0.1770 was found indicating that there is no Heteroscedasticity in the residuals (Table 8). The Jarque Bera normality test indicated a probability value of 0.961315 meaning that we do not reject the hypothesis and the residuals are normally distributed. The Breusch-Godfrey LM test had a probability value of 0.257461 which is more than 0.05 and therefore we do not reject the hypothesis

and conclude that there is no serial correlation within the model.

Stability tests performed include the CUSUM, CUSUM square test, and the Inverse Roots of AR Characteristic Polynomial. In Figure 2, the CUSUM test indicates a positive feedback in that the cumulative sum moves inside the critical line, however with exception to the period beyond 1990. At Figure 3, the CUSUM of square indicates stability as the cumulative sum moves inside the critical line throughout the period covered, therefore indicates stability of the model. The Inverse Roots of AR Characteristic Polynomial confirm the stability of the model as all the points are inside the circle.

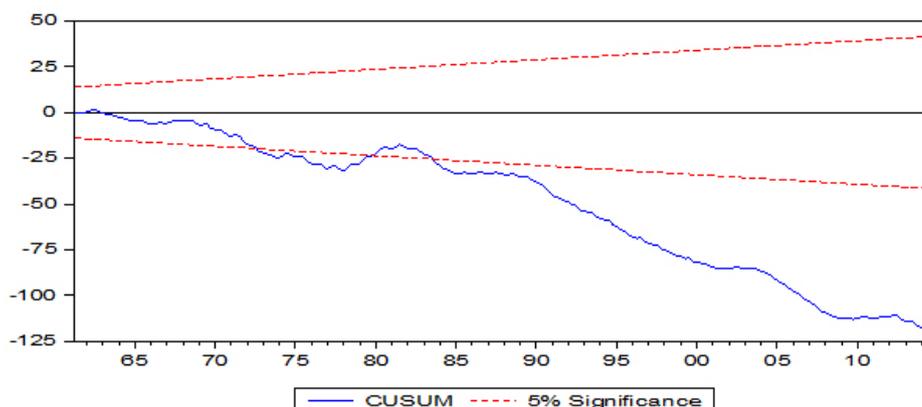
5. CONCLUSION

The objective of the study was to examine the impact of investment activities as measured by gross fixed capital formation on economic growth in South Africa for the period 1960 to 2014. The

relationship between gross fixed capital formation and economic growth was justified by the significant role indicated in developing countries such as Nigeria. The Johansen co-integration, Vector Error Correction Model and Granger causality were used to examine the relationship. The results indicated that there is a long and short run relationship between economic growth and gross fixed capital formation. It has also been found that the causal relationship is bidirectional implying that gross fixed capital formation can Granger cause economic growth and vice versa.

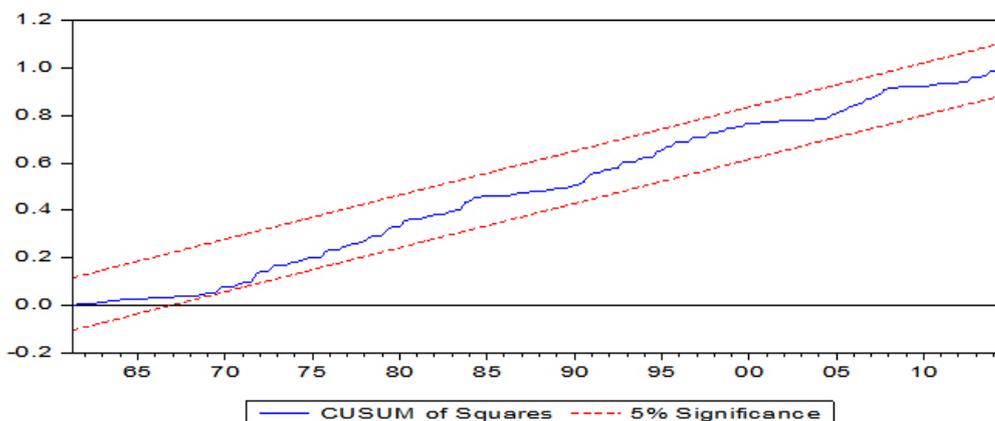
The study recommends that gross fixed capital formation can be used as one of the tools to boost economic growth. Growth in the economy can influence many macro-economic variables such as production and household income which can ultimately positively influence the citizen's livelihood. Government should encourage savings by providing incentives to create an investment climate that boost capital formation and hence promote sustainable growth.

FIGURE 2: CUSUM test.



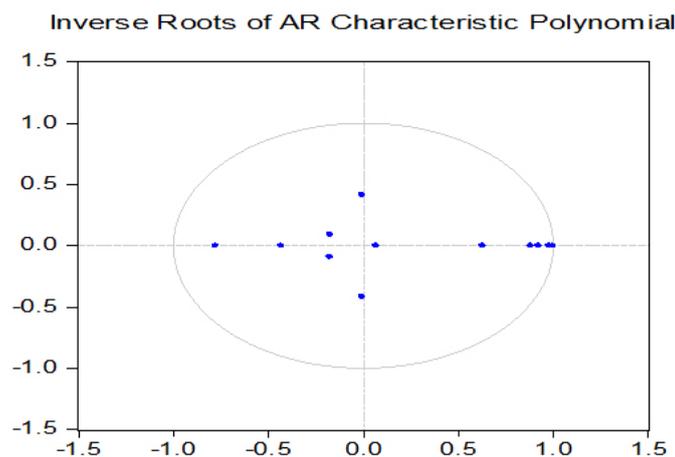
Source: Authors

FIGURE 3: Custom of squares.



Source: Authors

FIGURE 4: The Inverse Roots of AR Characteristic Polynomial.



Source: Own compilation from SARB data

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TOWARDS A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR EVALUATING OUTCOMES OF AIDS POLICY-BASED INTERVENTIONS IN THE FURTHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING SECTOR

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ABSTRACT

The South African Government has formulated and implemented a number of AIDS prevention interventions to counter HIV/AIDS. However, the effectiveness of these interventions has not been as effective, relevant, or sustainable suggesting that the cultural, political, and social context within which proposed campaigns have been launched are not conducive enough for AIDS policy-based interventions to yield desired outcomes and consequently the desired impacts (Schneider and Stein 2001). The escalating risky sexual behaviour that places individuals at risk of acquiring HIV undermines the prevention measures in place as well as the ability of administrators implementing the intervention strategies to effectively influence behaviour change among the youth (Moodley and Philips 2011). The thrust of this write-up is to understand such interventions in a specific, rather than a general, context—that is, the South African Further Education and Training (FET) Sector. Thereafter, to interrogate the procedures and methods applied as well as findings of past and current studies on and evaluation of AIDS prevention interventions in order to establish the knowledge gap. Key to this paper is developing an explanatory framework and more importantly a conceptual framework for an outcome evaluation of AIDS policy-based interventions in the FET Sector. The proceeding paper will then apply this conceptual framework in its pursuit to collect, process, and analyse empirical data that can provide us with information on attained outcomes of HIV/AIDS interventions. Thereafter, that paper will apply the explanatory framework proposed here to interpret the results, thereof.

Keywords: AIDS policy-based interventions, outcomes, HIV/AIDS, behavioural change, implementation, evaluation, explanatory framework, and conceptual framework.

1. INTRODUCTION

Research indicates that the epidemiological situation of AIDS in the country—exacerbated by vaguely understood cultural practices, promiscuity, and lack of awareness (Mathews 2008; Parkhurst and Lush, 2004)—has led South Africa to what Simelela and Venter (2014:249) refer to as the "... home to the largest concentration of people living with HIV anywhere in the world". The onslaught of HIV/AIDS on the youth (Andersen 2012; Petros 2014) is a grave danger to the prospect of skilling the nation and, therefore, the ability of the country to compete economically at a global level (Ren 2009; Powell 2012). As a result, though partly, the education system is in precarious state as the epidemic takes its toll on learners and educators alike (Stadler, Delany, and Mntambo 2008; Lyby 2010). In response, the South African Government has enacted a multi-sectoral response to the epidemic. All Government departments have since developed and implemented a range of measures at all levels (Schneider and Stein 2001). The South African Further Education and Training (FET) Sector is no exception. This Sector's interventions are informed by the national AIDS policy and have been implemented for over eight years (Marock 2010; UNESCO 2008). Despite concerted effort to intervene, empirical evidence suggests that the prevalence of pregnancy among South African teenage girls as well as among post high school students is on the increase (Zungu and Lanyisa 2009; James and Abieyuwa 2013; Government Gazette 2015). This is an indirect indication of risky sexual behaviour and definitely contributing to the high prevalence rates of HIV in the country (Mathews 2008). This puts to question the effectiveness of AIDS education in schools and post-high school curriculum (Government Gazette 1999; Education Labour Relations Council 2003; Roux, Ebersohn, Smit, and Eloff 2005). If our

assumption that HIV/AIDS interventions have failed to accrue positive results in South Africa-despite committing to a holistic approach within and between organisations in the fight against the epidemic (South African National AIDS Council 2011; Mayosi and others 2012)-suggests that there is a problem. Therefore, there is a need to establish the amount of student knowledge and attitudes that are sufficient to influence behaviour change (Magnani and others 2005; Kyrychenko and others 2006; Moodley and Phillips, 2011). Currently, we cannot claim enough knowledge to answer questions posed by Clark, Van Eck, King, Glusman, McCain-William, Van Eck, and Beech (2000) as well as Zungu and Manyisa (2009). These include: 'does the intervention increase knowledge on HIV/AIDS?' 'Does this knowledge change attitude towards sexual behaviour among students and does this, consequently, lead to a reduction on risky sexual behaviours? To answer these questions, there is a need to assess the current HIV/AIDS interventions to improve on the design and implementation of interventions that are effective, sustainable, relevant, and efficient. We should note that since the South African government began developing and implementing interventions to counter HIV/AIDS in early 1990s (Schneider 1998; Schneider and Stein 2001; Wouters and others 2009) researchers have assessed the effectiveness of the South African AIDS strategy across different populations especially the youth and the sexually vulnerable population such as prostitutes and truck drivers (Swart-Kruger and Richter 1997; Tenkorang, Maticka-Tyndale, and Rajulton 2011). However, only a limited number of researchers -for example, Moodley and Phillips (2011) -have actually focused on specific context such as assessing the HIV/AIDS management interventions in the South African Further Education and Training (FET) Sector (Government Gazette 2015; Zungu and Lanyisa 2009).

In this paper, we derive a conceptual framework-defined implicitly by Kumar (2014) as an advanced outline of how a research or an evaluation exercise should proceed after interrogating key literature on the research or evaluation of interest-for evaluating outcomes of AIDS policy-based interventions in the FET Sector. First, the write-up commences with an understanding of the study setting, that is, the FET Sector as well as a description of the intervention, that is, the AIDS policy. We realise that one can understand this and other similar interventions when one considers the social and economic impact of HIV/AIDS, and its ability to ultimately

compromise the developmental purpose behind technical and vocational education. Second, we identify the knowledge gap after reviewing past and current studies on and evaluation of AIDS policy-based interventions. Here our vested interests are not only sitting in the procedure, methods, findings, and conclusions of these articles but also in the reasons why the global fight against HIV is almost contemporaneous with the rise in HIV incidence and prevalence rates. Third, we develop an explanatory framework that can interpret our empirical findings. In doing so, we detail the broad field of study encompassing this evaluation and its key components. Before shifting our focus to the theory of change, we discuss variables and key issues to consider when evaluating an intervention of this nature. Lastly, we propose a conceptual framework for evaluating the 'outcomes of AIDS policy-based interventions in the South African FET Sector'.

2. THE APPROACH

We apply the outcomes-based literature review to develop an explanatory framework and more importantly a conceptual framework-outlined in Chikwema and Wotela (2016)-to prepare for an outcome evaluation of AIDS policy-based interventions in the South African Further Education and Training (FET) Sector. We begin with an understanding of the context (The South African Further Education and Training (FET) Sector) and then the evaluation intervention (The AIDS policy-based interventions in the South African Further Education and Training (FET) Sector). Second, to establish the knowledge gap, we interrogate research approaches, designs, procedures and methods applied as well as findings and conclusions realised by past and current studies on as well as evaluations of AIDS policy-based interventions. Other than establishing the knowledge gap we also use this interrogation to consider methodological options that we can employ for our assessment. Third, we propose and detail a theoretical or rather an interpretive framework that will facilitate the interpretation of empirical research findings of an outcome evaluation of AIDS policy-based interventions in the South African Further Education and Training (FET) Sector. Worth mentioning is the linkage between this interpretive framework and our attributes of interest whose information we will collect during the research. Lastly, for now, we derive a conceptual framework that will guide the evaluation when collecting, processing, analysing, and interpreting empirical results emanating

from an outcome evaluation of AIDS policy-based interventions in the South African Further Education and Training (FET) Sector.

3. THE SOUTH AFRICAN FURTHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING (FET) SECTOR IN CONTEXT

Historically, the current South African Further Education and Training (FET) Sector has emerged from the former racialised technical colleges (Allais 2012). McGrath and Akoojee (2009) argue that before 1994, the FET was the epi-centre of racial segregation in which well-resourced institutions located close to economic activity were White dominated while institutions for Black African learners were poorly resourced and far from economic activity. Since then the FET Sector has undergone a gruelling transformation and restructuring to meet the requirements of a democratic state. The 152 technical colleges had to be merged into 50 new multi-racial sites currently known as FET institutions (McGrath and Akoojee 2009; Allais 2012). The Further Education and Training (FET) Sector is now viewed in the context of national imperatives that include intermediate skills development, poverty alleviation, and reduction of youth unemployment (McGrath and Akoojee 2009; Loveder 2010; Powell 2012). Recently, skills shortages have been at the top of the policy agenda as part of government development strategies (Marock 2010); and FET institutions came in to subsequently represent a fundamental element of a South African skills development system (Akoojee 2012; Powell 2012). Conventionally regarded as a response mechanism to economic and social problems, education offered by FET Institutions is meant to empower the society in tough economic situations (Ren, 2009). According to McGrath and Akoojee (2009), FET institutions attract young people from as young as 15 years with moderate intellectual as well as weak literacy and numeracy. Most of the students attending these institutions are young Black females. For example, the Department of Higher Education and Training (2014) reports that of the 115586 students that enrolled with the private FET institutions in 2012, 60 per cent of them were female. Similarly, the Department of Higher Education and Training (2015) reports that of the 639618 students that enrolled with the public FET/TVET institutions in 2013, the majority (90 per cent) are Black with slightly more (52 per cent) females in the ages groups 20-24 (52 per cent) and 15-19 (25 per cent).

4. THE AIDS POLICY-BASED INTERVENTIONS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN FURTHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING (FET) SECTOR

The generic AIDS policy for the Further Education and Training (FET) Sector is the 'National policy on HIV/AIDS for learners, students, and educators in public schools and training institutions' published in Government Gazette Number 20372 of August 1999 (Education Labour Relations Council 2005). Further, like all other AIDS policies in the education sector, this policy is also set out in 'the National policy on HIV/AIDS' (Government Gazette, 1999). Generally, it plays down on the fear of AIDS, reduces the stigma associated with the pandemic, and fosters non-discrimination and equality within institutions when admitting students and appointing staff (Roux and others, 2005; Education Labour Relations Council 2003). It emphasises the constitutional rights of all learners and educators (Government Gazette 1999). HIV/AIDS interventions include prevention, treatment, and caring (Education Labour Relations Council 2003; World Health Organisation 2009; Francis 2010). However, the focus of the intervention in the South African FET Sector is prevention. This includes equipping students with life-skills and HIV/AIDS education (Education Labour Relations Council 2003; Andersen 2012). It is envisaged that students will consequently change their attitude and translate this knowledge into practice. According to Education Labour Relations Council (2003) as well as Roux and others (2005), such interventions focus on raising awareness and increasing knowledge on AIDS with a view to influence responsible sexual behaviour and, therefore, reduce their vulnerability to the risk of infection.

Specifically, the institutions have integrated HIV/AIDS education in the 'life orientation' curriculum and life skills programmes (Government Gazette 1999; Roux and others 2005; Education Labour Relations Council 2003; Schenker and Nyirenda 2002). The UNESCO (2008) has argued that incorporating HIV/AIDS into teaching and learning activities enhances the understanding of the epidemic and, therefore, widening its perception. However, participants should also be willing to fight the epidemic by practicing what they know about HIV/AIDS. This implies that students should adjust their sexual behaviour to reduce their vulnerability to infection. The question is what amount of student knowledge, perceptions, and attitudes will induce sexual behavioural? Magnani and others (2005); Kyrychenko and others (2006);

as well as Moodley and Phillips (2011) have pointed out challenges that affect the implementation and the outcomes of these interventions as well as their measurement thereof. For example, like any other intervention, the implementation of HIV/AIDS initiatives was affected during the transition to democratic governance (Schneider 1998, 2001; Wouters, van Rensburg, and Meulemans 2009). At that time, political commitment did not provide for effective implementation and management of HIV/AIDS interventions (McCourt 2003; Mottiar 2004). Secondly, a lack of trust and the power struggle within and between government departments rendered a multi-sectoral approach ineffective and, subsequently, affecting its implementation and management (Schneider and Stein, 2001). This affected the roll out of the intervention to all government departments including education and, therefore, the Further Education and Training (FET) Sector. Third, implementation of this initiative was caught up in cultural and religious principles (Gallant and Maticka-Tyndale 2004; Pokharela, Kulczycki, and Shakya 2006). In certain societies, discussing sex-related topics with minors is taboo and, therefore, making it difficult for lecturers to discuss this subject with students in classrooms (Mbugua 2007; Thammaraksa, Powwattana, Lagampan, and Thaingtham 2014). As a results, some educators strongly objected to sex education stating that discussing sex-related topics in a classroom is uncomfortable and embarrassing (Gallant and Maticka-Tyndale 2004). Lastly, most African societies propagate the culture of silence on sex and HIV/AIDS issues and, therefore, creating a limited platform for open communication (Mbugua 2007; Carovano 1992 in Gupta 2000).

5. METHODS, DATA, FINDINGS, AND CONCLUSIONS OF RESEARCH STUDIES ON AND EVALUATIONS OF AIDS POLICY-BASED INTERVENTIONS

Reviewing past and current evaluations and studies, we uncover the knowledge gap on this subject in general and South Africa in particular. These include by Swart-Kruger and Richter (1997) and Magnani and others (2005) focusing on South Africa as well as Ojikutu and others (2010) on Nigeria; and, Jeckoniah (2013) on Tanzania. The other studies we interrogated include Kyrychenko, Kohler and Sathiakumar (2006) on Ukrainian; Cheng, Lou, Mueller, Zhao, Yang, Yu and Gao (2008) on China; Tung, Ding and Farmer (2008) on Taiwan; Ibrahim, Rampal, Jamil and Zain (2012) on Malaysia and Bulduk and Erdogan (2012). These studies reveal that

AIDS-related knowledge, attitudes, risk perceptions, and behaviour change have received the most attention in HIV/AIDS research (Eaton, Flisher and Aaro 2003; Jeckoniah 2013). These attributes serve as the outcome measures for determining the success of such interventions (Tung and other 2008; Bulduk and Erdogan, 2012; Jeckoniah 2013). Both evaluation and research studies in this area have applied the quantitative strategy (Kyrychenko and others 2006; Jeckoniah 2013; Vito and Higgins 2015) with most of them being impact evaluations that applied a quasi-experimental design (Bulduk and Erdogan 2012; Ibrahim and others 2012). Outcome evaluations and researches at both international and local level have employed cross-sectional design (Swart-Kruger and Richter, 1997; Tung, Ding and Farmer, 2008).

Notable is that most of these studies focused on outcomes including the local studies by Swart-Kruger and Richter (1997) as well as Magnani and colleagues (2005). Compared with the latter, the earlier study revealed misconceptions and low levels of AIDS-related knowledge. This may imply that AIDS education campaign between these two-time intervals were effective. Further, the studies demonstrate that the severity of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in a country is proportional to the intervention effort and the outcomes of such interventions. For example, when we compare the findings of a South African study (Magnani and colleagues, 2005) with the Taiwan study (Tung and others, 2008), the findings point to high levels of knowledge about HIV/AIDS in South Africa simply because the situation was already severe in this country by then (Stadler and others, 2008). In Taiwan, only a mere 17 370 people were HIV positive when Tung and others (2008) conducted their study and, therefore, revealing low levels of knowledge only because the HIV/AIDS situation in Taiwan was not severe by then. According to Tung and others (2008), more than 50 per cent of the participants did not know how HIV is transmitted. Regardless, the high levels of knowledge should translate into healthy sexual behaviour if the intervention can be deemed a success. Regrettably, even in studies where reasonable changes were observed in certain outcome measures (knowledge), the sexual habits among the participants were not influenced. Therefore, the question we should be pursuing is 'what amount of knowledge or level of risk perception is required to influence behaviour change?'

We conclude that, although the countries have actively responded to the pandemic (Wouters, Masquillier, Ponnet, and Booyesen 2014), evidence

suggests that there is a need to devise strategies that can influence sexual behavioural change. Tenkorang and others (2011) argue that this is because interventions do not incorporate structural and environmental influences. The ideal intervention strategies targeted at the appropriate population should take on board structural and environmental factors unique to the population of interest (Wytt, Williams, Gupta, and Malebranche 2012; Bertozzi, Laga, Bautista-Arredondo, and Coutinho 2008). This is because some cultural traditions and socio-economic factors fuel the spread of AIDS (Tenkorang and others, 2011). Yet very few past and current studies and evaluations detail the role of the context in the implementation and evaluation of the intervention and how these affect its outlook and outcomes. Lastly, at a theoretical level, we uncover that none of the past and current studies and evaluations have provided explicit conceptual framework to guide outcomes evaluations of a similar nature.

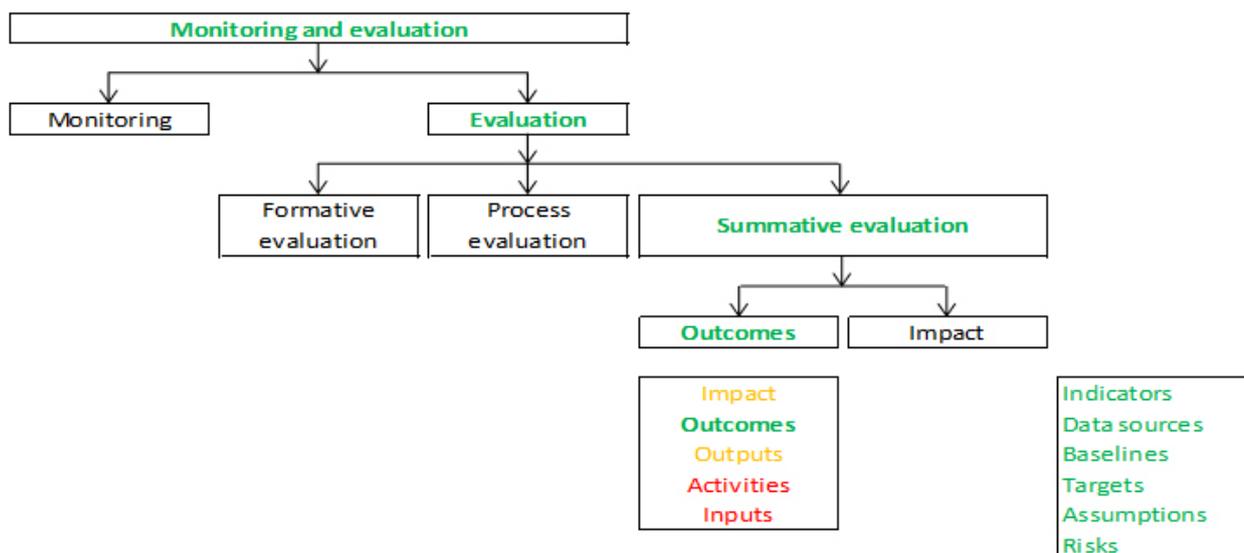
6. OUTCOME EVALUATION IN CONTEXT

Broadly defined monitoring and evaluation assists implementer and managers to account for effectiveness, relevance, sustainability, and efficiency through continuous tracking and assessing the extent to which an intervention is yielding the stated results (Kusek and Rist 2004; Gorgens and Kusek 2010; Rossignoli and others 2015). Kusek and Rist (2004) have pointed out that ultimately, monitoring and evaluation fosters accountability and transparency. Although monitoring and evaluation

are complementary, they have distinct functions with monitoring focusing on tracking inputs, activities, outputs, and to a limited extent the outcomes of an intervention. On the other hand, evaluation periodically assesses results (outputs, outcomes, and impacts) of an intervention. As Figure 1 below shows, evaluation is obviously one of the two components of monitoring and evaluation—the other being monitoring. Farrell (2009) as well as Gorgens and Kusek (2010) describe evaluation as a systemic process meant to objectively assess performance of a planned or ongoing or completed intervention for its design (formative evaluation), implementation (process evaluation), and results (summative evaluation). Evaluation emerged in China as early as 2200 BC (Shadish, Cook, and Leviton 1991) but only become part of modern societies in the 1960s (Kusek and Rist 2004). Unlike monitoring that is continuous, organisations undertake evaluations periodically at particular intervals of the intervention cycle (Farrell, 2009) or when monitoring feedback is signalling problems (Kusek and Rist 2004). Evaluation can provide information on the interventions and the reasons why the strategy is or is not yielding the intended outcomes (Kusek and Rist 2004; Farrell 2009; Gorgens and Kusek 2010; Rossignoli and others 2015). By enhancing coordination among various components of an intervention, evaluation can help improve the efficiency and effectiveness of developmental efforts (Gorgens and Kusek, 2010).

Evaluation has three components—that is, formative evaluation, process evaluation, and summative evaluation (Gorgens and Rist, 2010). Our focus is

FIGURE 1: Showing monitoring and evaluation, its key components, and variables.



Source: Conceptualised by authors

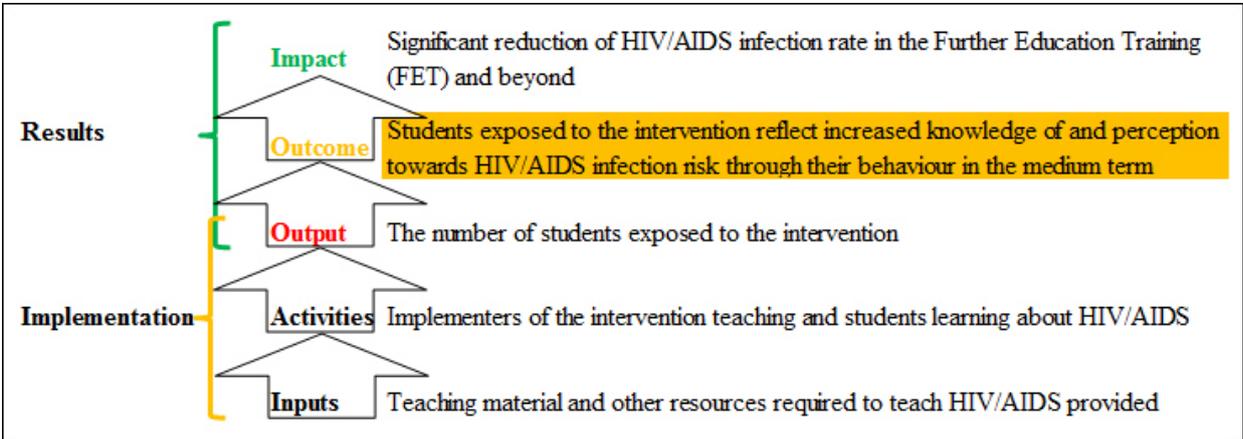
on summative evaluation, or stocktaking, undertaken after implementing an intervention for a considerable period (Kusek and Rist 2004; Bertrand and others, 2009). It focuses on outputs, outcomes, impacts and pursues the questions, 'did the intervention work?', 'was it effective?', 'was it sustainable?', 'was it relevant?', 'was it efficient?' Further, we can divide summative evaluation into outcome and impact evaluation. The former focusses on medium term results while the latter focusses on the ultimate long-term effects of an intervention (Gorgens and Kusek, 2010; Vito and Higgins, 2015). The outcome evaluation applies both quantitative and qualitative research strategies cutting across the five research designs described in Bryman (2012)—namely, quasi experimental, cross-sectional, longitudinal, case studies, and comparative. On the other hand, impact evaluation is mostly confined to a quantitative research strategy as well as the quasi-experimental and comparative research design.

There is strong correlation between risky sexual behaviour and HIV/AIDS infection rate. The HIV/AIDS policy-based interventions targeting the young in general and, specifically, the Further Education and Training (FET) Sector intend to increase knowledge, change attitudes, and increase risk perceptions with a view to influence sexual behaviour (Magnani and others 2005; Jeckoniah, 2013; Government Gazettee, 2015). Therefore, the inputs are provided, the activities undertaken, and outputs produced to result in the desired outcomes and impacts reflected in the mission statement. To assess the extent to which the intervention is achieving its objectives, we should apply outcome evaluation (Tung and others, 2008; Bertrand and others, 2009). Therefore, our intended

study is a summative evaluation more specifically an outcome evaluation because we intend to apply an outcome evaluation to assess for medium term effect of the life skills and HIV/AIDS education programmes on the Further Education and Training (FET) students and gauge the proportion of the students whose AIDS awareness has increased as a result of the intervention. To undertake this evaluation, one has to interrogate the outputs of the intervention and to a less extent the impact, the activities, and the inputs. Even then, the success of any intervention, therefore outcomes, hinges on how well the inputs are chained to the activities then outputs then outcomes and impacts based on the theory of change that underlies this chain (Gorgens and Kusek 2010; Vogel 2012; Margoluis, Stem, Swaminathan, Brown, Johnson, Placci, Salafsky, and Tilders 2013).

More specifically, a results chain maps out how the intervention will produce the intended short term, medium term, and long term results (Kusek and Rist, 2004). It provides for a causal link between the inputs, activities, outputs, outcomes, and impacts (Margoluis and others, 2013). Figure 2 provides a brief description of each key variable chained to demonstrate how success in the first variable leads to success in the next and so on and so forth and consequently leading to success of an intervention (Bester, 2012; Kusek, 2012). Deducing from descriptions of these variables in Gorgens and Kusek (2010); Gewer (2010); and Moodley and Philips (2012); the inputs include class rooms, life orientation text books, and lecturers delivering life skills and AIDS education. Activities should be teaching and learning and outputs include students enrolled and taught in life skills and AIDS education. At outcome level, students should

FIGURE 2: The results chain for the AIDS policy-based intervention in the Further Education and Training Sector.



Source: Conceptualised from NORAD (1999), Kusek and Rist (2004), as well as Gorgens and Kusek (2010)

demonstrate knowledge, display positive attitudes, and behave in a manner that reflects exposure to life skills and AIDS education messages. Ultimately, the impacts should realise the mission statement of the intervention, which is to halt further transmission of HIV. Invariably, one has to examine these variables in relation to each other when conducting an evaluation.

Further, the results framework is a bridge between the results chain and the monitoring and evaluation system. It provides for indicators to track an intervention, the baseline values against which progress is measured, and the targets that an intervention aspires for. This is in addition to assumptions—hypotheses about events, conditions, decisions, and factors outside the control of the intervention but necessary to guarantee its success—and risks, that is, hypotheses about events, conditions, decisions, and factors outside the control of the intervention that might negatively affect its success. Craig *et al.* (2008), as well as Luo and Liu (2014) have discussed key issues that evaluators are grappling with. These include ability to measure appropriate outcomes, assess feasibility, appropriateness of data, and the use of evaluation information. Craig and colleagues (2008) have argued that one should be critical when selecting outcomes to assess and should avoid assessing multiple outcomes. This is because some outcomes may not adequately assess responsiveness of an intervention. Lastly, they point out that inadequate understanding of the evaluation processes may lead unexpected evaluation results.

7. DOCUMENTED EXPLANATORY FRAMEWORKS FOR INTERPRETING EMPIRICAL RESULTS FROM AN OUTCOMES EVALUATION OF THE HIV/AIDS POLICY-BASED INTERVENTION

Having interrogated the intervention of interest in Section 4 as well as the monitoring and evaluation literature in Section 6, here we propose a *theory of change* that can help us interpret the results from an outcome evaluation of an AIDS policy-based intervention. Based on this proposal, we relook at the AIDS policy-based intervention's results chain to determine an ideal causal linkage from inputs to the desired impact. Weiss (1997) and Valters (2014) describe a theory of change as a planning tool that explains vividly how and when an intervention works as well as when it will achieve the stated results. It provides for explaining precisely what change an intervention should make and how it should make it happen.

In our case, the AIDS policy-based intervention intended for Further Education and Training institutions presupposes that HIV/AIDS is an issue that should be addressed (Roux, Ebersohn, Smit, and Eloff 2005) through expanding AIDS-related knowledge among the youthful students. The intervention has five assumptions. First, it assumes that integrating HIV/AIDS into the curriculum will result into students having comprehensive knowledge about the epidemic. Second, if students have comprehensive knowledge, it will increase their risk perceptions of HIV/AIDS. Third, their increased risk perception of HIV/AIDS will alter their sexual behaviours and change their attitudes towards people living with HIV/AIDS. Similarly, and fourth, their knowledge on the consequences of risky sexual practices will change their sexual behaviour accordingly. Lastly, responsible sexual behaviour will ultimately halt further transmission of HIV among the youth.

We implicitly deduced that the theory of change for this intervention is pivoted on the Knowledge Deficit Model and the Health Belief Model summarised in Smith and Katner (1995) as well as McLennan (2000). The former assumes that an individual does not know the details around HIV/AIDS and that their behaviour can lead to infection. Therefore, the model emphasises that educators should communicate the necessary information on HIV/AIDS. The latter requires educators to communicate that HIV/AIDS is serious, everyone is at risk of getting HIV/AIDS, and there are benefits to one changing their sexual behaviour. Bester (2012) has argued that every intervention assumes that its activities will eventually lead to the desired results. However, in the fight against HIV/AIDS, explicit assumptions about how the intervention will lead to reduced infection rates (Campbell 2003; Thomas and Luo 2011; Bester 2012) can only happen if participants change their sexual behaviour (Stadler and others 2008; Beyers 2012). This should not erase the fact that FET interventions should not compel the recipients to change their behaviours as expected.

8. EVALUATING OUTCOMES OF AIDS POLICY-BASED INTERVENTION IN THE FURTHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING SECTOR, A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

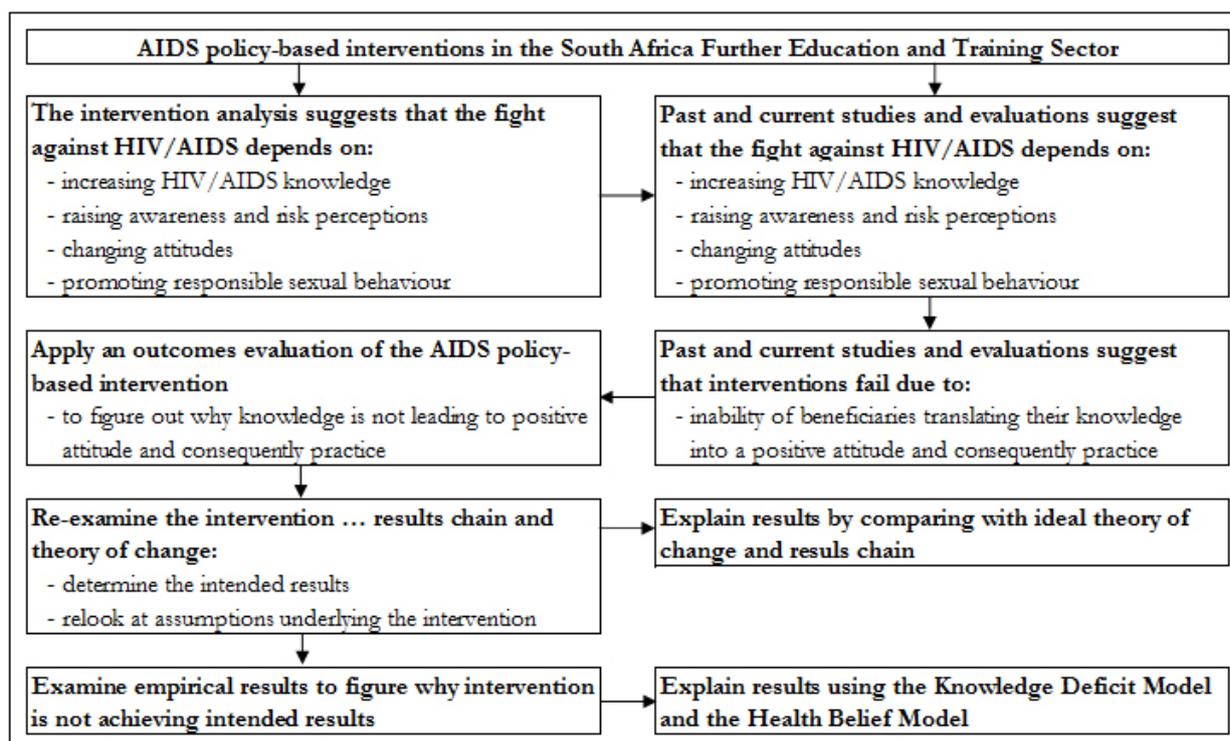
The South African Government has rolled out the National AIDS Strategy formulated in 1992 to the Further Education and Training Sector to combat the spread of the epidemic in the country

(Schneider and Stein 2001). These institutions have since incorporated HIV/AIDS programmes into their curriculum. Despite challenges that initially hampered the effective implementation of the National AIDS Strategy (Schneider and Stein 2001; Wouters and others 2009), literature has recorded some successes in the fight against HIV/AIDS (SANAC 2011; Mayosi and others 2012). Regardless, HIV/AIDS is still a danger to young people and, therefore, skills development which is a core function of Further Education and Training Sector (Akoojee 2008; Moodley and Philips 2013; Vogtenhuber, 2014).

Figure 3 shows a summary of how the interventions links-in with the literature that details this intervention as well as the literature spelling out the procedures of evaluating this intervention. Our description of the intervention (Section 4) and past research studies (Section 5) suggest that the fight against HIV/AIDS should (i) increase the knowledge on HIV/AIDS (ii) raise awareness and risk perceptions (iii) change attitudes, and (iv) promote responsible sexual behaviour among students (Education Labour Relations Council 2003; Tenkorang and others, 2011; Selesho and Modise, 2012). Unfortunately, HIV/AIDS interventions do not often always yield the intended results because as pointed out by Van Dyk (2005:93), "... talking to people about 'safe sex practice' in general will rarely have any effect on their behaviour

because the concept 'safe sex practice' is vague and refers to a whole category of behaviours instead of one specific behaviour". This implies that comprehensive knowledge of HIV/AIDS and risk susceptibility may not translate into responsible behaviour (Magnani and others 2005; Cheng and others 2008; Moodle and Philips 2013). To answer the question why this is so, we need to continuously assess interventions and learn how increasing knowledge can change attitudes towards sexual behaviour among students and how this will consequently, lead to a reduction on risky sexual behaviours? Therefore, we propose pursuing an outcomes evaluation which we have detailed in Section 6. We deliberately re-look at the results chain of the intervention so that in our quest we can also re-examine the intended results and how these link in with what the implementers are actually doing. Relatedly, we will look at the assumptions underlying the interventions just in case that is where the blockage is. We shall use the theory of change described in Section 7 to interrogate the results. Consequently, we examine the empirical results to figure out why the intervention is not achieving its intended results. In doing so, we will pursue other attributes or variables that might be missing between the outcomes and the impact of the AIDS policy-based intervention in the Further Education and Training Sector. We will then employ strands of the Knowledge Deficit Model and the Health Belief

FIGURE 3: Intervention, deficiency, and the proposed methodology of pursuing its evaluation.



Source: Conceptualised by authors

Model (Section 7) to explain why knowledge on HIV/AIDS is not translating into change in attitude and consequently practice.

More generally, such an evaluation should be undertaken using a quantitative research strategy and data collected using a cross-sectional research design described in Bryman (2012). Other than descriptive statistics, the data will be interrogated using the *t*-test and possibly the multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) and descriptive discriminant analysis (DDA). Briefly, these methods allow for simultaneous statistical comparisons of several independent variables for two groups (intervention versus control) which, in turn, increases statistical power for testing group differences (Huberty and Olejnik 2006). They also control for errors that result when making statistical assessments between related variables (Hair, Black, Babin *et al.*, 2006b).

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PROGRESSION OF RECRUITMENT STRATEGIES FOR COMMUNITY WORKS PROGRAMMES IN THE SEDIBENG DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to identify the recruitment processes applied for implementing community works programmes (CWP) in the Sedibeng District Municipality (SDM). A recruitment process focuses on how and from where a programme participant is identified, selected and assigned to a community, including selection criteria and processes. Municipalities in South Africa continue to prioritise measures aimed at generating employment for local communities. This CWP was initiated by the Presidency in 2007. The programme is designed to create an employment safety net by providing participants with a minimum number of days of regular work, typically two days a week or eight days a month. The programme seeks to improve the quality of life for people in marginalised economic areas by providing work experience, enhancing dignity and promoting social and economic inclusion. Programme participants including supervisors and clerks are recruited to do community work thereby contributing to improvements that benefit all community members. The programme is implemented at the local level and designed around a site, which is between two and 10 wards of a local municipality or the metropolitan equivalent. The recruitment of community participants is often overlooked. It is argued that sensitive recruitment strategies not only lead to effective identification and use of community participants but also guard their reputations in the community once health programmes have started. Recruiting and selecting the most appropriate individual to fill the role of the respective programmes is among the most essential elements that contribute to a well-functioning community programme strategy. A best practice for recruitment is to recruit a community participant from within the community through community participation, meeting all selection

criteria when possible. The aspects explored are the processes applied for establishing criteria; identifying candidates; and recruiting candidates for hiring community participants in the SDM. A qualitative approach is applied in this study through a developed questionnaire and scheduled interviews with the SDM. This paper seeks to provide valuable information regarding the role of government in supporting employment creation as well as providing short-term work opportunities through public and community works projects.

Keywords: Community Development, Community Works Programme, Programme Participants, Recruitment.

1. INTRODUCTION

The introduction and implementation of public works programmes in South Africa forced the involvement of community participation and aimed the poor because of the transition to democracy. This transition paved a way for experiencing substantive economic growth in the country. However, this economic growth did not translate into a significant social progress in South Africa because of experiences of social ills consisting of the triple challenges namely poverty, inequality and unemployment. According to Klasen and Woolard, (2008:34) unemployment exacerbates inequality because the majority of those without work are in the poorest deciles of the population. Triegaardt (2009:2) notes that extreme inequality can be detrimental to the economic growth and social stability.

In efforts to address the triple challenges in South Africa, the government has built up a comprehensive social protection system that consists of policies and programmes that is valuable for the poor citizens. A highly effective system in social protection strategy

is employment creation. One of the programmes aimed at employment creation is the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) of which the CWP is part of it. The CWP enables and supports participation in the labour market by narrowing the gap through the creation of employment for community members that will benefit the whole community. In other words, it is an area-based programme that targets the poor areas and uses community participation to identify work and priorities within the community. According to Oakley (1995:141), community enterprise and worker cooperatives became the future hope in society.

Globally recruitment strategies are essential and have benefits for businesses and organisations. It also has a measuring element that helps in the monitoring and evaluation of the selected strategies and this needs to be a proactive approach. In the efforts of Government to reduce poverty and unemployment rates in South Africa, a number of programmes have been implemented including the CWP. The CWP have had a positive response from the community of the Sedibeng District Municipality however, there are remaining issues that needs to be addressed.

2. GENERAL OVERVIEW OF COMMUNITY WORKS PROGRAMME

The CWP is a government initiative that falls under the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs. The CWP was initiated by the Second Economy Strategy Project, an initiative of the Presidency which is the Trade and Industrial Policy Strategies (TIPS) a policy research non-governmental organisation. It was designed to provide two days of work per week up to 100 days per year to unemployed and underemployed people. During the year 2014 to 2015 there were 202 599 participants in the CWP at 186 CWP sites across South Africa. The primary purpose of the CWP is to provide an employment safety net to unemployed people in order for them to obtain a basic income. Any unemployed or underemployed person over the age of 18 years who meets the set criteria can join the CWP. The work undertaken in the CWP needs to be identified, prioritised and decided upon by community members in consultation with local councillors and key community stakeholders (CWP Annual Report, 2009/2010:5).

The CWP work is categorised into social, environmental and economic sectors. The social sector programmes include home-based care, providing home visits and care to people who are terminally ill, very old people with no family support,

child-headed households and indigent families. It includes support work at schools, such as assisting learners with their school work, and early childhood development (ECD) programmes for young children. Crime and violence prevention initiatives are part of the social sector programmes and were identified as key projects. The environmental sector programmes include cleaning of public roads, removing rubble, clearing drains, recycling, constructing bridges and planting trees. The economic sector programmes include agricultural projects, such as food gardening and green energy initiative. The infrastructure sector programmes include upgrading roads, renovating youth centres, fencing and upgrading of parks (CWP Annual Report, 2009/2010:6-7).

The CWPs community-orientated approach empowers community members to decide on priority projects in their communities and seeks to achieve an outcome for community development. This is directly aligned with the objectives of the CWP which seeks to strengthen community development approaches and strengthen economic agency of people in marginalized economic areas, providing work experience, enhancing dignity and promoting social and economic inclusion (CWP Annual Report, 2009/2010:9-11).

Internationally, one of the community works programmes named the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) was publicised in India in 2005 and implementation started in the year 2006. This gives every rural household in India a right to 100 days of work a year which is provided by the local government. More than 5,5 million people are now participating in the scheme with profound impacts on rural poverty. Participants register with the Gram Panchay at the local government and are provided with a job card. When they apply for work the local state must provide work or pay them an unemployment benefit instead. A key feature of the scheme is that the national government pays the costs of employment but if work is not provided, the local state must foot the bill for the unemployment benefit. The programme is focused on improving rural infrastructure and agricultural productivity and is seen as a key part of India's green jobs and climate adaption strategies (CWP Annual Report, 2010/11: 5).

3. THEORIES OF DEVELOPMENT

When the World Commission on Environment and Development presented their report '*Our Common Future*' in 1987, they sought to address

the problem of conflicts between environments and development goals by formulating a definition of sustainable development. "Sustainable development is development which meets the needs, in the present, without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987:1). There has generally been a recognition of three features of sustainable development (Carnagni, Capello, and Nijkamp, 1998:103-118):

- **Economic:** An economically sustainable system must be able to produce goods and services on a continuing basis in order to maintain controllable levels of government and external debt as well as to avoid extreme sectoral imbalances which negatively impacts agriculture or industrial production.
- **Environmental:** An environmentally sustainable system must maintain a stable resource base avoiding over-exploitation of renewable resource systems or environmental sink functions. This includes maintaining of biodiversity, atmospheric stability, and other ecosystem function not ordinarily categorised as economic resources.
- **Social:** A socially sustainable system must achieve distributional equity, adequate provision of social services including health and education, gender equity as well as political, accountability and participation.

3.1 Basic Needs Theory

This is a development approach dealing with redistribution of growth and the need to focus on job creation in order to alleviate poverty (Foundation for Research Development, 1985, cited in Mawela, 2006:29). The objectives of the CWP are linked with this theory (Dixon and Macarov 1998, cited in Mawela, 2006:30) and describes the theory as a strategy by which a society sets a minimum living standard for the poorest groups of the entire population. Minimum requirements indicate enough food, clothing, shelter, access to physical and social infrastructure, as well as the capacity to participate in decision-making. The theory supports the perception that people must have access to income and be able to access basic needs. It also encourages people to participate and make decisions on community issues that affect their lives.

3.2 The Dependency Theory

Dependency can be defined as a justification of the economic development of a state in terms of the external influences-political, economic, and cultural-on national development policies (Sunkel, 1969:23). Dos Santos (1971:226) emphasizes the historical dimension of the dependency relationships in his definition:

"...an historical condition which shapes a certain structure of the world economy such that it favours some countries to the detriment of others and limits the development possibilities of the subordinate economics...a situation in which the economy of a certain group of countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy, to which their own is subjected".

Dependency theory criticism together with the failures of economic take-off in underdeveloped nations led to a focus on the basic needs and poverty alleviation through people-centred approaches. This allows government to involve and prioritise the community in its initiatives.

The connection between the above-mentioned development theories can be linked as approaches to achieving the objectives of the CWP. In job creation the sustainable development theory with its three aspects links with the basic needs theory because it deals with the redistribution of growth and the need to focus on job creation in order to alleviate poverty. The CWP's main purpose is to alleviate poverty by the means of job creation that benefits only the community this is where the dependency theory links as well – it allows government to involve and prioritize the community in its initiatives.

For the purpose of this study, recruitment is defined as the application of strategies to reach and initially involve members of the community in community development programmes in return for services rendered in the community (e.g. early childhood development (ECD) programmes for young children). A vital first step for a successful programme is to maximise recruitment opportunities of eligible participants in the target population. Funding bodies consider this to be important in terms of 'investment return' since it increases the chances of helping as many people as possible to engage. The most commonly used and effective recruitment strategies are described below:

3.2.1 Provision of Printed Materials

The provision of printed materials advertises the programme to specific target groups within the community. The delivery of printed materials varies and includes targeted and non-targeted mail outs of brochures or flyers, school and church newsletters and recruitment posters. The effectiveness of providing print materials as a recruitment strategy was shown to be conflicting and dependent on the type and delivery mode of print material provided as well as the population group targeted.

3.2.2 Electronic and Internet Media

The use of electronic and internet media such as television, radio, websites and email is a popular strategy for recruiting adolescents, middle aged adults as well as older adults. From the literature reviewed no programmes evaluated the effectiveness of websites as a recruitment strategy.

3.2.3 Face-To-Face and Telephone Contact

Providing face-to-face contact (e.g. public presentations, speaking with people at community events, and door-to-door campaigning) or telephone contact as a strategy to recruit participants into community works programmes was the second most popular strategy found in the literature as it is more convenient to all members of the community especially in community meetings.

3.2.4 Referral or Word of Mouth

Providing referrals and word of mouth (e.g. from friends, family members and health professionals etc.) was found to be a fairly effective strategy for recruiting participants. This is the easiest and most popular within the Sedibeng District.

3.2.5 Other Strategies

A range of other recruitment strategies that were mentioned in the literature reviewed such as targeting relevant organisations, programme partnerships and incentives (e.g. use of raffles, small gifts, vouchers and cash). However, the effectiveness of these strategies cannot be determined as nothing about their effectiveness was reported in the articles.

4. PROBLEM STATEMENT

The non-sustainability of cooperatives has been a challenge within poverty alleviation programmes such as the CWP. While government has initiated various poverty alleviation programmes in an effort to fight poverty some of the projects emanating from

these poverty alleviation initiatives have not been sustainable and often collapse thus affecting the lives of people who have become solely reliant on them as a means of income generation. This matter has also been explained in the Fifteen Year Review Report of Income Poverty Alleviation Programmes in Social and Related Sectors in 2008. It stated that early weaknesses in Monitoring and Evaluation is the inability to demonstrate 'community driving' and cost inefficiency which are all partly to blame for the failure of poverty alleviation programmes. This study seeks to understand which recruitment strategies participants' use and what their perception is regarding these strategies. This may be at an advantage to understand if it is one of the core reasons of poverty alleviation initiatives to collapse.

Despite poverty alleviation efforts, poverty levels remain high which indicates that there is a missing ingredient that is required in order to empower participants to a level where they are self-sustainable and active in seeking sustainable alternatives. Based on preliminary informal discussions during CWP site visits, the reasons for the collapse of projects is that most participants are not empowered to take ownership of the projects. Community members are not part of the decision-making processes and only get involved at a late stage. Government thus commissioned the Policy and Advisory Services Unit in the Presidency through the Health Systems Trust to conduct a Fifteen Year Review of Government Income Poverty Alleviation Interventions to assess the outcome and impact of programmes, projects and policies since 1994 including progress made in achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by halving unemployment and poverty by the year 2014. This indicates that much is still needed to address the challenges and the CWP may not be the solution on its own but requires to be linked with other strategic partners such as the private sector so as to be sustainable and provide permanent jobs (CWP Annual Report, 2009/2010).

The impact of the changing employment context is evident in research regarding the most challenging issues facing providers of supports to individuals with disabilities. Several studies have identified staff recruitment as the biggest issue facing providers today. The extent and impact of recruitment challenges can be illustrated by findings from a 2000 evaluation of Minnesota's Home and Community Based Services Waiver system (Hewitt, Larson, &

Lakin, 2000). In that study 75% of administrators reported problems with finding qualified applicants. More important, service coordinators reported that the number of people in the lives of supported individuals (e.g. turnover) and recruiting staff were serious or had extremely serious problems. Similarly 50% of people with a family member who received supported living services reported that staff turnover was a problem. Staffing issues were particularly troublesome for families receiving in-home supports or respite services. Only 46% of families reported they received the total number of hours of respite services they were allocated, and 56% said in-home supports were not available when needed (Hewitt, Larson, & Lakin, 2000).

5. GOVERNANCE

The Thembalethu Development is one of the implementing agents contracted for the period 2014 to 2017 to manage the Community Work Programme for the South African government under the Department of Cooperative Governance. Thembalethu Development manages programmes in the Gauteng, Eastern Cape and Northern Cape provinces are responsible for the management of 20000 participants. Its mission includes rendering community focused interventions in collaboration with the strategic partners in an integrated and sustainable manner within the Southern African Development Community (SADC). One of the testimonials of the CWP managed by Thembalethu Development, Ms Dimakatso from Ward 11 Lesedi Local Municipality site stated that the programme has brought hope to the community participants. The programme has changed her life especially now that she doesn't need to depend on anyone to support her, her children and her siblings. She believes that she can grow in the programme and hopefully exit the programme for better opportunities. She also stated that she enjoys working for CWP. She enjoys working with people and keeping the community clean, promoting respect and cleanliness.

In the 2016/2017 integrated development plans (IDPs) of the local municipalities with the Sedibeng region have the following report pertaining to the CWPs. Table 1, on the next page, shows the results on the local municipalities within Sedibeng as well as the SDM results in their IDPs. It shows the comments of how the municipalities commended and responded on CWPs in the year 2016/2017 and how many jobs were created in that year:

6. EXIT STRATEGIES

Since the CWP is intended to be an ongoing programme with participants moving in and out of the programme as their needs change, it becomes imperative for Government to provide prolonged support, training and encourage formation of cooperatives as part of their exit strategy. Cooperatives can assist to eradicate poverty and lead to sustainable development and this is in essence the exit strategy towards sustainable development. This indicates clearly that linking the CWP with cooperatives can go a long way in creating sustainable development. As in the case of Canada where cooperatives have been successful this has provided a basis for the viability of cooperative production (Wilson and Ramphela, 1989:283). South Africa should take lessons from countries where poverty alleviation mechanisms did not yield positive results, such as Nigeria where poverty alleviation programmes were introduced. The National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP), despite its good intentions, was politicised by the politicians and benefited party loyalists and family members and not the communities in general. Governance issues should not be undervalued as good governance is said to be underpinned by four principles: accountability, participation and decentralization, predictability, and transparency. If all this principle is adhered to, sustainability is more likely to be achieved. Since the CWP is not political, meaning it is not politically affiliated or associated (CWP Implementation Manual, 2010:6), it is expected that the programme will continue to support efforts to alleviate poverty in future and that cooperatives linked with the CWP become a key factor in creating sustainable development. Skills development is also essential as managing cooperatives or any business without skills can be detrimental to sustainable development. The CWP thus offers training in various fields in order for people to be self-sustainable.

7. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This paper focused on the Sedibeng district municipality which is in Gauteng, south of Johannesburg – see Figure 1 on page 297. It has an estimated population of 916 484 people (Statistics South Africa, 2011). The municipality has a population of 721 663 people which is 80% of the overall Sedibeng district population (StatsSa, 2011). Sedibeng district consists of three Category B municipalities, namely: Emfuleni has 45% youth unemployment rate, Lesedi has 33,8%

TABLE 1: Results of IDPs for Sedibeng Local Municipalities.

	LESEDI LOCAL MUNICIPALITY	MIDVAAL LOCAL MUNICIPALITY	SEDIBENG LOCAL MUNICIPALITY
COMMENTS	We appreciate to see that the youth is considered during job creation initiatives. However the EPWP and CWP projects mentioned are not sustainable and youth require permanent employment.	Inadequate growth of formal employment and underemployment	EPWP & CWP are they a form of skill transfer or job creation. Is there an exit strategy?
RESPONSE	The EPWP and CWP are meant for poverty alleviation and skill transfer with an ultimate aim of developing cooperatives and entrepreneurs. The LLM is working closely with the private sector to create sustainably jobs within our space and through the implementation of the LED strategy we were able lured developers such as TECINO and Marble Gold to assist in lobbying funds and attracting more investments in our area. The Heidelberg Mall is an example of the success of such initiatives and about 800 jobs were created.	Develop recruitment systems by compiling a <u>Gateway2Opportunity</u> referral database of unemployed service providers as well as maintain labour supply database and include links with industries, associations, chambers, etc. Disseminate info on where to find jobs, essential requirements, illegitimate recruitment dangers, etc. Implement urban poverty alleviation schemes to tackle unemployment: Promote labour intensive undertakings linked to EPWP and CWP	Sector departments where EPWP & CWP participants are training are requested to absorb them after termination of contract. - EPWP & CWP are both temporary employment. - Sedibeng has considered a form of partnership with institutions like North West University for skill transfer
NO. OF JOBS CREATED	1035	Rated good	3000 benefited from CWP but an opportunity was lost due to silo and poor coordination of potential benefiting labour intensive project. Reporting is a challenge and largely due to poor IGR and obtaining information.

Source: Author

youth unemployment rate and Midvaal has 25,4% youth unemployment rate. Midvaal accounts for more than half of the geographical area (1728 km²), followed by Lesedi (1489 km²), and the smallest is Emfuleni (968 km²). This paper is an attempt to assess and monitor the recruitment strategies implemented in communities for principally the CWP. The paper provides definitions and background on the subject matter in order to provide perspectives when exploring the context of recruitment strategies.

This paper anticipated to review the municipal measures for instituting recruitment strategies for the CWP. Literature covering the topic of recruitment and recruitment strategies was also analysed together with a detailed framework of how other countries recruit for their community works programme that aims to reduce the poverty and unemployment rates. A variety of methods are utilised to recruit job seekers. A qualitative approach was employed

for the study as it allowed the researcher to study the behaviour of the community and be able to draw conclusions on the matter. A focus group sessions were also conducted for observation as well as to investigate if the strategies implemented are indeed used when recruiting. Semi-structured telephone open-ended interviews were conducted with key informants including the local CWP implementation agents, community reference group members, CWP recruits as well as its workers and the local government officials. In total 15 interviews and two focus group sessions were conducted.

7.1 Findings: Community Based Recruitment Strategies

The most commonly reported recruitment strategies are outlined below, along with the key informant's commentary on their use and effectiveness within their programmes, where applicable. Recruitment strategies:

FIGURE 1: Sedibeng District Municipality (SDM).



Source: <http://led.co.za/municipality/sedibeng-district-municipality>

7.1.1 Word of Mouth

Word of mouth was one of the most common recruitment strategies mentioned and was considered to be the most effective, especially among key informants from small organisations. A number of organisations indicated that they did not need to undertake formal advertising through print media as word of mouth often alerted people to different programmes that were running. Furthermore, they stated that personal recommendations from friends and/or family encouraged people to initially attend sessions. It was also noted that recruitment via word of mouth may be more effective in smaller communities than in large urban areas. There were however, some concerns expressed about using word of mouth to recruit participants. It was generally thought to be effective for established programmes, but could not be relied upon when initiating new schemes.

"We're currently in discussions about whether it's a deterrent to recruitment, but I think word of mouth is probably one of the most powerful forms of promotion and recruitment." Key Informant #9 (Radebe, 2016).

"Because we're in a rural setting, we do tend to work off word of mouth between different people and

different organisations, perhaps a bit more than what we would have done in the city, where there's not that same level of inter-connectedness, where everybody knows everybody." Key Informant #3 (Langa, 2016).

"Word of mouth is believed to be the most effective strategy, but you've got to get a body of people there first of all, and then show them a great time." Key Informant #10 (Ramokgopa, 2016).

Based on the interviews, word of mouth is potentially useful for programmes conducted over multiple weeks where participants can join the programme at any time, but less useful for programmes conducted over multiple weeks which require participants to build on skills from previous weeks. However, word of mouth can be useful in generating awareness of a programme to the point of creating waiting lists for the next round of recruitment to start.

"We do actively seek participants for some areas. A lot of the time people call up and want to participate because they've heard about the programme through a friend." Key Informant #4 (Thwala, 2016).

7.1.2 Links with Key Organisations or Groups

The creation of links with community groups was mentioned by many of the key informants as being important for effective recruitment. Key informants reported that they assisted in the recruitment process by displaying advertising materials within their venues. And providing access to potential participants through existing databases, as well as via groups currently meeting at the venue.

7.1.3 Referrals

Using the referral pathway was described as being an effective strategy, as well as being cost effective.

"I guess primarily most of our programme participants are through referrals, so relationships with others are crucial. They are absolutely integral to that process." Key Informant #9 (Radebe, 2016).

However, it was recognised that using referral as a pathway to recruitment also had limitations. For example, if the referee was not an advocate for the programme, it was likely that few referrals to the programme would result.

"Often it's by referral, directly from our staff, which in some situations has worked well and in some situations has worked quite poorly. It depends on engagement of our staff with the programme." Key Informant #3 (Langa, 2016).

7.1.4 Printed Materials

Printed materials for example flyers or brochures, were commonly used to advertise programmes and recruit participants. There was agreement among key informants that displaying printed materials in community venues such as libraries, churches, and community halls enabled organisations to target specific population groups they wished to recruit, and raised awareness of programmes within the community. Of the printed materials, displaying flyers was considered by many to be an effective strategy for reaching the largest number of participants.

"We posted flyers out. I think we try to get information out wherever we can. We found libraries have been an unusual, good source of getting information out. I was surprised how many things are taken from libraries, so we post flyers at our council library, and our local council service centres." Key Informant #9 (Radebe, 2016).

7.1.5 Face-To-Face

Face-to-face recruitment was a popular strategy utilised by both large and small organisations. This strategy

was often used as a one-off approach, where potential participants were targeted through community festival presentations, political rally and school presentations. The effectiveness of this strategy varied depending on the target population and the type of programme. For example, two key informants reported that speaking at mothers' group sessions in clinics about their programmes for post-partum mothers was very effective for recruiting participants.

"You've got to actually go on your feet to one of their meetings, get a timeslot, and manage to engage them." Key Informant #10 (Ramokgopa, 2016).

7.1.6 Media

Using print media for example newspapers was cited as a moderately effective strategy that many organisations used to recruit participants and the uncertainty of reaching the target audience. Local newspaper advertising, which has the advantage of being relatively inexpensive, was mentioned by some key informants as being effective when recruiting from within specific communities. Some organisations attempted to use media releases to try to advertise and promote programmes, despite being aware that there was no guarantee that these would result in any publicity and therefore reach the intended audience.

"In the urban areas we've found that advertising in the local press was easy and cheap to obtain." Key Informant #10 (Ramokgopa, 2016).

"We've on occasion had articles in the local paper which generated a lot of phone calls after that." Key Informant #6 (Mokoena, 2016).

The cost of media advertising prohibited many smaller organisations in particular from using it, which could directly affect the success of the programme recruitment by limiting broader promotion opportunities.

"We have never used television or even radio or anything like that. It's just too expensive." Key Informant #1 (Sedibe, 2016).

7.1.7 Social Media

Despite many of the larger organisations using social media as a recruitment strategy, it is noted that social media avenues such as Facebook and Twitter are in their infancy, but are likely to be used more frequently in the future. Due to this, none of the key informants were able to comment on the effectiveness of social media as a recruitment strategy. Key informants reported that emphasis was on the use of Facebook and Twitter as they are similar to word of mouth in

that people comment on the programme and their experience of it.

"Social media's probably the best recruitment strategy because it creates a connection. If we advertise a programme on Facebook and someone makes a comment about their success that is the type of media that really gets traction and gets people enrolling." Key informant #7 (Tobose, 2016).

8. RECOMMENDATION

Every programme is different in terms of target populations and programme design and delivery; hence there is no "one size fits all" for recruitment strategies. Therefore, it is important to use a directed recruitment approach tailored to the population targeted. In addition, in order for recruitment strategies to be effective, it is essential that the programme on offer is of interest and/or relevance to the population group targeted.

8.1 Recruitment

Distribute printed materials by means of a range of avenues. Targeted mail-outs and the displaying or placement of fliers and posters within community venues appear to be effective for various groups within the community. Placing articles in school newsletters also appeared to be effective when targeting adolescents. Encourage word of mouth and referrals as a recruitment strategy for all populations for existing programmes. Professional referrals as well as referrals from friends and family may assist in recruiting participants into the programme. Use current programmes to promote new plans. Use currently running programmes as an opportunity to advertise and create awareness of upcoming community programmes and opportunities. If the programme has associations with other organisations this may also be an opportunity their current programmes if permitted to do so. Developing strong associations with relevant organisations provides access to community members at low cost. Consider other strategies. Face-to-face methods to target hard to reach populations such as post-partum mothers, the telephone-based recruitment methods and print media/newspaper advertisements are other potential strategies that could be useful, depending on programme budget and population group of interest. The use of social media such as Facebook and Twitter could also be considered as they are emerging strategies and have potential for wide reach and are cost effective.

9. CONCLUSION

From the evidence provided, it is clear that the CWP is one of the instrumental government programme that can effectively eradicate poverty in the country. Government support will forever be needed to create sustainable development as indicated that, in order to effect change in communities, cooperatives alone will not be able to thrive successfully without the support of Government (Oakley, 1995:99). When all is considered, it is apparent that CWP participants will be able to live sustainable lives when they exit the formal structure, as they will have skills and be able to operate a cooperative successfully. Sedibeng District Municipality also has a role to play to ensure and monitor the exit strategies of those that were recruited. Recruitment strategies continue to be a primary role for involving participants in the programme. The recruitment spectrum in Sedibeng would be ideal if it is to be widened to reach all the target groups within the community.

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TOWARDS A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE EVALUABILITY ASSESSMENT OF THE GAUTENG SCIENCE PARK INCUBATION PROGRAMME

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ABSTRACT

Generally, we can trace the Science Park idea to the 1950s when Silicon Valley, with the support of Stanford University, transformed an agricultural valley into a semiconductor industry. Science parks offer infrastructure and incubation support for technology companies to start-up and grow (Lindelöf & Löfsten, 2002; Durão *et al.*, 2005). Indirectly, science parks contribute to regional economic growth because they allow for clusters of similar companies in similar industries and thus benefiting from each other's spill overs (Chan and Lau, 2005). Specifically, the Innovation Hub Project in Gauteng Province is an economic development intervention, modelled on the science park idea. It aims to promote socioeconomic development and competitiveness through innovation. The Hub delivers its services through the incubation programme whose aim is providing a catalytic incubator to transform research into production. Like any other development intervention, it is important to evaluate the Gauteng science park incubation programme to ensure that it is delivering on the key priorities of the Gauteng Government of creating jobs and promoting small and medium enterprises. However, because the intervention lacks an explicit results chain and results framework, we are not sure if one can evaluate this intervention. Therefore, before anything else, we need to gauge the evaluability of the Gauteng Science Park Incubation Programme. Key to this paper is interrogating literature to derive a conceptual framework that will guide this evaluation exercise in collecting, processing, and analysing empirical data. Equally important, we employ established constructs, models, and theories to develop an explanatory framework that we will apply to interpret the empirical results of this evaluability exercise. The proceeding paper will then apply this conceptual framework and explanatory framework.

Keywords: Development, Economic Development, Innovation, Science Park, Evaluability Assessment.

1. INTRODUCTION

Chan, Oerlemans, and Pretorius (2010) trace the science park concept to the 1950s when Silicon Valley, with the support of Stanford University, transformed an agricultural valley into a semiconductor industry. Lindelöf and Löfsten (2002); Durão and others (2005); and, Durão and colleagues (2005) describe science parks as areas where innovators, entrepreneurs, and technology companies are provided with an environment, infrastructure, and incubation support to develop innovative technologies from start-ups. They differ from industrial parks because they have strong operational linkages to research and higher education institutions to provide for technology transfer between these entities. An effective management team is critical for science parks to network and identify opportunities for the innovators, entrepreneurs, and technology companies. To allow for innovation, a science park management team should be abreast with several skills including financial management, marketing, research and development, production and design (Huiping and Nengli, 2005). The real estate business of science parks provides revenue to sustain its innovation activities (Durão *et al.*, 2005).

Science parks can contribute to industrial and, therefore, economic growth because they cluster similar companies in similar industries to benefit from each other's spill overs (Chan and Lau, 2005). According to Ghazali and Yunos (2002) they address economic development through promoting entrepreneurship. Through promoting innovation, they stimulate growth of new sectors and employment (Chan and Lau, 2005; Bigliardi, Dormio, Nosella, and Petroni, 2006).

We would like to evaluate if the Gauteng Science Park Incubation Programme (detailed in Section 4) can achieve these positives. This implies evaluating the intervention but before then we need to assess if it is even possible to evaluate this intervention. Therefore, in this paper we derive a conceptual framework – defined as an advanced outline of how an evaluation exercise should proceed after interrogating literature on the subject of interest (Kumar, 2014) – for an evaluability assessment of the Gauteng science park incubation programme. The write-up commences with an understanding of the study setting, that is, Gauteng Province and a description of the intervention, that is, the Gauteng science park incubation programme. Gauteng is deemed to be a "smart province" that has the most of the innovative activity in South Africa. This quality enables the region to be home to the first internationally accredited science park in the African continent. Second, we identify the knowledge gap in the studies that have attempted to study or evaluate science park interventions. Most of these are based on the European context and use different frameworks to analyse the performance of science parks. Though limited, these studies highlight the effectiveness of this initiative. Third, we develop an explanatory or theoretical framework that has potential to interpret empirical findings that we will draw from this undertaking. Here we assess if the theory of change can be applied to evaluate this intervention. The results chain framework is also reviewed because of its potential to point out key performance management information. The 12 components framework of a monitoring and evaluation systems (Gorgens and Kusek, 2009) is proposed to explain conditions that can enable or limit the evaluation of the Gauteng science park incubation programme. Lastly, we propose a conceptual framework for the 'evaluability assessment of the Gauteng science park incubation programme'.

2. THE APPROACH

We apply the outcomes-based literature review to develop an explanatory framework and more importantly a conceptual framework – detailed in Chikwema and Wotela (2016) – to prepare for an evaluability assessment of the Gauteng science park incubation programme. We begin with an understanding of the context (Gauteng Province) and then the evaluation intervention (The Gauteng Science Park Incubation Programme). Second, to establish the knowledge gap, we interrogate research approaches, designs, procedures and methods

applied as well as findings and conclusions realised by past and current studies on as well as evaluations of science parks and incubation interventions. Other than establishing the knowledge gap we also use this interrogation to consider methodological options that we can employ for our assessment. Third, we propose and detail a theoretical or rather an interpretive framework that will facilitate the interpretation of empirical research findings on the evaluability assessment of the Gauteng science park incubation programme. Worth mentioning is the linkage between this interpretive framework and our attributes of interest whose information we will collect during the research. Lastly, for now, we derive a conceptual framework that will guide the evaluation when collecting, processing, analysing, and interpreting empirical results emanating from evaluability assessment of the Gauteng science park incubation programme.

3. GAUTENG PROVINCE IN CONTEXT

Covering 18178 km², that is, 1.4 per cent of South Africa, Gauteng is the smallest province in the country. It is made up of 12 local municipalities including three metropolitans (Ekurhuleni, Johannesburg, and Tshwane) and two districts (Sedibeng and Metsweding). During the 2011 Census, Statistics South Africa estimated the population of Gauteng Province to be 12.3 million, that is, 23.7 per cent of the South African population. The Gauteng Territorial Review undertaken by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) published in 2011 reports that this population is mostly Black (75.2 per cent) followed by Whites (18.4 per cent) and then Coloureds (3.7 per cent) and lastly Asians (2.7 per cent). They also report that the number of adults with formal education has increased. In 2008, over 30 per cent of the Province was illiterate with Blacks contributing over 50 per cent to this proportion. Contributing more than 38 per cent of the South Africa's Gross Domestic Product, the OECD describes Gauteng as South Africa's hub of economic activity and the wealthiest province. Its economic growth rate (2.7 per cent) is higher than other provinces.

Gauteng Province has characteristics and potential for a knowledge-based economy in South Africa. For example, the Statistics on Post-School Education and Training in South Africa report (2013) indicate that with 15 to 16 thousand students graduating in science, engineering and technology studies in 2015, makes such subjects the most popular in

Gauteng public universities. Further, Lorentzen (2008:9) points out the four areas of specialisation and economic activity in the Province as "high-tech manufacturing with non-metal mineral products, metals and metal products, furniture, and electrical machinery and instruments", (p 6). This leads Rogersons (2001), Lorentzen (2008), and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2011) to suggest that Gauteng Province has the potential to become a knowledge-based economy and a smart region because most of its economic activities are in the knowledge-based sectors especially that its key characteristics can support such a trajectory. Further, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2011) reports that Gauteng spends the most (52.2 per cent of the national budget) on research and development. This explains why the Gauteng Employment Growth and Development Strategy (GEGDS), 2009-2014 has proposed that innovation should be one of the drivers that can unlock the Province's potential for employment growth through small and medium entrepreneurship development and diversification of sectors.

In sum, Gauteng Province has the most innovative activities and, therefore, there is a need for an intervention, such as the science park, that can tap into this potential. Through this intervention, the innovative businesses can be clustered to create technological spin-offs within the Province. Therefore, the question is 'can the Science Park intervention grow the Gauteng economy considering the skills base the province has?'

4. THE GAUTENG SCIENCE PARK INCUBATION PROGRAMME

Lindelöf and Löfsten (2002) define incubators as either public or private organisations that provide resources to enhance the founding of small businesses. Peters, Rice, and Sundararajan (2004) in Bergek and Norrman (2008) as well as Grimaldi and Grandi (2005) define an incubator as a supportive environment for start-up companies because they provide support services to emerging companies. Key elements of incubators include (i) management services; (ii) financing provisions; (iii) goals and structure; (iv) resources and support to new firms; and, (v) creation of an entrepreneurial milieu" (Lindelöf & Löfsten, 2002:862). As Felsenstein (1994) has pointed out that innovation emanates from scientific research and, therefore, the science parks should provide for catalytic technological and business

incubators to transform research into production. They should provide a nurturing environment and incubate the development of innovative technologies and processes. The other terms used to refer to science parks are research parks, innovation centres, technology parks, business centres, and technology and business incubators (Huibing and Nengli, 2005).

Some authors have unanimously agreed that an incubation programme in a science park should support and stimulate knowledge-based businesses by offering a support system for companies (Chan and Lau 2005; Bergek and Norrman, 2008). According to Phillips (2002:304), the top three objectives of technology incubators are "(i) economic development and local employment opportunities; (ii) research commercialisation; and, (iii) transfer of technology". In other incubators, diversification of the local economy is a priority rather than technology transfers. Bergek and Norrman (2008:21) identify four common characteristics of incubators including "(i) shared office space; (ii) shared support service; (iii) professional business support; and, (iv) networks provision".

The Innovation Hub Management Company (TIHMC) was established in 2001 to implement the Innovation Hub Project. The Innovation Hub Project is an economic development intervention, modelled on the original science park concept. It is located on a 60 000 hectares' precinct – the knowledge axis – found between the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) and the University of Pretoria.

According to the Innovation Hub Management Company's Strategic Plan (2015-2019), its mission is to promote socioeconomic development and competitiveness of Gauteng in targeted sectors through innovation by; (i.) creating new business opportunities and adding value to mature companies in technology and knowledge based sectors; (ii.) fostering entrepreneurship and incubating new innovative companies; (iii.) sourcing and implementing relevant innovations to support radical economic transformation and modernisation of the economy; (iv.) providing attractive spaces for emerging knowledge companies; (v.) ensuring human capacity development of critical skills matching industry needs in priority sectors; and (vi.) enhancing the synergy between industry, government and academic and research institutions. Obviously, the Innovation Hub delivers its services through the incubation programme.

One of the Gauteng Science Park Incubation initiatives is called Maxum. The Innovation Hub Management Company 2001-2002 Annual Report states that this incubator was established in 2001, as an empowerment initiative that provides for Black innovators. It supports entrepreneur organisations to stimulate the growth of knowledge-based and technology innovative. Maxum incubator provides for business mentorship and coaching, legal and intellectual property support as well as training and funding support. Maxum has two phases' pre-incubation and core-incubation. The number of participants or beneficiaries has increased over time from 16 at pre-incubation phase to 26 and 8 at core-incubation to 16.

The question is 'how do we measure such an intervention and what challenges do we anticipate in doing so'. According to Lindelöf and Löfsten (2002:863), the performance outcomes of incubators should be assessed from three angles; namely, "(i) new firms that survived and grew; (ii) programme growth and sustainability, and (iii) community-related impacts". Therefore, to measure the incubation programme, one should look at how extensive these services are offered and whether they are yielding the performance outcomes (growth and impact on community) proposed by Lindelöf and Löfsten (2002) that emerging companies should exhibit. Hackett and Dilts (2004) posit that the important measurements at the end of the incubation process should focus on company survival and possibility. In this regard, they identify five outcome states that can be expected at the end of the incubation process; namely, "(i.) the incubated company is surviving and growing profitably; (ii.) the incubate is growing and on a path to profitability; (iii.) the incubate is surviving but neither growing nor profitable; (iv.) incubate operations were terminated whilst in incubator and loses minimised; and, (v.) incubate operations were terminated whilst in incubation and loses were huge" (Hackett and Dilts, 2004:48).

Youtie, Bozeman and Shapira (1999) have highlighted a number of challenges that one can encounter when assessing such interventions. The first challenge is the time lag between financial injection and when the results are actually realised. Second, the elusive link between the interventions and its outcomes including job creation because there are a number of external factors that determine the success of a technology. Therefore, it is almost impossible to accurately attribute the success of a company to the incubation intervention. For example, it is not

clear the number of hours of incubation required to convert a technological idea into a business that creates jobs. As a result, we cannot claim that the business was able to succeed because of the incubation programme.

Having detailed the intervention as well as challenges that we may encounter, why should we bother assessing this intervention? It is important so that we determine if the Gauteng Science Park Incubation Programme can deliver on its objectives – promoting the development of small and medium enterprises and, therefore, job creation. Bamberger and Rugh (2009) have argued that evaluation assists choose correct interventions. They also increase accountability in programme management and improve programme performance (Sanderson, 2001; Rossi, Lipsey, and Freeman, 2004; Bamberger, Rugh and Mabry, 2006).

5. METHODS, DATA, FINDINGS, AND CONCLUSIONS OF RESEARCH STUDIES ON AND EVALUATIONS OF SCIENCE PARKS AND INCUBATION INTERVENTIONS

The first batch of five articles comprised frameworks for assessing science parks and incubation programmes. First, Chan and Lau (2005) applied a qualitative research approach and case study design. Their findings led them to propose an assessment framework evaluating incubation programme that they latter applied in their assessment of the Hong Kong science park. Second, Bigliardi, and colleagues (2006:490) applied a qualitative research approach to a study meant to propose a method for measuring performance of science parks and to "offer a practical suggestion on how to design and implement a suitable system for evaluating the performance of science parks". Third, Bergek and Norrman's (2008) desk review sought to propose a suitable framework for assessing science parks. Fourth, Barbero and colleagues (2012) assessed the performance of incubators based on archetypes. Lastly, Albahari, Catalano, and Landoni (2013) applied a qualitative research strategy and a case study design to evaluate science park systems in Italy and Spain.

Interrogating these studies reveals that there is no single framework for evaluating science parks and incubation programmes (Chan and Lau, 2005; Bergek and Norrman, 2008). For example, through reviewing literature; Chan and Lau (2005), Bigliardi and colleagues (2006), Bergek and Norrman (2008) as well as Albahari, Catalano, and Landoni (2013)

developed their own assessment frameworks prior to evaluating their respective science park incubation programmes in different European countries. Further, the studies show that when evaluating science park incubation programmes, it is important to understand the mission, the strategy, and the type of incubator and or Science Park. The mission and strategy of science parks influences the type of incubator. Similarly, as Bigliardi and others (2006) have argued that it is the contextual conditions, lifecycle of the science park, its legal form, and the commitment to stakeholders and beneficiaries that influence the mission and strategy of science parks. Unfortunately, these interests are difficult to reconcile and prioritise especially for funding stakeholders.

The second batch of seven articles comprised evaluability assessments. These include Russ-Eft's (1986) evaluability assessment of the Adult Education programme as well as Casebeer and Thurston's (1995) evaluability assessment of a 'Patient Care and Outcome Process programme' in Canadian hospitals. Youtie, Bozeman, and Shapira (1999) undertook an evaluability assessment of the Georgia Research Alliance (GRA) while Basile and colleagues (2005) have presented the background, the process, and the findings of an evaluability assessment of the 'Rape Prevention and Education (RPE) Programme'. A study by Axford and Little (2006) describes and reviews strategies to enhance the evaluability of a programme for disaffected young people aged between 15-18 years in the United Kingdom and the United States of America. We also reviewed two evaluability assessments conducted on the African continent. Sanou and colleagues (2011) conducted an 'Evaluability Assessment of an immunization improvement strategy in rural Burkina Faso' while D'Ostie-Racine and Dagenais (2013:71) also conducted an evaluability assessment of a strategy implemented by a "West Africa based Non-Governmental Organisation's (NGO) progressive evaluation strategy". The studies reveal that different evaluability assessments techniques are applied to different contexts to achieve different objectives. For example, Russ-Eft (1986), Casebeer and Thurston, (1995), Sanou and others (2011), D'Ostie-Racine and Dagenais (2013) applied the evaluability assessment technique-proposed by Wholey (1994) – to determine the goals and logic of interventions using logic models to recommend suitable theory-based evaluations for these interventions.

More generally, the use of evaluability assessments has declined from its peak in the 1970s and 1980s

(Trevisan, 2007). Rog (1985) in Trevisan (2007) argues that the use declined after Wholey (the pioneer of evaluability assessment) left government. However, Smith (2005) in Trevisan (2007) suggests that evaluability assessments have declined because of five reasons. First, inception of the development of programme logic as an independent evaluation strategy. Second, those conducting evaluability assessments are not publishing their work. Third, the realisation that the formulation, implementation, and evaluation of an intervention does not flow in an orderly manner. Fourth, poor and vague articulation of the evaluability assessment concept. Lastly, poor and vague articulation of the evaluability assessment methodology.

In sum, evaluations of science park incubation programmes are limited to European countries. In addition, these evaluations are not theory-based as should be the case in development sector evaluations. Therefore, we propose a theory-based evaluation on science park incubations to understand their logic and evaluate them creditably and meaningfully. The South African Government has introduced the Government Wide Monitoring and Evaluation System to ensure that public interventions are evaluable and evaluated to foster good governance, accountability and transparency. Evaluability assessment is a form of evaluation one can use to either to improve programme components or to make its evaluation credible and meaningful. They clarify and highlight key programme aspects that may inhibit a credible, useful, and valuable evaluation. Such clarity helps us avoid undertaking evaluations that yield inconclusive results because programme elements are complicated or difficult to interpret, therefore, unable to assist us with decision-making.

We also note that none of these studies have applied results-based management principles and the accompanying results-based monitoring and evaluation frameworks within a science park context. We, therefore, opted to build our explanatory as well as conceptual framework for an evaluability assessment for the Gauteng science park on the principles of results-based management, monitoring and evaluation. Technically, making this a form of exploratory study. For this evaluation to be done effectively, we should clearly articulate its results chain and results framework pointing out the correct indicators and targets. We hope to determine if this intervention is achieving its intended results after ten years of implementation and if these are as a result of the incubation programme intervention.

6. EVALUABILITY ASSESSMENT IN CONTEXT

We situate this research within the monitoring and evaluation field as its purposes resonates with what we want to achieve. Bamberger and Rugh (2009) have highlighted four uses monitoring and evaluation information. First, it assists with identifying interventions that are consistent with development imperatives. Second, it assists with determining interventions that are effective, sustainable, relevant, and efficient. Third, it assists with tracking and assessing interventions against their trajectory and intended objectives. Lastly, assists with assessing the results of interventions. Our study is sitting within the *evaluation* component of monitoring and evaluation described by Rossi, Lipsey, and Freeman (2004) as a social science meant to collect, analyse, interpret, and communicate information on an intervention. Kusek and Rist (2004) emphasise that evaluation should provide sufficient and credible information that enables management and stakeholders to make effective decisions. The ultimate purpose of evaluation is to improve the functioning of interventions, increase its accountability, and provide feedback as well as generate knowledge (Posavac and Carey, 1985; Sanderson, 2001; Rossi, Lipsey, and Freeman, 2004). Figure 1 shows the various types of evaluation at different stages (pre-conceptualisation, conceptualisation, implementation, and completion) of an intervention.

Again our focus here is an evaluability assessment performed during conceptualisation, implementation, and completion of an intervention. Joseph Wholey and his team at the Urban Institute coined the concept of evaluability assessment (Trevisan, 2007). Evaluability is the extent to which an intervention can be evaluated in a reliable and credible manner. Later on, Wholey and colleagues (2010:83) have described it as an assessment of whether an intervention is ready for an evaluation. They argue that an evaluation is likely to be useful if an intervention has realistic goals, well-defined information needs, the data required are obtainable, and the "intended users are willing and able to use evaluation information". Similarly, Davies and Payne (2015) describe evaluability from three perspectives, namely; evaluability as seen in the design of an intervention; evaluability as seen in availability of data, and; evaluability as seen in the utility and practicality of an evaluation.

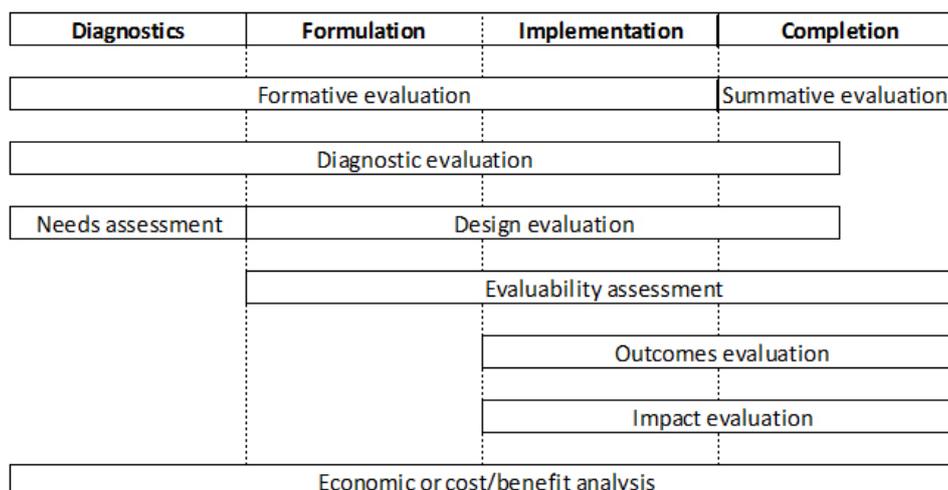
Like design or formative evaluation described by the Presidency (2014), evaluability assessment

interrogates the theory of change and determines the consistency of an intervention before and during the early stages of implementation. It also assesses the quality of indicators and the assumptions. Similarly, implementation or process evaluation described by Gorgens and Kusek (2009) as evaluability assessment reviews that reconciles inputs, activities, processes, and structures in addition to reviewing tasks and procedures of implementing an intervention. It assesses whether these are appropriate and sufficient and if they have support to achieve the desired results. Ultimately, this allows for decision makers to ensure that an intervention is operationalised as designed. Lastly, like summative evaluation-described by Rossi, Lipsey and Freeman (2004) – an evaluability assessment provides for observing changes in the target population to ascertain beyond doubt that these are due to the intervention and nothing else (see Figure 1 on the next page).

Thurston and Potvin (2003) have argued that the starting point of an evaluation should be an evaluability assessment to provide a platform for planning or reviewing an evaluation. Whilst the end-product of an evaluability assessment should be a thorough description of an intervention, and consensus on the evaluation plan and main questions an evaluation should pursue. Rossi, Lipsey, and Freeman (2004) have outlined the core activities of an evaluability assessment as describing the intervention theory of change with emphasis on its goals and objectives; assessing how well defined and evaluable the intervention is, and identifying stakeholder interests in the evaluation and the likely use of the findings. Table 1 on the following page depicts the common processes that are used when conducting evaluability assessments.

Our next point of engagement is the key variables and/or attributes in evaluability assessments in the context of science park interventions. First of all, we should emphasise that an evaluability assessment seeks to clarify programme logic and understand performance information that is needed for an evaluation to be effective. To achieve these objectives, an evaluability assessment requires information on impacts, outcomes, outputs, activities, and inputs arrangements. Further, evaluability assessments also require information on assumptions that should be in place as well as anticipated risks. Dale (2003) has described assumptions often associated with risks as conditions under which fulfilment at one level is expected to convert to fulfilment at the next level. These include cultural, political, economic, social, and

FIGURE 1: Types of evaluation at different stages (pre-conceptualisation, conceptualisation, implementation, and completion) of an intervention.



Source: Authors

TABLE 1: The stages in evaluability assessments proposed by Thurston and Potwin (2003); Wholey, Hatry, and Newcomer (2010) as well as Davis and Payne (2015).

Source	Stages in an evaluability assessment					
Thurston and Potwin (2003)	Select an evaluability assessor	Identify stakeholders	Identify and assess key documents	Develop intervention logic and evaluation plan	Agree to proceed with evaluation	Identify time and other resources required
Wholey, Hatry, and Newcomer (2010)	Involve intended user	Clarify intervention design	Explore intervention reality	Assess plausibility of intervention	Agree on changes to the intervention design or implementation	Agree on evaluation focus and intended use
Davis and Payne (2015)	Define intervention boundaries and scope of evaluability	Identify documents and stakeholders for evaluability	Review documents	Engage with stakeholders	Develop conclusion and make recommendations	Feedback findings and conclusions to stakeholders

Source: Authors

environmental as well as institutional variables and attributes (Bamberger and Rugh, 2009). Similarly, one can only measure an invention effectively if it has indicators with accompanying baseline and target values. Indicators are specified during planning to assess performance and achievements of an intervention (Dale, 2003). Lastly, it is important to understand and question the results chain's impact, outcomes, outputs, activities, and inputs and its underlying theory of change to test the scientific plausibility of the intervention (Brousselle & Champagne, 2011).

One can obtain information on these evaluability assessment variables and goals from internal and external stakeholders. Key stakeholders in the Gauteng Science Park intervention include the

Department of Economic Development as well as the Gauteng Growth and Development Agency which funds the Intervention. One should ensure that the understanding of the intervention amongst different stakeholders and managers is consistent so that the evaluation questions are relevant to all parties. Policy documents as well as intervention documents should be reviewed to triangulate information sources.

7. DOCUMENTED EXPLANATORY FRAMEWORKS FOR INTERPRETING EMPIRICAL RESULTS FROM AN EVALUABILITY ASSESSMENT

Here we discuss established explanatory frameworks that can help us interpret empirical results from evaluability assessments, in general, and specifically

the Gauteng science park incubation programme. First of all, the field of monitoring and evaluation has two models, that is, the theory of change and the results chain available for interrogating empirical findings from an evaluability assessment. Further, an evaluability assessment should also interrogate the monitoring and evaluation system of the intervention of interest.

Rogers (2007) have described the theory of change – also called theory-based, theory-driven, theory-orientated, theory-anchored, theory of change intervention theory, outcomes hierarchies, intervening mechanism, programme logic (Donaldson, 2007; Rogers, 2007 in Brousselle and Champagne, 2011:71) – as a guide to assembling the results or causal chain linking inputs and activities to prescribed outputs and then to outcomes and impact. As Rossi, Lipsey, and Freeman (2004:146) point out, programme theory explains "why the programme does what it does and provides the rationale for expecting that doing so will achieve the desired results". It also serves as a basis for formulating evaluation questions, designing evaluations, and interpreting evaluation findings. Therefore, an evaluator should interrogate the validity of an intervention's chain of action and test the scientific plausibility of its programme theory (Brousselle & Champagne, 2011).

Further, one can only interrogate the theory of change in the light on other theories that drive the intervention under study. For example, the science park incubation intervention theory of change is driven by incubation theories, entrepreneurship theories, and economic growth theories. Here we detail some of those theories that seem relevant to the Gauteng science park incubation programme. First, the *knowledge spillover theory* of entrepreneurship, developed by Acs and Storey (2004), which states that creating new knowledge opens up new technological opportunities. The theory clarifies the sources of opportunities, an aspect that is missed by other entrepreneurship theories. The theory states that established firms and companies develop new technological opportunities but do not appropriate all research and development opportunities. This gives opportunity to the individual agents to exploit these opportunities in new start-ups and, therefore, participate in the economy. For the purposes of the Gauteng science park incubation programme, it is important for this intervention to establish linkages with firms to identify and access available opportunities. Further, the theory advocates for a re-evaluation of intellectual property rights so that

they do not disadvantage the *start-ups* to exploit the new opportunities.

Second, the *real options-driven theory* of business incubation proposed by Hackett and Dilts (2004). This theory is drawn from the *options theory* used in investments that asserts that investors or decision makers create inexpensive options to start risky investments and further investments by reducing uncertainty. Third, the *theory of business incubation* also proposed by Hackett and Dilts (2004:48) posits that "business incubation performance – measured in terms of incubate growth and financial performance at the time of incubator exit – is a function of ..." four abilities developed over time. First, the incubator should accumulate new venture development capabilities and resources. Second, the incubator should be able to select weak-but-promising intermediate potential firms. Third, the incubator should monitor and counsel. Lastly, the incubator should infuse resources while containing the cost of potential terminal option failure.

To interrogate the monitoring and evaluation system of the Gauteng science park incubation intervention, we shall employ the framework developed by Gorgens and Kusek (2009). They have proposed twelve components (Figure 2 on the next page) that should be present to make a monitoring and evaluation framework functional. Presence of most of these components will help us decide if the Gauteng science park incubation intervention is ready for a meaningful evaluation.

8. EVALUABILITY ASSESSMENT OF THE GAUTENG SCIENCE PARK INCUBATION PROGRAMME, A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The Gauteng Province is the wealthiest province in South African, if not on the continent. Further, literature in Section 3 points out that this Province has the highest activity in the knowledge-based sector and, therefore, in innovation. To harness and incubate this potential, the Province set up an internationally accredited science park incubation programme which has been operational for ten years. Science parks and incubation programmes are environments that support entrepreneurs and small companies to develop their ideas into commercial products and, therefore, contribute to the development of a given region. Science parks are generally measured on how well they assist in establishing sustainable entities that contribute to the economic development of a region. They are also measured on the number of patents they

generate. Through an evaluation, one would like to find out the explicit intentions of the Gauteng science park incubation programme and the plausibility of these objectives given the way the programme is currently operating.

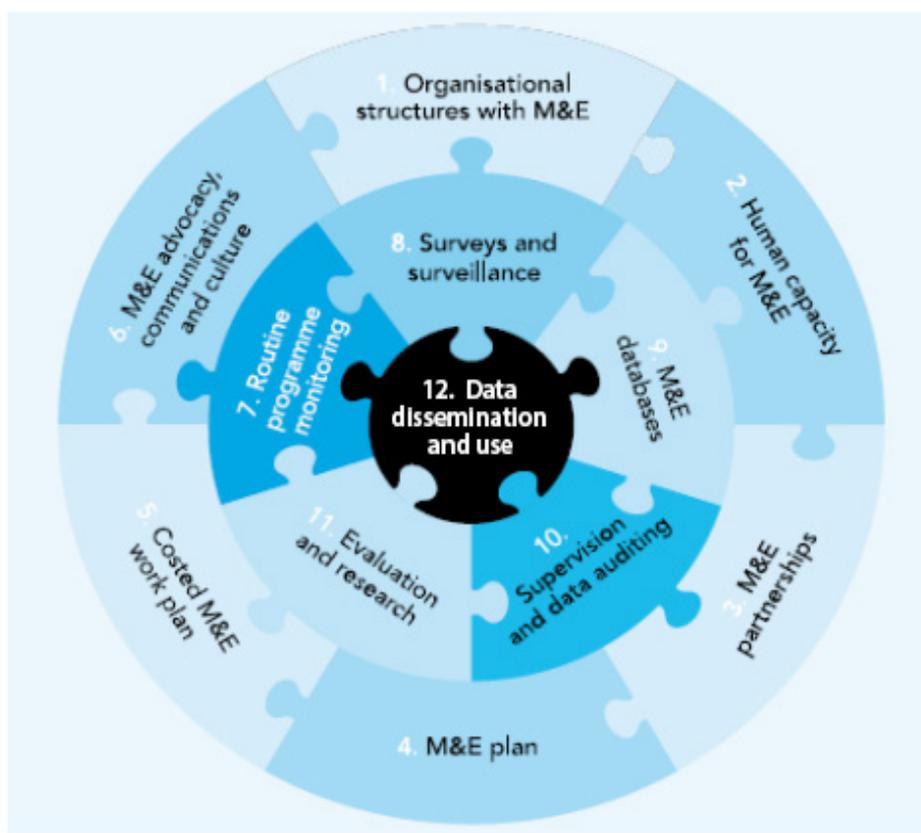
Figure 3 on the following page shows a summary of how our evaluation question-‘is the Gauteng science park incubation programme ready for a meaningful and credible evaluation?’ – links-in with the literature that traces the rationale for this evaluability assessment and the literature spelling out how this should be undertaken. Our description of the programme (Section 3) shows that this intervention has never been evaluated and, therefore, we do not know the contribution of this science park incubation to development in general and specifically economic development. However, before anything else we should determine if this programme is even ready for an evaluation.

Reviewing past and current studies on and evaluations of science park incubation programmes (Section 4) we note that these interventions are influenced by (i.) contextual features and stakeholders, (ii.) mission

and strategy, and (iii.) model and archetype of the incubator. This implies external factors should be taken into account when developing such initiatives. Second, a disagreement on goals and mission as well as an elusive link between programme activities and its outcomes can affect its assessment. Further, these studies and evaluations suggest that there is no single framework for assessing such interventions. Regardless, an evaluability assessment can clarify the programme theory for such interventions and should apply a qualitative research strategy and a case study design. This implies that the results may not be generalisable.

We also learn from past and current studies and evaluations that most evaluability assessments have been undertaken in a European context and they are not all necessarily on science park incubation interventions. Further, most of them are not based on monitoring and evaluation analytical frameworks and have not put to test the plausibility of the logic underlying their respective theories of change. This implies that we should develop a unique framework for assessing the Gauteng science park incubation programme that takes most of these gaps on board.

FIGURE 2: Gorgens and Kusek's (2009) twelve components of a functional monitoring and evaluation system.



Source: Authors

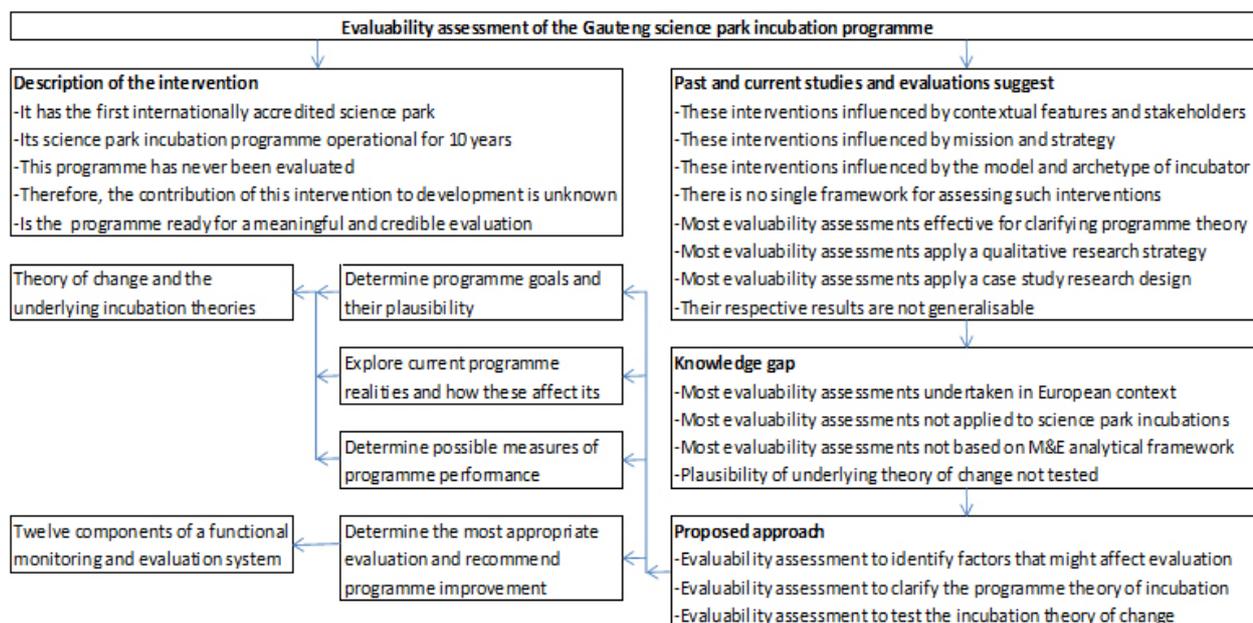
However, before then, we need to undertake an evaluability assessment to understand the goals of this intervention as well as its implementation in the last ten years. The evaluability assessment should help us identify factors that might affect the evaluation of the Gauteng science park incubation programme. The assessment should also clarify the programme theory of incubation and, therefore, test the theory of change underlying the incubation intervention.

More specifically, the evaluability assessment should (i.) determine the Gauteng science park incubation programme goals and their plausibility, (ii.) explore programme realities and how these affect its goals, (iii.) determine possible ways of measuring programme performance, and (iv) determine the most appropriate evaluation and recommend programme improvement. Information will be collected from programme and policy documents as well as key stakeholders. For items (i.) through (iii.), we shall use the theory of change and the underlying incubation theories to interpret the empirical findings of this assessment. The theory of

change will help us gain a thorough understanding of the programme logic and assumptions made during the planning of this intervention programme. Thereafter, we will interrogate programme literature to test whether the assumptions made during programme planning still hold and if the anticipated results are still plausible. For the last item (iv.), examining the results framework (indicators, baseline values, target values) will allow us to gauge if the programme has the fundamentals for an appropriate monitoring and evaluation system in place. The twelve components will be applied to assess the potential of a functional monitoring and evaluation system for this programme.

Evaluability assessments are cost-effective and ensure that the minimum requirements for a meaningful evaluation are in place before undertaking an evaluation. They also help us define and describe the programme logic of interventions to enable credible theory-based evaluations. Evaluability assessments allow for evaluations to provide meaningful information for decision making and minimise inconclusive results.

FIGURE 3: A proposed conceptual framework for the evaluability assessment of the Gauteng science park incubation programme.



Source: Authors

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SOUTH AFRICA'S PURSUIT FOR A NATIONAL MINIMUM WAGE: A DOUBLE EDGED SWORD

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ABSTRACT

It is a historical fact that the democratic South Africa inherited the country with the triple challenges of unemployment, poverty and inequality. Majority of blacks became the victims of such inheritance and they often demonstrate their discontent via protests which for the last decade painted South Africa as a theatre of social unrests. A national minimum wage is believed to be amongst the solutions to close the gap of inequalities, with the view that minimum wages will move the poor workers out of poverty and improve their standards of living. It is within this context the purpose of this paper is to determine the impact of minimum wage on employment in South Africa. The theoretical framework adopted in this paper is the general equilibrium approach. From the analysis, the paper argues that though the imposition of minimum wages is likely to improve the living conditions of the poor worker, by moving them out of poverty, they may however pose a threat of job losses in a sense that employers are likely to respond by reducing or retrenching workers to cover for the high costs of labour. The paper therefore concludes that the imposition of minimum wages in the labour market requires a critical analysis, not a blanket approach as this may result in job losses, and thus widen poverty and inequality. Given that majority of the poor people in South Africa are either self-employed or in informal sector, of which the minimum wage legislation doesn't cover, this sadly implies that the majority of the poor working class are likely not to benefit any prospects of minimum wage imposed. The paper therefore recommends that any minimum wage legislation should be designed in such a way that it also protects and benefit those who are in informal sectors. More importantly, government must enhance its mechanisms to ensure that employers comply with the imposed minimum wage legislation.

Keywords: Minimum Wage; Employment; Poverty; Inequality; South Africa.

1. INTRODUCTION

High unemployment, poverty and inequality in the contemporary South Africa have ignited a wide range of debates and policy positions proposed by government, trade unions and policy makers. Amongst this, a national minimum wage took the centre stage to cure the ills of poverty and unequal distribution of wealth and income. As a result, a number of labour protests in various sectors of the economy particularly in the mining sector aroused and this led to the unfortunate Marikana genocide where by 34 miners lost their lives. This is because minimum wages are believed to be one of the popular ways of addressing poverty and redistribution of income to the poor working households associated with low wages (Card & Kruger, 1995). This notion is also advanced by a number of scholars which include amongst others; Borat & Leibbrandt (1996); Hertz (2005); Fields & Kanbur (2007) and World Bank (2008). However, some scholars reject minimum wage outright, arguing that it causes unemployment which ultimately leads to poverty (Neumark, Cunningham & Siga, 2006; Baker, 2007; & Betcherman, 2014). Trade unions, on the other hand advocate that higher wages raise the incomes of the working poor and thus lead to poverty reduction. The World Bank (2008) similarly states that an increase in minimum wages leads to a reduction in poverty and inequality and increased demand for goods and services which in turn fuels economic growth of the country.

According to the International Labour Organisation (ILO) (2011) after independence, many African countries introduced some form of minimum wage legislations, 37 out of 55 had a minimum wage policy framework by 2008. However, very few of these African States have tested the economic and labour impact of such legislations. Fields & Kanbur (2007) posit that the introduction of minimum wages in an economy with high levels of unemployment seem to

be a bold policy option for addressing low incomes and poverty among the poor working class. It is however worth noting that much is misunderstood about minimum wages especially in South Africa. This is because trade unions, in particular the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) often advocate for a minimum wage in certain sectors of the economy and claim that it won't have adverse effects on employment (COSATU, 2013). Employers on the other hand believe that minimum wages should be abolished completely with the view that the labour market must be allowed to set its own wages through the market forces of demand and supply (Fields & Kanbur, 2007).

As cited in Freeman (1996) minimum wage policies may create 'winners and losers', the latter being those that potentially lose their jobs. Therefore, perspectives of minimum wages represent the opposite ends of a spectrum of opinions and debates about the best policy stances of setting minimum wages in various sectors of the economy. It is within this context that this paper aims to analyse the impact of setting a minimum wage on employment in South Africa. For this purpose, the general equilibrium analysis is employed. To this end, the paper seeks to provide clarity on the topic of minimum wages by contextualizing and detailing the theoretical and empirical perspectives of minimum wages and how they affect the labour markets in various parts of the world.

Apart from section 1, the remainder of the paper is structured as follows; section 2, outlines South Africa's minimum wage legislation. Section 3 reviews the theoretical and empirical arguments of minimum wages. Section 4 analyses the challenges of poverty and inequality in South Africa. Section 5 determines the impact of minimum wage using the general equilibrium approach. Lastly, section 6 present conclusion and recommendations of the paper.

2. MINIMUM WAGES IN SOUTH AFRICA: A LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK

The Basic Conditions of Employment Act 75 of 1997 defines a minimum wage as a wage rate, prescribed by law so that poorly paid, vulnerable workers are paid at that adjusted level. The minimum wage is therefore a wage floor established by the regulators in the labour market below which no payment should be made by the employers (Matjeke, 2010). The policy of minimum wage therefore compels employers to increase wages paid to all low-wage workers. The

framework for minimum wages in South Africa is set in terms of the Labour Relations Act (LRA) 66 of 1995 and the Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA) 75 of 1997. The LRA provides a framework within which employees, their employers and trade unions can bargain collectively to determine wages and other conditions of employment. The aim of the BCEA is to ensure that investigations of minimum wages are approached within the framework of the Act and that they promote the wage regulating function of collective bargaining arrangements. According to the Department of Labour, (2014), these Acts are established on the basis of two main mechanisms for wage determinations, thus:

- Collective bargaining through bargaining councils.
- Sectoral determinations that are published by the Minister of Labour and that set minimum wages for a sector.

As stipulated in the BCEA no 75 of 1997, a collective bargaining process about wages, the negotiations should include the following points of references:

- What other workers are getting?
- Changes in the cost of living of workers.
- The employer's ability to pay the suggested wage rate.
- Productivity of workers.

The LRA of 1995 creates a voluntary system that promotes centralized bargaining while extending collective bargaining rights to almost all employees. It established private sector bargaining councils as well as public service bargaining councils for civil servants. The BCEA of 1997 on the other hand sets a minimum floor of rights for all employed individuals in the South African labour market and allows for the Minister of Labour to create Sectoral Determinations (SDs) that dictate the conditions of employment, including minimum wages, for vulnerable workers in a specific sector (Department of Labour, 2014). The Employment Conditions Commission (ECC) is required by the Department of Labour to take into account the possibility of job losses when setting minimum wages. The LRA creates a voluntary system that promotes centralised bargaining while extending collective bargaining rights to almost all employees. The BCEA allows the Minister of Labour

to create sectoral determination that dictates the conditions of employment, including minimum wages in specific sectors. According to Benjamin, Borhat and Cheadle, (2010), the bargaining council's framework in South Africa is faced with challenges of effectiveness and its ability represent and cover a wide range of workers, the other challenge involves the compliance by employers. In this case, the government should introduce laws and regulations which forces employers to comply with minimum wage agreements. This is because some employers might be too reluctant to pay their workers minimum wages as stipulated or agreed up on in the imposed minimum wage legislation. However, the bargaining council framework, through which some sectoral wages are determined, faces some of the same challenges as its predecessor law in terms of its effectiveness and ability to represent and cover a wide spectrum of workers and businesses, enforce compliance (Cassim, Jourdan & Pillay, 2014). In 2013, the Department of Labour (2014) reported that there are 47 bargaining councils in South Africa spanning from the clothing industry to civil engineering. The SDs, were first introduced in 1999 with the contract cleaning sector, cover a range of sectors including wholesale and retail, domestic workers, farm workers and private security, amongst others. In total, there are 124 different wage schedules legislated through SDs that apply across various sectors, areas and occupations. Compared to other Brazil Russia India and China (BRICS) and African countries, this is a high number of minimum wage rates, contributing to the wage system's complexity and making it difficult to enforce, (Department of Labour, 2014).

Though a minimum wage might have an impact on poverty and inequality, it is however important to note that if it is not enforced by the government, firms might be reluctant to comply with the minimum wage legislations. This was also cited in Borhat (2011), when he argues that South Africa, like many

other developing countries experiences high rates of minimum wage non-compliance. Concerns over the economic effects of minimum wage laws, have largely overshadowed the discussion of compliance and enforcement. Table 1 below demonstrates the level of non-compliance by various sectors of South Africa's economy.

Minimum wage regulations in South Africa are currently enforced by labor inspectors who conduct workplace inspections and serve employers with penalties for violations of stipulated employment conditions listed within SDs. Information on the penalties for non-compliance with the minimum wage law reveals that greater levels of underpayment attract larger penalties, overall the fines are small compared to the degree to which employers underpay their workers, (Cassim, Jourdan & Pillay, 2014). From Table 1 below, the evidence suggests that compliance levels in the identified sectors are generally low. This implies that government policies on enforcement of minimum wages are not effectively enforced.

3. THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL PERSPECTIVES OF MINIMUM WAGES

The minimum wage debates usually centre around the costs and benefits of imposing the minimum wage in the economy. Studies conducted in various parts of the world on the impact of minimum wages have produced mixed results and spurred debates that stretch as far back as the 19th century. For instance, Stigler (1946) cited in Borhat, Kanbur and Mayet (2012), argues that in a competitive market, the relationship between minimum wages and employment is a negative one. The work of Stigler (1946) opened doors to a new stream of literature on minimum wages which led to the controversial debates about the effects of imposing minimum wages in the economy, with some scholars arguing that there is an inverse relationship between

TABLE 1: Level of non-compliance to the minimum wages in South Africa.

Worker Category	Percentage of Workers earning below the minimum wage
Agriculture	0.65
Forestry	0.75
Domestic Workers	0.40
Private Security	0.65
Wholesale and Retail	0.47
Taxi	0.38
Hospitality	0.37
Contract cleaners	0.56
Average	0.53

Source: Labour Market Dynamics Survey: Statistics South Africa (2013)

minimum wages and employment and others arguing that there is no trade-off between the two.

A number of scholars including Grindling & Terrel (2006), Baker (2007) and Betcherman (2014) cited various reasons against the imposition of minimum wages in the labour market. Baker (2007) argues that minimum wages usually lead to high prices of goods and services in the economy, in a sense that firms pass the high costs of labour to the consumers by charging higher prices. Betcherman (2014) argues that larger employment losses are associated with larger minimum wage increases and that the primary losers are workers with lower skills who earn below the minimum wage. Gindling and Terrel (2006) investigated employment effects of an increase in minimum wages in Costa Rica over the period of 1988 to 2000. Their results show that a 10% increase in the minimum wage leads to a decline in employment and hours worked by at least 0.6 -1.09% respectively. Neumark and Wascher (2007) mentioned that though few studies found positive effects of minimum wages, majority of studies found a negative impact, particularly when the effects of minimum wages are analysed in the aggregate as opposed to specific sectors of the economy. In Latin America, Cunningham (2007) argues that the imposition of a minimum wage does not help formal workers who are poor. He states that some workers affected by the minimum wage already earn above the initial minimum wage. Neumark, Cunningham and Siga (2006) found that higher minimum wage in Colombia had a negative effect on employment and hours worked of workers. Cited in Fields and Kanbur (2007), Shapiro and Stiglitz (1984:438) suggest that efficiency wage offers a justification for minimum wage. Efficiency wages causes workers to improve their productivity levels and enables firms to attract quality workers. Fields & Kanbur (2007) found that in Brazil, higher minimum wages in the 1990's led to 32% in the reduction in income inequality. Similarly, Matjeke (2010:6) argues that minimum wages compel employers to utilise their workers productively, in a sense that they will be paying them at a higher wage rate, and thus obliges them to establish effective recruitment and training programs to equip their workers.

According to Baker (2007) minimum wages are important because they ensure that workers are not paid at a level that is below the standard of living and thereby ensuring workers' basic needs are satisfied. Lee (1999) cited in Matjeke (2010) states that the main reason given in favour of minimum wages is

that it protects vulnerable low wage workers from exploitation. Similarly, Freeman (1996) argues that the main aim of a minimum wage is to redistribute earnings to low paid workers and thus lift them out of poverty. Hence, he reiterates that the goal of the minimum wage legislation is to redistribute earnings to low paid workers and thus lift the working poor out of poverty. South Africa's large numbers of working poor and the elements of labour market discrimination inherited from the past are strong arguments in support of minimum wages in this country (Freeman, 1996). The International Labour Organization (2013) however found that minimum wages have had small or no effects on employment in developed countries, but concludes that in most developing countries, the effects on employment depends on the economic context, the level of the minimum wage, extent of enforcement and compliance and the challenges in the labour market. Though the empirical evidence shows a trade-off between minimum wages and employment, there are, however some scholars who challenged the notion of a tradeoff between minimum wages and employment. For instance, the findings of Card and Krueger (1995) in the United States illustrate that both wages and employment improved after the introduction of minimum wages in various sectors of the economy.

From the preceding theoretical and empirical arguments, it is can be noted that it is difficult to precisely predict the effects of a minimum wage on employment and wages. The overall effect therefore depends on a number of factor which include amongst others, the degree of competition in the labour market, the structure of a minimum wage legislation and the degree of enforcement of the legislation.

4. THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY AND INEQUALITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

For one to understand what actually sparks the debates about minimum wages in certain sectors of the South African economy, it is perhaps important to reflect on why these debates arise at all. What leads workers and trade unions to mobilise and seek minimum wages across sectors in the economy? To reflect on this question, it is imperative to detail a brief background on the problem of poverty and distribution of income in South Africa. There is increasing evidence that the democratic South Africa led by the African National Congress (ANC) inherited the government faced with the triple quandaries of

unemployment, poverty and inequality, which is amongst the highest in the world. The majority of black South Africans became or are still the victims of such inheritance, and they usually demonstrate their anger and discontent via protests which for the past decade painted South Africa as a theatre of social unrests. Various policies ranging from Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) to Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative South Africa (ASGISA) to the currently implemented National Development Plan (NDP) have been proposed and implemented to address these social ills. However, the crisis still persists in the contemporary South Africa, unemployment rate is around 27% which is the highest ever since the dispensation of democracy in 1994. The economic growth is growing at an average of 1-2% than the much desired 5% annual growth (Statistics South Africa, 2015). Politicians and policy makers usually blame the historical injustices for the current challenges confronting South Africa. Table 2 below expresses the trends of income distribution between the rich and the poor in South Africa.

TABLE 2: Gini coefficient: Income inequality in South Africa.

Year	Gini Coefficient
1993	0.60
1995	0.58
2000	0.59
2006	0.68
2013	0.70

Source: Statistics South Africa (2015)

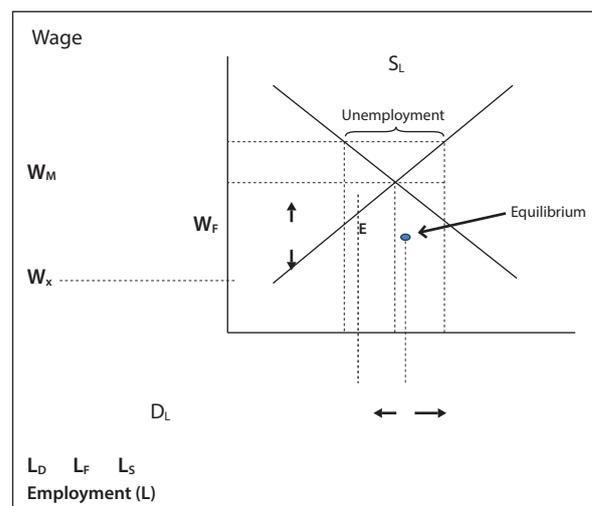
The Gini Coefficient measures the inequality and distribution of income among citizens of the country (between the rich and poor). If the coefficient is zero, which indicates perfect equality, implying that everyone has the same income, if the coefficient is 1, it means that only one person has the income and all others have none (Black, Calitz & Steenekamp, 2012). Table 2, shows that the South Africa's Gini Coefficient has been increasing since the dispensation of democracy and this implies that the gap between the poor and rich in terms of income distribution has increased by over 0.10%. According to Statistics South Africa (2015), South Africa's Gini Coefficient is at 0.74% which is the highest in the world. Given South Africa's historical injustices that majority of people, particularly blacks were discriminated against and excluded in the labour market, many blacks were earning below a fair living wage and that resulted in a huge gap between the poor and the rich in terms of wealth and income distribution,

hence South Africa has one of the highest inequalities in the world (Bhorat, Kanbur & Mayet, 2012). To reverse these inequalities, trade unions, government and employers are often caught in a dilemma about which minimum wage policy stance to implement. With all these challenges, one would agree with Masipa (2014), who noted that, "There seems like there is little or no connection at all between what the policy says and its actual implementation".

5. THE IMPACT OF MINIMUM WAGES IN THE LABOUR MARKET

As indicated, the paper aims to determine the impact of setting a minimum wage on employment using the general equilibrium analysis. The paper adopted the Fields and Kanbur (2007) theoretical model to analyse the impact of minimum wages on employment in South Africa. The model of this paper is developed under various assumptions. Firstly, the paper assumes that the minimum wages is enforced and applied in all sectors of the economy equally. Secondly, the paper assumes that workers are homogenous irrespective of their skills and occupation. Thirdly, the paper assumes that the entire population participates in the labour market, that is, everyone is either employed or unemployed. Fourthly, the paper assumes that minimum wage is the only factor that affects the wage rate of workers. The figure below demonstrates the possible effects of imposing a minimum wage in the labour market.

FIGURE 1: The imposition of a minimum wage in the labour market.



Source: Author

In Figure 1, the Demand (DL) and Supply (SL) are used to demonstrate the demand and supply of workers in the labour market. The demand and

supply curves represent employers and workers respectively. Before the imposition of the minimum wage in the labour market, workers were earning WF wage and the level of employment was at LF, the equilibrium point therefore denotes the agreement between workers and employer's prior imposition of minimum wages. The introduction of minimum wage (WM) above the prior wage (WF) reduced the demand of workers by employers. As a result, the demand for workers decreased from LF to LD, and that implies that labour supplied exceeds labour demanded by employers. This therefore implies that if a minimum wage is imposed, employers are likely to respond by reducing the number of workers employed to cover the costs of an increased wage and thus leading to unemployment, which is the difference between LS and LD. Suppose the wage was at (WX), this implies that there will be excess demand for workers in the economy. Thus indicate that at a lower wage rate (WX), employers are willing to employ more workers (LS), as opposed to higher wage rate (WM). The downward sloping demand curve also demonstrates an inverse relationship between wages and the demand for labour. This is also supported by the law of demand which indicates that the higher the price of the product, the lower the quantity demanded for that product and vice versa (Mohr & Associates, 2015). It is however worth noting that the analysis of this paper is partial simply because it only concentrates on a single market and ignores the effects that changes in one market can have on other markets. In reality, firms employ a variety of different types of factors of production, including capital, land and various different types of labour according to their skills and expertise.

6. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this paper was to determine the impact of a minimum wage on employment in South Africa using the general equilibrium approach. This is because the question around minimum wages is important as it is usually instituted with the view that it will take the poor working class out of poverty. Though this is the mostly shared view, particularly amongst workers and trade unions, the analysis of this paper shows that the poverty-reduction effects of imposing minimum wages in the labour market are very limited. The paper demonstrates that gains associated with minimum wages are likely to be eroded simply because employers usually respond to minimum wages by retrenching workers to cover

the costs of higher wages demanded by workers, and thus putting the retrenched workers in poverty. It is however, worth noting that the analysis of this paper is partial in a sense that it is not sector specific and that workers are assumed to have the same probability of becoming unemployed and also earn the same wage. This calls for a need to enhance the limitation of this paper by further investigating the impact of minimum wages on employment in various sectors of the South African economy. The preceding analysis and conclusion may positively contribute to the existing body of knowledge and assist policy makers and trade unions to be able to identify sectors in which minimum wages must be enforced. There is however no easy way around it, this demands a critical analysis as it may lead to devastating effects of job losses which ultimately leads to poverty for the poor working class who are already on the receiving end of the economy. Though this is the area that needs further research, it is nonetheless important to point out that in South Africa, a large share of the poor workers is either self-employed or in informal sectors, of which the minimum wage legislation doesn't cover, thus implying that the poor workers are likely not to benefit from any minimum wage implemented. As indicated, it is difficult to precisely predict the effects of a minimum wage on employment and wages. The overall effect therefore depends on a number of factors which include amongst others, the degree of competition in the labour market, the structure of a minimum wage legislation and the degree of enforcement of the legislation.

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DERIVING A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR ASSESSING UTILISATION OF EVALUATION INFORMATION IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

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ABSTRACT

Evaluation provides information on formulation, implementation, and outcomes of development interventions. This information is important in evidence-based decision-making. Therefore, the worth of evaluation information is determined by the extent to which it is used in decision-making. Non-use of evaluation information in decision-making might compromise the effectiveness, relevance, sustainability, and efficiency of development interventions and their implementation, thereof. Section 195 of the South African Constitution compels the government to be responsive to public needs, be effective, economic and efficient in the use of public resources as well as be accountable and transparent to the public by providing accurate, accessible and timely information (The Republic of South Africa, 1996). Such a provision is impossible without evaluation information or non-use of this information in decision-making. However, reality checks show that there is a limited use of evaluation information for decision-making in most government departments. To prove this proposition, we intend to assess the utilisation of evaluation information using one single case (the Gauteng Provincial Department of Health). The research will extend to examining the underlying institutional features and evaluation characteristics that facilitate and/or bar use of evaluation information. Key to this paper is developing an interpretive framework that employs 'utilization-focused evaluation theory', 'the two-communities theory and knowledge utilisation', as well as 'diffusion of innovations theory' to explain institutional features and evaluation characteristics that influence use of evaluation information. Ultimately, we derive a conceptual framework for assessing utilisation of evaluation information in the Gauteng Provincial Department of Health. The proceeding paper(s) will then apply this conceptual

framework when collecting, processing, analysing, and interpreting empirical data that can provide us with information on extend evaluation information is being used in decision-making in subnational government departments.

Keywords: Development, Social Development, Health, Evaluation, Utilisation of Evaluation Information, Knowledge Gap, Interpretive Framework, Theoretical Framework, Conceptual Framework.

1. INTRODUCTION

This research examines utilisation of evaluation findings for decision-making within the public sector environment, with a specific focus on the Gauteng Provincial Department of Health. It is argued that, as the demand public accountability and a developmental-oriented public service is growing globally; so is the need for scrutiny on the responsiveness of public institutions to the needs and priorities of citizens. This underscores the need for evidence-based decision-making (Byskov & Olsen, 2005). This is emphasised to by The World Health Organisation (2007) when they suggest that an effective and efficient public health system hinges on evidence-based decision-making. Kusek and Rist (2004) point out that information should be used to measure performance of development interventions and account for public resources. However, using produced and available information for decision-making is still a challenge (Khumalo 2006). The 2007 readiness assessment of the Gauteng Provincial Government Monitoring and Evaluation systems reveals limited use of evaluation and research information in decision-making within the Provincial Departments (Manto Management, 2007). The 2007 report of the Public Service Commission on information management within the Gauteng Provincial Department of Health suggested that, "in

many cases, reporting is superficial and limited to ensuring compliance with policies and procedures", (Public Service Commission, 2007:54). In the same year, the Annual Audit report of the Public Service Commission shows that the Provincial Department of Health uses evaluation information for management "... but there was no evidence or demonstration of how it is utilised" (Public Service Commission, 2007:39). Further, the Anglophone Africa Centre for Learning on Evaluation and Results (2012) has argued that although the evaluation function has progressed in South Africa, its application and use of findings is largely driven by compliance to reporting requirements of the Auditor General, the Public Service Commission, and the Treasury. Such a stance compromises use of information for formulating, tracking, and assessing development interventions. This paper is the first in a series of research on utilisation of evaluation findings for decision-making. It focuses on understanding the research problem within its context before identifying the knowledge gap in this line of inquiry. Thereafter, the paper identifies and details a framework that proceeding papers will use to interpret empirical findings and ultimately a conceptual framework on how we should undertake this research.

2. THE APPROACH

We apply the outcomes-based literature review to develop an explanatory framework and more importantly a conceptual framework-detailed in Chikwema and Wotela (2016) – to prepare for assessing the utilisation of evaluation information in the Gauteng Provincial Department of Health. We begin with an understanding of the context (the Gauteng Provincial Department of Health) and then the research problem (utilisation of evaluation information in the Gauteng Provincial Department of Health). Second, to establish the knowledge gap, we interrogate research approaches, designs, procedures and methods applied as well as findings and conclusions realised by past and current studies on as well as evaluations of evaluation information and its utilisation. Other than establishing the knowledge gap we also use this interrogation to consider methodological options that we can employ for our assessment. Third, we propose and detail a theoretical or rather an interpretive framework that will facilitate the interpretation of empirical research findings on the utilisation of evaluation information in the Gauteng Provincial Department of Health. Worth mentioning is the linkage between this interpretive framework and our attributes of

interest whose information we will collect during the research. Lastly, for now, we derive a conceptual framework that will guide the research when collecting, processing, analysing, and interpreting empirical results emanating from assessing the utilisation of evaluation information in the Gauteng Provincial Department of Health.

3. THE GAUTENG PROVINCIAL DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH IN CONTEXT

The Republic of South Africa is a Unitary State, governed through the legislature (Parliament), Judiciary, and the executive. Further, the South African Government is demarcated into three spheres-the national, the provincial, and the local. The Gauteng Provincial Department of Health falls under the provincial sphere reporting to the Provincial Governance structures as well as the National Department of Health. The Gauteng Provincial Department of Health is headed by the Member of the Provincial Executive Council (MEC) with its administration headed by a Head of the Department. On the other hand, the Gauteng Provincial Government is headed by the Premier, who also the Chairperson of the Provincial Executive Council. The South African Constitution mandates the Provincial Department to provide provincial inhabitant with access to effective health care services and emergency medical treatment (The Republic of South Africa, 1996). Further, the South African Constitution and the National Health Acts mandates the Department to (i.) ensure effective administration and integration of health services and interventions to uplift the standard of living of all inhabitants of the Province (Gauteng Provincial Department of Health, 2013). Prior to 2012, provision of health and social services were under one Provincial Department to realise the constitutional imperative of providing equal access to water, food, health care, and social security. However, in 2012 the health and social services were separated into different Departments. The separation was necessitated by a need to mainstream provision of health services to "improve effectiveness in the provincial health system" which was previously characterised by poor service and compounded by shortage of human capital and material resources (The Editor, 2012:1). Another reason was rapid population growth within the province arising from in-migration and immigration.

According to the Gauteng Provincial Department of Health (2008), like the National Department, the vision and mission of the Provincial Department of

Health is to excel in the provision of health services in the Province. This implies or includes conforming to internationally accepted norms and standards in fighting susceptibility to diseases and poverty and among the Gauteng communities. The National Department of Health (2011) states that the goal of the national and provincial health institutions is reducing general and maternal mortality rates, reducing the effects of HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis, as well as improving responsiveness. The National Health Act, 61 of 2003 provides for a legislative framework that enforces provision of quality health services by tracking compliance with expected norms and standards. To achieve these goals and objectives, the Gauteng Provincial Department of Health is implementing interventions meant to improve provision of "health and wellbeing, with emphasis on vulnerable groups; reduced rate of new HIV infections and deaths from TB and AIDS; efficiency in rendering public services; human capital management and development for better health outcomes, including organisational excellence" (Gauteng Provincial Department of Health, 2008:45).

The Gauteng Provincial Department of Health (2013) specifies that it undertakes its mandate and implements its interventions through the Provincial and District hospitals as well as clinics falling under its geographical jurisdiction. Among the systems that are used by the Department to plan, track and assess the implementation of its development interventions are the monitoring and evaluation as well as the National District Health Information system. The latter provides a platform for producing and tracking management information (Shaw, 2005) and the former tracks and assess public health services and related development interventions. The Province hosts the provincial departments monitoring and evaluation systems with the Office of the Premier as the custodian whilst the National District Health Information system is hosted by the National Government.

4. NON-USE OF THE EVALUATION INFORMATION IN THE GAUTENG PROVINCIAL DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

Section 195 of the South African Constitution compels government to be responsive to public needs, to be effective, to be economic and efficient in the use of public resources, as well as to be accountable and transparent to the public by providing accurate, accessible, and timely information (The Republic

of South Africa, 1996). Obviously, evaluations can provide information that aids decision-making in a quest to ensure organisational excellence and efficiency in the delivery of quality health care services. However, there is no evidence that the evaluation and research information is used for decision-making within any Gauteng Provincial Departments (Manto Management, 2007; Public Service Commission, 2007). Most performance reporting is but in compliance with the accountability requirements rather than for enhancing the formulation, implementation, and management of development interventions (Public Service Commission 2007; Centre for Learning on Evaluation and Results, 2012). Patton (2010) has argued that the growing need for information has resulted in its production sometimes supply even surpasses its demand. Görgens and Kusek (2009) have suggested that such a status quo leads to producing information that lacks relevance and quality to meet the needs and priorities of the decision makers. This problem is compounded by fragmented information systems across the three spheres of government. This implies that these institutions are producing information of limited use in programme planning, budgeting and implementation (Centre for Learning on Evaluation and Results, 2012). Therefore, there is limited evidence-based decision making in the Gauteng Provincial Department of Health. The reports indicate that "programme performance information produced by the systems of the Gauteng Provincial Department of Health lacks integrity and rigour in terms of validity, accuracy and completeness" (Gauteng Provincial Department of Health, 2014:6). This status quo has been inherent in the system since 2007 as suggested by the Auditor General's annual reports of 2007, 2011, and 2014 (Dube, 2013). Other deficiencies highlighted include the inconsistency between the produced information and the programme plans, that is, objectives, targets, and indicators and, therefore, lacks validity. This implies the Department cannot achieve the Constitutional provisions outlined in Section 195. Though some research on use of evaluation information for decision making exists but very little on public institutions in general interrogates actual use or non-use of evaluation and research information in decision-making. Thus, this research seeks to establish factors that facilitate or inhibit use of the evaluation information within the Gauteng Provincial Department of Health. This implies examining how evaluation information is used to make decisions to attain organisational excellence and efficiency in the delivery of quality health care services.

5. METHODS, DATA, FINDINGS, AND CONCLUSIONS OF RESEARCH STUDIES ON AND EVALUATIONS OF EVALUATION INFORMATION AND ITS UTILITY

In this Section, we describe empirical studies on and evaluations of evaluation information and its utility. In doing so, we point out research approaches, designs, procedures and methods applied as well as findings and conclusions realised by these studies. This allows us to establish methodological options that we should employ during our empirical part of this research. Lastly, we uncover the knowledge gap on this subject in general and Gauteng Provincial Department of Health in particular.

Cousins and Leithwood (1986) undertook a meta-evaluation-based on 65 studies undertaken between 1971 and 1986-on factors that influence use of evaluation and research information. They found that organisations will use empirical information resulting from a user-oriented evaluation or research generated from a "user-focused evaluation approach" (Fleischer and Christie, 2009:160). This implies applying less technical strategies, designs, procedures and methods that are understood and accepted by users. The other characteristics include (i.) relevance of findings to the context and (ii.) acceptance of the evaluation results,

Preskill, Zuckerman, and Matthews (2003) have suggested five factors that that hinders utilisation of evaluation results. These include (i.) poor or absent of effective evaluation process, (ii.) lack of champions or support from management, (iii.) lack of content or context specialists, (iv.) poor communication, and (v.) poor organisational culture and principles. They suggest that utilisation of evaluation and research information hinges on constructionist approach-that posits that knowledge about the real world is constructed by social actors through integration and collaboration. Amo and Cousins (2007) support this argument when they emphasise that continuous capacity building for all stakeholders within the organisation (organisational learning) is key to the process.

Fleischer and Christie (2009) used a cross-sectional design to examine the utilisation of evaluation information. They point out six determinants of information utilisation (i.) locating the evaluation within broader organisation context and culture; (ii.) evaluation capacity building; (iii.) collective planning from the concept stage including the

identification and reaching consensus on intended uses and users; (vi.) effective communication and engagement of all stakeholders throughout the evaluation process; (v.) soliciting of feedback from stakeholders regarding the evaluation approach and process, and; (vi.) developing a plan for follow-up on the implementation of findings.

The research study of Green and colleagues (2009) has examined the gap between theory and practice in the use of evaluation and research information in decision-making. They found that use of empirical information is influenced by effective engagement with stakeholders, attaining consensus on its utilisation, facilitating its use from conceptualisation to completion of the evaluation, and allowing users to control the process. Further, apart from credibility, the information should be user-friendly, relevant to the organisation, less technical (free of academic jargon), and objective (covers all angles without prejudice). Green and colleagues (2009:164) argue that, less technical language "... translates ideas into messages that are tailored, simple, clear, brief, reinforcing, and more concrete than abstract ... [and should be] enriched with analogies that can be understood in the local language". In addition, dissemination should be timely to avoid irrelevance. Lastly, the organisational features and context that determine the use of evaluation and research information include (i.) availability of resources, (ii.) existence of champions and leaders to maintain legitimacy and effective practical application of such information, (iii.) desire to change with less counter reformers, (iv.) good reward system for effective use of knowledge, and (v.) maintaining effective utilisation procedures as by Gorgens and Kusek (2009) have suggested as well.

Heunis and colleagues (2011) utilised a mixed research approach to determine effectiveness of the TB-HIV information management systems in Free State province. They also examined disparities between facilities and the provincial level. The study was limited to measuring accuracy and reliability of information. They report high usage of information for operations and resources allocation at facility and district levels. This is in line with Byskov and Olsen's (2005) emphasis to shift focus from reporting to using the information for programme improvement. However, they found that lack of data quality control measures results in discrepancies between information recorded at facility level and that at provincial level. They also uncover inconsistencies of patient treatment status. The study concludes that

fragmented information management contribute to production of poor quality data. Limited technical capacity and human capital as well as lack of feedback to facility level staff are the root causes of these challenges which one can link to limited leadership. The study did explore the information management process and use.

Kawonga, Blaauw, and Fonn (2012) conducted a cross-sectional survey study on the alignment of programme management supporting functions to health systems in South Africa with specific focus on HIV/AIDS monitoring and evaluation systems. The study examines the lack of champions or leadership vis-à-vis non-utilisation of evaluation and research information. Their findings reveal that having a monitoring and evaluation framework does not guarantee quality and utility of information. Ineffective leadership or lack of champions in monitoring and evaluation results in uncoordinated activities that leads to generating poor quality monitoring and evaluation information-that is, incomplete, inaccurate, and untimely. Kawonga, Blaauw, and Fonn (2012) argue that the silo approach when undertaking monitoring and evaluation activities limits the use of performance information.

Kawonga, Fonn, and Blaauw (2013) undertook a quantitative study to determine the involvement of health service managers in the monitoring and evaluation of the HIV/AIDS programme. The study was limited to measuring the relationship between possession of monitoring and evaluation knowledge and the demand or use of monitoring and evaluation information. It covered use and non-use of evaluation and research information comprehensively. The findings indicate that these managers do not utilise information generated from the monitoring and evaluation activities to improve the performance of the programme due to their limited knowledge of monitoring and evaluation knowledge. They associate higher knowledge of the monitoring and evaluation function to utility of the information this function generates. This implies managers are more likely to use performance information if they possess monitoring and evaluation knowledge. The study concludes that capacity building for organisational staff is imperative to ensure utilisation of monitoring and evaluation information.

Mitsunaga *et al.* (2013) conducted a qualitative research on the use of Community Health Workers for programme management and evaluation with specific focus on data quality assessments and

baseline results in Rwanda. The study was limited to measuring data quality issues that lead to non-use of programme performance information. Their findings reveal that use of evaluation and research information hinges on production of good quality (complete and consistent) data and effective feedback within an organisation as well as other affected institutions. They point out that poor quality data is due to poor description of indicators; insufficient, inconsistent, and unreliable data collection tools; data collation and analysis process; inconsistent reporting requirements as well as limited capacity building and supervision or leadership.

Ledikwe and colleagues (2014) conducted a qualitative research on health information, with specific a focus on data management and reporting systems in Botswana with a view of improving the quality of this information. The findings indicate that a framework for data management exists but technical human capital for its implementation is limited. Other limitations include poor technological infrastructure, a lack of needs assessment and engagement of stakeholders leading to failure to determine information of users, poor data quality, inconsistent information dissemination, inconsistent and limited feedback leading to non-use and, therefore, integration in formulation and implementation of interventions. However, this report does not explicitly detail the factors underlying non-use of evaluation and research information.

In sum, the described studies reveal that, effective use of the evaluation and research information hinges on (i.) continuous capacity building, (ii.) stakeholder participation, and (iii.) production of credible information by adhering to scientific rigour (reliability and validity). The other key determinants for effective use of this information are its relevance to the institutional and organisational development priorities as well as timely dissemination of information. Relatedly, effective champions (advocates) allow for institutionalisation of monitoring and evaluation as well as the utilisation of empirical information for decision-making. Lastly, there should be a systematic framework for applying, confirming, and following up the implementation of recommendations arising from evaluation and research.

These studies did not detail the underlying institutional factors that positively influence the use of evaluation and research information, especially within the public sector. Further, the

majority of reviewed studies applied quantitative research techniques that exposed the extent as well as the significance of this problem but fall short of providing the reason why such a problem is persistent. Therefore, this research proposes a qualitative research approach and a case study research design to establish institutional factors and processes that facilitate use of empirical evaluation and research information for decision making in the Gauteng Provincial Department of Health.

6. AN INTRODUCTION TO STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT AND ITS KEY COMPONENTS IN THE CONTEXT OF GENERATING AND UTILISING EVALUATION INFORMATION

From the foregoing discussion, we gather that strategic information management is the broad academic field encompassing this research. Therefore, in this Section, we describe strategic management-as the main field of study-and its main components to understanding the use versus non-use of evaluation information. Thereafter, we break down and describe the components further into ultimately the attributes of the evaluation information cycle. Van der Waladt and colleagues (2002) describe strategic management as a series of concerted efforts to overcome developmental challenges that affect societies. This entails a sequence of activities meant to achieve prescribed development goals and objectives (Ile, Eresia-Eke, & Allen-Ile, 2012). Figure 1 shows strategic management, its key components, and attributes of the monitoring and evaluation functions. Logically, strategic management entails formulation, implementation, managing and tracking, as well as evaluation of interventions. Ile, Eresia-Eke, and Allen-Ile (2012:74) point out that public institutions should systematically carry out the essential functions of strategic management, which include "planning, organising, leading and controlling" to respond to public needs. Availability of accurate and reliable

empirical information is critical in carrying out these functions (van Niekerk, 2002).

Ile, Eresia-Eke, and Allen-Ile (2012:74) describe planning as outlining the intervention goal, objectives, outputs, activities, and inputs as well as indicators, baselines values and targets. It is driven by the vision and mission of the organisation as well as the strategic objectives (theory of change). The process includes clarifying performance standards and identifying strengths and weaknesses of the organisation for purposes of mitigating imminent risks (Rowe *et al.*, 1994; Van der Waladt *et al.*, 2002). Evaluation information of the previous intervention cycle provides baseline data, highlights red flags, and offers best practises or alternative models (Ile, Allen-Ile, and Eresia-Eke, 2012). If evaluation information is not used for planning, the intervention might be ineffective, inefficient in allocation of funds, and fail to respond reality (Van der Waladt *et al.*, 2002).

Görgens and Kusek (2009) describe implementation as the use of inputs to carry out of activities to achieve the short-term (outputs), medium-term (outcomes), and long-term (impact) results of an intervention. This involves management and continuous monitoring of implementation progress as well as tracking use of inputs and accomplishment of activities and outputs (Smit & Cronje, 1992 in Van der Waladt *et al.*, 2002; Kusek & Rist, 2004). Information generated from monitoring provides decision makers with early warning on possible stumbling blocks (Ile, Allen-Ile, & Eresia-Eke, 2012).

Kusek and Rist (2004) have pointed out that evaluation takes place before, during, and after implementing an intervention to inform the nature and design of programmes; to assess implementation processes; as well as determine the worth of interventions. Following from this description, we can break down this component into three key sub-components-namely, (i.) formative or design,

FIGURE 1: Strategic management and its key components.



Source: Author

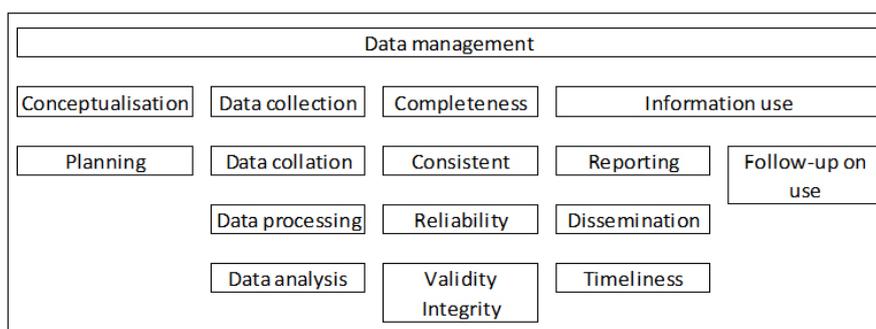
(ii.) process or implementation, and (iii.) summative (outcomes and impact). Kusek and Rist (2004) as well as Gorgens and Kusek (2009) have discussed these evaluations. Formative evaluation, that answers the future tense question, 'will the intervention work?' is undertaken prior to a initiating a development intervention. It assesses the environment and informs its design and modalities. Process or implementation evaluation answers the present tense question, 'is the intervention working?' reviews processes employed and progress made during implementation of interventions. Summative evaluation answers the past tense question, 'did the intervention work?' is conducted towards or after the end of a development intervention cycle to assess progress towards medium-long term objectives. Depending on the longevity of a development intervention, impact summative evaluation is conducted post the intervention to determine the attributable intended and unintended changes (Patton, 2010). Generally, the purpose of evaluation is to sustain good practices and improve performance (Van der Walddt *et al.*, 2002). For this function to be effective, Patton (1997) points out that, each intervention should have a clear theory of change and an accompanying results chain which should serve as framework for measuring performance. Osborne and Gaebler (1992) in Kusek and Rist (2004) have argued that, results should be measured so that we distinguish success from failure. Relatedly, success should be acknowledged and rewarded otherwise failure will prevail. This hinges on production and consumption of empirical evaluation.

Figure 2 below shows the key aspects of data management with a specific focus on evaluation divided into four groups. The first group comprises conceptualisation and planning following by the next group comprising data collection, collation, processing and analysis. The third group comprise aspects of data quality while the last group focuses on information use. The conceptualisation agenda

of an evaluation or policy related research should include reviewing available knowledge on the areas to be evaluated (Patton, 1997). To ensure credibility and, therefore, utilisation of the evaluation results, data quality aspects should be discussed during conceptualisation (Merriam & Associates, 2009; Patton, 2010; Bryman, 2012). During the planning stage, the purpose of the evaluation and the questions to be pursued should be articulated collaboratively from the onset to make findings relevant (Qotywa, 2009). Patton (1997) points out that, relevant stakeholders should be identified and involved in conceptualising and planning the evaluation so that their buy-in is secured and provide for common understanding. However, stakeholder composition should be strategic to avoid delays and deadlocks arising from competing interests and priorities (Greene, 1987; Patton, 2010). Planning should include securing resources and procuring a service provider, if need be (Qotywa, 2009; Ile, Allen-Ile, & Eresia-Eke, 2012). Monitoring and evaluation champions may play a critical role in securing resources and encourage other stakeholders to participation (Görgens & Kusek, 2009; Patton, 2015).

Data collection and collation involves gathering and grouping primary, secondary, and tertiary data that will answer the evaluation questions through unstructured and structured observation and interviews schedules (McCoy *et al.*, 2008). During this stage completeness, consistency and accuracy of data should be fostered to ensure its validity and integrity, therefore, its use (Patton, 2010). Data processing involves preparing the data collected and collated for analysis which in turn implies making sense out of data or converting data into information and knowledge (Patton, 2015). Similarly, data quality aspects including reliability should be fostered at this stage which is prone to both human bias and technical errors to ensure its integrity and validity, therefore, its use (McCoy *et al.*, 2008).

FIGURE 2: Key aspects of data management with a specific focus on evaluation.



Source: Author

Consequently, information should be used for decision making, which is the main reason for monitoring and evaluation (McCoy *et al.*, 2008). Patton (1978; 1997) has emphasised on a user-oriented approach, which entails inculcating utility in the evaluation process. However, evaluation and research information can only be used if the findings and recommendations are pragmatic, resources are availability, and address relevant priorities (Gorgens & Kusek, 2009). Obviously, to maintain its relevance, information use begins with *timely* reporting and disseminating of findings and recommendations to decision makers, stakeholders, and other users (Rogers, 1962; Qotywa, 2009). Van Niekerk (2002), McCoy and colleagues (2008), as well as Green and others (2009) have emphasised that to cater for different categories of users, evaluation and research information should be packaged in both detailed and summarised reports. The format should be user-friendly and the language should be clear and concise. There should be a framework for following-up on information use to confirm integration of adopted findings and recommendations (Kusek & Rist, 2004; Fleischer & Christie, 2009). McCoy and others (2008) have emphasised regular reviews on the demand for information to ascertain the extent to which it fulfils the needs and priorities of the decision makers, stakeholders, and other users. Generally, there should be a continuous improvement on the evaluation process.

In sum, strategic management underpins initiation, implementation, and review of development interventions. Evaluation is one of four main components of strategic management with the others being planning, implementation, and monitoring. The key attributes of evaluation data management include conceptualisation, planning, collection, collating, processing and analysing data as well as dissemination and integration into planning and implementation of development intervention. These attributes extend from undertaking an evaluation to actual use of the emanating information and, therefore, they should inform themes for data collection, collation, processing and analysis of evaluation and research information.

7. DOCUMENTED FRAMEWORKS FOR INTERPRETING EMPIRICAL RESULTS ON UTILISATION OF EVALUATION INFORMATION

Finally, we summarise explanatory frameworks capable of explaining non-use of evaluation

information. In doing so, we should point out (i.) the available frameworks in the field of strategic management as well as evaluation and then (ii.) detail those applicable to our empirical research results. Considering the similarities between evaluation and research vis-à-vis utilisation of empirical results for decision making, the theoretical framework here extend to those applicable to research results.

Snow (1959) has described the *two-communities theory* in the context of knowledge utilisation necessitated by the little impact of information in public policy making. The theory purports that the non-existent relationship between social scientists and policy makers affects the use of empirical information in public policy (decision) making. In sum, there is no synergy between researchers and policy makers in their approach to solving world challenges. The two-communities have contrasting cultures as well as different principles, standards, ethics, reward systems (Wingens, 1990). Caplan (1979) argues that social scientists are concerned with scientific objectivity whilst policy makers are inclined towards immediate and straightforward solutions to social problems. He also points out other differences among them is that social scientists are rewarded through publishing knowledge whereas policy makers are appraised through an electoral mandate. In addition, social scientists perceive causation in a broader sense while policy makers attribute causations to smaller segments. The downside of this theory is that "the importance of communication is not rejected; it is simply omitted from the 'two communities' theory" (Rich, 2010:325).

Nelson *et al.* (1987) have applied the two-communities theory in an attempt to suggest the determinants (steps) of improving utilisation of information produced by social scientists and researchers. They found that application of knowledge for decision making requires broader contextual considerations. For instance, empirical information is used if it provides for political gain, counters the opposition party, and confirms a decision that is already made. The other key determinants of knowledge utilisation include (i.) validity and relevance of the information, (ii.) concise and less technical information aligned to the policy of interest, (iii.) researchers should be knowledgeable of the policy process, regulations, and procedures, and (iv.) researchers and evaluators should engage public representatives in the research process and participate in policy making. Further, information should be timely and accessible.

Webber (1987) has applied the theory to test if legislators use of research information in decision-making. He suggests that, although the two-communities theory can describe the utility of research performance information, it does not explain the contextual or institutional factors that motivate decision makers to use the information. This is echoed by Wingers (1990:30) when he suggests that, "the theory deals with non-use, not, however, with the use of scientific knowledge, which bears crucial implications for its theoretical substance". Further, a rigorous design and implementation of a research process does not guarantee utilisation of information. Therefore, one has to understand the reasons underlying non-use of information, which might "include the nature of the political environment" (Webber, 1987:614). Public representatives use information to account for delivery of services and maintain legitimacy. It empowers them to respond to the service delivery questions and provides them with the opportunity to explore policy alternatives. They also consider policy information to justify funding for development and legitimise their decisions.

Rogers (1962) has described the *diffusion of innovations theory* on dissemination and utilisation of new research knowledge. The theory highlights the communication of new information in decision making and provide advocacy for usability of the produced information. The main elements of the 'innovation-decision process' include generating information and knowledge, disseminating through persuasive channels, considering the decision-making time frame, implementing the decisions, and evaluating outcomes of the action taken. The extent to which decision-makers become knowledgeable and get persuaded about an innovation idea hinges on sound information dissemination strategies. These include information rigour and objectivity, process audit and constant feedback, effective stakeholder engagement and careful consideration of their inputs. Stakeholders should be involved from conceptualisation so that they participate in identifying potential uses of the information. Stakeholder participation allows for their buy-in which results in utilising the information or adopting the idea. Organisational arrangements and cultures that allow for using empirical knowledge in decision-making determine its use. Further, the extent to which an organisation is exposed allows for its ability to be accommodative of the knowledge produced by external researchers. Lastly, continuous staff capacity building facilitates exposure which

contributes to adoption of an innovation or use of empirical information.

Green *et al.* (2009) have applied the theory and suggest that triangulation or use of multiple sources, attribution of various sources, representative samples, empathy, and disseminating knowledge timely may increase utility of information. Apart from commitment and dedication to realise a shared vision, the evaluation or research process should be flexible enough to accommodate collaboration, tolerate varying perspectives, and emerging changes. The information or innovation should be within the organisational context if it has to be adopted or used. External characteristics that determine the adoption of information or innovation is its effectiveness and relevance to solving social problems, ability to offer alternatives, reliability, and inclusiveness (Rogers, 1962). With regards to content, Green and colleagues (2009) suggests that it should be timely and user-friendly, adaptable, provide effective and efficient solutions and improvement to an intervention, ethically and culturally considerate, as well as high quality in terms of integrity and objectivity. The message should be jargon free "... tailored, simple, clear, brief, reinforcing, and more concrete than abstract ... [as well as] ... enriched with analogies that can be understood in the local language" (Green *et al.*, 2009:164). In their support for this theory, they suggest that, the information source determines it's utility especially if it guarantees credibility, responsiveness to the users' needs and priorities, simplifies utility expectations, and oriented towards use from the beginning to the end as well as allowing users to control the process. With regards to Organisational arrangements that determine information use, Green and colleagues (2009) point out (i.) availability of resources, (ii.) presence of champions versus counter reformers, (iii.) desire to change, (iv.) reward system for effective use of knowledge, (v.) less rhetoric and more practical application, and (vi.) effective utilisation procedures.

Necessitated by limited information use to decide between effective and ineffective programmes, Patton (1978) coined the *utilisation-focused evaluation theory*. This theory outlines determinants for using and not using evaluation information. The theory posits that, evaluations should be measured by the actual use of information. This means an evaluation process should include how the information it generates will be used for decision-making. The theory emphasises identifying information users and helping them use the information meaningfully.

The theory advocates for contextual environment analysis to determine values as well as information needs and priorities of primary information users and decision-makers. This way, the evaluator "does not unilaterally impose a focus and set of methods on a programme, as much as the stakeholders are not set up to impose their initial predilections unilaterally or dominantly" (Patton, 1997:433). This allows for accuracy and validity and, therefore, utility of information (Patton, 2010). Since the users are engaged from the outset, the approach reduces on the lengthy engagement process associated with information dissemination. Further, user engagement allows for packaging of information concisely and implementation of recommendations is inherent and effective.

According to Patton (2010), the key objectives of the theory include (i.) institutionalisation of evaluation within organisations, (ii.) facilitate common understanding of the evaluation objectives, (iii.) provide effective support to realise development objectives, (iv.) promote embraced ownership of the evaluation process, and (v.) drive awareness of the applicable approaches, designs, procedure and methods. Active participation and effective collaboration underpins the utilisation-focused evaluation theory. In sum, use of information "... is not something one becomes interested in at the end of an evaluation" (Patton, 1997:436).

Greene (1987) has applied this theory and found that engaging organisational representatives' offers evaluators or researchers an opportunity to understand the context of and insight into the development intervention under study so that the evaluation or research is aligned to the organisational philosophy. The approach allows for multiple perspectives leading to generation of credible and technically sound information. It also allows primary users to choose and agree on the methods and information sought, therefore, increasing the chance of using information generated. The underlying assumption is that if decision-makers understand the methods applied and feel in control of the information production process, they will take ownership and use the findings (Patton, 1978). More recently, Crona and Parker (2011:7) have argued that "the form and content of social interactions between researchers and policy makers, influences knowledge utilisation above and beyond the technical quality of science information" because it determines credibility and legitimacy of the information.

There are some shortcomings to this theory as suggested by Patton (2010). First, institutional and organisational as well as staff turnover might comprise the process and effective utility of information as the new participants may not be knowledgeable about the context. Second, working with a large group of participants might be marred by coordination challenges and, therefore, timing and cost-a limitation that Ayers (1987) and Greene (1987) have observed when they applied the theory. They argue that these challenges arise from delays resulting from challenges of getting everyone under one roof at the same time and difficulties in reaching consensus. The other challenges suggested by Greene (1987;1990) include selecting appropriate stakeholders, soliciting their commitment, addressing political differences, and facilitating effective trade-offs between users' needs, technical standards and principles as well as ethics. Rigour and technical quality resulting in production of long-term knowledge determines the merit of information while responsiveness and utility resulting in production of short-term knowledge determines its worthiness. Therefore, there is a need to strike a balance by trading-off quality information and useful information (Greene, 1990). In some cases, these challenges may imply production of short-term knowledge that is less detailed and less generalisable useful for short-term decision-making only. In other cases, these delays are offset by the benefit of a common understanding and sense of ownership among the stakeholders (Greene, 1987).

Overall, the three theories reinforce inclusive participation of the key stakeholders in all phases of the evaluation process. The intention is ensuring relevance of the information vis-à-vis institutional priorities thus advancing effective utility without compromising the scientific rigour. Acknowledging the complexities of the public sector environment implies evaluation information should be tailor-made so that it is relevant and, therefore, useful. This approach is also intended to institutionalise the culture and demand for decision-making based on empirical information. This implies inducing technical awareness and ownership among officials and the leaders. Inculcating use of information should be throughout the evaluation process rather than at completion and should be accompanied by a framework that tracks and assess actual use as a way of maintaining the legitimacy of the evaluation function. With the theoretical framework in place, we now derive this study's conceptual framework.

8. UTILISATION OF EVALUATION INFORMATION IN DECISION-MAKING IN THE GAUTENG PROVINCIAL DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Figure 3 on the following page is a proposed conceptual framework that provides a road map that will guide the empirical part of this research and, therefore, it links the conceptualisation of the research through the knowledge gap to interpretation of the findings. Specifically, it summarises (i.) the research problem in context, (ii.) conclusions of past and current studies on and evaluations of utilisation of evaluation and research information in decision-making while exposing the knowledge gap, (iii.) the proposed academic context of this research and the accompanying key attributes, and (iv.) the proposed interpretive framework. First off, this research intends to assess the utilisation of evaluation and research information in decision-making in the Gauteng Provincial Department of Health. The constitutional mandate of the Gauteng Provincial Department of Health is to implement programmes whose aim is to "reduce general and maternal mortality rate, lessen the effects of HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis, and improve responsiveness of the health systems" (National Department of Health 2011:8). This can be achieved through evidence-based decision-making provided through monitoring, evaluation, and research information. However, reports, for example Manto Management (2007), show that there is a limited use of empirical information in decision-making within the Gauteng Provincial Departments. Besides, the Public Service Commission (2007) as well as Centre for Learning on Evaluation and Results (2012) argue that information is used for output reporting requirements rather than for meaningful formulation and implementation of development interventions. This status quo consequently affects provision of health care services to the provincial citizens.

Second, a problem analysis of this problem shows that the reasons underlying non-utilisation of evaluation and research information in decision-making includes a lack of (i.) evaluation and research capacity, (ii.) objective, credible, and accurate evaluation and research results, (iii.) effective feedback and/or dissemination of user-friendly evaluation and research information, (iv.) active champions, (v.) contextualised information, (vi.) user-oriented evaluation and research, (vii.) comprehensive follow-up plans. Underutilisation of evaluation and research information for decision

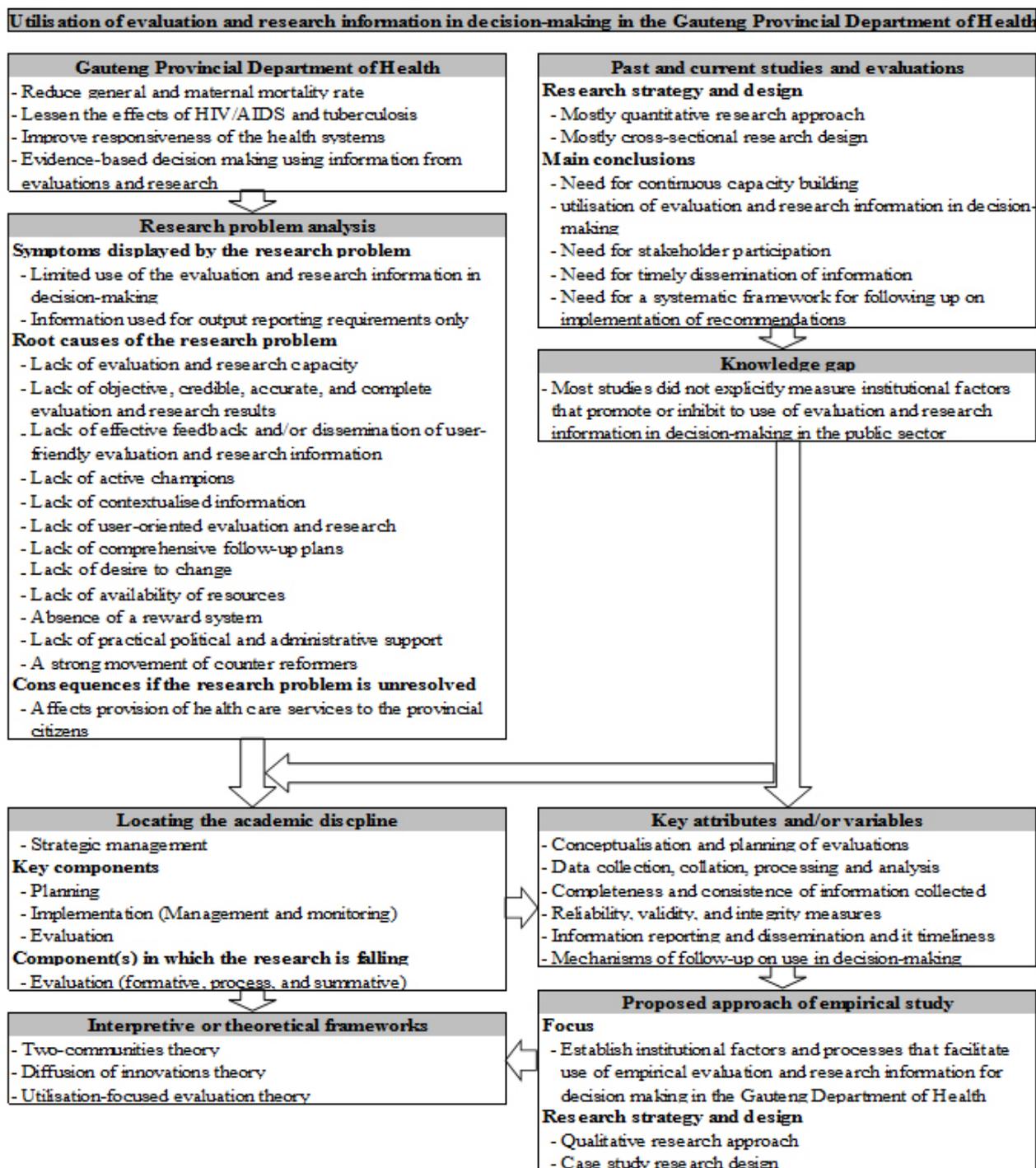
making is also due to a lack of desire to change, availability of resources, a reward system, practical political and administrative support, as well as a strong movement of counter reformers.

Third, conclusions of past and current studies and evaluations on this subject – for example, Cousins and Leithwood (1986), Heunis and colleagues (2011), as well as Ledikwe and colleagues (2014) – reveals that utilisation of evaluation and research information in decision-making needs (i.) continuous capacity building in information production, (ii.) production of credible information by adhering to scientific rigour, (iii.) stakeholder participation, (iv.) timely dissemination of information, and (v.) a systematic framework for following up on implementation of recommendations. The most apparent knowledge gap exposed by these studies and evaluation – that have mostly applied the quantitative research approach and the cross-sectional research design – is that they did not explicitly measure institutional factors that promote or inhibit use of evaluation and research information in decision-making in the public sector. Therefore, the empirical part of this research will focus on establishing factors that facilitate or inhibit use of evaluation and research information to make decisions in the Gauteng Provincial Department of Health.

Fourth, to interrogate utilisation of this information in planning and implementation, we propose contextualising this research within the strategic management field whose main components include planning, implementation, as well as monitoring and evaluation. This study is restricted to the last component which generates evaluation as well as research information. Kusek and Rist (2004) provide for three evaluation functions. First, formative evaluation which is undertaken prior and during formulation of an intervention and addresses the question, 'will the intervention work?' Second, process evaluation which is undertaken during implementation and addresses the question, 'is the intervention working?' Lastly, summative evaluation which is undertaken way into or after the implementation and addresses the question, 'did the intervention work?'

Fifth, arising from this decision, we need information on key attributes guiding information generation, processing, analysis, reporting and integration into formulation and implementation of development interventions. These include; conceptualisation and planning of evaluations, data collection, collation,

FIGURE 3: A proposed conceptual framework for assessing the utilisation of evaluation and research information in decision-making in the Gauteng Provincial Department of Health.



Source: Author

processing, analysis, as well as information reporting and dissemination, use, and follow-up on use in decision-making. This includes data quality management in the production of this information – that is, assurance and control for completeness, accuracy, validity, integrity, and reliability. We intend to utilise a qualitative research strategy and case study research design to collect and interrogate

empirical information on these attributes to assess utilisation of evaluation and research information in decision-making in the Gauteng Provincial Department of Health.

Lastly, we intend to apply three established frameworks-‘two-communities theory’ (Snow, 1959), ‘diffusion of innovations theory’ (Rogers,

1962), and the 'utilisation-focused evaluation' (Patton, 1978)-simultaneously to understand and interpret our empirical findings. Jointly they provide a unique potential to explain utilisation of evaluation and research information in decision-making in the Gauteng Provincial Department of Health. The first one will help us assess systems and strategies on dissemination and use of the evaluation information. We will use the second one to explore the relationship between the user-oriented approach and effective utilisation of information. We will employ the last one to examine the relevance of the evaluations in institutions.

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PLANNING AND GOVERNANCE OF BLENDED PEDAGOGIES FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA: IS THE PUZZLE COMPLETE WITHOUT THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT?

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ABSTRACT

Development in the world is mostly knowledge-based and thus, largely depends on the exchange of information through modern technology. Countries that are equipped with technology and knowledge find it easy to participate in the knowledge economy and tend to be the main players in its socio-economic associated developments. However, participation in the knowledge economy starts with the adoption and implementation of blended pedagogies which have the capacity to positively transform national development. Blended pedagogies support and encourage collaborative, creative, innovative, adaptable and flexible teaching and learning that is necessary to develop skills that are crucial for participation in the knowledge economy and national development. In South Africa, evidence suggests that the integration of educational Information and Communication Technology (ICT) with conventional didactics is to a large extent, determined and driven by national and provincial governments. That is, planning approaches and governance models that are assumed to be a necessary precondition for the successful implementation of blended learning are determined at the national and provincial governments. This paper therefore, theoretically argues that integration of ICT with conventional didactics should be grounded at and be implemented by the local government as is done with services such as water, electricity and housing, among others. The paper concludes that the silence of local government in the planning, governance and implementation of blended pedagogies could be a spice for failure and a missing puzzle for the success of this transformation. Thus, the paper recommends that planning and governance of blended pedagogies should be the core responsibility of the local government.

Keywords: Blended Pedagogies, Planning, Local Government, Governance, National Development.

1. INTRODUCTION

Information and Communication Technology (ICT) has dramatically expanded the knowledge base, reduced information costs, and created information goods which makes participation in the global knowledge economy among different nations a reality (Bidarian, Bidarian & Davoudi, 2011; Greef, 2015; World Bank, 2016). Technology has facilitated effective and efficient "searching, matching, and sharing of information" and contributed to collaboration of various organizations and development agents as it influences how "organizations operate, people seek opportunities, and citizens interact" with their governments and other nations as well as within themselves (World Bank, 2016:8). Although the number of people using the Internet in the world has grown rapidly since 2005, more jobs and the provision of public services have fallen short of technological expectations (Odendaal, 2016; World Bank, 2016). The effects of technology on global productivity, opportunities for poverty eradication and the adoption of accountable governance has been less than what ICT can actually do (Bidarian *et al.*, 2011; Odendaal, 2016; World Bank, 2016). Ironically, the global digital divide is still growing regardless of the rapid growth of the technological gadgets and infrastructure such as the Internet, computers and mobile phone, among others (Odendaal, 2016; World Bank, 2016). In developing countries, more than half of the world's population are still without access to ICT and, as such, are unable to participate in the global knowledge economy (Bidarian *et al.*, 2011; Odendaal, 2016; World Bank, 2016). The situation calls for countries to create favourable environments for

all their citizens by technologically enhancing and investing in education, promoting good planning and governance and, most importantly, ensuring that the Internet is affordable, open and safe for all (Odendaal, 2016; World Bank, 2016).

South Africa, just like other developing countries, also focuses on reducing the digital divide among its population by using ICT in ways that will empower and transform the country (Mayisela, 2013; Murtin, 2013; Xiao, Califf, Sarker & Sarker, 2013; Farrukh & Singh, 2014; Hart & Laher, 2015; Odendaal, 2016). To realize its dream, South Africa outlined in the White Paper on e-Education that all teachers and learners must be ICT capable by 2013 (Department of Education, 2004). This admirable goal has, however, not yet been achieved three years after the target date. One of the main reasons for not achieving this goal is largely due to the "techno-determinist" view adopted by the government, which prioritises the provision of physical access to ICT infrastructure and consider it to be sufficient for creating, encouraging and supporting the development of ICT capable learners and teachers (Mayisela, 2013; Murtin, 2013; Xiao *et al.*, 2013; Hart & Laher, 2015). Theoretically, it is very clear that the adoption of educational ICT goes beyond access to infrastructure and online material (Fu, 2013; Murtin, 2013; Farrukh & Singh, 2014; Hart & Laher, 2015). Thus, it is necessary for South Africa to consider the active participation of the local government in planning, governance and implementation of blended pedagogies as it is the sphere of government that is responsible for service delivery. The involvement of the local government should assist in the facilitation of successful implementation of blended pedagogies.

ICT does have the capacity to transform education positively through its support of collaborative, creative, innovative, adaptable and flexible teaching and learning that develops 21st century skills (Mayisela, 2013; Murtin, 2013; Xiao *et al.*, 2013; Farrukh & Singh, 2014; Ramnarain, 2014; Greef, 2015; Hart & Laher, 2015; Sangari, 2015). The adoption and implementation of blended learning also enables teachers to effectively deliver lessons to a large number of learners at the same time (Mayisela, 2013; Murtin, 2013; Xiao *et al.*, 2013; Farrukh & Singh, 2014; Hart & Laher, 2015), which should particularly be helpful in a South African context, where teacher-learner ratios are very high (Murtin, 2013). Blended learning in South Africa, however, cannot be achieved without the adoption of appropriate planning approaches and governance

models specifically at the local government level as well as the implementation of necessary infrastructure and required skills and culture from both teachers and learners. Therefore, this paper theoretically evaluates planning and governance of blended pedagogies which excludes the local government from participating in the realization of the educational technologies. The paper consists of five sections including the introduction and the conclusion. The second section provides a synopsis of the national and provincial planning approaches towards the implementation of blended pedagogies. In the third section, the governance models which are adopted for the integration of e-learning with conventional didactics are discussed. The fourth section evaluates the silence of the local government and its expected roles in the planning and governance of the implementation of blended pedagogies whereas the last section provides the conclusion of the paper.

2. SOUTH AFRICA'S NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL PLANNING FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF BLENDED PEDAGOGIES

Over the past ten years, transformation has resulted in changing landscapes and citizens who rely heavily on the Internet as the main medium of communication for development (Department of Communications, 2014). However, the major challenge for South Africa has been the successful participation in the "global systems and communities" while the needs and aspirations of South Africans at local level should be satisfied (Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, 1994). The country should also ensure that its citizens have access to an affordable and fast ICT infrastructure that is able to create "internationally competitive knowledge economy, improve productivity and expand access to new markets" (Department of Communications, 2014:14). Thus, South Africa's ability to participate in the global knowledge economy depends on the state of its ICT sector in relation to planning and governance of the implementation of infrastructure, skills and culture towards the desired transformation. Appropriate planning approaches and governance models at local government are needed to enable a country like South Africa to use ICT to liberate itself from poverty and inequality and under-development. However, the national ICT hierarchy support system in the country is decentralised through planning and policy implementing structures mostly at provincial and district levels (Department of Education,

2012; Vandeyar, 2013). ICT policy and planning is the responsibility of the national government whereas implementation powers are supposed to be with the provincial and local government (Department of Education, 2012; Vandeyar, 2013). Pragmatic evidence however, suggests that the local government is silent in the planning and governance of the implementation of blended pedagogies. Thus, the concern remains if ever blended pedagogies implementation puzzle is complete without the participation of the local government. The succeeding two subsections discuss the country's ICT planning approaches at national and provincial levels, respectively, for implementation of blended learning.

2.1 National Planning Approaches

The growth of wealth in the world's largest and successful economies is created by knowledge-based industries that rely heavily on human capital with 21st century skills and technological innovation (Department of Education, 2004; Department of Science & Technology, 2007; National Planning Commission (NPC), 2012). The White Paper on e-Education (2004) guides South Africa's approach towards the integration of ICT in pedagogy so as to increase access to learning opportunities by redressing inequalities, improving the quality of teaching and learning as well as providing personalised and real world learning experiences. Accordingly, the use of ICT in South Africa's schools should encourage "improved inventive thinking skills, such as creativity, problem solving, higher-order thinking skills and reasoning, along with improved effective communication. Benefits to the broader society include increased opportunities for lifelong learning, communication and exchange essential to democratic living, and the creation of a pool of globally competitive human resources" (Department of Education, 2004:16). For South Africa to be able to participate in the global knowledge economy, the Department of Science and Technology (2007) published South Africa's ten-year innovation plan. The plan, in support of various sector departments, hopes to transform South Africa into a knowledge-based economy, in which its economic growth is led by the production and dissemination of knowledge to enrich all fields of human endeavour. A society that effectively uses its knowledge systems and human capital to address development challenges and problems in their country while exploiting economic opportunities in a sustainable way is what South Africa needs to compete with developed nations in the knowledge-based economy (Department of Science and Technology, 2007).

South Africa's national focus on ICT as a catalyst for participation in the global knowledge economy has provoked the initiation of ICT integration in education. The National Development Plan (NDP) 2030 vision states that education, training and innovation system should cater for different needs and produce highly skilled individuals. The graduates of South Africa's universities and colleges should have the skills and knowledge to meet the present and future needs of the economy and society (NPC, 2012). For practical realisation of the vision, partnership across the South Africa's education system and internationally accredited institutions should lead to higher levels of innovation, creativity and collaboration. Additionally, South Africa's investments should be channelled towards the development of people through education which can be used as an instrument to create societies that are better able to respond to the 21st century needs. These needs are associated with "lifelong learning", "continuous professional development" and "knowledge production" together with innovation, creativity and collaboration which are central to building the capabilities of individuals and the nation as a whole (NPC, 2012). Planning and governance of blended pedagogies however, must always be considered for a developing country like South Africa. The NDP 2030 asserts that, for successful planning and governance of the adoption and implementation of blended learning, the interests of all stakeholders in education should be integrated and aligned to support the goal of achieving effective educational goals that addresses community needs and national development.

2.2 Provincial Planning Approaches

The operationalization of the ICT national plans and aspirations in South Africa requires the development and implementation of provincial plans. Although the Presidency is leading the ICT revolution in education through its "Operation Phakisa", most provinces are still without educational technology plans. For the purpose of this subsection, the provincial ICT planning approaches of the Gauteng and Western Cape Provinces, which decided to take the lead in the implementation of e-learning, are evaluated as follows:

2.2.1 Gauteng Province

Informed by the New Growth Path's and NDP 2030 vision's rapid extension of access to and use of ICT for participation in the global knowledge economy,

the Gauteng Provincial Government developed the ICT Development Strategy (n.d.). The strategy is driven by a number of objectives which include the provision of universal access to broadband for citizens, business as well as government institutions; building the network infrastructure and information super-highway to encourage the development of advanced workforce with better ICT skills; increasing ICT skills capacity within the public and the private sectors to create a pool of ICT practitioners and entrepreneurs; and, improving of service delivery by providing high quality ICT services through e-government, among others (Gauteng Department of Economic Development, n.d.). Ultimately, the Gauteng ICT Development Strategy hopes to bridge the digital gap, strengthen economic productivity and competitiveness as well as enable government service delivery in areas such as health, education, safety and security and social development, in the province (Gauteng Department of Economic Development, n.d.; Pasensie, 2010; Sukazi & Ntshingila, n.d.). The strategy locates the role of ICT within three interrelated goals, namely, "productivity, connectivity networks and lastly, ICT skills capacity" (Gauteng Department of Economic Development, n.d.). Accordingly, the achievement of the three goals should lead the province into experiencing the "development of new businesses", participatory and effective e-governance as well as new ways of educating its society (Gauteng Department of Economic Development, n.d.; Pasensie, 2010; Sukazi & Ntshingila, n.d.). Palmer & Graham, 2013). To create a knowledge society from citizens, businesses and government, the province aims to exploit the use of the Internet, telecommunications and mobile technologies as well as computer software and applications.

Effective participation in the knowledge economy and its sustainability requires the development of ICT capabilities, skills and appropriate culture. Accordingly, the Gauteng ICT Development Strategy identified three levels at which skills should be developed, namely: "skills needed for modern life outside the workplace; skills needed in the work place to respond to changes in business processes and industry structures; and technical skills for the ICT specialists needed in ICT and related industries" (Gauteng Department of Economic Development, n.d.: 41). As a response to the skills needed, the provincial government planned to implement wireless Internet in classrooms in order to connect all teachers and over 1.8 million learners in Gauteng Province to digital technologies

(Gauteng Department of Economic Development, n.d.; Pasensie, 2010; Sukazi & Ntshingila, n.d.). Palmer & Graham, 2013). To supplement school-based ICT development, Internet connection will be taken to households for both teacher and learner use. Investments in ICT education should focus on introducing computers in classrooms, giving schools the flexibility to utilise the Internet for teaching and learning within budget constraints, as well as encouraging the buying and use of appropriate software based on institutional requirements (Gauteng Department of Economic Development, n.d.). The development of technical skills for ICT specialists required the government to plan to support institutions of higher learning in taking an active role in developing the needed experts in this field (Gauteng Department of Economic Development, n.d.). This approach will therefore, ensure increasing ICT skilled labour at all the three levels that the provincial government identified. Although Gauteng seems not to have a formal educational ICT plan for integrating e-learning with conventional didactics, it has taken a lead in the implementation of blended pedagogies in South Africa.

2.2.2 Western Cape Province

The ability to stimulate economic growth, support government functions and public services, and promote the private sector, is more easily achieved with ICT. The availability and accessibility of a strong and reliable ICT infrastructure inclusive of broadband network is central to "efficient" communications and Internet connections which play a key role in achieving the provincial objectives of technology (Palmer & Graham, 2013; Mawson, 2015; Phakathi, 2015; South Africa. Info, 2015; Western Cape Department of Education, 2015; Mzekandaba, 2016). Thus, infrastructure is considered as a requirement for addressing existing backlogs in technological coverage by increasing the "speed and functionality" of current networks and supplying new ICT as it is introduced (Palmer & Graham, 2013). For the Western Cape, ICT is expected to "provide the necessary infrastructure to integrate various government departments and offices and improve public services, such as public safety, disaster management and communications; improve Internet access at a household level; reduce the cost of international bandwidth; improve connection to businesses" and most importantly to promote e-learning (Palmer & Graham, 2013:61). To respond to the NDP 2030 vision and the provincial goals in relation to ICT, the former Premier Helen

Zille and Education MEC Debbie Schafer in the Western Cape outlined the details of the e-learning project that the Provincial Department of Education was implementing across the province. According to Schafer "this is a very exciting initiative that has taken years of planning and has the potential to make a major contribution towards improving the quality of teaching and learning in the province" (South Africa. Info, 2015b: n.p.). Among others, the objective of the project is to refresh existing computer laboratories and provide new laboratories as well as technology-rich classrooms which are called "smart classrooms" (Palmer & Graham, 2013; Mawson, 2015; Phakathi, 2015; South Africa. Info, 2015; Western Cape Department of Education, 2015; Mzekandaba, 2016). The former Premier emphasized that "e-learning will assist us in tackling some of the problems we face, including increasing access to quality education in disadvantaged communities, providing support for struggling learners, contributing towards teachers' training and professional development and improving management and administration at schools. It will also provide learners with the skills to participate in our increasingly technology-based economy in the future" (South Africa. Info, 2015b: n.p.). Even though the Western Cape's Department of Education does not have an ICT implementation plan for schools, it directly responds to the national plans and aspirations.

Drawing from the planning experiences of the Gauteng and Western Cape provinces, the country seems to have adopted the policy and analysis planning approach for the implementation of educational technology. The provincial planning approaches in question are derived from the national plans which hope to technologically transform South Africa for national development and participation in the global knowledge economy. However, South Africa is characterised by good plans which are hardly implemented (Bonnett, 2016; James, 2016; Wilkinson, 2016). The lack of implementation of plans is apparently mostly due to limited "capital availability and planning", especially at local government (James, 2016). In other words, South Africa has plans towards the implementation of what it considers effective and sustainable ICT infrastructure for development of skills that are necessary for the country's participation in the global knowledge economy, but the challenge remains that related to their implementation and lack thereof at the local government.

3. GOVERNANCE MODELS FOR THE INTEGRATION OF E-LEARNING WITH CONVENTIONAL DIDACTICS IN SOUTH AFRICA

In a knowledge society, "individuals, groups, organizations and government" must work as partners, rather than opponents in the provision of quality life (Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, 1994; NPC, 2012; Bonnett, 2016; James, 2016; Wilkinson, 2016). Community networking, stakeholders' collaboration and common purpose and understanding of "healthy competition, openness and accountability" should be the guiding principles for building a sustainable knowledge economy (Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, 1994). Accordingly, ICT must "build and sustain social, legal and economic structures and processes that support innovation", collaboration and creativity; be "competitive while sustaining the natural environment and leading to wellbeing for the greatest number of people" (Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, 1994:n.p.). Most importantly, the sustainability of the 21st century skill for participation in the global knowledge economy requires citizens to develop and frequently update their "knowledge, competencies, abilities and skills" that are necessary for the production of innovative products and services. For a country to be able to "envision a desired future, examine its possibilities, select preferred results, and pursue its choices vigorously", collaboration of various stakeholders in the process of concern is crucial (Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, 1994:n.p.). With the national government leading the processes of ICT implementation in the country as the principal stakeholder, a number of its departments play a crucial role in ensuring that South Africa participates in the knowledge economy, such as the central policy departments, agencies, science, engineering and technology institutions and state corporations. Moreover, the involvement and participation of the private and education sectors as well as the non-government organizations are regarded as equally important (Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, 1994; Bonnett, 2016; James, 2016; Wilkinson, 2016).

At a national level, a policy goal is to ensure that ICT infrastructure and systems adequately support the needs of the economy and allow for parties beyond the public sector to participate in the provision processes (NPC, 2012). Over the last decade,

the government, private sector, parastatals, and non-governmental organisations have responded positively to the challenge of bridging the digital divide in South Africa (NPC, 2012; Department of Communications, 2014). According to the NPC (2012:190) "the ecosystem of digital networks, services, applications, content and devices, firmly integrated in the economic and social fabric, will connect public administration and the active citizen; promote economic growth, development and competitiveness; drive the creation of decent work; underpin nation building and strengthen social cohesion; and support local, national and regional integration". In South Africa, ICT should reduce the spatial exclusions and enable unified participation by the majority of citizens in the global ICT system (Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, 1994; NPC, 2012; Department of Communications, 2014). ICT is an enabler which speeds up delivery, develops intelligence, creates ways to share, learn and engage knowledge and thus, an all-inclusive strategy is needed to diffuse it in all areas of society and economy (Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, 1994; NPC, 2012). A single cohesive strategy is needed to ensure the distribution of ICTs in all areas of society and the economy. Like energy and transport, ICT is an enabler that can speed up service delivery, support analysis, build intelligence and create new ways to share information, learn from each other and globally engage with other parties. Additionally, South Africa's policies revealed that the "ICT revolution had a major impact on the way in which societies are organised and managed, resulting in fundamental and far-reaching" changes that are key to wealth creation and social and economic development (OECD, 2008:330 cited in Vandeyar, 2013).

In Gauteng Province, ICT infrastructure is dominated by both the government and private sector. The former is inclusive of the provincial government and state-owned enterprises whereas the latter is divided into two categories namely; "fixed line and mobile companies" (Gauteng Department of Economic Development, n.d.). Fixed line companies dominating the province include Telkom, Neotel and Dark Fibre Africa, among others, while the mobile sector is dominated by MTN, Vodacom and Cell C. These companies, in partnership with the government, have invested in massive ICT infrastructure across Gauteng Province in various institutions (Gauteng Department of Economic Development, n.d.). Although planning of ICT in Gauteng is informed by government objectives, its governance takes into

consideration various stakeholders. The Western Cape provincial government, in partnership with private institutions such as Telkom and Broadband InfraCo, are providing the "fibre optic cabling" for mobile networks as well as faster, cheaper and more reliable communication networks and Internet connectivity (Palmer & Graham, 2013). The private sector, which has a large financial stake in the system, dominates the provision of ICT through mobile phones and Internet connectivity (Palmer & Graham, 2013). However, South Africa's government is mostly misguided by the focus it places on the implementation of the ICT policy in education specifically looking at implementers. Currently, ICT planning, implementation and governance seem to be the responsibility of the national and provincial governments whereas the custodians of service delivery are left out. Generally, South Africa faces a demand for economic growth where, in this case, participation in the global knowledge economy is key. Therefore, collaboration between the state and the private sector which should start at the local government is important to yield economic growth, especially the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (James, 2016; Wilkinson, 2016). Public-private partnerships wherein the state acts as a bank while private companies that have the necessary skills, expertise and equipment, should give the local government the responsibility to implement the ICT plans (Wilkinson, 2016). As the custodians of service delivery, local government should be driving the governance, planning and implementation of blended pedagogies.

4. SOUTH AFRICA'S BLENDED PEDAGOGIES PUZZLE WITHOUT LOCAL GOVERNMENT

South Africa's national and provincial ICT plans demonstrate the country's ambition and interest towards the implementation and adoption of educational technology. The country accepts and realises that the growth of wealth and level of development in the world's largest and most successful economies is created by "knowledge-based industries" that rely heavily on human capital that possess the 21st century skills characterised by technological innovation and creativity (Department of Education, 2004; Department of Science & Technology, 2007; NPC, 2012). Therefore, for a country like South Africa, pedagogy is key to the modern technological transformation that is critical for its participation in the global knowledge economy. Guided by the White Paper on e-Education (2004), South Africa's approach towards the integration

of ICT in pedagogy focuses on increasing access to learning opportunities by redressing inequalities, improving the quality of teaching and learning as well as providing personalised and real world learning experiences. Generally, the country's educational ICT planning recommends that schools that implement "e-Education" must use technology to improve teaching and knowledge acquisition and transfer, support the curriculum, access information that increases knowledge, inquiry and depth of investigation as well as for planning and management of various school activities (Department of Education, 2004). Although South Africa's national and ICT plans clearly support educational technology, the question remains if ever planning of blended pedagogies which excludes local government is appropriate in South Africa given the hierarchy of provision of service delivery in the country.

For effective participation in the knowledge economy, "individuals, groups, organizations and government" inclusive of the local government need to work as partners (Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, 1994). Accordingly, ICT must be planned and governed in a manner that guarantees the building and sustaining of social, legal and economic structures and processes that are in support of "innovation, collaboration and creativity" (Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, 1994). Therefore, for South Africa to be able to effectively participate in the knowledge economy, collaboration of various stakeholders in the processes of planning and governing the implementation of educational ICT is crucial (Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, 1994). Although the national government is the principal stakeholder in the processes of educational ICT implementation, it should recognise the involvement and participation of the private, education sectors, local government as well as non-government organizations as equally important. South Africa seems to promote the multilevel model of governance in the implementation of blended pedagogies through the inclusion of various stakeholders at different levels however, excluding the local government. The exclusion of the primary custodian of service delivery is questionable especially when issues of sustainability, effectiveness and efficiency as well as coordination of implementation of blended pedagogies are concerned.

5. CONCLUSION

This paper discussed the national and provincial planning approaches that South Africa adopted

for the implementation of blended pedagogies in preparation for participation in the knowledge economy and national development. Gauteng and Western Cape Provinces' planning approaches were discussed because of their lead in the implementation of blended pedagogies. Additionally, South Africa's governance model for implementation of blended pedagogies was also discussed. Both the discussions revealed that the local government is not actively involved in the planning and governance of blended pedagogies. Therefore, this paper recommends that for sustainability reasons, local government must be one of the main role players in the planning, governance implementation of blended pedagogies.

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APPLYING SEN'S CAPABILITY APPROACH TO MEASURE PERFORMANCE OF LOW-INCOME HOUSEHOLD ON FOOD SECURITY IN SEDIBENG DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY

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ABSTRACT

This paper is founded on the context of capability approach and performance measurement for local government food security initiated projects in Sebokeng, a township situated in the Emfuleni Local Municipality. The capability approach is a broad normative framework for the evaluation and assessment of individual well-being and social arrangements, the design of policies, and proposals about social change in society. The capability approach focuses on what people are able to do and be, as opposed to what they have, or how they feel. Municipalities are required to provide some relief for the poor and initiate projects aimed to alleviate poverty and enhance job creation. They can also promote social development through arts and culture and provide support services, such as training to small businesses or community development organisations. Reducing poverty has become an international concern, with international, continental and national organisations and initiatives prioritising poverty as a main focus or primary goal. Approximately 13,3% (2,2 million) of households in the world are likely to go to bed on hungry stomach. Since 1994, the South African local government has been coming up with strategies and approaches that should alleviate poverty and whilst a number of people go to bed hungry on daily basis.

Wide and multiple studies focused on the causes, effects, impacts and solutions on poverty has been researched, and this papers do not wish to include those, but to dwell on the role that individuals can play to shield themselves from poverty and food insecurity. "Sen argues that government evaluations and policies should focus on what people are able to do and be, on the quality of their life, and on removing obstacles in their lives so that they have more freedom to live the kind of life that, upon

reflection, they have reason to value". This paper aims to take the narrow shift on how government can alleviate poverty and focus on the approaches and role the individual community members should play in order to fight against poverty and ensure they are at all-time food secure. This paper utilizes a qualitative approach to understand framework and influence of capability approach on household food security projects in the low-income households in Sebokeng.

Keywords: Capability approach, Food Security, Sen, Social Development.

1. INTRODUCTION

Food insecurity is a social problem, not only faced by South Africans but the world as a whole; as a result, the right to food is enshrined in international and national law (Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries [DAFF], 2011:1). With regard to the above statement, "the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries was mandated to develop agricultural policies and support programs to ensure that South African citizens are given agricultural opportunities that will enable them to meet their basic food needs" (du Toit, 2011:2). Food insecurity threatens the development of every community and country, as it interrelates with many other social challenges such as poverty, unemployment, crime etc. It therefore the responsibility and priority of the government to ensure that it's people are at all-time food secure. The government has launched many initiatives, strategies and programs which are aimed at addressing poverty and food insecurity simultaneously, and although most of these programs have helped reduce the levels of poverty and in most cases have addressed extreme poverty, but they have not been able to alleviate poverty as a whole. Sen's believes that his capacity approach will help community members evolve

themselves, focus on their abilities and therefore be able to optimize the opportunities given to them by government and better their lives.

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Data was obtained through personal interviews with the adults of the household, using a questionnaire specially designed for this study. Household data were collected in 2010 from a randomly selected sample of 112 low-income households presented in Table 1 below. Participants were sourced from the three local municipalities of the Sedibeng District Municipality, namely: Emfuleni, Lesedi, and Midvaal. The snowball sampling was considered since the research interest is in an interconnected group of people in SDM. In order to get hold of the respective sample, the researcher interviewed a few subjects characterised by the qualities required, then asked the interviewees for names of other people whom they know who have similar qualities to be studied as a referral point. This method was effective, since the researcher was part of the community studied. Face-to-face interviews allowed the researcher to access knowledge directly from the expert on the topic. This method exposes the researcher to the practical reality of the research topic and is hands-on and outcomes based in nature.

3. DEFINING THE CAPABILITY APPROACH AND SEN'S CAPABILITY APPROACH

Robeyns (2003:5) defines the capability approach "as a broad normative framework for the evaluation of individual well-being and social arrangements, the design of policies and proposals about social change in society". This definition promotes individual progression and security through the

community's hands. For this approach to be effective the government has to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the community individual households and from the results try to maximize the opportunities and eliminate the threats. Focus must be channelled to the different capabilities, abilities and traits that individuals can use to improve their living conditions. Sen (1992) makes the following distinctions as a direct approach to achieve valuable functions:

- Functioning – a function is an achievement of a person, which reflects a person's personal and social factors.
- Capability – a person's capability reveals his/her ability to achieve given function
- Functioning n-tuple- combination of doing things and represents a possible life style.
- Capability Set – reflects attainable functioning n-tuples a person can achieve.

Alkire (2009:7) defines the Sen's capability approach as a "moral framework" which encourages people to promote their goals and retain basic means of survival through the evaluation of social arrangements. The Sen's capability approach is a people's centred approach, which puts the people's needs and lives at the focus centre. The uniqueness and importance of this approach is that it promotes freedom through social opportunities and motivation. Thus the people have freedom to participate in programs and projects that will benefit them. According to Alkire (2009:7) the capacity approach has various functions, which an individual can achieve; allowing the person freedom to live a life they want based on doing the things they value most, and thus all designs of the capacity approach has two notions: freedom and

TABLE 1: Number of respondents.

Subjects/ Elements	Area	Sample size (equal allocation)	Sample size (proportional allocation)
ELM (community members)	Evaton	12	67 (49%)
	Bophelong	12	
	Rus-ter-vaal	11	
	Sebokeng Hostel	10	
	Sharpeville	12	
	Sonderwater	10	
LLM (community members)	Ratanda	11	22 (15%)
	Heidelberg Ext 23	11	
MLM (community members)	Siqelo	12	23 (16%)
	Sihlaliwe	11	

Source: Mzini, 2010

the valuable beings and actions. Sen's core impact is to tie these two notions. Dreze & Sen (2002:6) explains the approach as a centred approach, which puts human agency at the centre stage. They further elaborate that the "crucial role of social opportunities is to expand the realm of human agency and freedom, both as an end in itself and as a means of further expansion of freedom". Sen's approach at the micro level, which draws on participatory tools and techniques.

4. IMPORTANCE OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

Public participation is centred on allowing the people who are affected by the decision be part of the decision making process. Public participation has more to do with community engagement through the intention of mutual respect of values and strategies by geographic proximity to address issues affecting the well-being of the community of focus. According to Masango (2001:40) "participation is regarded as one of the cornerstones of democratic government". Through participation democracy for all will be grasped. The importance of public participation is that the people are able to be involved in whatever government initiates and also they have a say or opinions in convincing government on which projects and programs they can implement.

It is the role and duty of the municipalities to involve the community in the decision making processes that will affect them. This role and duty is enshrined in the Municipal System Act 32 of 2000, and further instructs Municipalities to ensure that the needs and the demands of the communities are met through continuous consultations, consideration of petitions and complaints as well as giving people feedback on matters that affect them. This notion is supported by the 1998 White paper on Local Government, through the emphasis that community involvement is a nodal and fundamental tool in achieving a participatory democracy and creating a strong connection between the municipality and the community.

Government should always listen and take the inputs of the community as they should never assume that they know what is more beneficial for the people, than the people themselves. Therefore, the citizens should clarify and priorities their own needs (Maduagwu, 2000:1). Community based initiatives are envisaged to grow, empower, strengthen and develop the communities through inclusive and

participatory management. Maduagwu (2000:2) further argues that the projects implemented by government should be based on the needs of the people and not the benefits the contract will bring to the implementers, with the aim of incorporating local knowledge into the project decision making process.

The capability approach will enable the government to engage with the community at a nearer phase, thus allowing the community members to play a crucial role in helping themselves deal or eradicate some of the problems that they are challenged with including poverty. Public funded food security programs are initiatives launched by government to enable poor household obtain the minimal daily nutritional requirements and go to sleep with fed stomachs every night. For such programmes to implement successfully and productive fruitful results, they need community commitment. Each community member needs to play an active role, push themselves and elevate themselves through these social opportunities provided by the government.

Partnership and cooperation between the government and community members is crucial in developing the communities as the government alone can never be able to grow the community. Wouters, Hardie-Boys and Wilson (2008:17) identify the following as benefits that result from public participation and can help programmes be successful:

- Improved understanding of society expectations and user group needs.
- Improved agency understanding of the role and contribution of the community.
- Ability to build community support for a project and to improve stakeholder relationships; improved staff and community technical knowledge.
- Improved agency credibility within the community.
- Improved quality of decision-making by agencies.
- Enhancement of social capital and flow-on social and economic benefits.
- Enhanced and informed political process.
- Greater community advocacy for biodiversity protection.

- Greater access to community skills and knowledge.

Smarte (2010:1) views community involvement as a crucial component in the revitalization of communities, emphasizing that without public participation projects are likely to fail or be rejected the community. Pandey and Okazaki (2005:3) indicates consequences that may be caused by lack of participation: failure to meet priority needs, community unhappiness and increase in external resource necessity. Community involvement also requires the people to take responsibility and be active players in projects.

Smarte (2010:1-2) highlights the following as some of the challenges faced with community involvement: reaching an agreement with people from different backgrounds; performing a community assessment; running community commitment among community member with different language; mobilizing support from residents and stakeholders; trying to satisfy community member within the goals of the project. Smarte (2010:5) continues to state the following as the importance why community involvement is a necessity within local government: community members are able to identify knowledge and facts that the local government officials have overlooked; municipal officials are able to address issues and concerns that community members may have about the projects, reducing the likelihood of potential risks; and help municipal members gain support and acceptance from community members.

5. THE ROLE OF PERFORMANCE MEASUREMENT

One of the issues quite often mentioned in literature is the dimensions on which performance should be measured. Performance measurement has been introduced in the local government environment through the use of performance indicators (Thuy and Dalrymple, 1999:1). Performance can be measured using the dimension's economy, efficiency or effectiveness (Thuy and Dalrymple, 1999:1). Through improved public participation, the performance on implemented food security programs will improved and sustainable. Performance measurement on food security programs is necessary as it will help the necessary structures measure if the initiatives and efforts taken by both the government and household are effective or not. Performance measurement is a vital tool in ensuring quality service delivery. According to Dti (2013:1) performance measurements

plays an important role in: 1) "identifying and tracking progress against organizational goals; 2) Identifying opportunities for improvement; and 3) comparing performance against both internal and external standards". Through performance measurement project managers are able to evaluate the effectiveness of projects. The Sen's capability approach government will better evaluate their projects on food security projects ensuring that the people are able to participate and play the central roles by focusing on what they are able to do in changing the conditions of their lives

6. RESULTS

The capabilities approach has been the subject of increasingly enthusiastic enquiry in development studies over the last two decades (Poolman, 2012:366). There is renewed interest in Sen's capability approach but still a dominant lack of empirical research in measuring and testing his theoretical model especially in a dynamic context. Capabilities are distinct from resources because resources are just instrumental to or the means to enhance people's well - being whereas what matters more to people is the ability to achieve certain functions.

Burchi and De Muro (2012:21) suggest that it is "it is necessary to collect information on the three key components of entitlements: endowments, exchange conditions, and production possibilities" when assessing food security. The assessment of a person's ability to function normally in the community requires information not only on the level of disability, but also on other predisposing and environmental factors or the quantity and quality of social support that may be available (Koukoulis, Vlachonikolis and Philalithis, 2002:2). In Sen's Capability Approach well-being can be defined as the freedom of choice to achieve the things in life which one has reason to value most for his or her personal life (Muffels and Headey, 2011:1159). Sen used the following criteria in order to assess people's wellbeing, namely: the "person's health, education, nutritional status, dignity and autonomy".

In this paper we make use of the following socio-demographic variables, namely: level of education, employment status, and skills development in order to assess the household capabilities for food security. The following section presents the results obtained from the interviews conducted in 2010 with the low-income households in the SDM. The

aim of the interview was to assess the capabilities of the respective households.

6.1 Education: Highest level of Qualification

The aim of the question posed was to determine the highest level of qualification obtained by selected respondents. Education has been widely perceived as one of the most important socio-economic determinants of health and mortality (Gjonça and Calderwood, 2004:17). Education and training is an investment in human capital and the career, just like overtime work (Muffels and Headey, 2011:1159). The respondents interviewed attained basic education. Only 3% of the respondents obtained tertiary education, these include a retired Teacher, Nurse and a Theologian. 16% of the respondents obtained a matric/ grade 12 certificate. The youth category is found in this field. 38% of the respondents are the "Old School" category. In this category we find participants who attended "Bantu- education System" (1975-and prior). In those days the highest qualification was "Standard 8". Some of the respondents fall within the "Democracy education" (1990-to date), some of these groups failed matric/ grade-12, they did not attempt to complete their studies. The respondents of the 29% replied that they were forced to leave school in order to seek employment that assisted to maintain their families. The other respondent reported that her parents passed away when she was young as a result she had no one support to attend school. The 13% never attended schooling. Some replied that they lived in the farms; they claimed that during that period schools were not a privilege to them as compared to the people who lived in urban areas.

6.2 Skills Development

A skill can be a learned capacity to perform an act. Skills development looks at the intentions of government to provide skills to community members in order to maintain their families in future with minimal support from government. Skills development as a tool to reduce poverty is increasingly receiving recognition from the public and private sectors. "Skills development is a broader concept as it is not related to formal education and training alone. It takes into account that people also develop skills outside the formal education system, in non-formal settings as well as informally such as through work experience" (Grootings and Nielsen, 2006:16). For this paper skills development focused on training attendance and skills competency.

6.3 Training Attendance

The respondents were asked to indicate if they have attended training. The aim of this question was to find out if the respondents are capacitated in terms of attaining self-reliance for themselves and families. 63% of the respondents did not attend training. 37% of the respondents attended training.

6.4 Skills Competency

In order to determine the ability of the respondents it was important to assess the skills competency. The respondents seemed to be competent in agriculture (37%), trade (25%) and Computer and business skills (13%). Those who fall in the trade category obtained skills offered by their employers during their employment period. The skills range from carpentry, painting, motor mechanic, bricklaying, plastering, shoe making and hairdressing. The remaining percentages still need to be upgraded. The skills competency of the respondents is focused on self-knowledge, for example cooking, baking and dressmaking. It is evident that more training is required to capacitate the communities in SDM. In this case places like Thusong Centres and vocational centres will serve a purpose for developing self-reliant communities in SDM. The following are other examples of the initiatives that exist within the community whereby communities can participate for being food secure:

- Plant their own food gardens.
- Start small business like tuck shops or selling fruits and vegetable.
- Hand skilled people can start their own salons and barbershop's; and even sew clothes and make hand-made jewelry and crafts.
- The youth can start their own car wash.
- University students can help the learners with their homework for a small fee.

6.5 Employment

South Africa is challenged with the spread of poverty and vulnerability. It is believed that a shift in improving access to the labour market in the informal economy, or agriculture, can increase income and strengthens social networks. When one conducts research it is crucial for the researcher to analyse the

background of the respondents. Income is obviously important. Basic income is one way of granting to individuals what has become known as a 'citizen's endowment', that is an endowment of resources to which all citizens are entitled without test of means or work requirement.

The respondents were asked to indicate their employment status. The results in Table 2 below indicate that 62% of the selected respondents are unemployed as compared to the 27% who are employed. 11% of the respondents said that they are self-employed. This category comprises individuals who sell vegetables, beverages, food and clothes and entertainers (Dee-jays for parties and weddings). Further there was a female category (53-65), who declared she never worked in her life, she grew up in the homelands, whereby they (community) relied on their abilities to provide for the family. She reported that she produces brooms made from grass, and she is happy with her lifestyle.

7. DISCUSSION: CAPABILITY APPROACH TO FOOD SECURITY

One of the principal strengths of Sen's approach is that it does not classify or prescribe specific capabilities. Sen argues that selection of capabilities depends on the "nature and purpose of the project, emphasizing that the freedom of using individual capacities as intrinsic value and should be regarded as the primary information base" (Alkire, 2002:8). The paper aimed to analyse the Sen's capability approach to measure participation of low-income household on food security. Our discussion emanates from the results obtained above from the thesis conducted by the Mzini in 2010 when she analysed the impact of public participation of food security projects. In this section such results are further discussed to understand the capabilities of community members in ensuring food secure households. The paper further intends to give broad guidelines to policy makers and projects/programmes designers on how

TABLE 2: Number of respondents.

Value Lable	Frequency (V)	Percentage (%)
EDUCATION		
Highest level of qualification		
Never attended	14	13%
Primary	32	29%
JC/ Std 8/ grade 10/11	44	38%
Matric/ Grade 12	18	16%
Certificate	1	1%
FET	0	0%
Diploma	2	2%
University degree	1	1%
Total	112	100%
SKILLS DEVELOPMENT		
Training attendance:		
Yes	42	37%
No	70	63%
Total	112	100%
Skills competency:		
Computer and business skills	15	13%
Farming	42	37%
Baking	2	2%
Dressmaking	4	3%
Cook	5	5%
Trade	28	25%
Music	5	5%
Other	11	10%
Total	112	100%
EMPLOYMENT		
Employment status:		
Employed	30	27%
Self-employed	13	11%
Unemployed	69	62%
Total	112	100%

Source: Mzini, 2010

to implement food security projects simultaneously with the application of the capability approach.

The capability approach arose in conversation with other approaches to development. Sen's work advocates a new approach to economic development known as the Capability Approach. "It argues that the aim of human development is to realize human potential, so that the design and appraisal of poverty alleviation programmes must focus on the freedoms created for the participants and not simply on any extra goods or commodities provided by donors" (Schischka, Dalziel and Saunders, 2008:229). The key issue is how to increase the capabilities of households in order to ensure that their capabilities complement the government food security programmes. Burchi and De Muro (2012:21) identified three phases for assessing food security when applying the Sen's Approach, namely: "analysis of food entitlements; analysis of basic capabilities for food security; and analysis of the capability to be food secure". It is important to have data on variables when assessing the status of food security. The variables allow policy makers to examine whether people have access to enough food for survival.

7.1 Food Entitlements

Sen (1984:497) defines an entitlement as "the set of alternative commodity bundles that a person can command in a society using the totality of rights and opportunities that he or she faces". Food entitlements take account of "employment status, type of employment, assets, savings, and possible claims on the state or other local institutes for cash-transfer or food assistance" (Burchi and De Muro, 2012:21). These elements allow policy makers to collect data so that they can examine whether people can access food at the current moment and probably in the near future in order to survive. It was disappointing to note that 62% of the participants interviewed were unemployed. Whilst on 11% is self-employed and 27% being employed. The skills and professional knowledge of the household members are also important for assessing their capabilities. Sen suggested the importance of labour based entitlement. With this he measured the ability individuals to assess if they can "sell their skill or labour power to purchase or produce food" (Devereux, 2000:19). The figures above show that the households do not have the "ability to sell their skills for purchasing or producing food. Household members receive social grants which is not sufficient to maintain the whole family.

7.2 Basic Capabilities

Basic capabilities give attention to "people's wellbeing, namely: their health, education, nutritional status, dignity, autonomy (Sen, 1999:70-1). Sen believed that it is important to consider people's lives when assessing food security. Considerations of basic capabilities allow policy makers to "take into account other factors that may affect the capability to be free from hunger" (Burchi and De Muro, 2012:11). Issues of health are often beyond the control one's ability. Therefore, it is important to assess the severity of illnesses that may prevent household members to be food secured. It is noted that "education and training are tremendously powerful tools to help people escape poverty and break through traditional social barriers into a world of opportunities for gainful employment, bringing dignity and self-respect" (Grootings and Nielsen, 2006:3). Sadly, the results above revealed that the respondents (38%) are not furthering their studies. Most respondents do not reach tertiary education and this continues to escalate food insecurity among households. Basic capabilities also assess whether household members are able to "take part in household decision making and community life". The results also show no commitment from household members on issues pertaining to their development.

7.3 Capability to be Food Secure

The capability to be food secure analyses whether the "individual capability is adequately nourished" (Burchi and De Muro, 2012). It further assesses the three elements of food security, namely: "availability, access, utilization" as defined in the World Food Summit of 1996. In here, Sen used this element to assess the "ability of household if they are able to grow and produce food (or goods for buying food)" (Devereux, 2000:19). This seems to be the most elements when assessing food. The interviews conducted aimed to determine the skills competency of the respondents in order to assess their ability to grow or produce food. It was interesting to note that the respondents possessed some skills that may relieve them from poverty. They use the skills to produce clothes, confectionery items and arts and craft, while some were part of the food security programmes implemented in Gauteng province.

7.4 Some Critiques for the Capability Approach

The capacity approach has gained momentum for its ability to "broadening the informational base of evaluation, refocusing on people as ends

in themselves (rather than treating them merely as means to economic activity) (Alkire, 2002:8). The South African government has performed tremendously is ensuring that the needs of the people are met, e.g. housing, social grants, and free education. However, some poor people do not value such resources. Around the ELM, we have seen people rejecting (not occupying the house) the low cost houses issued, instead they rented the houses in order to have an income by renting their houses. Some food security programmes are discontinued as a result of participants losing interest on such projects. The results above show the gap in the programmes implemented. This call for policy makers to find avenues that will develop community members to be active participants on issues pertaining to public involvement in decision making. This call for policy makers to find how education and training can be deployed to combat poverty.

Policies on poverty alleviation are steered towards developing communities which at the end of the day such communities are happy to receive hand-outs from government. But one question that we ask is "whether the recipients have the opportunity to fulfil their needs on their personal capacities". The problem is that food security "policies aim only to increase one of the social programmes, they may unintentionally create distortions. The capability approach argues that focusing on capabilities is a more direct and accurate way to expand what people really value. Focusing on capabilities introduces fewer distortions". Robeyns (2000:4) revealed that the application of the capability approach is "proven unfounded to conclude that the approach] is not operational". Alkire and Deneulin (2009:15) further argued that the capability approach overlooked the following five vitally important factors when focusing on income and resources, namely: "personal heterogeneities, environmental diversities, variations in social climate, differences in relational perspectives, and distribution within the family". The author's claims that the income generated must also be analysed especially when people only earn a minimum wages and stipend.

8. CONCLUSION

Sen's capability approach has attracted much attention for analysing individual capabilities for ensuring food secure household. For analysis of food security, the approach provides a valuable set of variables to comprehend the policy design on food security. The capability approach also gives a

general frame to understand how to tackle poverty alleviation policies. The capability approach places an emphasis on the people's capacity to deal and handle development. For the capability approach to be successful, it is of great importance that the government encourages public participation, as it is the role of the community members to fight poverty and ensure that they are at all times food secure. The capability approaches encourage the formulation of policies and initiatives that will promote development through the realization and utilization and individual abilities and public participation. Through the Sen's capability approach, community members will grow from strength to strength, and their abilities and attributes that can help them help themselves. Initiatives such as government funding and investing in small business will encourage and motivate the poor community members to acquire skills and generate own income in order to be food secure.

We can conclude that food security is a crucial topic on issues of development. The paradigm of food security has changed from policy perspective and outputs. The focus is now on the ability of household members on implemented policies. The capability approach focuses on the individual as a unit of analyses towards the agenda of food security. The approach provides a valuable set of concepts and questions in explanation and policy design. Skills development was found to be a contributing factor to social and economic integration. The following are recommended for enhancing food secured community, namely: vocational skills training and basic literacy. The results above and the participant observations revealed the gap in education and skills required by households for being food secured. The South African government have initiated several initiatives that support the integration of a vocational skills training. However, we found that there lack of interest from senior certificate holders (matriculants). We suggest that the vocational education and training must be revived in order to enhance learners to acquire skills at a young age. Providing training in vocational skills plays an "important role in equipping young people and adults with the skills required for work and social integration" (Atchoarena, 2006:1). Vocational skills are important when fighting poverty and also helps to ensure food security.

Basic literacy was found to insufficient among the respondent especially for household members who grew in the farms. Basic literacy may guarantee poor people a sustainable source of income

through employment. Basic education therefore needs to "include basic skills and competences, and not necessarily just at low levels of qualification" (Atchoarena, 2006:1). Basic literacy is essential enhance the ability of people to be agents of their own lives and to make decisions about their lives (Alkire and Deneulin, 2009:5).

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IMPLEMENTING THE MONITORING AND EVALUATION SYSTEM FOR SUSTAINABLE SERVICE DELIVERY IN THE SEDIBENG DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY

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ABSTRACT

The paper examines the implementation of a monitoring and evaluation (M&E) system in a local government context, with reference to the Sedibeng District Municipality (SDM). The interest of this paper emanates from the initiatives developed by a democratic government on monitoring and evaluation for increasing effectiveness for a modern public service. Such initiatives were concerned with coordination and integration of government systems and services. A monitoring and evaluation system is a set of organisational structures and management processes which enables institutions to discharge their M&E functions effectively. It is mainly used to assess the performance of projects, institutions and programmes set to achieve institutional results. Its goal is to improve current and future management of outputs, outcomes and impact. It also identifies the factors which contribute to its service delivery outcome. The implementation of any system requires thorough planning and a careful execution. The authors list the various causes for the failure of M&E system in an organization during its implementation. The resources for implementing M&E system are discussed in this paper. The paper also identifies the step-by-step approach that need to be taken into account while implementing the M&E system in the SDM. A qualitative method is applied to realize the objectives of the study. A questionnaire is developed and an interview is scheduled to inquire the M&E practices in the SDM. The paper concludes with a description of a proposed model to implement the M&E system in a municipality.

Keywords: Implementation, Monitoring and Evaluation, Service Delivery, Sustainable Service.

1. INTRODUCTION

The restructuring of local governance has brought a challenge to local government sphere. Such changes

force municipalities to serve the communities within their areas of jurisdiction and be accountable. In South Africa, democracy has brought transformative improvement in the system of governance. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) implemented in the post-apartheid era, has raised the status of the lowest sphere of government, by granting these authorities delegated responsibilities. This sphere of governance is known as local government (municipal government) and in the present context developmental local government is both democratically elected and decentralized. The restructuring of local governance requires municipalities to serve the communities within their areas of jurisdiction. This has brought capacity challenges for the municipalities. Municipalities are charged with delivering acceptable standards of services to the residents. The current lack of deliverance is evident in the widespread protests, with community members showing their dissatisfaction with sub-standard service delivery and backlogs. Furthermore, municipalities are required to formulate their own by-laws improve the lives of community members, and to implement their legislative mandates satisfactorily. In order for the municipalities to perform more effectively, a transformative model is necessary. The quality of services currently delivered at municipal level must be reviewed. Monitoring and evaluation are the key elements of assessment which must be undertaken. The rationale behind this monitoring and evaluation is to make the system of governance more effective through an even-handed assessment of policies, programmes, projects, strategies, performance of personnel, and the organization as a whole.

For the purpose of this study, the researcher explored the challenges regarding monitoring and evaluation and its impact on sustainable development in Sedibeng District Municipality utilizing the quantitative research approach. The implementation of any system requires thorough planning and a careful

execution. The authors list the various causes for the failure of M&E system in an organization during its implementation. The resources for implementing M&E system are discussed in this paper. The paper also identifies the step-by-step approach that need to be taken into account while implementing the M&E system in the SDM. A model is proposed for improvement called as Monitoring and Evaluation for Sustainable Development (MESD).

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This paper aimed to examine the strategies regarding implementation of monitoring and evaluation mechanisms for the sustainable development in Sedibeng District Municipality. The focus area of this research is Sedibeng District Municipality (SDM), a Category C municipality in the Gauteng Province. The Sedibeng District Municipality incorporates the towns of Vereeniging, Vanderbijlpark, Meyerton and Heidelberg as well as the historic townships of Evaton, Sebokeng, Boipatong, Bophelong, Sharpeville and Ratanda. A qualitative method is applied to realize the objectives of the study. A qualitative research approach was used to describe the meanings and challenges experienced as a result of utilising and implementing the M&E programmes, practices or processes (Mertens, 2010:225). A literature review is a critical analysis of a segment of a published body of knowledge through summary, classification, and comparison of prior research studies, reviews of literature, and theoretical articles. A questionnaire was developed to collect data through scheduled interviews in the SDM. The statements in the questionnaire that was distributed to the community members are grouped to correspond with constructs such as the development and implementation of monitoring and evaluation mechanisms and delivery of services. Interviewing provides access to the context of people behaviour and thereby provides a way for researchers to understand the meaning of that behaviour (Seidman, 2006:2-4).

Permission to conduct the study was permitted by the Sedibeng District Municipality. The study sample consists of the junior and senior managers of different directorates in Sedibeng District Municipality across gender, race, and work experience. Only permanent managers formed part of the study who are employees of Sedibeng District Municipality. The participants were selected from the three local municipalities, namely: Lesedi, Emfuleni, and Midvaal local municipalities which jointly make up Sedibeng District Municipality. Consent was obtained before

the start of the research and interview scheduling with the respondents. Sensitive issues were not explored and a good relationship was established with the respondents. Confidentiality of data was ensured to all participants.

3. OVERVIEW OF MONITORING

There is a growing realisation of the need of Monitoring and Evaluation Systems (M&Es) across the globe (Hardlife and Zhou, 1980:70). Monitoring is a routine, on-going, internal activity which is used to collect information on a programmes activities, outputs, and outcomes to track its performance (Kusek and Rist, 2004:13). Monitoring is a continuous function that uses the systematic collection of data (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 2002:27). Evaluation, on the other hand, is the "process of measuring or reviewing a subject, and determines how much or how little something is valued, on the arrival of the judgment on the basis of criteria that could be defined" (Noella *et al.*, 1996:36). The important objective of evaluation is "to focus on the process of implementation rather than on its impact. Since this would be minimal after such a short time, accessing in particular the participatory approaches used to identify project beneficiaries and the communities' role in implementing and monitoring the project" (Du Toit, Knipe, Niekerk *et al.*, 2001:13). Evaluation is helpful in offering valuable suggestions and recommendations for improvement. Monitoring involves:

- analysing the situation in the community and its project.
- determining whether the inputs in the project are well utilized.
- identifying problems facing the community or project and finding solutions.
- determining whether the way the project was planned is the most appropriate way of solving the problem at hand.
- using lessons from one project experienced on to another (Burke, 2001:59).

3.1 Reasons for Monitoring

There has been a global sea change in public sector management as a variety of internal and external

forces have converged to make governments and organizations more accountable to their stakeholders (Kusek and Rist, 2004:13). The problem therefore is one of management weaknesses whereby inadequate attention is paid to the implementation of projects and programmes (Hardlife and Zhou, 1980:71). Governments are at the point of describing their results. Cognizant of the capacities of such systems in governments and public organizations, a number of countries are working towards installing the systems (Hardlife and Zhou, 1980:70). Effective M&E can:

- provide managers with information needed for day-to-day decisions.
- provide key stakeholders with information to guide the project strategy.
- provide early warnings of problems.
- help empower primary stakeholders, especially beneficiaries, and involve them more.
- build understanding and capacity amongst those involved.
- assess progress and so build accountability (Welsh, 2005:6).

Against the background of all these challenges, municipalities must engage in working together with local communities to find innovative and sustainable ways of meeting the community 's needs and thereby improving the quality of life of the people on the ground. As Reddy, Sing and Moodley (2003:37 and 198) put it municipalities must provide a vision and leaderships for all those who have a role to play in achieving local prosperity. Based on the above-stated challenges, the problem statement can be formulated as: there is a need of monitoring and evaluation mechanisms to provide sustainable development in Sedibeng District Municipality.

Optimize the M&E cycle for the purposes of evaluation. Advance the link between evaluation, monitoring incorporation of changes or improvements and ex post measurement of performance or effects. The evaluation aims to improve the quality of spending, which means actual achievements in the purposes of the programs and their contribution to policy goals. The commitment to improve arising from evaluations and compliance therewith is essential to improving program results. Achieving better results is the intended effect of the implementation of evaluations.

So how does one know whether these effects have occurred? A first step to get an approximation of these effects is to observe measurements by comparing performance indicators over time. This line of work, seemingly simple, is a major challenge for the links between evaluations, indexes, and reevaluations.

The following section presents the experiences of the interviews held in the SDM for inquiring about its implementation on M&E.

4. RESULTS: THE DEVELOPMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION OF MONITORING AND EVALUATION MECHANISM

The aim of the survey was to examine the strategies regarding monitoring and evaluation mechanisms for sustainable development in Sedibeng District Municipality. The results of the study are presented in the following sections below.

4.1 The Development of Sustainable Development Goals, and Key Performance Indicators

The purpose this question was to establish if sustainable development goals are set and key performance indicators formulated at the Sedibeng District Municipality.

It is generally clear that the employees are of the opinion that goals of sustainable development are developed. The practice of setting goals upfront has the potential of providing direction to individual and collective efforts of employees. Goal setting has the advantage of measuring performance against preset goals and taking corrective action in respect of deviant performance. The employees involve communities in the development of IDPs so that the objectives to be achieved bear relevance to community needs. The goals sustainable development and IDPs are translated into annual performance plans to harness the performance activities across the municipality towards the attainment of the goals of sustainable development. As Table 1 on the next page illustrates, key performance indicators involve finances which have the spin-off of determining the financial implications of the set goals, that is, whether the goals are financially achievable or not.

4.2 Development of Key Performance Areas, Critical Success Factors, and Formulation of Key Job Responsibilities

The key objective at this juncture is to determine whether the key performance areas, critical success

TABLE 1: Employees' responses to sustainable development goals and KPIs.

Value Label	Valid	Frequency (5)	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Employees' responses relating to clarification of objectives	1	5	100.0	100.0	100.0
Employees' responses relating to goals of sustainable development		1	20.0	20.0	20.0
		4	80.0	80.0	100.0
Employees' responses relating to the mission of SDM		2	40.0	40.0	40.0
		3	60.0	60.0	100.0
Employees' responses relating key performance indicators		4	80.0	80.0	80.0
		1	20.0	20.0	100.0
Employees' responses relating to involvement of communities in IDPs		4	80.0	80.0	80.0
		1	20.0	20.0	100.0
Employees' responses relating to the understanding of APPs		4	80.0	80.0	80.0
		1	20.0	20.0	100.0

Source: Authors

TABLE 2: Employees' responses to KPAs, CSFs and key performance responsibilities.

Value Label	Frequency (5)	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Employees' responses relating roles and responsibilities of employees	5	100.0	100.0	100.0
Employees' responses to key performance area	5	100.0	100.0	100.0
Employees' responses relating to responsibilities of employees with respect of monitoring and evaluation for sustainable development	3	60.0	60.0	60.0
	2	40.0	40.0	100.0

Source: Authors

TABLE 3: Employees' responses to programme of action.

Value Label	Valid	Frequency (5)	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Employees' responses relating to the development and implementation of programme of action	1	1	20.0	20.0	20.0
		3	60.0	60.0	80.0
		1	20.0	20.0	100.0
Employees' responses relating to common agreement about programme of action		4	80.0	80.0	80.0
		1	20.0	20.0	100.0
Employees' responses relating to service delivery-driven programme of action	1	5	100.0	100.0	100.0
Employees' responses relating to number of programme of action		5	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Authors

factors are developed and job responsibilities of both managers and subordinates are formulated – see Table 2 above.

The employees agreed that key performance areas are identified ensuring that the resulting performance is geared towards the KPAs which are linked to sustainable development. The employees agreed that their roles and responsibilities are clarified. The performance management system is

used as a tool to measure the linkages between the roles and responsibilities with the KPAs. The evidence gathered that the performance management system is fair is indicative of the validity of the performance management system and also in the manner that it is administered to employees. Where everybody becomes a participant in monitoring and evaluation, as in the Sedibeng District Municipality, the monitoring and evaluation gets accepted by employees, hence an acceptance of its results.

4.3 Development and Implementation of Programme of Action

The key objective relating to this section is to investigate whether the programme of action is developed and implemented. Data pertinent to this objective is captured in Table 3 on the previous page.

The results revealed that the programme of action is understood thereby creating sense of purpose for employees. The fact that they understand the programme of action ensures that their respective roles and responsibilities are aligned to the programme of action. The compatibility of the programme of action with service delivery ascertains the achievement of sustainable development milestones in which community needs are taken account of. However, employees have the opinion that there are many programmes of actions. The multitude of these programmes does not assist in the achievement of sustainable development goals but serve only to distract employees from such goals. The danger of many programmes of action is that available time and resources will have been evenly spread and deployed to activities that do not really matter to effective service delivery, thereby hampering the attainment of sustainable and development milestones.

4.4 Training and Development

The researcher intends to establish the implementation of training and development required for acquisition of appropriate skills and knowledge. These skills and knowledge acquired are determined for their relevance with the effective implementation of monitoring and evaluation mechanism.

The results in Table 4 reveal that the employees have the required skills and knowledge to implement

monitoring and evaluation at the municipality. Where employees have deficiencies training and development is carried out. Empirical evidence from this study indicates that the training and development at the municipality is carried out with the goals of sustainable development in mind. Such training is bound to leverage efforts targeted at attainment of the goals sustainable development. It therefore does not become training for its own sake. Coupled with relevant training and development on is the fact that training and development that is carried out at the municipality imbues employees with a positive attitude for monitoring and evaluation as well as sustainable development.

4.5 Availability of Resources

For the effective implementation of monitoring and evaluation resources are required to support that process. To this effect, the objective is to found out if resources are deployed to meet the challenge at the Sedibeng District Municipality – see Table 5 on the following page.

Monitoring and Evaluation Systems are crucial management tools in achieving results and meeting specific targets (Hardlife and Zhou, 1980:71). It is apparent that the management at Sedibeng District Municipality commits resources to the implementation of monitoring and evaluation. The information technology, in particular supports the implementation of monitoring and evaluation. The support of information technology is made more relevant because that data captured through information technology is well defined. Management, through their relevant management style, ensures that monitoring and evaluation is focused on sustainable development. Management further ensure that resources are sued efficiently deployed towards the implementation of monitoring and

TABLE 4: Employees' responses to training and development.

Value Label	Valid	Frequency (5)	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Employees' responses relating to requisite skills and knowledge		1	1	20.0	20.0
	Valid	2	4	80.0	100.0
Employees' responses relating to implementation of proper training		1	2	40.0	40.0
	Valid	2	3	60.0	100.0
Employees' responses relating to the attitude of employees to monitoring and evaluation		1	2	40.0	40.0
	Valid	2	3	60.0	100.0
Employees' responses relating to positive attitude instilled through training		1	2	40.0	40.0
		2	1	20.0	60.0
	Valid	4	2	40.0	100.0

Source: Authors

TABLE 5: Respondents' responses to available resources.

Value Label	Valid		Frequency (5)	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Employees' responses relating to support of information technology		1	4	80.0	80.0	80.0
	Valid	2	1	20.0	20.0	100.0
Employees' responses relating to availability of sufficient resources		1	1	20.0	20.0	20.0
	Valid	2	4	80.0	80.0	100.0
Employees' responses relating to management style		1	1	20.0	20.0	20.0
	Valid	2	4	80.0	80.0	100.0
Employees' responses relating to data for monitoring and evaluation		1	2	40.0	40.0	40.0
	Valid	2	3	60.0	60.0	100.0

Source: Authors

evaluation that is in tune with sustainable and development goals.

4.6 Monitoring and Evaluation Orientation and Results

Critical at this point is to test whether the employees are involved in the development and implementation of monitoring and evaluation. The idea is to assess whether the developed and implemented monitoring and evaluation is linked to performance management and whether enhanced service delivery results from the implementation of the monitoring and evaluation mechanism – see Table 6 below.

Employees express the view that monitoring and evaluation mechanism is developed and implemented effectively although there may be a problem with the handling and issuing of tax accounts. This seems to be an isolated challenge because employees contend that, generally, service delivery is excellent.

4.7 Establishing A Link Between Monitoring and Evaluation and Sustainable Development

The crux of the research is to determine the existence of a link between monitoring and evaluation as well as sustainable development, and establishing there is clear understanding of the two concepts among employees – see Table 7 on the following page.

These findings clearly indicate that monitoring and evaluation mechanism is geared towards the attainment of the goals of sustainable development. These goals are communicated constantly, hence employees believe that they are directly involved in realising the goals of sustainable development. However, employees battle to distinguish between monitoring and evaluation, and sustainable development. The next section of the study analyses the resident's feedback.

TABLE 6: Residents' perceptions of monitoring and evaluation.

Value Label	Valid		Frequency (5)	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Employees' responses relating to employee involvement in the development of monitoring and evaluation	Valid	1	1	20.0	20.0	20.0
		2	4	80.0	80.0	100.0
Employees' responses relating to the link between monitoring and evaluation and performance management	Valid	1	5	100.0	100.0	100.0
Employees' responses relating to accurate handling of service delivery accounts	Valid	2	2	40.0	40.0	40.0
	Valid	5	3	60.0	60.0	100.0
Employees' responses relating to timeous issuing of tax accounts		2	2	40.0	40.0	40.0
	Valid	3	1	20.0	20.0	60.0
		5	2	40.0	40.0	100.0
Employees' responses relating to the level of service delivery	Valid	2	5	100.0	100.0	100.0
Employees' responses relating to the convening of IPDs		1	3	60.0	60.0	60.0
	Valid	2	2	40.0	40.0	100.0

Source: Authors

TABLE 7: Employees' responses relating the link\ between monitoring and evaluation and sustainable development.

Value Label	Valid	Frequency (5)	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Employees' responses relating to the link between monitoring and evaluation, and sustainable development		1	2	40.0	40.0
		2	2	40.0	80.0
	Valid	3	1	20.0	100.0
Employees' responses relating to the confusion about monitoring and evaluation, and sustainable development		1	2	40.0	40.0
		3	2	40.0	80.0
	Valid	4	1	20.0	100.0
Employees' responses relating to monitoring and evaluation as a mechanism for sustainable development		1	4	80.0	80.0
	Valid	2	1	20.0	100.0
Employees' responses relating to improvement of annual performance plans		1	2	40.0	40.0
	Valid	2	3	60.0	100.0
Employees' responses relating to communication of sustainable development issue		1	1	20.0	20.0
	Valid	2	4	80.0	100.0
Employees' responses relating to employee involvement in sustainable development		1	4	80.0	80.0
	valid	2	1	20.0	100.0

Source: Authors

5. DISCUSSION

Among the earlier attempts to define M&E, were the Guiding Principles for the Design and Use of Monitoring and Evaluation in Rural Development Projects and Programmes (1984). At that time, M&E were seen primarily as project-related activities. It defined monitoring as a continuous assessment both of the functioning of project activities in the context of implementation schedules and of the use of project inputs by targeted populations in the context of design expectations. It was seen as an internal project activity, an essential part of good management practice, and therefore an integral part of day-to-day management. Evaluation was presented as a periodic assessment of the relevance, performance, efficiency, and impact of the project in the context of its stated objectives. It usually involved comparisons in time, area, or population requiring information from outside the project (Edmunds & Marchant, 2008:11-12). Monitoring and evaluation henceforth provide clear direction of assessing the implementation of a strategy. M&E offers significant indicators for successful review of strategies and suggestions for effective outcome. It alerts the policy-makers with potentially identified challenges that can hamper the process of achieving established outcome. Above all M&E offers corrective tactics to overcome the identified challenges.

5.1 Resources for Implementing M&E

The case for effectiveness of M&E Systems in development agencies then is "just but one of the most crucial management facets whose effectiveness contributes immensely towards performance of development programmes" (Hardlife & Zhou, 2013:71). Monitoring and evaluation not only help organizations reflect and understand past performance, but serve as a guide for constructive changes during the period of implementation. More systematic monitoring and evaluation is being established, and relevant indicators that can be regularly measured or monitored have been introduced. Government are required to carry out periodic evaluations of the impact of its service delivery on society, analyse the effectiveness of monitoring and evaluation to continuously improve government programmes and promote evidence-based policy-making (Mogaswa and Moodley, 2012:19). In order to execute such there must be adequate resources. These are both human resources and financial resources. And some material resources will also be necessary, although many of these things are likely to be available in a project for use in other activities as well as in M&E e.g. GPS instruments.

In an attempt to address these concerns the municipality has identified a number of mitigating steps whereby the SDM is:

- Drawing up of a Human Resources Development Plan.
- Decentralization of support HR functions to line departments, e.g. recruitment, labour relations and training.
- Restructuring of revenue management functions including establishment of service centres in the regions and among local communities.
- Capacitating of the Municipal Manager's office to enhance compliance, reporting and governance, e.g. risk management, information systems, etc.
- Establishing planned asset management and project management clusters.
- Establishing a monitoring and evaluation office in the Mayor's office to include service delivery monitoring as well as management of the so-called Presidential Hotline.
- Implementing of a 90-day service delivery programme to speed up service delivery.
- Implementing of a forensic audit to determine integrity of service delivery projects (Sedibeng District Municipality, 2012:1).

6. PROPOSED MODEL TO IMPLEMENT THE M&E SYSTEM IN A MUNICIPALITY

The authors believe that M&E systems should be flexible, innovative tools responding to the learning needs of multiple users, while acknowledging their specific cultural and organisational characteristics. Zwane (2014:138) proposed the following model for an improved Monitoring and Evaluation for Sustainable Development (MESD). The purpose of monitoring and evaluation process is to enhance the effective delivery of services, enhance sustainable development, to create an environment of good governance through transparency and accountability, improve the system of governance with enhanced performance (Zwane, 2016:4) – see Figure 1 on the following page.

This monitoring and evaluation process should be implemented in all three spheres of government (national, provincial and local) because each of these has diffused forms of governance with disparate powers. The M&D process is particularly complex because an intergovernmental structure [such as

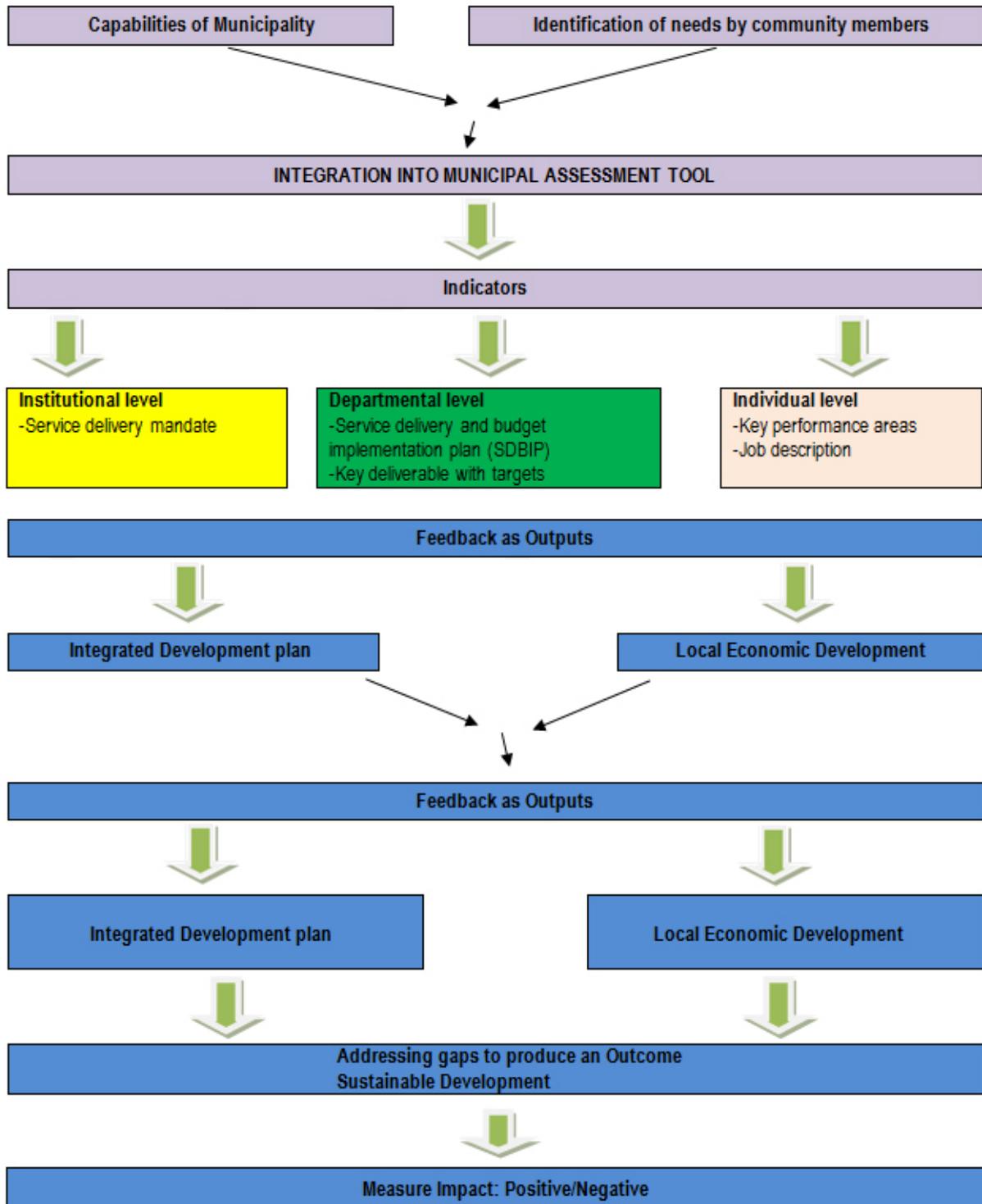
we have in South Africa] requires strong monitoring and evaluation systems to promote coordination and prevent fragmentation (The Presidency, 2007:1). There is a need for closer investigation of basic service delivery and it is clear from continuing protests over poor service delivery that M&E strategies must be put in place. The strategy can assess the problems and grievances submitted from the respective memorandums. The local government structure requires even more attention because of marked skills challenges. However, there is a need not only to enhance the performance of employees but also the quality of services provided and the effective management of municipalities as a whole.

7. CONCLUSION

The implementation of any system requires thorough planning and a careful execution. The authors list the various causes for the failure of M&E system in an organization during its implementation. The resources for implementing M&E system were discussed in this paper for consideration when implementing the M&E system in the SDM. Monitoring and evaluation henceforth provide clear direction of assessing the implementation of a strategy. M&E offers significant indicators for successful review of strategies and suggestions for effective outcome. It alerts the policy-makers with potentially identified challenges that can hamper the process of achieving established outcome. Above all M & E offers corrective tactics to overcome the identified challenges. The authors observed that successful monitoring and evaluation require clearly articulated results against which performance will be assessed. Information gathered from monitoring and evaluation systems can significantly assist policy makers to take well-informed decisions. Monitoring and evaluation, when carried out correctly and at the right time and place, serve as the most important aspects of ensuring the success of any project.

Furthermore, every programme calls for monitoring and evaluation to measure the performance and assess the effectiveness of the initiative. To meet the desired outcomes, capacity-building of the monitoring and evaluation system is imperative. A well-structured M&E system is also a source of knowledge capital that enables government entities on all three levels to develop a knowledge-base on the type of project, programme and policies that have the potential to succeed. This will facilitate a platform from which decision-makers are able to assess the outcomes and what still remains to be done to ensure success of the

FIGURE 1: A proposed model: Monitoring and Evaluation for Sustainable Development (MESD).



Source: Zwane, 2014

project and sustainable development. The Sedibeng District Municipality needs to specify functional areas that are critical for service delivery and must implement a sound monitoring and evaluation system at the implementation phase. Chapter three will focus on an overview of sustainable urban development in the Sedibeng District Municipality (SDM).

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RESTRUCTURING HIGHER EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE STRATIFICATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND EQUITY

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ABSTRACT

Following the apartheid regime in South Africa, the dominant form of social stratification revolves around race and language. Social stratification preceded the structure of the education system as endorsed during apartheid. Stratification effects impede movement towards greater equity in higher education institutions (HEIs) and the active participation of all elements in the society. Racial class disparity at HEIs is still experienced and it is a reality which perpetuates inequality in South Africa. This paper seeks to critically analyse the extent to which the restructuring of higher education in South Africa has led to a decrease in the stratification of higher education since the apartheid era and to greater equity within higher education. Stratification which was reflected in HEIs was encouraged by the authoritarian rule of the apartheid regime under the National Party (NP) in South Africa. The current government together with the management structures of the HEIs and society has to deal with the negative effects of a stratified society based on race and language. However, it seems that the government still maintains the 'racial classification' structure [black, white, Indian and coloured] as imposed during the apartheid regime. In this regard, even though the South African democratic government under the African National Congress (ANC) has had good intentions in restructuring higher education, maintaining the racial classification structure designed by apartheid regime makes it difficult for the current government to achieve its intended goal of eradicating racial disparities and inequality at the HEIs. In conclusion, it is suggested that the government must enforce the existing policies and legislation to effect full transformation at the HEIs.

Keywords: Stratification, Higher Education Institutions, Apartheid, Race, Government, Democracy.

1. INTRODUCTION

South African history is defined by the history of European settler colonialism which served a specific purpose at a stage in the development of global imperialism and capitalism (Magubane 1979). These developments were crucial to the structuring of the social formations in South Africa. The hierarchy of social formations is evident in what Magubane (1979:1) describes as "a pyramid of wealth and social power". He strongly argues that the difference in wealth, which is defined by race, translates into inequality of social status and life chances. Stratification, as proposed by Lushaba (2005), describes different groups of people placed within a society yet having distinct social status in terms of wealth or income, political power and prestige. In its form "stratification refers to the pattern of intergenerational mobility experienced by a population or subpopulation" (Grodsky and Jackson 2009:2348). Most scholars concur that various dimensional social status reflect relationships between wealth, power and prestige which determines social stratification (Magubane 1979; Seekings 2003; Lushaba 2005).

In South Africa, the system of governance kept white people at an advantage and they enjoyed more privileges than black people even at higher education institutions (HEIs) while blacks were treated in inferior manner (Asmal 2002a; Bunting 2004; Seepe 2010; Oakley-Smith 2016). Naidoo (2004) argues that higher education establishes a link between social classifications of people in society from a fundamental to a secondary level of their social status. From 1948 to 1994, during the period of the apartheid regime (Fish 2014), the citizens of South Africa were classified along racial lines under a system in which the National Party (NP) government determined how blacks should be

treated as opposed to whites. Post 1994, under a new democratic dispensation, the higher education system had to be restructured to accommodate South African citizens on an equal social status or at least not on racial margins (Asmal 2002b). The unequal social status was substantially applied to suppress the black majority and to sustain the supremacy and legacy of apartheid in the 'traditional' Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) (Bunting (2004).

When the new government under the African National Congress (ANC) took over from the NP in 1994 one of its priorities and obligations included the restructuring of HEIs. The restructuring of HEIs was a mechanism applied to balance the inequalities brought about by the past South African regime under the NP-led government (Barnes *et al.*, 2009). Barnes *et al.* (2009) argues that the aim of the ANC led government was to change the standard of inequalities based on racial segregation as it happens even at the HEIs. The main aim was to redress the pitfalls in the historically black institutions and establish a link between traditionally white and black institutions (National Plan 2001). Through establishment of mergers between the HEIs, the South African government could achieve the agreed missions and programmes intended to redress inequalities of the past (National Plan 2001:7). In this regard, the NPHE outlined proposals which were implemented a year later leading to the restructuring of HEIs (National Plan 2001).

Unlike other previous research work which has been done on a similar topic (Reddy 2004; Sin-Kwok Wong 2008; Chetty 2010; Leuze 2011), this paper seeks to critically analyse the extent to which the restructuring of higher education in South Africa has led to a decrease in the stratification of higher education since the apartheid era and to greater equity within higher education. In an attempt to address the question and highlight arguments drawn from the literature, this introduction has outlined the purpose and the structure of this paper. The rest of the paper is arranged as follows: An overview of literature on stratification in higher education is presented in section 2. This is followed by a discussion on the historical background and stratification of South African higher education in section 3. Section 4 presents the restructuring of higher education in the post-apartheid period. In section 5, the challenges in South African higher education system are discussed. Section 6, reviews the future prospects for South African higher education and finally, the summary and conclusion is drawn in section 7.

2. AN OVERVIEW OF LITERATURE REVIEW ON STRATIFICATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Higher education institutions, particularly the veteran universities in countries such as Israeli, were regarded as institutions for an elitist and selective group of people in the society (Yogev 2000). Yogev (2000) maintains that out of the six major higher education institutions in Israel, three (the Hebrew University, the Technikon, and Tel Aviv University) were designed to target academic excellence [strictly selective for elites] while the other three (Bar-Ilan, Haifa and Ben-Gurion universities) were designed for a peripheral group of people in the society. This system is argued by Yogev (2000) to be a stratification mechanism imposed by Israeli's Council on Higher Education via its Ministry of Education. The negative implications of such a stratified and structured higher education system have a bearing on the composition of the student body and signal unequal status within HEIs.

In the United States of America (USA), Farum (1989) views the so-called elite universities such as Yale, Harvard, Columbia and Princeton as fundamental institutions with social stratification. Farum (1989) posits that these universities were established and designed to be attended by upper class descendants of illustrious families. The paradigm shift from this elitist status began when these universities had to compete [to maintain their upper level status] with other public universities. It was at this point when they then recruited or admitted students from various countries based on 'exceptional' academic performance so as to maintain their excellence and 'status' (Ben-David 1972; Farum 1990). Yogev (2000) makes reference to a similar stance in the United Kingdom (UK) where universities such as Oxford and Cambridge were intended mainly for 'British elite's descendants' disassociating themselves from the public universities which were attended by students from the ordinary society.

In his work "*The stratification of Israeli universities*" Yogev (2000:185) accepts that there is nothing wrong with universities striving for academic excellence, "however, the tendency of elite universities to serve the sons and daughters [descendants] of the upper classes" as practiced during the 19th century in the USA and UK demonstrated discriminatory admission policies based on stratified societies in these countries. Likewise, Naidoo (2004:459) contends that "higher education is conceptualised

as a sorting machine that selects students according to an implicit social classification and reproduces the same students according to an explicit academic classification, which in reality is very similar to the implicit social classification". The conclusion drawn from Naidoo's (2004) argument is that higher education should rather be viewed as a right conferred to all students irrespective of their social background to access institutions of higher learning so as to acquire knowledge and develop their skills. Yogev (2000:196) argues that: "due to their prestige, the elite universities have a large advantage over the target [less advantaged] universities in obtaining non-governmental support, such as outside contributions... the target universities do not only suffer financial disadvantages due to their public control, but also continue to be limited in their academic autonomy".

According to Seepe (2010), under its democratic government, South Africa is trying to find its way to focus and invest in higher education as a response to the past where education on the one hand was used as a tool to suppress and further colonise some citizens [blacks, Indians, coloureds]. On the other hand education was used as a tool to advance white people based on favouritism and social segregation (Seepe 2010; Maluleke 2016). Drawing on elements of a stratified higher learning institutional system, Naidoo (2008) argues that the higher education system is guided by a number of market processes with varying outcomes and different hierarchies as it has been the case in the UK universities. Naidoo (2011) maintains that higher education plays a significant role in both economic and political rivalries between nations. In the case of South Africa, this is in fact a typical example where classified society is treated on unequal status.

The issue of colour or race is not just a controversial matter at the higher education institutions but an international issue of concern which must be addressed and be dealt with appropriately (Brady *et al.*, 2007; Brady *et al.*, 2012). Brady *et al.* (2012) argue that historically, the issue of race in Britain has been disturbing and one-sided since only black people who are a minority were the victims of racial stratification. However, owing to changes in population (the British 2012 statistics show that ethnic minorities [black] accounted for 5.1% –8.7% of the population) and a consequent change in public perception since 1993, racial disparities and discrimination have decreased. Despite this, Brady *et al.* (2012) argue that black men and women are

more likely to be victimised by white police officers than white men and women based on evidence from the reported cases by the Ministry of Justice in Britain.

Features of discrimination in higher education are visible and frequently practised in several western countries such as Britain, Germany and USA (Sin-Kwok Wong 2008). In support of this notion, one could draw Schwinges' (2000:33) view that: "The Germans were concerned with increasing the praise of honour and the use of their own dynasties and rule. The German universities stood plainly in the service of their territorial rulers". Yogev's (2000) work on stratification shows how the ordinary British and American students [not the elite society] were discriminated against simply because of their race and social background. Brandy's (2012) work demonstrates how social stratification promoted exclusion based on racial grounds in the UK. An argument made by Yao and Jacob (2012:129) is that, "equality of higher educational opportunity is a crucial dimension of the reconstruction of social resources and a major mechanism of social mobility". Yao and Jacob (2012) maintain that amongst the main key drivers of educational policies since the 1990s, expansion of higher education remains the priority in countries such as Taiwan as is the case in other developed and developing countries. Alongside this, the issue of stratification in higher education remains a significant subject for research.

Based on the global and international conventions, education is a right and should be freely available to all citizens of a country particularly where democracy is exercised (Bresser-Pereira 1997; Naidoo 2004; Yao and Jacob 2012). In a country like South Africa, women and black South African students are mostly encouraged to study to the highest educational level so that they can participate in the leadership positions (National Plan, 2001). This practice has been viewed as part of emancipation of women and youth to be well educated as maintained by Mbeki (2007). Mbeki (2007) and Webster (2005) amongst others, strongly advocate in favour of the development of Africa through education. Drawing from Hill's (2016) argument, in countries such as South Africa where democratic principles are practiced, transformation of the higher education system has been an essential component of social development since the inception of democracy in 1994. It is in this context that a discussion on historical background and stratification in South African higher education should be analysed.

3. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND STRATIFICATION IN SOUTH AFRICAN HIGHER EDUCATION

In the South African context since 1994, HEIs are independent but are subsidised and monitored by the government as promulgated by the Higher Education Act, 1997 (Act No 101 of 1997). As laid out in the Higher Education Act (1997) the autonomy of HEIs must be coupled with accountability: "It is desirable for the HEIs to enjoy freedom and autonomy in their relationship with the state within the context of public accountability and the national need for advanced skills and scientific knowledge" (National Plan 2001:16). Thus, in accordance with the Higher Education Act 101 of 1997, autonomy does not grant HEIs a 'complete unmonitored' independence from government through the Ministry of Education.

Fish (2014:8) contends that: "The story of higher education in South Africa was always to be determined, to a large extent, by the apartheid master plan. So, in understanding the history of South African higher education one cannot begin in 1994 and move forward. 1994 begins in 1959". Indeed, white supremacy and racial segregation in South Africa started as far back as 1913 where legislations such as the Natives Land Act of 1913 and the policies of racial discrimination and classification were passed. These legislations and policies were heavily enforced during the apartheid system in 1948 when the NP came into power (Seepe 2010). The majority of the population, mainly black people, Indians and coloureds [racial classification] were forced to live in separate rural areas classified according to their racial and ethnic groups far from public entities and facilities (Ramaphosa 1998; Seepe 2010).

Greyling (2007) argues that even though such legislations under the South African apartheid system were criticised by organisations such as the United Nations Organisation (UN), International Labour Organisation (ILO) and other external human rights forces, these had little effect. The apartheid laws remained effective until 1991 when FW De Klerk, then President of the Republic of South Africa and the NP allowed negotiations with

the banned political organisations such as the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) (Reddy 2004). The negotiations led to the establishment of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA¹) as the body which included all role-players from the government leaders and leaders of the unbanned political parties (Reddy 2004; Greyling 2007).

South African NP led government was totally against any equal form of social status in its society as it [NP] banned any 'possible relations in any form of social contact between black and white people as part of enforcing apartheid laws in the 1950s (Seepe 2010). The passing of the Population Registration Act of 1950 promulgated the fundamental mechanism of enforcing the separation of people in society under the apartheid regime. This practice strongly encouraged classification of South Africans by race and social status distinguishing sharply between the "haves" and "have-nots", as described by Van der Merwe (2014). In his article "*Economics and multilingualism: Reconsidering language policies for South Africa*", Van der Merwe (2014:218) appears to support a stratified nation when he tries to justify racial inequality in society as acceptable, yet such stratification impacts negatively on the economic status between the poor [blacks] and the rich [whites] created by apartheid in the South African context.

Absolute segregation was enforced by the Group Areas Act of 1950. During the 1950s black people were not allowed to cast a vote and thus were treated as subordinates to their white counterparts (Magubane 1979). The inequality on all levels was not only established but perpetuated and extended to the realm of education. As a result, education from basic education through to post schooling [higher education] was intended to advance white people deliberately at the expense of the blacks. Table 1, on the following page, indicates the disproportionate treatment meted out to black people, particularly in education around the 1970s and 1980s (Collett 2005:1).

Table 1 depicts the population of South Africa based on racial statistics in 1978. Supported by

¹ The first multi-party constitutional negotiations took place in December 1991 at the World Trade Centre in Johannesburg (South Africa) and the forum was called the "Convention for a Democratic South Africa" (CODESA). The forum included all role-players from the then NP led government and the leaders of the unbanned political parties such as the ANC and PAC paving the way to democratic elections in South African (Reddy 2004).

TABLE 1: Disproportionate treatment circa 1978 (South African population during apartheid).

Factor	Black People	White People
Population	19 million	4.5 million
Share of the land	13%	87%
Share of national income	Below 20%	Above 75%
Ratio of average earnings	1	14
Minimum taxable income	R 360 (Rands)	R 750 (Rands)
Doctors per head of population	1:44	1:4
Infant mortality rate	20% Urban based	2.70%
	40% Rural based	
Annual expenditure on education per pupil	\$45	\$696
Teacher/ child ratio	1:60	1:22

Source: Collett (2005)

the legislations enacted in South Africa by the NP, clearly the allocation of 'services' and how people were treated racially were minimal for blacks and extensive for the white population. As a result, the mortality rate was high for black people but very low for the white group (Collett 2005). Naidoo (2004) argues that even during the later years [1990s], the population statistics remained less unchanged with 17% whites who remained exclusively dominant to access universities against 69% of Africans [black, Indians & coloured people] deprived university access. While much has improved in the intervening years, stratified social status and racial discrimination are still highly prevalent and visible in South Africa (Seekings and Natrass 2005). Seekings (2007) argues though that there seems to be a replacement of race with class stratification in post-apartheid South Africa.

Bearing in mind all the disparities in society which impacted on the higher education system in South Africa, the Minister of Education in 1999, Professor Kader Asmal, through the Council on Higher Education (CHE), argued that "the higher education system needs to reduce the number of institutions and where needed, combine some institutions to form one (Asmal 2002b). Essentially, the restructuring of higher education would supposedly ensure the sustainability, efficient and effective use of resources evenly at the higher education institutions" (CHE 2000:56). Before 2002 [the period before any restructuring took place] there were 36 HEIs which were then reduced to 23 institutions. Recently [after 2013], with the establishment of the Universities of Mpumalanga, Sol Plaatjie and Sefako Makgatho in 2013 and 2014 respectively, there are currently 26 HEIs in South Africa. Categories of the former 36 institutions were

divided into universities and technikons (Seepe 2010; Fish 2014). However, of the 36 institutions, there were "traditionally advantaged institutions" where white students enrolled and which were mainly white dominated in the academic staff and senior administrative positions. Then there were "traditionally disadvantaged institutions" which, historically, were solely designed and developed for black people (Bunting 2004). The tables below provide an indication of how the structure of the stratified higher education system was designed to suit the apartheid governed country and its population. Tables 2 and 3 on the following page, show the South African HEIs before the mergers or the restructuring of HEIs took place in 2004 (The total number of institutions were 36).

Jooste (2013:14) elaborates on these discrepancies: "Under apartheid, there were separate institutions for different racial groups. Historically 'white' institutions were located in good resourced areas and not only participated fully in all university activities but were the only institutions which could do research in any field. In addition, there was a binary system featuring academic universities and vocational technikons (universities of applied sciences). South Africa's apartheid legacy had a higher education sector that was racially divided, of uneven quality and beset by duplications and inefficiencies".

The historically white universities in the Republic of South Africa were either Afrikaans-medium or English-medium or both Afrikaans and English-medium, but were attended mainly by white students (Schoole 2006). Black students were primarily 'catered for' at the historically black 'Bantustan' established universities, namely,

TABLE 2: The HEIs before merger or restructuring (a total of 21 Universities).

South African universities before merger or restructuring of HEIs		
Historically white universities (Afrikaans)	Historically white universities (English)	Historically Black (non white) Universities
University of Stellenbosch	University of Cape Town	University of Durban-Westville
University of Pretoria	University of the Witwatersrand	University of the North
Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit	Rhodes University	University of Zululand
Potchefstroom Universiteit vir Christelike Hoer Onderwys	University of Natal	Medical University of South Africa
University of the Orange Free State		Vista University
University of Port Elizabeth		University of the Western Cape
		University of Fort Hare
		University of Transkei
		University of Venda
		University of Bophuthatswana
	² University of South Africa	

Source: Bunting (2004)

TABLE 3: The HEIs before merger or restructuring (a total of 15 Technikons).

South African Technikons before merger or restructuring of HEIs		
Historically white Technikons		Historically black (non-white) Technikons
Cape Technikon	³ Technikon South Africa	Border Technikon
Free State Technikon		Eastern Cape Technikon
Natal Technikon		North West Technikon
Port Elizabeth Technikon		ML Sultan Technikon
Pretoria Technikon		Mangosuthu Technikon
Vaal Triangle Technikon		Technikon Northern Transval
Technikon Witwatersrand		Peninsula Technikon

Source: Bunting (2004)

Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda (TBVC⁴) and these universities were named after the blacks' homelands (Bunting 2004). Other universities established for black and non-whites included the University of Durban-Westville, University of the North, University of Zululand, University of the Western Cape, University of Fort Hare, Vista University (primarily for teaching) and the Medical University of South Africa (for medical sciences).

The University of Cape Town (UCT), Witwatersrand University (Wits), Rhodes University and the former University of Natal (*now renamed the University of KwaZulu Natal [UKZN] after the merger with Durban-Westville University*) were all English-medium

universities established by the members of the British community (Naidoo *et al.*, 2016:199). Even though these universities were mainly English-medium universities, the Afrikaans community and its leadership made it difficult for registration of non-white students to these universities under apartheid. There were, meanwhile, the traditionally designed "Afrikaans-medium universities" namely, Stellenbosch University, Pretoria University, Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit (*renamed University of Johannesburg [UJ] after the merger with Technikon Witwatersrand and Vista University's Johannesburg campus*), Potchefstroom Universiteit vir Christelike Hoer Onderwys (*renamed North-West University after the merger with the former University of*

² The University of South Africa Unisa (UNISA) offered and still offers distance learning and most of the South African population including the black student population had an opportunity to enroll at UNISA even during apartheid years (Reddy 2016:16).

³ The Technikon South Africa (TSA) offered and it still offer distance learning and most South African population including the black student population had an opportunity to enroll at UNISA even during apartheid" (Bunting 2004:317).

⁴ The so-called TBVC States were Bantustans or black homelands, i.e. territories set aside for black inhabitants of South Africa as part of the policy of apartheid. The four mentioned South African Bantustans – Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei – were declared independent, although this was not officially recognised outside of South Africa (Naidoo *et al.*, 2016:212).

TABLE 4: The HEIs after merger or restructuring (a total of 26 HEIs).

South African Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) after merger or restructuring including additional institutions after 2013			
Traditional Universities	Comprehensive Universities	Universities of Technology	National Institutes
University of Cape Town	Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University	Cape Peninsula University of Technology	University of Mpumalanga
Rhodes University	University of South Africa	Central University of Technology	Sol Plaatjie University
University of Pretoria	University of Johannesburg	Durban University of Technology	Sefako Makgatho Health Sciences University
University of the Free State	University of Venda	Tshwane University of Technology	
North-West University	University of Zululand	Mangosuthu University of Technology	
University of KwaZulu-Natal	Walter Sisulu University	Vaal University of Technology	
University of Limpopo			
University of the Western Cape			
Stellenbosch University			
University of the Witwatersrand			
University of Fort Hare			

Source: Universities South Africa (DHET 2016)

TABLE 5: Statistical indication of black staff members in HEIs until 2001.

Black people or non-white staff employment before mergers or restructuring of the HEIs		
Institution type and dominant group	Academic	Executive/support professionals
At historically white (Afrikaans) universities	5%	6%
At historically white (English) universities	21%	27%
At historically black universities	60%	65%
At historically white technikons	11%	17%
At historically black technikons	67%	79%

Source: National Plan (2001)

Bophuthatswana) and the University of the Orange Free State (renamed the University of the Free State [UFS] after incorporating with the former University of the North –Qwaqwa campus in 2001) (Reddy 2004; Van der Merwe 2016).

Table 4 above shows the HEIs in South Africa after the restructuring (mergers and incorporations of HEIs led to a total of 23 HEIs in 2004 but between 2013 and 2014 additional three HEIs were established which put the total number to 26 HEIs).

Based on this restructuring exercise, it could be argued that there is now a vast difference in South African HEIs from their prior existence during the apartheid era. During the apartheid years, the governing National Party was the only decision-making elite for the entire country (Seepe 2010). The race and class

inequalities in South Africa were the key factors which impelled the new democratic government to come up with a strategic way of restructuring HEIs in the country via the National Plan of 2001. The National Plan was tabled to assist in identifying serious problems detected in the HEIs through consultation with relevant bodies and to advance the process of restructuring in a seamless way (Seekings 2003). Amongst the problems which the National Plan had to address was the situation in which only white people had the opportunity access universities, to occupy academic positions and senior administrative posts in both historically black and white institutions. Black people experienced the opposite – less opportunity to access universities, no appointments to academic posts and were deemed not suitable to occupy any senior administrative post (National Plan 2001). Table 5: The depiction above takes account of permanent

and temporary appointments of black academic and executive staff members as it reflected in the HEIs in 2001 before restructuring.

The recommendation of the CHE to the Minister of Education was based on the argument that the landscape and institutional configuration of higher education in South Africa with its roots in the apartheid era (CHE 2000) was inadequate to meet socio-economic needs and was no longer sustainable. In this regard, South Africa did not have the human and financial resources to maintain its disproportionately large educational institutional configuration. Moreover, these institutions encompassed imbalanced senior and middle-level leadership, management and administrative capacities based on a stratified society with job reservation for whites and the exclusion of blacks from academic and senior administrative positions (National Plan 2001:79; Gibbon and Kabaki 2004:123). Indeed, it could be argued that the democratic government was seen to be taking its rightful position to prioritise societal issues to level the playing field or at least to do justice to its society through the restructuring of HEIs.

The discussion of the South African historical background has been aimed at supplying contextual information towards the steps undertaken by the democratic government to restructure the HEIs in the post-apartheid period. Furthermore, the historical perspective is the primary reason which obliged government to address the imbalances created by the apartheid regime. Amongst other peripheral effects that have been promoted by the apartheid regime in the past. The apartheid effects still haunt South Africans since some HEIs such as the University of Pretoria (UP), UFS, the North-West University (NWU) and Stellenbosch (Southall 2016; Van der Merwe 2016), are still being used to advance a particular group of society's language [⁵Afrikaners] and culture which is a barrier that further strengthens a stratified society (Kubler and Sayers 2010).

4. THE RESTRUCTURING OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE POST-APARTHEID PERIOD

Elements of racial discrimination was explicitly revealed when the proposal for English to be used as the only medium of instruction at higher learning institutions. From the support of white Afrikaans academics such as Van der Merwe⁶ (2014) amongst others, Afrikaans must remain. Furthermore, the work of Alexander⁷ (1998) in classifying four Nguni language into one language and three Sotho languages into one, so as to force a way for Afrikaans to remain a medium of instruction at the HEIs is strongly supported by Van der Merwe (2014; 2016). Afrikaans is seen by many students particularly, those in the black society as promoting a culture of white supremacy at the former white-dominated and traditionally advantaged universities which include the University of Pretoria (UP), UOFS, Potchefstroom and Stellenbosch (Southall 2016; Van der Merwe 2016). Despite an official pronouncement of this nature, multilingualism is a front behind which Afrikaans is promulgated as the major language, perhaps and especially in more informal settings such as the universities' residences. It was at the later stages in 1993, when UOFS and UP introduced English as a medium of instruction alongside Afrikaans. This parallel-medium tuition policy opened the doors of learning to most groups of society, leading to a major transformation of the university as evidenced by black students making up above 60% of the total enrolment at universities such as UFS and UP (UFS 2016; UP 2016). Official meetings are conducted in English and Afrikaans with documentation in both languages.

The protests of "*#feesmustfall*" campaign demonstrated by South African students towards the end of 2015 and early 2016 were not only about the decrease of fees at the HEIs, but were also about the language policies which favour the continuation of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction at HEIs. According to news reports during the 2015/2016 student protest actions, the peoples' views were that

⁵ Minority group of white Afrikaans speaking people who do not want to adapt to democratic changes but still maintain that Afrikaans language and its [Afrikaner] culture must remain superior in South Africa.

⁶ The author [Van der Merwe] writes in favour of Afrikaans to be used as a media of instruction in the South African higher education against or with little respect of other 9 official languages spoken in South Africa except English. The author has less consideration of the impact Afrikaans causes while being continual used at the HEIs (Van der Merwe 2014; 2016).

⁷ The author [Alexander] writes in favour of English and Afrikaans as well as other languages to be used as a media of instruction at the South African higher education institutions. However, this author reduces the importance of other 9 official languages into only 2 subgroups i.e., Nguni and Sotho (Alexander 1998).

Afrikaans should not be a dominant language which is treated and maintained as superior at the higher learning institutions (*Mail & Guardian*, 11 March, 2016). Most white Afrikaner peoples' associations such as the Afriforum, the Freedom Front Plus (FFP), the Kommandokorps and white Afrikaners' students which claim that "*#AfrikaansSalBly*" ['Afrikaans will stay'] consist of mainly right-wing radicals supported by Afrikaners who do not see any reason for change as Southall (2016) strongly argues. Racial segregation and inequality are still evident in the South African education system, particularly at the HEIs.

While the issue of student racism occurs in different campuses at most of the traditionally advantaged white universities, the appointments and recognition of staff members belonging to the black race remain a serious concern at HEIs while the predominantly white management still prevails. A number of incidents attest to the persistence of racism on South African campuses. In February 2013, John (2013) reports that Northwest University dismissed one of its black female senior management staff members [The Director of the Transformation Unit] simply because she questioned the university's [NWU] stance on its transformation matters. The university was, moreover, reluctant to appoint black lecturers, particularly non-Afrikaans speaking lecturers at its mainly white campus since it [NWU] wanted to maintain Afrikaans as the main language and medium of instruction. This is a former acclaimed 'Christian University' which hides under the label, Afrikaans language, to protect segregation and racial conduct in a society which discriminates against black people (Van der Merwe, 2016).

In January 2007, as Soudien (2010) reports, an incident occurred that shocked most South Africans. Four white male students from the Reitz residence of the University of the Free State deliberately coerced a group of university black workers to eat food that had been apparently soaked in urine. In August 2014, John (2014) reported an incident of two white female students from one of the University of Pretoria's residences who smeared themselves with black paint to imitate and ridicule black domestic workers. In both these incidents, the white students did not see anything wrong with their actions perhaps because this is how they were raised and enculturated. Saturated with the policies and legislation of racial segregation promoted by the apartheid government, these incidents may have been seen as a heroic performance to dehumanise and undermine black people and devalue their [black people] norms and standards of social life (Maluleka 2016).

Such racially discriminating acts provide further evidence that stratification at HEIs is propelled by apartheid principles. Brady *et al.* (2012) note the statistical report on issues of race in Britain which shows that in many criminal reports it appears that black minority defendants receive much longer criminal sentences in almost every offence as compared to their white counterparts. Amongst other things, while white defendants receive an average jail sentence of four years, their black peers are charged more and get a longer jail sentences of five years and more. These claims lead to one notion that race and unjust segregation based on skin colour occur in other countries. Although it cannot be generally argued that South Africa is the only country with issues of racial discrimination, such discrimination divides society and creates stratified and unequal social status. The elements of class disparity where the Afrikaans-dominant universities abuse their own autonomy to suit the white monopoly class are experienced at the HEIs (Morolane 2016). The experiences seen at the HEIs in South Africa are a true reflection of racial boundaries playing its role to divide the society (Fish 2014). The government needs to enforce policies which promote an equal society before the law.

The above section portrayed two significant points. Firstly, what could be learned about the apartheid regime which led South Africa to a racially divided and stratified society which had negative impact even to the HEIs. Secondly, the defense of Afrikaans to be used in South African universities while promoting a stratified society at the expense of other official languages spoken in the country is a major part of continuation of stratification. These therefore, lead to challenges in the South African higher education.

5. CHALLENGES IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM

The South African democratic government has prioritised the transformation of the HEIs as the leading factor in developing the country and its society equally (NCHE 1996). This objective is in line with a submission made by Naidoo (2011), that higher education is a primary means of developing nations. South Africans lived under severe conditions of oppression which totally denied them human rights as social beings and in the process, some people barely realised what democracy should be only when apartheid was over (Ramaphosa 1998). Ramaphosa (1998) strongly argues that as the result of apartheid which kept the society highly stratified,

even issues of race and tribalism are not seen as problematic if practiced by some blacks against other blacks. According to Ramaphosa's (1998) view the majority of South Africans' interpretation and understanding of democracy is not correct. For Jooste (2013:14) "the new democratic government faced many challenges when it came into power [in 1994], not least of which was how to create a new and fair higher education. It had to deal and manage how to achieve greater equality, efficiency and effectiveness within institutions across the system [which governed higher education]". According to Morolane (2016), inequality and class distinctions still prevail in South Africa particularly at the HEIs where the demand for black academics is high but the few black academics who are already in the system play the victim instead of taking responsibility to assist in changing the situation.

Chetty and Knaus (2016) argue that the 2015 students' protests country-wide were mainly a social class struggle rather than a fees protest issue. Students joined forces against an adversarial system observed in their lifetime. Yet political leaders and government officials including senior management of the HEIs persist in claiming the freedom and transformation of their institutions with no evidence of 'walking the talk' since fees generally remain high. For students the reaction of government officials and the senior managers in the HEIs appear to repeat a discriminatory mechanism practiced during apartheid to avoid enrolling poorly disadvantaged blacks to the universities (Morolane 2016). Considering these trends in students' protests, the government and the management of the higher education should work out a strategy to find innovative pathways for the betterment of access for all students to the HEIs.

The apartheid system was intentionally organised such that of the 60% of black African students who enroll at HEIs, only 15% could complete their studies and graduate (Seepe 2010; African Independent 2016). However, the intention of the current democratic government through its Ministry of Higher Education is to implement national policies and government plans to redress the previously disadvantaged South African community (National Plan 2001). The National Plan (2001) strategy included mechanisms to improve the standard of students' social life at the HEIs. Nonetheless, these intentions seem difficult to implement let alone to achieve on account of, among others, resistance by some white Afrikaner academic staff and some white Afrikaner students as well as the white

Afrikaner organisations such as the Afriforum, FFP and Kommandokorps (Reddy 2004; Southall 2016). Instead of being part of finding a solution and way forward, these organisations' actions present challenges towards improvement of the higher education system.

Apart from still being very influential in white Afrikaner society, the Afrikaners' groups contain a large number of alumni and former white students who continue to support the apartheid system and promote Afrikaans at all costs (Southall 2016). Southall (2016) further states that some of the donors and sponsors for sports and other activities in the former white advantaged HEIs are the alumni who occupy senior management positions in big companies. They [pro-white Afrikaner universities] also have a large share in the funding from research received from statutory bodies that are influential in the education system. Tuition fees are deliberately kept higher than those at the previously disadvantaged HEIs which were built exclusively for blacks in line with the architect of apartheid, Dr HF Verwoerd and the NP (Bloom 1965). As pointed out by Reddy (2004:10), "the ruling elites [NP] feared that higher education would produce anti-colonial and anti-racist resistance sentiments" and the NP under Dr HF Verwoerd made it clear that blacks should be taught skills only for deprived social positions through the implementation of 'Bantu Education' in 1950 (Bloom 1965; Behr 1988).

It could be recommended that agreeing to the use of one international language, English, could prevent a lot more unnecessary tension and allow the South African society, both black and white, to turn their attention to other socio-economic problems. For instance, many problems include developing previously disadvantaged HEIs, and allocating fair research funds and other funding to all HEIs, developing the HEIs' curriculum that match and suit the market needs and other aspects which could help the society to develop. These are aspects which will assist in nation and capacity building as well as institutional stability rather than shifting the entire focus simply to accommodate one racial element which is empowering the Afrikaans-speaking people only (Adriansen *et al.*, 2016; Oakley-Smith 2016).

On the one hand, by so doing, the HEIs would gain greater international recognition. In this approach, the relevance of skills transfer, qualifications, research and innovation rendered in the country will be acknowledged internationally. On the other hand,

this approach would contribute to the elimination of setbacks and overcome the obstacles of a stratified society resulting in interconnectedness within a diverse society which seeks to invest in education. Certainly, there are benefits which the country will gain from these initiatives. For instance, the greater cooperation of most developed countries to fund higher education programmes and research, as Barnes *et al.* (2009) maintains. Scholars from foreign countries would be keen to visit the country while those in the country would gain from exposure and recognition in having their knowledge transferred externally. A true reflection of the representativeness of our society will be realised when the population of the country is equally included in education, particularly in the HEIs.

6. FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR SOUTH AFRICAN HIGHER EDUCATION

Even though the Constitution of South Africa promotes multilingualism but that does not mean that the government fails to realise the importance of addressing national issues including social inequalities (Desai and Ramjettan 2008). In this regard, arguing that Afrikaans must be used at the HEIs simply because it is being defended and protected by white minority conservative group [based on protecting a 'culture'] does not carry substance when taking into account the other official languages [except English] used in South Africa. Certainly, democracy involves both majority rule and consideration of equal rights to citizens (Commons 2008). Hence, public institutions cannot be used to suit one 'nation group' at the expense of others in a democratic country as it used to be during apartheid (Seepe 2010; Maluleke 2016). Deracialisation and the expansion of the education system in South Africa post 1990 marginally improved black upward mobility. However, better social and economic improvements for the South African citizens have been realised after 1994 although there are significant challenging needs such as improving education system for all, inequality and poverty (Southall 2016).

The White Paper on Higher Education specifically indicates that the role of higher education in a knowledge-driven environment consists of the following three main aspects (Education White Paper-3 1997:5):

- Human resource development; high-level skills training.

- Production, acquisition and application of new knowledge.
- National, economic growth and competitiveness which is dependent on continuous technological improvement and innovation (driven by a well-organised, vibrant research and development system which integrates the research and training capacity of higher education with the needs of industry and of social reconstruction).

These aspects are articulated in the National Plan (2001:12). In the South African context and for future prospects, the government needs to emphasise that higher education is designed for all to bring about development which is the most significant way of spreading valuable knowledge through nations, as postulated by Naidoo (2011). Globalisation and internationalisation will remain influential elements in the education system in various countries. The key aspects of developing a country remain the responsibility of each country's government (Hudson 2015). Transformation of the South African higher education system has been partially successful to some extent but not enough. The HEIs have been deracialised from their historical class stratification and their former segregational structure. The restructuring has paved the way to enhance opportunities for black students' enrolment at the traditionally advantaged universities and a level of equity is being realised despite the challenging conditions in the country both economically and politically (Southall 2016). South Africa has not yet reached the expected outcomes as required to be delivered by its government although an average or minimal development has took place like initiative to restructure HEIs (Southall 2016).

Southall (2016) further states that developments from the restructuring of HEIs have slightly improved the recruitment of black academics which seems to continue although at a sluggish pace. With further adherence to national educational policies and effective application of legislations such as the Labour Relations Act (1995) and the Employment Equity Act (1998), which are designed to improve workplace relations and organisational employee uniformity in terms of job titles and remuneration gaps, transformation of the higher education system can progress. These legislations and policies are pertinent in bringing balance in terms of staff appointments of black academics and black support staff members in senior administrative positions at the HEIs in South Africa. This is indeed an appropriate

approach by the government in encouraging diversity at the HEIs to address the imbalances of the past through restructuring of the HEIs (National Plan 2001; Cloete *et al.*, 2004).

7. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The primary objective of restructuring of the higher education system in South Africa was to transform the HEIs and to eradicate existence of an unequal and stratified higher learning environment. Referring to the proposals of the NPHE, the government through its Ministry of Education aimed to build social institutions in terms of the HEIs which are a reflection of the country's population. In this regard, the end goal of a transformed higher education as intended by democratic governments would have been attained. The realisation of a democratic South Africa in 1994 led to the restructuring [collaboration and merger] of higher education institutions to create equity and eradication of stratification of the HEIs. The transformed and equity-based HEIs could only have been achieved through restructuring. Similar processes to transform inequality in educational systems occurred in countries such as the UK and other parts of the world. Therefore, South Africa is not an isolate from issues of social inequalities, although each country had its own reasons and challenges which prompted to the transformation of higher education (National Plan 2001).

The racial disparity and inequality of the apartheid era continue today to be reflected in social institutions such as those of higher education. The primary effect is a failure of the current democratic government to aggressively enforce effective transformation policies. Even though the Constitution (1996) and other legislations such the Higher Education Act (1997) and the Employment Equity Act (1998) hold good intentions as designed by the democratic government, they lack effective implementation. Consequently, criticism is laid against the current democratic government for perpetuating apartheid principles, for instance, the continuation of the use of '*racial classification*' structure [black, white, Indian and coloured]. There is a need for future research to investigate the impact of policies and legislations which were established post 1994 aimed to transform HEIs in South Africa. Were these policies designed to unite, develop and build up the nation or society? Or were they designed under the banner of targeting apartheid manipulative actions with less focus to unite the society.

Certainly, the first level approach of confronting students' challenges who call for 'free education' remains the responsibility of collective government officials and the management structures of higher education. Through collective cooperation between the government officials and higher education management, prioritising appropriate funding at the HEIs will, to a large extent, help avoid protests like "*#feesmustfall*" campaigns and prevent incidents of racial class at HEIs such those which occurred at UFS, University of Pretoria and the NWU's campus residences. Transformation depends on changing of the mind-sets which rely on the social stratification created during the apartheid years.

Indeed, a lot of change as well as policy enforcement and implementation still needs to be done by the current democratic government. Stratification at the HEIs is a social disparity and a dividing phenomenon in South Africa. It intensifies marginalisation as scholars such as Bunting (2004) and Naidoo (2016) strongly argue. The restructuring of HEIs is a significant and bold step which the South Africa government embarked on as a way to find solutions to social disparities, particularly unequal and highly stratified society which is still occurring today in the higher education institutions. The government is reluctant to review and reinforce the policies and legislations which have been designed to address inequality and transformation at the HEIs as it appears that there is a lack of implementation thereof.

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INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PLANNING (IDP) – A MUNICIPAL PROFILING FOR SERVICE DELIVERY: AN ASSET BASED PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

This paper interrogates Integrated Development Planning (IDP) as an instrument responsible of profiling municipality for development and service delivery. Municipal Systems Act (2000) institutionalises Integrated Development Planning (IDP) as a decentralised, strategic principal planning instrument which is sector orientated to operationalise the philosophy of developmental local government. In essence, IDP is a super plan for an area that gives an overall framework or development and aims to co-ordinate the work of local and other spheres of government in a coherent plan to improve the quality of life for all the people living in an area. In this regard, the author argues that the IDP is needs based which in turn creates dependency on municipalities to deliver. The paper employs the asset based approach to planning for development as the premise upon which municipalities profile their assets, skills and talents which are fundamental towards the creation of strong, proactive, effective and efficient municipalities. Thus the IDP in this paper is envisaged to enable municipalities to assess the current realities in its area of jurisdiction, including economic, social and environmental trends, available resources, skills and capacities to address socio-economic challenges. The paper uses secondary data and selected interviews with IDP managers as part of the research techniques.

Keywords: Decentralised, Dependency, Integrated Development Planning, Jurisdiction.

1. INTRODUCTION

In South Africa there are three main spheres of government there is the national, provincial and local all with different functions and duties. Of the three spheres, the IDP is entrenched within local

government because it is closest to the people. Constitutionally, local government is enjoined to carry out two main tasks, that of ensuring the delivery of services to the communities within their jurisdiction, and to promote economic development. The main focus of this is to deal specifically with economic development; the IDP is thus a tool that can be used to achieve such a goal (Brewis, 1998; De Jongh, 1998). The White Paper on local government (RSA, 1996:47) sees the process of Integrated Development Planning as one through which a municipality can establish a development plan for the short, medium and long term. This applies more to the South African situation because a lot of planning has to be done in order to improve the state of development within the country. The reason behind is to make sure that all municipalities formulate their own IDP (Theron, 2009). The Local Government Transitional Act, Second Amendment Act (1996) required that all municipalities prepare IDPs which conform with the Provincial Land Development Objectives.

The IDP is of importance to the South African situation in that it is a tool that is used to organise and develop the country at large. The intention is that the post-apartheid objectives of restitution by redistribution, (re)development and growth will be achieved at the local level. Integrated development planning embodies within it the core purpose of local government and guides all aspects of revenue raising and service delivery activities, interaction with the citizenry and institutional organisation (Parnell and Pieterse, 1998). The South African Constitution (1996) openly provides legislative framework within which local government could embark on undertaking therefore development can take place properly through local governance hence it is the sphere that is closest to the people. According to Visser 1998) the IDP should enable the assessment of the varied needs of the community and different

interest groups; prioritise these needs in order of urgency, importance and constitutional and legislative imperatives. It is against this background that the paper interrogates Integrated Development Planning (IDP) as an instrument responsible for profiling municipality for development and service delivery, thus according to Khoza (2001:59) it should include 'solid facts describing life in a municipal area'. Through the IDP process local communities are enabled to participate in determining strategic and budgetary priorities for development in their own municipalities. The primary intention is to create deliberative forums for planning and assessment in ensuring that municipalities are driven by priorities determined by elected representatives as well as by communities and various interest groups. In essence, the IDP as a super plan for an area gives an overall framework and aims to co-ordinate the work of local and other spheres of government in a coherent plan to improve the quality of life for all the people living in an area. In this regard, the author argues that the IDP is needs-based which in turn create people dependency on municipalities to deliver. The paper employs the asset based approach to planning for development premised on the municipalities profile, their assets, skills and talents are fundamental towards the creation of strong, proactive, effective and efficient municipalities. Thus the IDP in this paper is envisaged to enable municipalities to assess the current realities in its area of jurisdiction, including economic, social and environmental trends, available resources, skills and capacities to address socio-economic challenges. The paper uses secondary data and selected interviews with IDP managers as part of the research techniques.

2. THEORISING IDP IN SOUTH AFRICAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG) on IDP (in the eThekweni info (2010:7)) described IDP as, "a process through which municipalities prepare a strategic plan containing short, medium and long term objectives, strategies and programmes for a municipal area". The definition demonstrates that the IDP helps the municipality to identify and put in place activities that need to be attended to in its area of jurisdiction. Parnell *et al.* (2002:24) also defined IDP as, "a five year strategic development plan for a municipality". This plan is said to serve as a principal strategic management instrument. The IDP as a strategic plan is also shared in the definition given in the IDP for Stellenbosch municipality for 2003 (Theron in Davids *et al.*,

2005:135). The author describes the IDP as a single, inclusive and strategic plan for the development of a municipality. Above all, IDP denotes a plan not only aimed at the integrated development and management of the municipality concerned but also sector-oriented that bring various sectors such as social, economic, environmental and political issues and trends in one apex plan.

In South Africa, the system of Integrated Development Planning (IDP) is one of the mechanisms to promote and entrench public participation, local democracy and delivery of sustainable services. The IDPs are thus grounded on legislative frameworks such as The 1996 Constitution, the White Paper on Local government (1998), the Local Government-Municipal Structures Act (1998), and the Local Government-Municipal Systems Act (2000). Through the Constitution, the new local government is given a new developmental mandate aimed at addressing the socio-economic challenges. According to Section 152 and 153 of the Constitution, this mandate entails the local government inter alia to provide democratic and accountable government for local communities thereby ensuring the provision of services in a sustainable manner and encouraging the involvement of communities and community organisations in the affairs of the local government. In terms of section 151 (1) of the Constitution, developmental local government is dictated and obliged to structure and manage. Its administration is often based on budgeting and development planning which gives priority to utilising human and material resources geared towards addressing community basic needs and thereby promoting municipal socio-economic development.

While the Constitution expects municipalities to demonstrate their administrative, technical and financial competency to their constitutional mandate, the White Paper on Local Government (1998) provides tangible approaches and tools such as the IDPs, budgeting and performance management. Within this policy framework, the IDP becomes a management tool for the municipalities that helps to achieve their developmental mandate. In essence, Mashamba (2008:424) argues that the IDP is a key instrument for managing municipalities geared towards transforming local government into developmental local government. The White Paper on Local Government envisages IDP as "a process through which a municipality can establish a development plan for the short, medium and long term" (1998:47). The IDP is therefore an approach

to planning that involves the entire municipality and its citizens in finding the best solutions to achieve sustainable long-term development as mandated by the Constitution of 1996 and the Municipal System Act of 2000. In essence, the IDP is a participatory planning and strategic framework that helps municipalities fulfil their developmental mandate. This is important for the following reasons: it encourages the effective use of scarce resources; it speeds up delivery of services; it attracts additional funds, it strengthens democracy, it overcomes the legacy of apartheid, and it is also instrumental in promoting co-ordination among local, provincial and national government (Losch, 2006:21-22). In this instance, wards become the forum through which people could be engaged in the formation of the IDP. To this end, Buccus (2012:248) insinuates that IDP sets the parameters and imperatives for planning of service delivery which in turn requires active participation towards legitimising policies to be adopted within the councils.

More importantly, the Municipal Systems Act (2000) institutionalises Integrated Development Planning (IDP) as a decentralised, strategic principal planning instrument which is sector orientated to operationalise the philosophy of developmental local government. As opposed to centralised and mechanistic based on 'One Size Fit All' approach to planning, the author argues that IDP is integrated, interdisciplinary and holistic planning for human development within the municipal jurisdiction. The adoption of integrated development plan by municipalities is a tool or strategy to speed up, improve and democratise service delivery in the country. In theory Integrated Development Planning is expected to be an approach for planning that involves the entire municipality and its citizens in finding the best solutions to achieve good long-term development. On the contrary, IDP documents tend to be a consultant base influenced by the basic principles of participation and empowerment in the process of developing such planning.

3. IDP AS A MUNICIPAL PROFILING FOR SERVICE DELIVERY AND DEVELOPMENT

Community profiling/profile reflects the lives of the community including its resources as well as challenges also known as community profiling, needs assessment, social audits and community consultations (Hawtin and Percy-Smith, 2007:1). Applied within the local government context, a

profile can be defined as a compressive description of the needs of the municipal population including the resources and is carried out with the active involvement of the municipal community for the purposes of developing an action plan or other means of improving the quality of life of the community (Ibid, 5). The advantage of having a Community/municipal profile enables one to make critical connections especially in juxtaposing the voices of local people, statistical evidence, socio-political trends and community development interventions in more structured way that involves individuals, groups, communities, structures and instructions within municipality (Ledwith, 2005:34/5).

In this paper, the IDP is conceptualised and argued as a municipal profiling process which is participatory and empowering approach in speeding service delivery and facilitate development through community-municipal partnerships. The Integrated Development Plan is a tool or strategy that has been adopted by all South African municipalities in a quest to fasten, improve and democratise service delivery in the country. Theron *et al.* (2005:133) argues that Integrated Development Planning is an approach to planning that involves the entire municipality and its citizens to find the best solutions to achieve good long-term development". The authors further argue that the IDP is a super plan for an area that gives an overall framework or development. It aims to co-ordinate the work of local and other spheres of government in a coherent plan to improve the quality of life for all the people living in an area. "It should take into account the existing conditions, problems and resources available for development. According to Theron *et al.* (2005:134), the plan should look at economic and social development for the area as a whole. It must set a framework for how land should be used, what infrastructure and services are needed and how the environment should be protected. All municipalities have to have an IDP because they make delivery of services much more efficient and reliable. It helps the municipality coordinate the work of local and other levels of government in an endeavour to improve the quality of life within communities around the country.

The reason as to why the IDP is used or placed within the local government sphere is the fact that local government (municipalities) are closest to the people and therefore have more influence on the local people. In addition, Parnell *et al.* (2002) state that local government is the key agent in transforming and democratising development in

South Africa. In the context of developmental local government, development and services are linked since development becomes both the process and end result geared towards the provision of sustainable services. Local government is according to the Constitution (1996) mandated to promote integrated and holistic development which is embrative of both social and economic development. On one hand, municipal social development include the provision of infrastructure, health services, amenities, sport facilities, while economic development on the other hand has to do with the optimal utilisation of the available resources in order to create wealth and therefore improve the economic status of the people and their areas (Craythorne, 2006:138/9).

4. SERVICE DELIVERY THROUGH THE INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PLAN/ PLANNING

According to the South African Constitution (1996), Local Government should provide democratic and accountable government for local people, ensure provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner, promote economic and social development, and encourage involvement of communities and community organizations in matters of local government. In order to ensure that these goals are achieved, the government introduced the White Paper on Local Government of 1998 which creates a platform that allows municipalities and citizens to work together for their own development (Parnell *et al.*, 2002:167). This paper tries to ensure that the engagement of the local communities and municipalities so that the needs of the people are met in a more sustainable manner.

Service delivery through the IDP is said to be fast, democratic and effective. Through the IDP community members feel that they contribute somehow to the development of their community. They contribute by attending meetings called by the local government. These meetings might be in the form of what is known as Imbizo. Through these meetings, the community gets the opportunity to voice out their grievances. The IDP helps to speed up service delivery. It identifies the least serviced and most impoverished areas and points to where municipal funds should be spent. Implementation is made easier because the relevant stakeholders have been part of the process. Having all the relevant stakeholders makes development a whole lot easier, faster and efficient. The IDP provides deadlock-breaking mechanisms to ensure that projects and

programmes are efficiently implemented. In essence, as Parnell and Pieterse (1998) posit that the IDP helps to develop realistic project proposals based on the availability of resources.

As a sustainable development plan, the IDP is among other plans established with the primary purpose to expedite achieve service delivery efficiencies, poverty alleviation and neighbourhood improvements where the under service population is located (IDP, 2002-2006). This plan also provides infrastructure and investment and management frameworks appropriate to the needs and opportunities within and sustainability constraints of rural and peri-urban areas (IDP, 2002-2006). In order to ensure the success of these plans, the municipality use the area based management learning areas to demonstrate the implementation the IDP's strategic focus.

The IDP also explains the municipality's service delivery plan which emphasises on the maximising of the utilisation of existing infrastructure capacity as well as providing a basic package of the household service on a progressive basis (IDP, 2002-2006). It also stipulates that the municipality will promote creation of opportunities and affirmative procurement through setting job creation opportunities. This is said to be done by developing municipal public works programmes with a focus on labour intensive technologies and establish service delivery to be more responsive to the business needs. It can be argued that it is through these and other plans that are indicated in the eThekweni municipality's IDP that the municipality plans to achieve development in all the areas under its jurisdiction.

4. PROCESS, CONTEXT AND CONTENT OF COMPILING IDPS

The IDP as a blueprint for planning at municipal level follows certain procedural process which is stipulated by the Municipal Systems Act (2000) and is attached to how public participation can be promoted and enhanced. The process towards developing IDP has five phases which analysis, strategies, projects, integration and finally approval.

Analysis –this phase is an information collection phase whereby the data relating to development within the municipality. Khoza (2001:59) argues that 'a good IDP will include solid facts describing life in a municipal area, thus collating information regarding municipal population, socio-economic and political trends, challenges and opportunities.

At the centre, analysis phase is often dominated by the identification of problems faced by communities, seeking possible cases of these challenges and predicaments including the prioritisation of such needs and problems (Davids, 2005:67).

Strategies – this phase is charged with the task of finding alternative solutions to identified problems. For Davids (2005) the outcome of this phase culminates in having the municipality envisioned its vision, set strategic objectives coupled with concrete development mechanism and strategies to accomplish such objectives. Along this line, the Systems Act (2000) dictates that IDP should reflect the municipal council's vision for the long term development of the municipality with special emphasis on the municipality's most critical development and internal transformation needs.

Projects – through this phase the municipality designs projects as well as the content informing such initiatives with clear targets and indicators to measure the performance of individual projects (Davids, 2005).

Integration – it entails that the work of different units and departments within the municipality is coordinated more particularly in linking the planning to the municipal budget (Davids, 2005:68). It is further argued that the integration does happen through spatial development framework, disaster management plan, and integrated financial plan.

The final phase is **approval** whereby the IDP document is presented to the Council for consideration and adoption. The Council according to Davids (2005) is at liberty to subject the draft IDP to public scrutiny prior to the final approval.

5. LINKING ASSET BASED APPROACH TO INTEGRATED AND DECENTRALISED PLANNING

5.1 Understanding Asset Based Approach

This paper is based on Asset Based Community Development (ABCD) as a people centred and assets driven approach to development and development planning as advocated by Kretzmann and Mcknight (1993). According to Kretzmann and Mcknight (1993:5), asset based approach is an alternative model of practising development which is capacity focussed, and put emphasis on community's assets,

capabilities and abilities. Similarly, Mathie & Cunningham (2002 & 2003) view ABCD's approach as a development framework and is strengths and assets-based, focusing on the available and existing resources (assets), opportunities and strengths including the social infrastructure and organizations in the community. ABCD is differentiated from traditional approach which is needs driven or problem oriented as 'need mapping determines how such problems are to be addressed, through deficiency-orientated policies and programme (Kretzmann and Mcknight, 1993:2). The needs-based or what is known as the 'deficiency-based approach' is criticised by Wade (1989) as he argues that it is not only designed primarily to bring about change, but to improve community services, facilities and people's lives.

The strength of this model is that a community driven approach to development put more emphasis on community based associations and other local grounded social networks. The model, developed by Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) is that asset-based talents of individuals and social capital within the community are vital in driving sustainable development.

Table 1 on the next page shows the following three aspects that could be depicted as the main strengths and advantages of the asset-based approach.

Asset Based Community Development (ABCD) is currently an approach that is mainly used in community development and its strength and success depend on its eclectic perspectives on development borrowing bits and pieces of vital methods to its model. Various authors such as (Nel 2006; Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993; Mathie & Cunningham, 2003) concur that ABCD focuses on assets rather than needs. Through this approach, people and communities are engaged and motivated to be self-reliant and be able to sustain development processes and initiatives. In addition to the approach's focus on assets, Nel (2006) points out that it is also holistic, integrated and interdisciplinary in character.

5.2 Pro-Needs/Problems Based Approach to Planning

One can argue that the IDP is a challenge to local government in that such developed plans should adhere and be aligned to community identified needs and challenges, hence their accomplishment is often undermined by poor deployment of financial and

TABLE 1:

ABCD area of focus	Description
It is asset based,	It translates to community development strategy starting with what is present in the community, its capacities, talents, abilities inclusive of organisations and institutional facilities.
it is 'internally focused'	As a development strategy it concentrates firstly on the agenda-building and problem-solving capacities of local residents, local associations and local institutions
It is Relationship driven	It recognises the importance of building relationships hence the challenge relating to constantly building and rebuilding

Source: Kretzmann and McKnight (1993:9)

human resources. In essence, all goals in a specific period of time are accountable to the community. According to Visser (1998) the IDP should enable the assessment of the varied needs of the community and different interest groups; prioritise these needs in order of urgency, importance and constitutional and legislative imperatives.

Similarly to any planning that is traditional, a cyclical process according to Conyers and Hills (1992:73) involves a sequence of stages designed to link the formulation of basic policy goals with the design of specific projects and programme. This process is underpinned by establishing a organisational framework for planning, which in turn entail, specifying planning goals, formulating objectives, collecting and analysing data, identifying alternative courses of action, appraise alternative course of action, select preferred alternative, implement the plan and finally monitor and evaluate (ibid, 74). In an attempt to emphasise the deficiency of 'need' based approach, one IDP manager commented that:

"The current emphasis put either in developing new IDP and reviewing them is based on collecting information regarding the needs, challenges and problems from various communities in order to fulfil the legislative requirement to involve people and communities in the compiling of IDPs. The shortfall of this process for one to be honest it isolates municipalities as sole service providers and not as partners, hence 'dependency syndrome' among the people is created and perpetuated." (Respondent No 1, 2012)

The above assertion strongly reflects an 'old mindset' especially held by professional planners and experts where plans and planning process were

superimposed on the indigenous people, a contrary view as dictated by the Systems Act (2000). Through the Act municipalities are required to establish mechanisms and processes for building the capacity of the public to participate in the IDP process (Section 17(2). The shortage of capacity from the municipality and lack of participation by communities according to Van der Waal (2001 in Van der Waal, 2008:67) resulted especially in rural municipalities to employ consultants to compile their IDPs hence it become 'consultant-driven', 'conflict-ridden' and therefore less participatory, a planning process which is problem- driven

5.3 Towards Planning from Asset Based Framework

The IDP process enables municipalities to work together with communities and other stakeholders to find innovative and cost effective ways of eradicating poverty and growing the local economy. The IDP is envisaged to enable a municipality to assess the current realities in its area of jurisdiction, including economic, social and environmental trends, available resources, skills and capacities. The asset-based approach is all about addressing socio-economic and political problems through relying on people, community and organisational strengths, talents and abilities. People capabilities and competencies as well as organisational resources are rallied and mobilised through engaging people as both individuals and collective (Kretzmann & Mcknight, 1993). Thus people and their abilities are the most invaluable resources in advancing development and empowering low income and impoverished communities. The ontology according to Ebersson & Elof (2006:24-25) centres on connecting people and communities to assets as the starting point of departure in asset-based planning.

5.4 Process of Asset Based Planning

West (2009:105) indicated that planners are often charged with responsibility of envisioning and charting a course of action thereby examining the possibilities ties and pull the pieces together into a larger picture. In this regard, Haines (2009) outlined a five process phase which involve 1) community organising, 2) visioning, 3) planning, 4) public participation and finally implementation and evaluation.

Community organising and mobilisation forms an important step into community intervention contrary to the 'problem oriented approach' whereby people and communities are mobilised to solve identified problems (Haines, 2009). The radical shift from planning unto problems, the new paradigm places an emphasis on community intervention as Kretzmann and McKnight (2005:31) argue by 'discovering and mobilising the gifts, strengths, abilities, resources or assets to be found in even the most challenged communities'. Thus community organising is underpinned by community development as a mutual and engaging process which Ledwith (2005:50) opines as one that begins in everyday lives, understanding histories, cultures and values and listening to hopes and concerns.

The **second phase involves the envisioning** exercise as a method to establish a long term view of a community. The envisioning is said to be helpful to galvanise on one hand broad range of individuals, associations and institutions within the context of the community while on the other hand uses such a platform to create a multi topical visions (Haines, 2009). This entails invitation of abroad spectrums of the community as well as choosing public participation strategies to accomplish a vision.

The **third phase involves planning** and is underpinned by three tasks culminating to community action plan, thus data collection and analysis, asset mapping and a community survey (Haines, 2009:44). Interestingly, planning is crucial as through 'asset mapping exercise' resources, skills and knowledge are discovered. In addition, institutions and organisations (such as schools, libraries and churches) are identified which in turn offer individuals support (Kretzmann & McKnight, 2005) including community leadership.

The **fourth stage demands the public** to get actively participate not only to implement the

community plan but also to get people, community based organisations and local government and private sector institutions (Haines, 2009). The establishment and consolidation of social capital as social relationships at the heart of Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD) approach. Mathie and Cunningham (2002:7) view relationships not only as assets but also having the power to mobilise other assets existing within the community.

The **fifth and final phase** obliges ABCD planners to put their plans into action. For Haines (2009) this stage is where action leads into community change and people are able to see tangible outcomes. In essence, communities put their assets (skills, knowledge, talents and resources) into good use hence Castelloe *et al.* (2002) advocate that this is where communities stay actively involved in creating and executing programmes or policies that are supposed to change their lives.

6. OUTCOME IMPACT OF PLANNING FROM ASSET BASED

6.1 Assets Mapping and Community Mobilisation

ABCD's biggest strength lies in its ability to mobilise members of the community to offer their skills, talents and gifts which in turn are utilised as tools to sustain self-reliant communities or societies. Rather than having communities as clients and consumers of development, ABCD seeks to generate active citizens who are aware of their surroundings and who can contribute towards nation building if not their communities. In addition, ABCD gives power to the people to initiate change in their specific communities. Through empowerment, the disadvantaged increases their power to make favourable decisions which enable them to alter the situation from gloomy status qua to a better life. Such acquired power is therefore used by the people to access resources and utilising them in order to achieve certain development goals (Burkey, 1993; Max-Neef, 1991). According to Ife (2006:265) empowerment means providing people with the resources, opportunities, vocabulary, knowledge and skills to increased their capacity to determine their own future to participate in and affect the life of their community. People's empowerment in this instance allows everyone in the community to participate because it is their basic and democratic right to decide on when and what the community

needs to be developed. Radically, empowerment according to World Bank (2000/1:39) should enhance the capacity of the poor people to influence the state institutions that affect their lives, by strengthening their participation in political process and local decision making.

6.2 Building Interactive Relationships Through Social Capital

The assets/strengths orientated approach to planning is anchored on building interactive relationships through social capital even in a culturally diversified milieu. People and communities are engaged in the process of planning in a more participatory and inclusionary manner, with the fundamental aimed to forge trust and confidence among people and communities across racial, gender, age and socio-economic divide. Such relationships are seen as assets which promote sensible and relevant application of social relations. Mathie and Cunningham (2002) state that at the core of ABCD, is its focus on social relationships. Formal and informal associations, networks, and extended families are treated as assets and also as means to mobilise other assets of the community. Thus by regarding relationships and networks as potential assets, asset based approach to development planning becomes a practical application of the concept of social capital. Social capital together with community economic development and appreciative enquiry are therefore the foundation for asset based approach. The World Bank (1997:114) defines social capital as the informal rules, norms and long-term relationships that facilitate co-ordinated action and enable people to undertake co-operative ventures for mutual advantage. Social capital is present in the networks, norms and social trust inherent in associations whose members work together in concerted collaborative action. It is also the store of goodwill. It enables people to "get by"; bridging social capital enables people to get ahead. An IDP manager in the rural municipality stated that:

"If applied effectively, the practical application of social capital could yield other benefits for our municipalities. It could facilitate the process of bringing various sectors, private and organs of civil society together not only to discuss issues pertain to the municipalities but being instrumental as catalysts to mobilise resources to make the municipal goals and objectives a reality." (Respondent No 2, 2012).

More importantly, Putman *et al.* (1993:35) associate social capital with features of social organisations such as networks, norms and trust that facilitate action and co-operation for mutual benefits. In addition, Putman *et al.* (1993) differentiates two types of social capital such as bonding and bridging social capital. On one hand, bonding social capital is evident in the close-knit relations of friends and families who can be depended on for basic survival in times of stress. Bridging social capital on the other hand provides leverage in relationships beyond the confines of one's own affinity group, or even beyond the local community.

The essence of social capital is captured by the World Bank (1997) which asserted that social capital is a 'missing link' in the development equation. The approach gives the poor and disadvantaged communities the chance to see problems in themselves and sort them by themselves with little help from outside as opposed to needs based where communities heavily rely on the leaders and outside assistance to elicit problems within their communities.

6.3 Linking Community Empowerment Through Community Economic Development (CED) and Local Economic Development (LED)

The concept of strengths/assets-based approach encourages participation and empowerment for economic growth. The method relies on the Community Economic Development (CED) theory which promotes endogenous community economic development. Shragge (1993:11) broadly interprets CED as:

"The development of stronger local economies through the engagement of local communities in shaping their own destinies, taking responsibility for local strategies which seek long term, durable solutions to addressing economic growth."

In support of Shragge, Haughton (1999:xiii) argues that CED entails building up and building upon local expertise, experience and resources, encouraging local ownership of a growing physical asset base in order to reduce vulnerability associated with high dependence on external (state and private) funding sources, and working within locally accountable frameworks.

Due to the pressing challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality ravaging communities,

the IDP as a strategic plan could be instrumental in employing both CED and LED. The Constitution (1996) requires municipalities to engage in economic development and one of executing this mandate is through the employment of local economic development (LED) approach. Nel and Humphrys (1999:277) suggest that LED is a "process or strategy in which locally based individuals or organisations use resources to modify or expand local economic activity to the benefit of the majority in the local community". Zaaier & Zara (1993, in Nel & Rogerson, 2005:4) define LED as "essentially a process in which local government and/or community-based groups manage their existing resources and enter into partnership arrangements with the private sector, or with each other, to create new jobs and stimulate economic activity in the area. Rogerson (2006:228) refers the 'rise of LED planning as evidence that since 1994 democratic transition, the promotion of LED initiatives has emerged as a central facet of policy and planning for both urban and rural reconstruction. (Binns & Nel 2002; Nel 1997 Rogerson 2003 in Xusa & Swilling 2008) agree that LED is not solely a prerogative of municipalities, but rather a partnership function, not just between the private and public sectors, but also with community sector. The World Bank (2002:1) also adds that LED is a 'partnership between local government, business and community interests. Although these definitions describe different aspects, it is evident that the nucleus of LED lies in its relationship with partnerships, economic sustainability, job creation and the creation of wealth and improvement of quality life within the context of empowered communities at local level.

The promotion of LED by the South African government is a solution to redress economic disadvantages in previously disadvantaged areas. Faced with limited resources the South African government embarked on the idea of bottom-up development and local initiatives for achieving economic development. As this approach is more attractive and meant to reduce public expenditure, LED seems the right way to go (Nel & Humphrys, 1999).

The importance of LED is that it creates jobs and new employment opportunities while at the same time increasing income levels which in turn enable people to pay for services. It also broadens the tax and revenue base of a local authority/municipality to provide more and better services and facilities. In addition it concentrates on human resource potential

and opportunities for development and building new institutions for sustainable economic development which promotes linkages between developed and under-developed areas. Given the limited and non-existent alternatives to development in the third world South Africa is no exception. Bond (2003) argues that South Africa is a socio-economic time-bomb which desperately needs a new approach to development. This statement is not meant to threaten or show a negative view but it rather emphasizes the urgency with which development policy-makers and initiators should review and evaluate current strategies and seek more appropriate approaches to alleviate poverty. Nel and Rogerson (2005:12) highlight that development challenges in LED are additional LED responsibilities, lack of coordination between partners and lack of understanding of what LED is all about.

6.4 Positive Change Through Appreciative Enquiry

Embedded within the notion of ABCD is the concept of appreciative enquiry which aims at searching what is best in people, programmes and organization. It is an asset-based approach from the files of organizational development. On one hand, Preskill and Coghlan (2003) posit that appreciative enquiry is a participative, collaborative, and systematic approach to enquiry that seeks what is right in a programmes or organization in order to create a desired future. Mathie and Cunningham (2003) on the other hand, maintain that this type of enquiry could promote positive change (in organisations or communities) by focusing on peak experiences and successes of the past. As a process and method for asking questions, it is therefore designed to strengthen a system's capacity for organizational learning and creativity. In essence, appreciative enquiry focuses on a community's achievements rather than its problems, and seeks to go beyond participation to foster inspiration at the grass-roots level.

This implies that communities are expected to assume greater responsibility by identifying and therefore mobilising existing resources and assets. They also ensure not only community control of the development processes but are also instrumental in creating sustainable community-local economic opportunities. Through the optimal application of ABCD, communities and indigenous people engage in the process of asset mapping; the role of multiple stakeholders; integrating the sustainable livelihood

approach and control over the development process (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993).

This approach pushes for a more improved structure and base, which in turn improves individual and collective capabilities in the realm of integrated community development continuity. One of the municipal officials revealed that:

"True, indeed, the strategic and operational adoption and institutionalisation of ABCD especially with more emphasis on taking stock on our achievements could boost our morals and further enhance work ethos including us having a comprehensive understanding of resources available in our municipality." (Respondent No 3, 2012).

Strengths/assets-based approach concerns itself with connecting micro assets to a macro environment. It becomes vital for the approach to position the community in an advantageous perspective in relating to local institutions and external institutions towards translating inputs into productive outcomes and assets.

7. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The paper acknowledges the introduction and institutionalisation of Integrated Development Planning (IDP) and Integrated Development Plan as a vital vehicle for the municipalities to profile their municipality visions to address socio-economic and political challenges. Considering the poor state of development and service delivery within municipalities, seeking new and alternative strategies and mechanisms to holistically deal with such challenges is imperative. The paper revealed that some of the dilemmas and challenges have been perpetuated by municipalities adhering to the conventional methods of planning which places more emphasis on needs or problems identification, explore solutions to the identified challenges. This approach the author argued, look at municipalities in an integrated manner and views people and communities as problem infested entities with municipalities as problem dealers based on 'one size fits all' approach'.

Consequently this situation has created a dependency syndrome due to local government's failure to fulfil service delivery promises. People take to the streets demanding in protest for responsive and accountable governance. In this regard, the author argued that

the IDP constructed on needs based framework is likely to create people dependency on municipalities to delivery without their input. The paper further demonstrated that despite the well documented IDPs, the lack of capacity from the municipal side coupled with insufficient financial resources and commitment undermines municipalities to provide services in a sustainable manner.

Through the employment of asset based to planning and managing the municipalities are strategically positioned direct their affairs from the strengths based as opposed to planning from the needs or deficiency based. Thus the asset based approach to planning for development is viewed as a powerful tool in the hands of both people and municipalities as it is premised upon the municipality profile of their assets, skills and talents which are fundamental towards the creation of a strong, proactive, effective and efficient municipality. CED has been highlighted in the paper as instrumental in mapping available resources, talents and skills of communities. LED on the other hand creates a conducive environment within which other stakeholders could invest resources thus creating jobs in communities. In this context, the IDP is above all envisaged to enable municipalities to assess the current realities in its area of jurisdiction, including economic, social and environmental trends, available resources, skills and capacities to address socio-economic challenges.

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