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Where to send articles
All correspondence concerning articles should be directed to assadpamjournal@gmail.com or:
Dr Vain Jarbandhan
Head: Department of Public Management and Governance
Faculty of Management
P O Box 524
Auckland Park 2006
Tel: +27 11 559 2905
Email: vainj@uj.ac.za

Subscription enquiries:
Prof L Lues
University of the Free State, Department of Public Administration and Management
PO Box 339, University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, 9300
E-mail: Luesl@ufs.ac.za
Tel: +27 51 401 2886

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Editorial

V Jarbandhan
Chief Editor

In **'The Effectiveness of the Expanded Public Works Programme as a Poverty Alleviation Strategy'** Maniki Maphanga and Adrino Mazenda examine as a poverty alleviation strategy how the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) enhances food security in South Africa's City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (CTMM). The major themes they identified in their article are unemployment, food insecurity, human capital challenges and the lack of consistency in policy implementation and execution. They argue that the EPWP has the potential to alleviate poverty through the provision of stipends as an important element in ensuring that beneficiaries' families are food secure. Moreover, the programme has the potential to improve the beneficiary's skills and enhance employability. However, they stated that the EPWP is a temporal poverty alleviation strategy, failing to remove people from total poverty; consequently, food insecurity due to lack of continuity.

Tyanai Masiya, Yul Derek Davids and Adrino Mazenda, in their article **'Effective Public Participation in Municipal Service Delivery: The Case of Nyanga Township'** explore innovative ways of improving water and electricity service delivery. The study was conducted in Nyanga, a township in Cape Town. The article found that citizen-focused service delivery can be enhanced by promoting citizens' public participation which focuses on increasing collaboration between communities and municipal officials at the policy implementation stage. However, according to the authors, this should be done without neglecting participation in other phases of the policy cycle. The findings from this article contribute towards understanding public participation strategies at the municipal level which can promote joint decision-making to provide effective and efficient service delivery.

In **'An Internal Control System of Value to the Driving Licence Testing Centre of the Madibeng Local Municipality',** Corlia Alers assesses the critical components of an internal control system that need to be considered when designing an internal control system at the local sphere of government. Her article argues that internal control is deeply rooted in the processes set to provide reasonable assurances that the needs of society will be met effectively while complying with applicable laws. Further, the article maintains that an internal control system comprises of the control environment, risk assessment, control mechanisms, information and communication, and monitoring. The Driving Licence Testing Centre

of the Madibeng Local Municipality is used as the research setting. The author argues that the problem is, that despite the importance of the components of an internal control system, the effective and efficient application thereof is lacking at the Driving Licence Testing Centre of the Madibeng Local Municipality due to certain challenges and features that have a negative impact on service delivery.

Offering Post-Secondary Correctional Education (PSCE) to the incarcerated population in the *Correctional Education Programmes* has according to literature positive outcomes that are fundamental to reducing recidivism; factors that enable or hinder the success of such education have not been examined.

Amanda Miselo and Sybert Mutereko, in their article **'Factors Affecting Post-Secondary Correctional Education (PSCE) in South Africa: A case of Brandvlei Correctional Centre in Cape Town'**, examine the factors that enable or hinder the *Post-Secondary Correctional Education Programme* with a specific focus on distance education offered by the University of South Africa (UNISA) to inmates at the Brandvlei Correctional Centre in Cape Town. Their results indicate that offenders had access to the internet and books, but prison officials, for security purposes, controlled the access to such resources. Other factors that emerged from the study include a lack of financial aid and overcrowding which hindered effective learning for offenders. According to the authors these findings have implications for policymakers and correctional services officials who are tasked with the provision of PSCE as well as higher education institutions offering distance education.

Werner Webb and Modimowabarwa Kanyane, in their article **'Type III Errors: A Reflection of Policy Design Efforts in Corruption Prevention'** reflect on the policy conceptualisation, design, and problem solving efforts of our anti-corruption champions in the public service. According to the authors the efforts in the public service to implement policy initiatives to combat corruption are at risk of addressing the symptoms of corrupt behaviour in the public and private sector, rather than the root cause. They add that evidence in the literature abounds that the solutions to public service corruption are not found in a myriad of public policy interventions and compliance with them, but rather focusing on the cause-effect linkages. They state that the anti-corruption policy infrastructure in South Africa is ill-suited to solve the problem it is meant to solve and that the public service is committing Type III errors when policy issues are subjected to problem structuring and the incorrect causes of a problem are identified. According to the authors any policy interventions that neglect to address that root cause will end in failure. In the authors' observation of the anti-corruption policy infrastructure it appears that state departments neglect to do problem structuring.

In **'Influence of Employee Participation in Work Decision-Making on Organisational Performance: Theoretical Discourse and Overview of**

Empirical Evidence from Nigeria', Emanuel Ejere and Vain Jarbandhan state that in the wake of an increasing emphasis on decentralisation in the workplace, participative decision-making is becoming the flavour of the day. However, the issue of whether or not employees' participation in workplace decision-making positively affects organisational performance is not yet fully interrogated in academic circles. Consequently, their article examines the relationship between participative decision-making and organisational performance on the basis of international literature and empirical evidence from Nigeria. The conclusion reached in their article is that employees appreciate being recognised as individuals and having a voice on organisational issues where they work, and as such, participative decision-making is essential to attaining improved organisational performance.

Vinita Siebers, in **'How to Organise Citizen Engagement: Experiences of Dutch Municipalities'**, states that scholars in the Netherlands have long asserted the value of citizen engagement. However, understanding the way citizen engagement is organised and why it works or does not work still poses a challenge. Her article explores the experiences of Dutch municipalities with organising citizen engagement. Via 54 semi-structured interviews with municipal representatives and document analyses the article explores motivations to initiate citizen engagement, reflects on the role of involved actors and reveals challenges that occur during the organisation of citizen engagement. Her findings indicate that organising citizen engagement is not an easy task and that the extent to which the motivation, methods and roles are clear among the municipal council, board of mayor and aldermen and the bureaucracy is of importance.

In **'The Legal Framework for the Management of Public Finances in Uganda: Key Management Challenges'**, Tonny Muzaale and Christelle Auriacombe examine compliance with the legal framework for the management of public finances in Uganda in terms of accountability, reasonable and equitable allocation of finances, transparency, consensus oriented participation, equity, efficiency and sensitivity and responsiveness to the collective public needs. They argue that while there is controversy over public financial management, much of the emerging literature on public financial management has not addressed the implication of the legal framework in the larger body of public financial management in terms of the policy prescriptions to guarantee the credibility of the audit institutions in Uganda. The article found that efficient management of public finances has not taken place in some public entities; the approach used has not met the criteria for effective public financial management due to gaps in the laws and poor law enforcement.

Jacques de Jongh and Danie Meyer, in their article, **'The Multidimensional Regional Economic Development Index (MREDI) Applied in the North-West Province: A Rural Regional Application'** state that economic development

researchers and practitioners are constantly investigating improved methodologies and tools to measure and quantify progress in regional economic development. According to the authors single and limited composite indices, such as the Human Development Index (HDI) have been used, but with limited success in the past; as these types of indexes do not capture all aspects of development, leaving a gap for the development of multidimensional measurement indexes. The primary objective of their article was therefore to apply the multidimensional regional development index (MREDI) as developed by the authors in the North-West province as a rural regional analysis from 1998 to 2018. Interesting findings and results emanated from the index. The rural regions had different rates of improvement in the index or economic development, with the Mahikeng region showing the highest rate of improvement, although the Rustenburg region achieved the highest index. Their analysis also provides detailed trends and changes of the socio-economic strengths and weaknesses of rural regions in the province. The article found that the successful application of MREDI on rural regions confirms its usefulness of economic development measurement in any region and allows for comprehensive assessment and comparisons of regions.

Lewis Chigova and Gerrit van der Waldt, in their article, **'An Integrated Civic Crowdfunding Model for Infrastructure Rehabilitation: The Case of the City of Harare'**, state that financial resource challenges in local government necessitate the embracement of emerging strategies that improve revenue mobilisation and citizen participation in city governance. They argue that emerging strategies, such as civic crowdfunding, can provide additional financial resources and can promote partnership relations between communities and local authorities. According to the authors these strategies are critical to cities such as the City of Harare due to limited financial capacity and other infrastructure development and rehabilitation limitations. Their article reflects on the findings of an empirical survey conducted in the City of Harare to investigate the potential of civic crowdfunding for the rehabilitation of community infrastructure. Their article contextualises some of the dominant perspectives of civic crowdfunding as a local governance phenomenon and concludes with an outline of a proposed integrated civic crowdfunding model.

In **'The Use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) for Smart Governance in the City of Ekurhuleni'**, Mncedisi Ncamphalala and Shikha Vyas-Doorgapersad conceptualise and contextualise the ICT initiatives to transform municipalities into smart cities, offering seamless services through smart governance. The City of Ekurhuleni is used as the research setting. Their article applied the 'E-service delivery model' designed by Islam and Ahmed (2007) as a theoretical framework for the study. According to the authors, the rationale is that this model involves creating a networked society through interlinking systems of service delivery, and provides a one-stop service centre in rural and urban settings.

Labour strikes are prevalent within the South African public sector landscape which has a negative impact on economic development as it relates to worker productivity and its interruption of the provision of much needed essential and emergency services. Services that are categorised as essential relate to inter alia, health and security, which are regarded as imperative for ensuring the welfare of society.

In, **'Balancing the Right to Strike with the Right to Public Health Care'**, Zoliswa Rikwe, Liiza Gie and Harry Ballard state that employees within these categories are under both a moral obligation and legislative restriction not to strike. The counter argument is that these employees could be exploited by failing to protect their constitutional rights and expressing their expectations. The right to strike is documented in the South African Constitution under Bill of Rights and Labour Relations Act 66 of 1995 (LRA), where the latter makes provision for the conclusion of a Minimum Service Agreement (MSA). However, no MSA has been ratified since the LRA was promulgated in 1995. The purpose of their article is to present the guidelines developed from the results arising from a qualitative research study that was conducted in the Western Cape Department of Health's essential services, including management and trade unions officials, for the establishment of an MSA to promote equilibrium between the right to strike and the right to public health care within the South African Public Health sector. Their results revealed that employees who are providing essential services have the right to strike only if certain conditions are met. One of these conditions is the conclusion of the MSA to ensure a balance between the rights of health workers to strike, and the rights of the citizens to be provided with health care services. The agreement provides the duties and responsibilities of the employer and employees for the continuation of minimum services in the event of a public sector strike to ensure that service delivery is not interrupted.

Mpheletso Molefi and Ambrosé du Plessis, in their article, **'The Evolution of Lesotho's Political-administrative Interface through its Different Regime Types: A Case Study of the Ministry of Home Affairs'** systematically review the impact of different regime types (monarchy-chieftaincy, colonial rule, parliamentary democracy, military rule and coalition government) and their impact on the evolution of the political-administrative interface in the Kingdom of Lesotho. The article provides a theoretical review of the political-administrative interface, together with empirical evidence on how the relationship between ministers and principal secretaries affects the effectiveness of the Ministry of Home Affairs. The authors state that most scholars have thus far neglected to analyse the political-administrative dichotomy within Lesotho's different regime types. The major finding of their article is that the political-administrative dichotomy may not be universally applied without considering the type of regime(s) in existence and needs to be contextualised within the specific form of government. The article recommends

that scholars should not only corroborate the theory on the political-administrative interface, but should rather rigorously test the viability of the theory with experimental data.

In accordance with statutory provisions, and legislation, municipalities are required to inform and consult with citizens on matters of local governance and development. Deliberative citizen engagement is crucial for realising integrated development planning but the public participatory process is complex and fraught with challenges.

In **'Citizen Engagement to foster Inclusive Development Planning in Local Governance',** Siyanda Dywili and Enaleen Draai explore the complexity of citizen engagement in rural governance, where public participation is the enabling tool. In the Chris Hani District Municipality, indications are that public participation with various stakeholders is fundamental for integrated development planning, particularly in co-producing and realising rural local governance.

Their investigation confirmed that public input is fundamental for integrated development planning and ultimately, improved service delivery but that meaningful engagement is not necessarily sourced as public participation is often a statutory compliance exercise. The complexity of public participation in its implementation where dissenting voices exist and stakeholder relations are not appropriately managed, according to the authors, does not allow public participation to realise its ideals. Equally, lack of resources does not allow the community voice to resonate to hold ownership in integrated development, rendering any attempt at responsible and active citizenship almost redundant. The article found that resources should be availed and channelled to meet the aforementioned purposes. Governance expands the boundaries of government to be more inclusive, hence, the notion that multiple interdependent stakeholders are critical for effective service delivery.

Chief Editor: Prof Vain Jarbandhan

The Effectiveness of the Expanded Public Works Programme as a Poverty Alleviation Strategy

M Maphanga
School of Public Management and Administration
University of Pretoria

A Mazenda
School of Public Management and Administration
University of Pretoria

ABSTRACT

This article examines how the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) enhances food security in South Africa's City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (CTMM). The main objective is to investigate the effectiveness of the EPWP on food security and as a poverty alleviation strategy. Documents were analysed to identify major themes that address the research question. The major themes identified are unemployment, food insecurity, human capital challenges and the lack of consistency in policy implementation and execution. The article draws the following conclusions: the EPWP has the potential to alleviate poverty through the provision of stipends. The stipends are an important element in ensuring that beneficiaries' families are food secure. Moreover, the programme has the potential to improve the beneficiary's skills and enhance employability. Food security is a multifaceted phenomenon that requires a multi-sectoral approach to addressing complex livelihood challenges and problems. The article recommends that adequate human capital resources must be in place to support the implementation and coordination of the CTMM EPWP. Moreover, the CTMM must consider employing the beneficiaries permanently and explore the untapped sectors such as the green economy. The EPWP is a temporal poverty alleviation strategy, failing to remove people from total poverty; consequently, food insecurity due to lack of continuity. The article is relevant as an intervention strategy for challenges facing the CTMM EPWP mandate on poverty alleviation.

INTRODUCTION

The post-apartheid government inherited an unequal society, characterised by high unemployment levels and extreme poverty among previously disadvantaged groups. The majority of South Africans facing these challenges live in rural areas, with some in urban areas. The rural areas are receiving more attention because of the disadvantages and challenges faced, while the urban areas receive less due to the belief that most people are in a more advantageous position to deal with poverty, unemployment and other socio-economic difficulties. The fact that the urban areas are experiencing large numbers of employment seekers means that there is a high prevalence of socio-economic challenges, disease, crime, poverty, and migration, among other factors.

The South African Constitution, in Section 27(1) (b), upholds the right to have access to sufficient food and water and that the state must take reasonable legislative and other measures within its available resources to achieve the progressive realisation of each of these rights (Section 27(2)). Through these stipulations, the government has a constitutional mandate to ensure access to food for its citizens. Through the establishment and initiation of various regulatory frameworks governing South African food security, the government has spelt out its commitment to tackling food security issues (Hendriks 2014:2; Hendriks & Olivier 2015:557).

The government has implemented numerous initiatives, such as the EPWP, aimed at creating work opportunities to alleviate poverty. However, ever-rising poverty levels and unemployment remain contributing factors towards household food insecurity (CTMM, EPWP 2012). The EPWP, launched in 1994 as part of the policy agenda addressing job creation and the successor to the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP); is aimed at redressing apartheid era disparities. The RDP informed by both the White Paper for Social Development of 1997 and the National Development Plan (NDP), was supposed to contribute towards alleviating poverty, developing communities, providing work opportunities and enhancing social protection. According to CTMM EPWP (2012), the EPWP is a government initiative that caters for labour absorption and income transfers to poor households. The EPWP is also used by public-sector bodies in the creation of work opportunities with expenditure on goods and services, with the National Department of Public Works (DPW) as the custodian and national coordinator. The participants are employed on a temporary or ongoing basis, and the work opportunities are created in the infrastructure, non-state, environment, culture, and social sectors of the programme.

At the national level, the programme surpassed its set target and created over one million work opportunities in its Phase 1 (Olifant 2009). According to Mukhathi (2015:86), the EPWP is successful for Social Auxiliary Work (SAW) in poverty alleviation and skills development. EPWP participants who previously

had no income attested to an improved financial position after becoming beneficiaries. Similarly, Moeti (2013:98) attested that some of the participants appreciated the opportunity to earn income through the EPWP, while others attributed the programme to better standards of living. The participants indicated that the EPWP has improved their lives through increased income; as such, they could afford to increase the quantity and quality of their food consumption.

The CTMM is responsible for the implementation of the EPWP and ensures the achievement of the set targets. According to the CTMM EPWP (2012:6), the EPWP in CTMM has been in force since 2009, and the city has not been able to attain the set targets. These results are attributed to a variety of problems; including ineffective implementation of the programme; poor institutional arrangements, management, and reporting; inadequate project funding; unfair recruitment processes; and poor working conditions (Mogagabe 2016:73).

This article aims to establish whether the EPWP is effective as a poverty alleviation strategy for the participants in the CTMM. The main question is: what are the challenges affecting the effective implementation of the CTMM EPWP in the alleviation of poverty, subsequently food security? The article utilises a qualitative research method, with a case study research design and document analysis. The document analysis unearthed major themes on the EPWP's success and failure as a poverty alleviation strategy. The next section presents the problem statement underpinning the study.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Unemployment, poverty and inequality have been the key challenges facing South Africa since the advent of democracy. The EPWP was introduced as a strategy to provide poverty and income relief through temporary work for unemployed South Africans (Nzimakwe 2008:207). The EPWP is an important government mechanism, contributing to the state's key policy priorities of the provision of decent work, sustainable livelihoods, food security and the fight against crime.

The Household Food and Nutrition Security Strategy (HFNSS 2013) asserts a need for coordination and monitoring of the measures in place, due to the complex nature of food insecurity that remains unacceptably high, despite the strategies in place. The City of Tshwane Climate Response Strategy (CRS), (2017:5–8) asserts that food security and the nourishment of the CTMM residents is a top priority, and thus the development of an Urban Agriculture and Food Security Policy and Plan, guided by the need for food security and climate realities. The EPWP's biggest challenge is the implementation of the programme through the mobilisation of the three spheres of government. As such, the programme is classified as a DPW programme, instead of being a local government programme (Nzimakwe

2008:207). The other challenges, as identified by Moeti (2013) and CTMM EPWP (2012:7), include a lack of capacity in design, coordination and reporting in the attainment of the set targets. This article aims to enhance the understanding of how the identified challenges of programme implementation affect the EPWP's effectiveness in poverty alleviation in the CTMM. The next section provides an overview of the EPWP.

THE EXPANDED PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAMME

The EPWP was established in 2004 as an initiative of both the departments of Public Works and Social Development. The objectives of the programme are the creation of temporary employment and income opportunities, the provision of labour-intensive public services and goods, and ensuring that at least 14% of the participants find permanent employment after exiting the programme. The programme was established to recruit participants within its four sectors, and these participants are equipped with skills and knowledge, as well as an opportunity to earn an income. The successes of the programme include the attainment of its Phase 1 target of creating employment opportunities for a million people between 2004 and 2009. In Phase 2 80% percent of the target of creating 4.5 million work opportunities was achieved in 2014 (ILO 2018:3). Currently, the EPWP is in its third phase, 2014 to 2019, with targets to create a cumulative total of six million work opportunities by 2019, against a government funding commitment of ZAR150 billion (approximately US$11.4 billion) over five years (ILO 2018:2).

The EPWP comprises four sectors that are also components of the programme, each with functions and activities to ensure the attainment of sectoral goals, and these comprise the infrastructure, environment, social and economic sectors. According to the DPW (DPW 2005:16), the infrastructure sector entails the activities requiring intensive labour and may include the building of low-volume roads and storm-water drains. The environmental sector's activities create employment, care for the environment and contribute to sustainable development. The social sector specialises in home- community-based care (HCBC) and the Early Childhood Development Programme (ECDP). The HCBC works on the provision of home-based health and social services by formal and informal caregivers (DPW 2005:17). The economic sector is dependent on the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) for coordination and implementation of the EPWP. This sector is focused on the creation of own businesses, as well as the provision of learnership ventures. This article focuses on the infrastructure component of the EPWP because it is the biggest creator of work opportunities.

From 2014 to 2019 projections, the total work/job opportunities (WO) and full-time equivalent (FTE) targets in the infrastructure were higher than the other three

sectors, with a target of 2 452 003 WOs and 799 240 FTEs (South African Cities Network (SACN) 2017:12). The FTEs and WO are targets for the different spheres and sectors of government. Set in the EPWP Phase 3 of the national DPW, FTEs are an indication of how sustainable the WOs are and are used to measure the contribution towards permanent jobs created over one year (1 FTE = 230 person-days of work). The relationship depends on the duration of the WOs. The longer the duration, the higher the FTEs (SACN 2017:12). To assess the effectiveness of the EPWP as a poverty alleviating strategy, it is necessary to equate the initiative to theory. The next section provides an analysis of the relationship between the EPWP and the Theory of Change (ToC).

THEORY OF CHANGE AND THE EPWP

ToC is a tailor-made approach for planning, participation in, and evaluation of social-change programmes. The theory defines the long-term goals of an inter-vention and then maps backwards to identify necessary preconditions. It focuses on generative causation, examining the processes and context, leading to varying intervention outcomes (Blamey and Mackenzie 2007:177).

The theory is prominent in different government and non-governmental organisations and is used in addressing some of the challenges encountered by evaluators when assessing the impact of complex social development programmes. These include, *inter alia,* poorly articulated assumptions, a lack of clarity on how change processes unfold, and insufficient attention being given to the sequence of changes necessary for long-term goals to be reached (O'Flynn 2012). As Vogel (2012:5) posited, the change process is ongoing; it encompasses discussion-based analysis and learning that produce valuable in-sights to support programme design, strategy, implementation, evaluation and impact assessment.

Drawing from this assertion, therefore, the ToC can be used to guide CTMM on how to effectively implement the EPWP programme as a poverty alleviation strategy. De Silva, Breuer and Lee (2014:267) argued that the ToC has several potential benefits for evaluation, as it can provide an organising framework with evaluation targeted at different outcomes and processing levels. In addition, Barnett and Gregorowski (2013:5) reiterated that the ToC is flexible, facilitating the implementation of multiple causal pathways. This is supported by the EPWP poverty-alleviation strategy of employment creation, achieved in four channels; labour intensity in government-funded projects, public social programmes, public environmental programmes and government support for small-enterprise learner-ships and incubation programmes (SACN 2017:13). The following section presents an in-depth analysis of the governance of the EPWP in CTMM.

EPWP IN TSHWANE METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY

The EPWP is used in all three spheres of government, including state-owned enterprises (SOEs). The programme provides a channel for poverty eradication and food security by providing employment opportunities, which serve as a source of household income, on a temporary basis. The workers attached with the government, contracted parties, and other non-government organisations are coordinated through the ministerial conditions of employment, or learnerships (CTMM EPWP 2012:7)

The CTMM EPWP beneficiaries or participants are classified according to their South African citizenship status, local municipality residence status, income level, and household composition (CTMM EPWP 2012:25). This classification is important in ensuring that only residents benefit from the programme, and in addition, eliminates bias and any form of political manipulation.

The EPWP has an exit strategy for its participants to ensure that the acquired skills may be useful to the future employability of residents (CTMM EPWP 2012:7). The CTMM ensures the effectiveness of the EPWP through its incorporation into the municipality's activities, specifically, the promotion of the programme's principles in every integrated development plan (IDP).

The CTMM has created projects of street-cleaning, road and infrastructure maintenance, installation of storm-water pipes and the maintenance of local parks (Moeti 2013). The street-cleaning projects remain popular among the residents because they are visible in the townships as the biggest employer. These empowering projects are important to cushion against poverty, food insecurity and unequal societal disparities inherited from the apartheid era. The projects are still prevalent, with 4 499 WOs created in 2016/2017 as part of the main umbrella sector of environment and culture (SACN 2017:31).

In 2014, the CTMM aligned its EPWP policy to Phase 3 of the national EPWP. The policy provides guidelines on implementing the EPWP in the city and comprises of the subsequent sections, namely, "background to the EPWP, overview of the EPWP at provincial and national level, and coordination within the CTMM". The CTMM coordination system comprises targeted EPWP sectors, employment targets, and participant's recruitment and reporting processes. The coordination system is underpinned by comprehensive sets of short- and long-term initiatives and policy reforms (SACN 2017:30).

In 2016, the CTMM embarked on a massive restructuring exercise. This involved moving the EPWP from the Department of Economic Development to the Department of Community and Social Development. Furthermore, the assignment of group heads to more than one department. This was useful as an efficiency strategy (SACN 2017:30).

The CTMM EPWP unit's institutional arrangements comprise sector specialists aligned to different departments. The specialists report to the deputy directors, and directors of their respective departments, namely, Monitoring and Evaluation, and Sector Coordination and Programme Management. The departmental heads report to the executive director of the EPWP in the CTMM. The major challenge affecting the efficient implementation of the EPWP in the CTMM is a lack of experienced personnel or unfilled department specialist positions. As reported by SACN (2017:31), the specialist positions for the departments of Sector Coordination and Programme Management were vacant. The shortage is prevalent to the administrators in all the departments, including Monitoring and Evaluation.

The other challenges include mainstreaming and institutionalisation of the programme; a lack of commitment from political and administrative leadership; and, finally, inadequate project-design capacity (CTMM EPWP 2012:12; Moeti 2013:97). To address these challenges, there is a need for proper coordination in the implementation processes of the CTMM EPWP and also filling of the departmental specialist positions as well as support staff.

Matsena (2017) reported the presence of loopholes in the recruitment policy, for example, incidences of nepotism in the recruitment system. Moreover, there is political interference in policymaking and implementation. However, the CTMM policy reforms are commendable for curtailing these practices, by closing the loopholes and ensuring that qualifying beneficiaries have equal access to job opportunities (SACN 2017:57).

The literature on the CTMM EPWP is scant. However, results from other South African provinces can be related to the municipality. McCord (2004:54–59) conceded that the EPWP positively contributes to the improved conditions of households. Households attest that their financial situations and material assets improved after participation in the programme. More evidence of nutritional gains was recorded in the study population of KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) and Limpopo.

Satumba (2016:48) asserted that the positive impacts of the EPWP programme are more qualitative than quantitative. It contributes to home improvements and changes the participants' quality of life and ability to access adequate food among households in Bushbuckridge, Mpumalanga. The EPWP impact studies in KZN, as presented by Motala and Ngandu (2016:30), identified increased welfare benefits, and a decline in the number of households above the poverty line during the programme intervention. Once exited, the beneficiaries fall back to poverty. The assumption that the EPWP programme enhances labour-market entry was not realised.

The welfare benefits of the EPWP as detailed in the poverty alleviation strategy can be equated to household food security, which is a proxy for poverty eradication. The next section provides a discussion on the relationship between poverty alleviation and food security, and subsequently the EPWP.

POVERTY ALLEVIATION, FOOD SECURITY AND THE EPWP

Poverty alleviation, also termed *poverty reduction*, is a set of economic and humanitarian interventions from the government and non-governmental organisations implemented to improve food security. The employment component of the EPWP, livelihood support grants and enforcement of the national minimum wage amount are examples of poverty alleviation strategies. These play an important role in improving the food security status of a nation (Van de Merwe 2017).

The Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO 1996) describes *food security* as, "The state when people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to adequate, safe and nutritious food". Food security comprises four dimensions, namely, availability, access, stability and utilisation. The four dimensions are interdependent and rely on the stable availability of food supply (Hendriks 2015:610). *Food availability* refers to the adequate and continuous supply of food. Food is made available through agricultural production, commercial imports, and food assistance (National Policy on Food and Nutrition Security, NPFNS 2013; Hendriks 2015:611). Through the EPWP, availability is necessitated through the acquisition of agriculture equipment. This has a positive impact on productivity, and subsequently stimulation of demand. In addition, the programmes of the EPWP promote water and soil conservation, which subsequently mitigate disaster risk (McCord 2013:21).

Food access is the capability of a household to obtain food regularly through purchasing, borrowing, bartering, and receiving gifts (Household Food and Nutrition Security Strategy (HFNS 2013). Access is dependent on physical, economic and socio-cultural elements. The physical element encompasses the transport required to deliver food to different recipients. The economic element relates to affordability, and access to markets. The socio-cultural element relates to a lack of access based on social conflicts or gender discrimination (FAO 2017; Hendriks and Olivier 2015). Stipends obtained from the EPWP enable direct food acquisition, lift liquidity constraints to invest in own food gardening programmes and also increase reservation wages for agricultural labour, in particular small-scale commercial farming (McCord 2013:21).

Food utilisation refers to the intake of safe nutritious food for meeting people's dietary needs. The concept also covers factors such as the provision of adequate sanitary facilities and safe food preparation processes and storage (Hendriks 2015:11). Finally, food *stability* is the state of being food secure by having an acceptable quantity or quality of food at all times. Stability is determined by economic, political, market and natural conditions (Hendriks 2015:12).

It is important to note that poverty alleviation does not encompass calorie intake alone; it comprises of all four components of food security, access, utilisation and stability.

Despite being progressive, the EPWP contributes to poverty alleviation and equality. This is through an increase in income, which translates to increased food consumption and nutritional diet (Moeti 2013:51; Mogagabe 2016:73).

The EPWP's expectations of poverty eradication and food security support the Fetsa Tlala initiative established in 2014, to promote food and nutrition security. This initiative entailed cultivating one million hectares of land for food production by 2018/19, an outcome that is not achievable due to the prevailing drought conditions in the country.

The following section presents the regulatory framework governing food security in South Africa. Food security encompasses all the components of poverty alleviation. The policies are reviewed in the context of their challenges and successes. The challenges pave the way for the implementation of the EPWP, which is a better initiative for poverty alleviation and subsequently food security.

THE REGULATORY FRAMEWORK GOVERNING FOOD SECURITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

The regulatory framework governing poverty alleviation in South Africa, is directly related to food security. The *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, 1996, contains the Bill of Rights in which the right to access food and other basic needs is enshrined. Section 27 (1) (b) stipulates that all citizens have a right to access adequate food and water. In addition, Section 27(2) states that the government must take reasonable legislative and other means to achieve the continuous realisation of this right. To ensure that the constitutional mandate is fully adhered to, the government has put in place various interventions to address the food security issue. The Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF) has a mandate to develop agricultural policies and support programmes that ensure South African citizens are given agricultural opportunities for meeting their basic food needs (Du Toit 2011; Mogagabe 2016). The department has initiated numerous programmes to address food security and create opportunities to ensure that South Africans participate in ensuring food security through agricultural activities. Among these is the Integrated Food Security Strategy (IFSS) launched in 1996, the purpose of which is to consolidate and improve the coordination of the multifaceted and diverse food security interventions in South Africa. Specifically, the IFSS was introduced to ensure "the availability of adequate food to all citizens; align people's income to food prices, empower citizen's choices on healthy, nutritious and safe food; and ensure the availability of safety nets and food emergency management systems" (Drimie & Ruysenaar 2010:316). Through the IFSS various sectors and stakeholders work together to achieve food security objectives by efficient, economical and productive use of resources). The IFSS intended to provide

a multisectoral framework for addressing food, but the lack of implementation was the major challenge faced by the policy (Drimie & Ruysenaar 2010:333).

The Zero Hunger Programme was implemented in 2012 under the coordination of DAFF and the Department of Health (DOH). DOH is responsible for nutrition and DAFF for food production. The programme entails the following: first, provision of an effective mechanism for the organisation of stakeholder resources (national, provincial, and private) in pursuit of rural agriculture development and food security. Second the institution of effectual support structures for farmers through capacity building and institutional support; and third, enhancing nutritional security. Fourth, is the establishment of marketing channels and finally, the creation of opportunities for income diversification.

The NPFNS was introduced in 2013, to build on existing food security initiatives and systems, as well as aligning relevant mechanisms and ensuring proper coordination and oversight. Specifically, the policy provided a guiding framework to maximise the cooperation between different food security strategies and programmes of government and civil society.

The discussed policies are good on paper, but failing in implementation. The literature attests to the failure as evidenced by the growing numbers of food-insecure households in South Africa (Mogagabe 2016:3). The EPWP expands on most of the failures of the poverty alleviation or food security policies implemented in the Republic. The strategy is region-oriented, helping reduce poverty and subsequently food insecurity at the targeted local government level. The following section presents the research methodology used in addressing the main research question.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research utilised a qualitative research methodology, a case study design and document analysis. According to Miles and Huberman (1994:6), qualitative research is primarily exploratory research. It is used to gain an understanding of underlying reasons, opinions, and motivations or is a form of inquiry that assists to understand and explain the meaning of social phenomena with little disruption of the natural setting. A case study design explores existing life events through detailed contextual analysis of events and their relationships. Case studies allow variations in terms of instrumental, intrinsic and collective approaches to be used in data analysis (Zaidah 2007:2).

Documents allow the researcher to gather adequate information from various sources, thus saving on the resources and time constraints of primary data collection techniques, such as surveys (Doolan & Froelicher 2009:13). Documents, comprising institutional reports, surveys, public records, and books were reviewed

and analysed to interpret, evoke meaning and derive knowledge of how effective the CTMM's EPWP is in alleviating poverty. The documents were classified in three categories. First were policy documents to analyse the EPWP and the South African food security policies. Second were progress documents, to gather information on the EPWP's execution. Third, were EPWP assessment reports, books, journals and newspaper articles, to gather information on the successes and challenges facing the EPWP as a poverty alleviation strategy. The document analysis process entailed gathering data from passages, quotations and extracts. The data was then organised into major themes related to the main question of the research using content analysis. The following section presents the empirical findings on the challenges and capacity of the CTMM's EPWP in poverty alleviation.

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

The functionality of food markets and food distribution systems influences the adequate access to food at a household level. According to Motala, Ngandu, Masvaure, Hart, and Gwenhure (2016), food insecurity in South Africa can be linked to widespread chronic poverty and unemployment, leading to varying depths of food insecurity among households. Table 1 presents the major themes emanating from the document analysis on the effectiveness of the CTMM's EPWP as a poverty alleviation strategy.

Table 1: Main documents and themes

Main document	Theme
StatsSA, 2016 Community Survey	Household food security
State of the Expanded Public Works Programmes in South African Cities 2016–2017	Unemployment Human capital challenges
Regional Overview of Food Security and Nutrition Report 2017	Effective policy implementation
Implementation Evaluation of EPWP in the Social Sector: Phase Two (2009/10–2013/14); Phase Three (2014/15–2018/19)	Ability to earn an income

Source: (Author's own representation)

Household food security

The achievement of household food security depends on the government's commitment to halve poverty. Income-generating projects from the EPWP are necessary as a poverty alleviation strategy. About 19% of the CTMM households are

impoverished. This is the second highest rate in the country, after KZN (20.6%). In addition, 15% of the households have no income to improve access to food (Stats SA 2018; Ndobo and Sekhampu 2013:311).

Unemployment

According to SACN (2017:57), unemployment is the main cause of poverty and food insecurity in South Africa and in the CTMM. Factors affecting the ever-rising unemployment levels include rapid globalisation, a lack of skills, a lack of research and development and foreign direct investment in the country's economic sector. Moreover, graduates and the economically active population lack work experience. The inability of households to achieve food security may be because of their poor access to an income and purchasing power. Through the EPWP programme, the unemployment rate in CTMM worsened from 14.7% in 2011 to 22.3% in 2015. This represents an increase of about 337 600 from at least 313 700 unemployed in 2011. The EPWP offers temporary employment, with no guarantee of future employment opportunities. Through temporary employment, participants of the EPWP are provided with stipends that ensure that their living conditions are improved. Moreover, they are equipped with skills to make them employable in other organisations or self-start-up businesses. The CTMM should, however, improve the demographic allocation of job opportunities. In the year ending 2016/2017, the city fell short of the demographic targets for youth, women and people with disabilities (SACN 2017:57).

Human capital challenges

The programme's recruitment process in the CTMM before the intervention of the Democratic Alliance-led coalition in 2016 was reduced to a cadre deployment drive, as most participants were members or relatives of those in the prior governing party. Being part of the African National Congress (ANC) or an active participant of its activities was enough for employee loyalty and a reward scheme (Hlatshwayo 2017:4). The recruitment and development of skilled and knowledgeable public-sector officials are important to ensure that government policies and programmes are established; as well as the efficient, effective and economic utilisation of public resources which are noticeable challenges and recurring problems in the South African public service. The commitment from municipal officials is crucial to the achievement of programme goals and objectives. The challenges emanated from the procedures followed in terms of recruiting and the employment of the EPWP workers. According to Hlatshwayo (2017:4–5), the challenges included nepotism, political interference and cronyism, resulting in the city's inability to achieve the Phase 2 employment targets. The failure to attain

the set targets, due to the flawed recruitment processes, led to the CTMM review of the EPWP's recruitment process, and, in November 2017, a revised EPWP recruitment drive, launched to promote transparency in the employment processes of the EPWP. Finally, the EPWP cannot provide employment to all economically active unemployed households. The programme is determined by the ability to create work opportunities (supply driven), rather than the need for employment (demand driven) (Peres 2019).

Leadership challenges

Poverty alleviation is a phenomenon with various complexities and challenges. The challenges cannot be solely addressed at local government level. With no clear mandate for local government, there is no commitment and capacity for its involvement in the EPWP. The leadership challenges also spill over to commitment inconsistencies and partisan contentions, leading to the implementation and coordination failure. The lottery system instituted in 2016, in selecting beneficiaries, is effective in restraining nepotism and the partisan-based allocation of opportunities (Matsena 2017). In addition, management failure, as seen in quarterly site visits, revealed that the city lost work opportunities created in the infrastructure sector through subcontracting (SACN 2017:57).

Effective policy implementation

The effective implementation and delivery of policies and investment plans aligned with the EPWP require adequate funding, setting the right priorities and strengthening institutional capacities. In 2014, the CTTM approved a five-year EPWP policy, with the help of business and sector plans. These stakeholders provided advice on implementing EPWP in the city. The implementation plan included a background to the EPWP, a national and provincial perspective of the EPWP, coordination within Tshwane, an overview of EPWP sectors, job-creation targets, and beneficiary recruitment and reporting processes.

The CTMM's performance in policy implementation and delivery is positive, with the Tshepo 10 000 initiative and the Vat Alles project continually adding to the job opportunities created by the municipality. Moreover, the Tshwane Food and Energy Centre (TFEC), implemented by the Sustainability Division, created 25 sustainable job opportunities in farming livestock and crops. In addition, the Research and Innovation Division implemented the *Water Hygiene Convenience Leakless Valve* pilot project, which created about 20 job opportunities (SACN 2017:57).

The CTMM has made full use of different policies to address food insecurity through employment. However, there is a need for sustained periods of

accelerated and inclusive economic growth and a comprehensive set of short- and long-term policy reforms and initiatives. These include labour-market interventions and improving the quality and accessibility of the city's work readiness programmes.

Ability to earn an income

According to Tawodzera (2016:12–13), income is among the key determinants of poverty alleviation and food security. Hlatshwayo (2017:7) asserted that most participants appreciated the opportunity of earning an income, which provided them with purchasing power for basics, such as food and electricity. According to Ndobo and Sekhampu (2013:310), low-income households are susceptible to food insecurity as opposed to their middle- and higher-income counterparts. The ability to earn income, through gifts, grants and donations, reduces the incidences of food insecurity in all four dimensions of access, utilisation, availability and stability. An income is the mechanism that affords the individual the power to purchase. It also enhances the participant's livelihood in the short term, and subsequently in the long term when the skills gained are translated to employment in various economic sectors (Tawodzera 2016:13). The EPWP, through its creation of work opportunities, affords the Tshwane participants an opportunity to earn an income, ensuring that lives change for the better. EPW Phase 3 project-based training through cooperatives and small enterprise development will capacitate participants for formal employment, hence creating food stability (Henderson 2016:28).

CONCLUSION

The EPWP can be a mechanism to provide income support to the poor in critical times rather than as a way of getting the unemployed back into the labour market. This can be achieved through a proper implementation and evaluation process to ensure that set targets are achieved, and that a programme's sustainability in the long term is set. The following conclusions are drawn from this study: the EPWP has the potential to alleviate poverty through the paying of stipends. This programme's success depends on the commitment and coordination of all role players involved. The money that the participants receive is an important element in improving livelihoods. In addition, the EPWP has the potential to improve skills and enhance employability. Channelling these skills in relation to the requirements of the region, as well as the changes in global and environmental factors, such as the Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR) and climate change; are necessary to ensure maximum benefit from the programme and the employability

of participants. There are many provincial successes of the EPWP in both rural and urban areas. However, the programme can achieve all its obligations through a change in prioritisation of the objectives and improved policy implementation, as well as continuous monitoring and evaluation.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The CTMM EPWP policies, interventions and programmes aimed at reducing poverty must adhere to laid down processes of the policy agenda setting, policy formulation, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation. For effective service delivery, the coordination should involve various stakeholders. In addition, the mandate of the central government, provincial government, and the local government must be clear and unambiguous, showing clear lines of authority.

In striving to eradicate poverty through the EPWP, the article recommends the following interventions:

Adequate human capital support

Skilled human capital is critical in ensuring the successful coordination, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the CTMM EPWP activities. A lack of staffing in key departmental specialist positions has hampered the effectiveness of the EPWP sectoral coordination. The filling of positions should be performed with formal human resources recruitment processes to avoid corruption and nepotism.

Permanent employment opportunities

The creation of permanent employment opportunities is critical in ensuring that households have a stable income source. Preference should be given to women and the disabled. These two population groups are susceptible to food insecurity and poverty. In addition, there is a skills gap in the environmental segment as well as the 4IR. CTMM should create programmes to equip residents with skills on the green economy as well as 4IR (*Cape Times* 2019).

Effective policy implementation and maintenance

According to Gumede (2008:167), public policy is a declaration and implementation of the government's intention. The EPWP is a government programme that must be effectively implemented and maintained to ensure that its objectives are achieved. In a policy cycle, all stages must be coherent for effective service delivery. The CTMM EPWP needs to be effectively evaluated to determine the

achievement of set objectives, areas for improvement and possible policy mainte-nance. Benchmarking against other municipalities and drawing lessons from their successes is an important intervention strategy.

Development of strategies to ensure employability

Programmes and strategies to oversee employability should be regulated and im-plemented. This will assist in keeping a record of the skills developed and ensur-ing that they are utilised to benefit both the government and the individual. The CTMM has an indigence policy that needs proper implementation to ensure that the participants are identified accordingly.

Monitoring and evaluation

The monitoring and evaluation of policy, programmes and projects is critical in determining whether objectives are attained, household food security is en-hanced, and records are kept and this will ensure that programmes are changed or terminated. Monitoring and evaluation of any policy, programme or project is vital at every stage to ensure the attainment of the set goals, as well as revisit-ing the objectives, to allow adjustments and corrective action to be instituted. Monitoring and evaluation should also go beyond the EPWP in ensuring that the participants can utilise the acquired skills for future employability. In sum-mary, the authors are of the opinion that the EPWP in the infrastructure sector has the potential to enhance food security and contribute towards the improve-ment of the lives of its participants, but the income earned is not sustainable for poverty eradication.

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AUTHORS' CONTACT DETAILS

Maniki Maphanga
School of Public Management and
Administration
University of Pretoria
Email: nikki.maphanga@up.ac.za

Dr Adrino Mazenda
School of Public Management and
Administration
University of Pretoria
Email: adrino.mazenda@up.ac.za

Effective Public Participation in Municipal Service Delivery

The Case of Nyanga Township

T Masiya
School of Public Management and Administration
University of Pretoria

Y D Davids
Democracy, Governance and Service Delivery Programme
Human Sciences Research Council

A Mazenda
School of Public Management and Administration
University of Pretoria

ABSTRACT

Prior research on South African municipalities reveals that there is a continuing decline in public participation at the local level often resulting in poor service delivery, tension between decision-makers and communities as well as a rise in violent service delivery protests (Fuo 2015:174; Umraw 2017: Online; McGowan 2017: Online). The purpose of this research was to explore innovative ways of improving water and electricity service delivery. The study was conducted in Nyanga, a township in Cape Town. The study employed a qualitative research methodology that consisted of 12 focus groups with community leaders and municipal service officials in the water and related departments. In addition, an in-depth review of relevant literature was conducted. The participants for the focus groups were selected to comprehend the potential contribution of increased public participation towards promoting joint decision-making to improve service delivery. An extensive literature review complemented the findings from the focus group discussions. This article concludes that citizen-focused service delivery can be enhanced by promoting citizen public participation which focuses on increasing collaboration between communities and municipal officials at the policy implementation stage. However, this should be done without neglecting participation in other phases of the policy cycle. The findings from this article make a valuable

contribution towards understanding public participation strategies at the municipal level which can promote joint decision-making to provide effective and efficient service delivery. Consequently, recommendations are proposed to enhance access to water through effective community and city official engagement.

INTRODUCTION

Although public participation in municipalities is stipulated in South Africa's Constitution (Chapter 7), including many other pieces of legislation, existing literature reveals that a dysfunctional public participation system has emerged as a key concern that contributes towards current protest cycles in South African municipalities (Mofolo 2016:236; Lodge and Mottiar 2016:819). There has been a consistent decline in terms of the interface between municipal officials and communities (Fuo 2015:174). Both the Citizen Report Card study (CRC) and the Local Government Barometer project (LGB) at the Institute for Democracy in South Africa revealed that 57% of the respondents posited that public participation did not have much impact on decision-making processes as ward councillors did not recognise public inputs hence these were not conveyed to the councils (Qwabe and Mdaka 2011). A study by the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) (2015:48) revealed that 51% of the respondents held that municipal governments needed to improve public participation protocols and systems for meaningful engagement.

A survey of public participation models carried out by the Creative Commons (2012:Online), documented 36 public participation models developed between 1969 and 2012. A key feature of these models is that they are a variation of Arnstein's (1969) seminal work on the Ladder of Citizen Participation. It is in this context that this article's theoretical framework is drawn from Arnstein's (1969) Ladder of Citizen Participation. Arnstein (1969) developed a useful model to analyse the level of public participation at municipal level which explains the difference between actual optimal participation and something that might appear to be public participation but is no more than a masquerade. According to Arnstein's ladder of participation, the bottom steps show the least amount of participation while the top steps show more and more public involvement.

It is in this regard that, this article argues that if municipalities do not establish service delivery systems in which recipient citizens have a more active role to play, citizen participation becomes reactive and often culminates in protests against the decisions taken by the municipalities. On the other hand,

public participation encourages citizen-focused service delivery and improves municipal credibility among the citizenry (Department of Public Service and Administration 2014).

This research also contends that weak public participation has been a result of limited or lack of collaboration between communities and municipal officials at the implementation level. Existing studies reveal that municipal officials "tend to act as gate-keepers and controllers rather than as facilitative bodies that enable communities to have a greater voice and control over resources and resource allocation" (Tshoose 2015:13). Municipal officials are accused of being either unwilling or unable to share decision-making power with communities and even ignore input from elected representatives (Qwabe and Mdaka 2011:67). Molaba (2016:6) argues that "municipal officials do not meet the community expectations and the real community needs". This behaviour by municipal officials can be attributed to the belief that they have the education, knowledge and technical know-how to deliver services, without recognising that they need to consult in order to understand citizen preferences.

To manage this problem and ensure that public participation contributes towards improved service delivery, there is need to promote collaboration between municipal officials and the community. This study utilised focus groups which comprised of community leaders in Nyanga Township, Cape Town, including municipal service officials in the water and related departments; to comprehend the potential influence of increased collaboration between communities and municipal officials towards improved service delivery. An extensive literature review on citizen participation and service delivery was also conducted.

This article proffers suggestions that can contribute towards improving access to water in Nyanga, Cape Town from both the community and city officials' perspectives. It also complements existing studies on public participation at local levels.

This article is structured according to four sections. First, the introduction focuses on the basis of the research in detail. Second, a conceptual framework of the study highlights the ladder of public participation as espoused by Arnstein (1969). The third section explains the methodology adopted. The next section discusses the results from the focus groups. Finally a conclusion and recommendations are provided.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

There is a vast body of literature on public participation at the local sphere in developing countries such as South Africa. Public participation implies that individuals should be accorded an opportunity to influence municipal decisions. It is a component of the democratic decision-making process, which argues that the

citizens determine their needs and the role of their representatives and bureaucratic staff is to provide accordingly (Osborne and Strokosch 2013).

Public participation has been conceptualised as a process that facilitates service delivery (Association for Public Service Excellence 2013). Public participation encourages citizen- focused service delivery and improves municipal credibility among the citizenry (Cederberg Municipality 2015:3). The Department of Public Service and Administration (2014:ii, v) concurs that public participation improves the quality and legitimacy of decisions made by municipal authorities regarding policy, programmes and projects as well as eliminates or at least drastically reduces polarisation between municipalities and citizens, thereby inhibiting conflict that occasionally results in violent protests.

Pandeya (2015:93) notes that public participation is a process that enables the poor to exercise their voice through consultation and/or mobilisation designed to inform and to influence larger institutions and policies. Tufte (2017:143) also argues that public participation not only has a positive impact on service delivery but also increases accountability and inhibits corruption and mismanagement. It does this by facilitating information dissemination and increased public awareness of the actions of municipal governments. Furthermore, it enhances allocative efficiency by providing the means for "demand revelation thus matching of allocations to user preferences" (Azfar *et al.* 1999:15). In this context, municipalities are expected to afford citizens or communities as clients and stakeholders the opportunity to actively participate in municipal policy processes, that is, express their views before, during and after the policy development process to ensure that policy implementation reflects community preferences as far as possible.

Arnstein (1969), proposes a level of public participation that is close to the ideal through her model, the 'ladder' of participation model, which can be utilised as a guide to observe who has power when important decisions are made in municipal service delivery.

According to this conceptual framework, there are eight levels of participation, with the first and second being highly similar.

- Manipulation – At this level although public participation is pronounced, there is no participation in practice. The decision-making process is manipulative and is imposed on citizens to achieve an outcome that municipalities have already decided.
- Therapy – In this context, public participation is a "feel-good" exercise (therapy) meant to cure or educate the participants. In the context of service delivery, both manipulation and therapy can be viewed as mere public relations exercises by municipalities to secure citizens' support.
- Informing – This can be viewed as potentially a first step to legitimate participation if applied to municipal service delivery. However, this level underscores a one way flow of information and there is no provision for channels of feedback.

- Consultation – Consultation level is characterised by processes such as attitude surveys, neighbourhood meetings and public enquiries but remains a weak form of participation and is often another window dressing exercise.
- Placation – The power holders retain the right to judge the legitimacy or feasibility of advice from participants although they allow, for example, co-option of hand-picked 'worthies' onto committees.
- Partnership – The power is redistributed through negotiation between citizens and power holders. Planning and decision-making responsibilities are shared, for example, through joint committees.
- Delegated power – This is where citizens hold majority of seats on committees with delegated powers to make decisions. At this level the citizens now have the power to assure accountability of the programme to them.
- Citizen Control – Have-nots manage the entire task of planning, policymaking and administering a programme, for example, neighbourhood corporation with no intermediaries between it and the source of funds.

The Arnstein (1969) ladder is illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1: The ladder of citizen participation
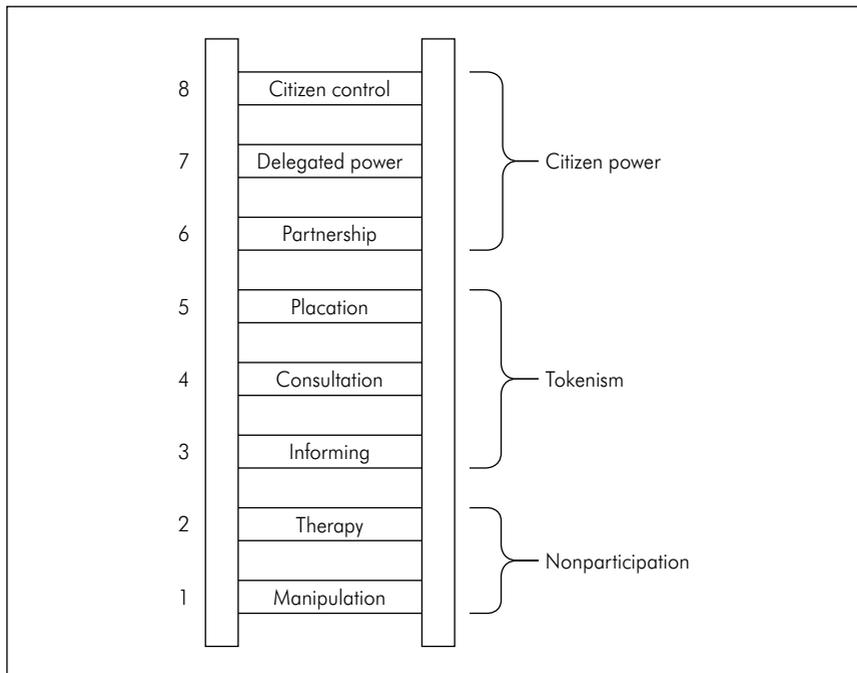
Source: (Arnstein 1969:217)

Three broad tiers can be distinguished from the eight levels on the ladder of participation. The bottom tier essentially entails circumstances of nonparticipation where decisions are made from the top and handed down to citizens. The second tier is associated with circumstances where participation is through informing and consulting citizens without giving them assurances that their contributions will be considered for decision-making purposes. The third tier, which is more ideal, consists of a wholesome involvement of citizens in decision-making processes. At this third tier citizens become partners in making decisions and can directly influence policy formulation and implementation.

Public participation in South Africa has declined in terms of the interface between municipalities and communities (Sithole and Mathonsi 2015:21). Van Donk (2014:2) argues that poor South Africans have a limited voice in local-level development processes that impact directly on them. This necessitates exploring avenues to strengthen public participation as one of the means for promoting citizen-focused service delivery.

Existing studies also reveal that municipal officials are hesitant to share decision-making powers with communities (Tshoose 2015; Qwabe and Mdaka 2011 and Kanyane 2014). The officials hold that it is their role and they have unfettered ability to invent "the best solution" (Kanyane 2014:104). According to Fuo (2015:174), "some municipal officials have reduced public participation to a more technical exercise driven to merely ensure compliance with the requirements of framework legislation" and have become unaccountable for their actions. According to Osborne and Strokosch (2013), municipal officials resist citizen participation because it involves the ceding of power. Consequently, the lack of accountability, transparency and inadequate checks and balances have become commonplace among municipalities (Munzhedzi 2016: Online).

Citizens are of the opinion that municipal decisions do not respond adequately to the needs and values of the communities, especially the poor and disadvantaged sectors; to the extent that planning, including the budgets and Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) are not reflective of the needs of the community (Madzivhandila and Maloka 2014:655).

These arguments are linked to the first and second tiers of the ladder of participation where there is limited citizen involvement in decision-making processes. Consequently there has been poor service delivery, resulting in citizen disenchantment. The highest tier on the ladder of participation is intended to encourage effective citizen participation which can improve service delivery, improve public municipal credibility and drastically reduce polarisation between municipalities and the citizenry. Thus, citizen disquiet has been one of the causes of municipal service delivery protests (Seokoma 2010).

At the local sphere of government, Chen *et al.* (2014:1) describe service delivery as "the distribution of basic resources citizens depend on, like water, electricity,

sanitation infrastructure, land, and housing". Matebesi and Botes (2017:82) define service delivery protests as collective action taken by a community which is directed at a local municipality as a result of poor or inadequate provision of basic services. In South Africa, municipalities are the most basic units of government in the country and are constitutionally mandated to provide fundamental services such as water.

BASIC SERVICE DELIVERY: WHY THE FUSS?

The 2017 Statistics South Africa General Household Survey established that most South Africans were less satisfied with the quality of the services they receive and that the dissatisfaction trend had been growing since 2005. The 2015 South African Social Attitude Survey (SASAS) data revealed that a large proportion of South Africans distrust/strongly distrust (49.2%) their local government and about a third (34.8%) trust or strongly trust local government with the delivery of basic services. A study by the market research firm Institut de Publique Sondage d'Opinion Secteur (IPSOS) in 2015, observed that four in every 10 South Africans trust the government to deliver effective services to the public (IPSOS 2016: Online). The 2013 Edelman Trust Barometer also argues that the lack of trust is driven by perceptions of poor municipal performance (Edelman Trust Barometer 2013: Online). In this regard, such lack of trust is the result of citizen dissatisfaction with services, including the manner in which their concerns are managed by the municipal officials and respective government departments. Wide trust deficit breeds tension between the municipalities and the communities.

Since 2004, many South African municipalities have experienced a rise in service delivery protests. The upward trend in protests is supported by various studies. For instance, the Social Change Unit at the University of Johannesburg argues that there has been a sharp rise in service delivery protests between 2004 and 2014 (Grant 2014:Online). The Presidency (2015:27) also highlighted that more than 78% of the municipalities had failed to perform the 12 mandated functions and approximately 50% of the municipalities performed less than half of their constitutional functions.

Furthermore, in recent years these protests have become increasingly violent, often resulting in the destruction of private and public property and in certain instances injuries and loss of life. The study by Lolwana (2016:8) also concludes that service delivery protests have been increasing and becoming more violent. Alexander (2012:2) has described South Africa as the "protest capital of the world". Swart (2013:Online) argues that communities have been protesting more violently and vehemently as a show of their grievances against inadequate or total lack of municipal service delivery.

All these factors support the existing evidence which shows that municipalities struggle to deliver on their mandate and communities are becoming more impatient with the lack of quality basic services. Ismail and Yunan (2016:269) in this regard argue that service quality is determined by the citizens' comparison of their expectations versus eventual services provided by the municipality. On the other hand, Matebesi and Botes (2017:84) as well as Mbuyisa (2013:122) assert that the ever-increasing service delivery protests are a reflection of the extent to which formal institutional channels for citizen engagement has failed. Communities feel alienated and disconnected from decision-making processes and disempowered to influence municipalities (Beyers 2016:175). Akinboade, Mokwena and Kinfack (2013:462) argue that service delivery dissatisfaction and protests at the local level is a result of local government inefficiencies to provide adequate service delivery which can in many instances be explained by a lack of effective public participation.

Cape Town has largely become a functional city, but the black majority argue that they are continually marginalised, particularly in terms of service delivery. This has led to continued service delivery protests in townships such as Nyanga over the years (McDonald 2014:Online; Abbas and Ntlemela 2016:Online; McGowan 2017).

These protests raise the questions of the attributes of public participation and consultative processes at the municipal sphere. Madumo (2014:141) argues that public participation is faced by structural challenges; that is, related to the mechanisms that could be utilised to promote public participation in municipal governments. Public participation is also of serious concern since municipalities were envisioned as sites of government's commitment to participatory governance to achieve meaning and content.

There is therefore a need to revisit local governance to explore probable ways to improve relations between communities and their municipalities by promoting public participation in decision-making so that there is joint ownership of policies and programmes. In South Africa, there is adequate evidence of the relationship between locally elected officials and communities in the public participation process. Most studies conclude that invited spaces such as ward committees are either seen as agents of municipal councils or gathering of views through wards only constitutes symbolic participation (Mbhele 2017:35); ward structures act as pseudo-structures of their political parties (Mbelengwa 2016:59); most municipalities do not delegate any powers and duties to ward committees and communities (Mtshali 2016:55); lack of both capacity building support to communities and information of the functioning of local government (Sekgala 2016:). These are in line with the lower levels of Arnstein's ladder of participation. Municipal officials are therefore required to play a much greater role to facilitate public participation.

Consequently, the primary focus of this research was on exploring innovative ways of improving service delivery. The relationships between communities and local government officials must be strengthened to address particular

shortcomings prevalent in current public participation structures. To explore this notion, a case study was conducted in the Nyanga local community, Cape Town, South Africa. The study focused on moving public participation to higher levels of the ladder of participation by increasing collaboration between municipal officials and communities around water service delivery concerns.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research design

This study is part of a larger project on citizen engagement conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). Funding was provided by the Tirelo Bosha – Public Service Improvement Facility of the Belgian Development Agency (BTC) and the South African Department of Public Service and Administration (DPSA). The project sought to establish innovative ways to promote public participation in municipal service delivery with specific focus on water and electricity. This research focused on improving dialogue that would allow residents and the city to understand each other's circumstances in matters related to water service delivery. Dialogue was facilitated primarily through focus group discussions.

The research design of the present study consisted of a qualitative focus group component and a desk-based review of the literature concerning public participation and service delivery. The qualitative focus groups can therefore be considered as the primary data collection tool, while the review of the literature formed the secondary data collection component. The focus group method was selected because it enabled researchers to gather data in a short period of time and was more useful in acquiring several detailed perspectives on a given phenomenon where people give insights of their shared understanding of everyday life (Blackburn and Stokes 2000:5).

The desktop review process focused on the review of current literature, legislation and municipal documents on public participation and municipal service delivery systems as well as public participation theories such as Arnstein's ladder of participation. The article also utilised key survey sources such as the SASAS, the 2017 Statistics South Africa General Household Survey, the IPSOS 2015 survey, and the 2013 Edelman Trust Barometer. Most of the results from the desktop analysis are presented in earlier sections of this article.

Study site

Nyanga township in Cape Town was selected because the municipality identified it as an area that requires support to acquire community buy-in on its

service delivery projects that were due to be undertaken in 2017. Nyanga has also been prone to service delivery protests, which became more violent and regular since 2011. It was therefore possible to secure cooperation from both the community and the municipality since both had expressed concerns about each other.

Nyanga remains one of the poorest parts of Cape Town and it is one of the oldest black townships in Cape Town, second only to Langa. It has a population of 57 996 in an area of 3.07 km². The population in Ward 037, the focus area, was 22 207 in 2011 (Stats SA 2011 Census). Other key features of the ward included: population in 2011 was predominantly black African (99%); and 29% aged 20 years and older had completed Grade 12 or higher. This area has been prone to service delivery protests, especially since 2011 when frustration at the slow rate of service provision resulted in violent protests.

Research ethics

Before the study was implemented the HSRC research team obtained ethics clearance from the HSRC Research Ethics Committee (REC). Ethics approval was an important requirement because the research detailed in this article involved human subjects, which means ethical protocols needed to be followed to ensure participants in the study did not experience undue harm because of their participation in this research. In addition to the ethics approval the researchers also obtained informed consent from all the participating individuals.

Fieldwork

The primary research was conducted between May 2016 and July 2017. A total of 12 focus groups were conducted in three under-resourced areas in Nyanga as identified by the City of Cape Town: Nyanga Old Location, Mau Mau, and Zwelitsha. The City felt that these areas would benefit a great deal from the scorecard process in terms of electricity and water service provision. All 12 focus groups focused on water and electricity service provision but four of these focus groups entirely discussed: 1) water provision and maintenance in Nyanga and informal surrounding settlements), 2) improving water provision in Nyanga with communities from the 14 areas, 3) implementing water projects in Zwelitsha with community members, and 4) improving service delivery and communication engagement with local civil society organisations. The 12 focus group discussions conducted included community leaders and city officials. The focus group discussion guide included water service delivery concerns such as water connections, repairs, metering, water reliability and access to the township.

Selection of the focus group participants

Community leaders were drawn from local community groups such as the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) that had established structures. These also included political representatives from the area. Municipal officials were drawn from departments whose mandate included water service delivery, namely: Water, Sewer, Housing, Water Demand Meter, informal settlements and the Technical Operation Centre (TOC).

Data analysis

The focus groups qualitative data analysis comprised of content analysis, which involved a systematic comparison across units of data (for example, interviews, statements or themes). The primary purpose of the qualitative data analysis method was to identify key themes which would emerge from the data and enable extraction of key issues related to the research questions. The qualitative data obtained through the desktop review was also reviewed through content analysis.

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

This article notes that lack of water service delivery, particularly in low-income areas such as Nyanga in Cape Town and indeed in many other South African municipalities can in part be attributed to limited engagement between municipal officials and communities mainly confined to the first and second tiers of Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation. Limited engagement has also resulted in poor communication; weak responses to service delivery demands; and lack of water education.

Improved water service delivery can be acquired by addressing problems through enhancing public participation as outlined in the third tier of the ladder of participation. The third tier will address existing gaps through sharing of planning and decision-making responsibilities and developing mechanisms for resolving impasses between municipal officials and communities.

In the focus groups, most discussions revealed the existence of weak public participation in municipal water service delivery. For example, the community leaders questioned the functionality of ward committees. They reported that the City of Cape Town programmes in the area were not communicated to the community. However, city officials highlighted that the city assumed that the ward councillor and ward committee were informing the communities, and those who came to the city as Nyanga representatives, represented the area.

The functionality of ward committees has been questioned by researchers such as Mbelengwa (2016:59) and Mbhele (2017:35) who argue that ward councillors are not only renowned to ignore public input, arrogant and insensitive to the needs of the community and when detail is conveyed to both the councils and municipal officials, it is disregarded. Vivier *et al.* (2015:83) reveal that citizens perceive the councillors' role as intermediaries between residents and municipal administration as limited, with minimal communication between municipal administrations and the residents. These observations implied that a gap existed in public participation between the municipal officials and the communities that needed to be bridged if water service delivery was to improve. Weak forms of public participation on the ladder of citizen participation centre on informing and consultations without assurance that citizen contributions will be considered for decision-making purposes. Weak implementation of public participation therefore meant that the municipal officials were often not certain of the priorities of the communities.

The focus groups established a platform that promoted public participation processes and enhanced collaboration of communities and municipal officials as well as ward committees and councillors. In the process, the community representatives raised key concerns about water service delivery, which included that certain areas were still in need of water provision.

For example, residents in sections such as Mau Mau shared one water pipe between four houses. This meant that since they shared one water pipe and tap stopper among four houses, if one neighbour opened the tap at the same time as the next, the flow was extremely slow. Furthermore, the residents noted that communal taps were often placed close to the roads by city officials, and when leakage occurred (which was almost always) the water would flow onto the road which in turn gave rise to potholes and ruined the road infrastructure.

Concerning maintenance, community participants reported that infrastructure repairs were a problem. Leaking taps and overflowing sewers were a common sight and occasionally went unattended for lengthy periods. This problem was compounded by a large number of blocked drains, which often led to localised flooding. However, during the focus group discussions, it also emerged that these blockages were exacerbated by illegal connections or by community members who used drains and sewers for garbage disposal. Illegal structures built over water and sanitation infrastructure made it extremely difficult to address many of these problems.

The community participants in the focus groups also highlighted that they had experienced much difficulty in drawing the attention of city officials to resolve these problems in their area. This implied that municipal officials could be aware of the challenges but choose not to take action. Marutlulle (2017:Online) argues that such actions may be as a result of, *inter alia,* administrative concerns (municipal maladministration, lack of control and corruption). Municipal officials confirmed the existence of administrative problems when they stated that although

the city was committed to undertaking repairs, it was known that certain staff closed their assigned jobs without having undertaken repairs.

Furthermore, the lack of collaboration between the community and municipal officials through an established public participation mechanism contributed towards community service fraud. In one instance, the Mau Mau residents in Nyanga revealed that their houses had been built without toilets, which had posed serious challenges. They devised a way to connect to the sewer system, allegedly because the City Council had done nothing about it. However, these illegal connections posed a number of problems for residents. A resident stated that:"We did not have toilets. But we had to build our own. Now the issue with the toilets is that they are cracked and are beginning to fall apart. The councillor was even consulted, but to no end. But now we have toilets that are falling apart. The toilet is connected to the drain, and we admit we built and connected the toilets ourselves since no one from the city was giving us a direction on when and how we were going to be supplied with toilets".

Nxumalo (2016:12) argues that to overcome the divide between municipal officials and communities there is a need for public participation opportunities such as joint committees that bring together municipal officials and communities to enhance water service delivery. These focus groups, therefore, acted as such joint committees, increasing the levels of participation to the third tier on Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation and revealing how such interactivity can result in expressing concerns and expectations from both council and the communities.

The focus group discussions also revealed that a multiplicity of departments were involved in the provision of water services of which community members had not been advised and had limited knowledge. Moreover, participating city officials acknowledged that there was both poor communication and limited working relationship among various departments which provide water services, particularly among the Solid Waste, Water and Sanitation, and Housing Departments, which affected water service delivery. As a result of the multiplicity of departments that manage water service delivery and the lack of an effective platform for citizens and municipal officials to interact, the residents failed to distinguish the responsibilities of the different departments in water service provision. For example, residents occasionally reported maintenance problems to the sewer unit when they actually should have reported it to the Housing Maintenance unit. Furthermore, residents were often unfamiliar with the nature of the problems that were reported. Therefore, water faults or problems were reported incorrectly. In such instances the incorrect department might be called to deal with a water problem.

The municipal officials thus utilised the focus groups interviews to explain the roles of the different departments concerning water service provision. In certain instances, the responsible party was the Department of Water and Sanitation, in

others, the Department of Housing, while in others, the individual community members themselves; because the faults had emanated on private property.

The Water Demand Meter Unit and the TOC also had a role to play in improving water service delivery. The TOC is the centre where residents register their requests for municipal services or lodge complaints. The centre is responsible for capturing reports or complaints from residents and directing these to the appropriate department that manages the particular problem or service. The lack of information appeared to result in confusion and frustration on the part of the community. According to Mdlongwa (2014:Online), the lack of awareness and knowledge among communities impeded service delivery because communities do not know how or who to approach when they face service delivery challenges. The present study revealed that the lack of awareness and knowledge among the Nyanga community residents may also be attributed to the lack of communication by the municipal officials. Vivier *et al.* (2015:83) revealed that the lack of communication between citizens and the municipality weaken both municipal responsiveness and citizen engagement. Limited communication can be associated with the levels of informing and consultation on the ladder of participation. These levels emphasise information flows from the municipal officials to the citizens with no channel provided for feedback and no power for negotiation (Babu 2015:244).

Both the municipal staff and the community members concurred that the TOC was not functioning properly. One concern was that TOC staff was incompetent because they were only granted six-month contracts without continuity. This is corroborated by Mnguni (2018:Online) who states that in certain instances, service delivery failure can be attributed to the lack of capacity among municipal staff who are not equipped to manage their responsibilities. Both the municipal staff and community leaders agreed that there was a need to provide sufficient training and/or longer contracts to the TOC staff. At the moment this centre seems to underscore hiring staff every six months to generate higher employment statistics for the municipality.

The levels of informing and consultation on the ladder of participation were further evidenced by community participants who did not only seem to lack knowledge about maintenance processes within their area but also lacked insight of other projects such as the City of Cape Town's rolling out Water Management Devices (WMDs), popularly known as "blue water meters, and the difference between the City's various types of water meters as well as how they functioned." WMD limits the amount of water a household receives per day. Installation of these devices has in certain instances been characterised by resistance from the community.

The community participants did not seem to understand the purpose and the processes that had to be followed to install the meters. The municipal officials explained that there was an important unit responsible for WDMs. More specifically, the unit essentially managed the blue meter, which regulated water consumption in the city. A senior Water Department employee noted that the blue water meter

could be utilised simply to reduce consumption by high water consumers or to limit water consumption by those identified as indigent (earning less than R3 200 per month) households. Hence, the WMD provides an option for the indigent to address the needs of poor households as a form of minimum service provision and a socio-economic safety net.

However, the focus group which comprised of community members, expressed serious reservations about the processes the municipal officials followed to install the WMDs on their properties. The community participants argued that the city had not sought the property owners' consent before installing the devices on the properties. Ordinarily such consent had to be sought, and the property owners given the opportunity to sign an agreement/consent form. Moreover, the city was accused of getting children and/or the elderly to sign off on the water meters. They often did not understand what they were signing.

One resident also reported how her water meter box was changed without her consent. Her complaint resonated with many community members who participated in the focus group interviews. The community participants accused the city officials of walking onto properties to install the blue water meters in the absence of property owners. Furthermore, the companies contracted to install these meters executed substandard work. Consequently, leaks and infrastructure damage as a result of poor installations were frequent.

However, according to an official from the Department of Water, the municipality had engaged in a consultative process regarding the installation of new blue water meters. The official stated that the project and its intentions were communicated to various stakeholders prior to the project roll-out. Furthermore, according to reports, the officials had undertaken door-to-door campaigns during which they informed homeowners about arrears for water and informed them that if they signed for the new meters, their debt would be cancelled.

Further discussions established that those who signed did so without full disclosure of what they were signing. The level of citizen engagement in the process appeared to have been limited because it focused primarily on consultation. In fact Thompson (2016) states that participatory spaces at the local government level are less about engagement and more about information sharing and consultation as a form of compliance. In her seminal work "A ladder of citizen participation", Arnstein (1969) argues that consultation alone is the weakest form of participation and is often simply a window dressing exercise and offers no assurance that citizen's concerns and ideas will be taken into account. The lack of participation was also exacerbated by the municipal officials' failure to familiarise the community with their work and their general ignorance of the community. The focus group discussion with community members as well as city officials also revealed that there was a need for sound communication between city officials, city departments and the community to enhance water service delivery.

Furthermore, the Cape Flats area is renowned to be crime ridden (Standing 2006). The city officials stated that municipal personnel in the water department had experienced difficulties to access Nyanga. Often city personnel called to undertake infrastructural repairs were attacked by community members who believed that they offered poor service or that there were unnecessary delays in restoring services. Such attacks are potentially as result of lack of communication and stronger public participation.

Location thugs called "Skolies", attempt to rob city officials of their essentials or hijack municipal vehicles. Speaking of her experiences, a city official stated that "When we go to check a house in Gugulethu, we have to keep the car engine running, with four other staff keeping guard in all directions. We have four people on the lookout for possible attacks all the time."

In certain areas, groups encouraged communities to revolt and attack council officials. Umraw (2017:Online) contends that protests of this nature emanate from "genuine concerns" from community members, but criminal elements soon infiltrate. Once that happens, municipalities focus on the criminality and neglect the community's original concerns. In order to minimise this, there is need to promote sincere participation with municipalities and spend more time in dialogue with the communities as protests often result because of miscommunication.

During the focus group interviews, both the community and municipal officials resolved to work together to ensure effective service delivery. For example, to enhance the municipal employees' safety when they entered the Nyanga area to restore water services or undertake maintenance, the municipal officials would contact community leaders in the area who would then facilitate access to enhance service restoration or project implementation.

Arnstein (1969) noted that a move towards partnership level, delegation and citizen control symbolised by a significant presence of public participation is recommended in fostering effective service delivery. Overall the focus group discussions revealed that increased public participation that includes the community and municipal officials can yield positive results in service delivery as it fosters joint decision-making and identifies expectations of the communities and the city officials as well as providing a platform for resolving implementation challenges. However, correlation between the levels of Arnstein's ladder and the frequency and intensity of public protests could not be established and this is an area for potential further research.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In order to enhance municipal service delivery, there is a need to strengthen the relationship between the City of Cape Town officials and communities, including

civil society; rooted in public participation. In terms of the theory of the ladder of participation, communities have to be encouraged to get involved and participate in ways that are further up the ladder.

In addition, the City of Cape Town officials need to increase the water service delivery process and regulations awareness incorporating the third tier of the ladder of participation. This can be done by working with organised citizen leaders and groups within the community to promote an open and accountable two-way communication and collaborative activity through which citizen concerns, needs, and values are acknowledged and integrated into municipal decision-making.

Lastly, the municipal officials should avoid imposing decisions on the communities such as installation of water management devices without the consent or knowledge of community members as it borders on manipulation and therapy.

CONCLUSION

This article examined how public participation can be enhanced with reference to Arnstein's ladder of participation in order for it to meaningfully contribute towards improving municipal service delivery. Using focus groups it generated adequate detail of the perceptions of water service delivery in Nyanga, Cape Town as well as gathered information on why water service delivery is a concern. In particular, the discussions enabled a clearer understanding of the feelings, shared representations and significance and interpretations of certain actions by both the community and municipal officials. It was concluded from the focus groups that lack of higher levels of public participation as encompassed in the ladder of participation, in particular when the community and municipal officials are expected to collaborate; contributed towards numerous water service delivery challenges among the Nyanga community. One way in which water service delivery could be enhanced is by increasing community participation in water service delivery decision-making processes taken by municipal officials. During the 15 month period of this research project, it was observed that the tension between the municipal officials and community leaders had eased while public participation had increased from the original levels that appeared to fit Arnstein's manipulation and therapy levels and informing to partnership level which symbolises a significant presence of collaboration. This provided an environment conducive to improved service delivery. Despite the positive results, city officials are still required as a matter of urgency to continue with efforts to build and sustain relationships with the community through public participation. Engagement may contribute towards decreasing the number of strikes and protests, because residents protest when they are not included in service delivery discussions. Openness creates effective communication channels if officials ensure their presence and concern.

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AUTHORS' CONTACT DETAILS

Dr Tyanai Masiya
School of Public Management and
Administration
Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences
University of Pretoria
Cnr Lynnwood Road and Roper Street
Hatfield, 0028
South Africa.
Tel. 012 420 2138
Email: tyanai.masiya@up.ac.za or
masiyat2008@gmail.com

Dr Adrino Mazenda
School of Public Management and
Administration
Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences
University of Pretoria
Cnr Lynnwood Road and Roper Street
Hatfield, 0028
South Africa.
Tel. 012 420 3691
Email: adrino.mazenda@up.ac.za.

Yul Derek Davids
Democracy, Governance and Service Delivery (DGSD)
Human Science Research Council (HSRC)
134 Pretorius Street
Private Bag X41
Pretoria 0001
South Africa
Tel. 021 466 7838
Email: ydavids@hsrc.ac.za

An Internal Control System of Value to the Driving Licence Testing Centre of the Madibeng Local Municipality

C Alers*

Department of Public Administration and Management
University of South Africa

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to assess the critical components of an internal control system that need to be considered when designing an internal control system at the local sphere of government. This article argues that internal control is deeply rooted in the processes set to provide reasonable assurances that the needs of society will be met effectively while complying with applicable laws. Further, this article maintains that an internal control system comprises of the control environment, risk assessment, control mechanisms, information and communication, and monitoring. To comprehend the importance of an internal control system at the local sphere of government, the Driving Licence Testing Centre of the Madibeng Local Municipality is used as the case under study and specifically the issuing of driving licences. However, the problem is that despite the importance of the components of an internal control system, the effective and efficient application thereof is lacking at the Driving Licence Testing Centre of the Madibeng Local Municipality. A qualitative research design was followed and mixed data gathering instruments were used to answer the research question: 'Which components need to be considered when designing an internal control system for the Driving Licence Testing Centre of the Madibeng Local Municipality?'. In addition to the literature review, the empirical findings validated the components needed to be considered. The article concludes that although the existing internal control system of the Driving Licence Testing Centre of the Madibeng Local Municipality has benefits, it is often faced with challenges and features that may affect it negatively.

INTRODUCTION

In the doctoral study by Alers (2018), the components of an internal control system when issuing driving licences were investigated as part of a broader study about the development and implementation of methods and procedures when issuing driving licences at the Madibeng Local Municipality (MLM). In an article 'Developing Driving Licence Standard Operating Procedures: The Case of Madibeng Local Municipality' based on the doctoral study, Alers and Ferreira (2019) presented a framework for the development of driving licence standard operating procedures and made recommendations on how to develop standardised methods and procedures. However, the doctoral study would have been incomplete if the development of standard operating procedures was described without a discussion of the implementation thereof as part of an internal control system. Therefore, this follow-up article reviews an internal control system that could be of value to the local government sphere, specifically the Driving Licence Testing Centre of the MLM (hereafter referred to as the MLM DLTC). The following research question is consequently answered in this article: 'Which components need to be considered when designing an internal control system for the MLM DLTC?'.

This article consents that standard operating procedures is an internal control mechanism and argues that internal control is a regulatory management task that is interwoven with the total task execution process. Therefore, internal control is not static and should not be separated from the everyday tasks of public officials. Internal control thus has an ongoing nature and should be practised continuously. It is not a simple systematic process but is indeed comprehensive as it takes place before and during the execution of a task as well as after the task has been completed (Fourie 2007:736). It is also claimed that the functioning of an internal control system in the public sector, as defined by Visser and Erasmus (2015:278), is determined by a number of components, including the control mechanisms designed and adopted by the management of the government institution to provide reasonable assurance that the relevant objectives will be achieved while preventing, detecting and correcting any adverse events. Moreover, the following primary components of an internal control system form the basis of the literature review and the empirical data and findings presented in this article: the control environment, risk assessment, control mechanisms, information and communication, and monitoring.

The significance of this study is found in the conceptualisation of the internal control system of the MLM DLTC that involves various components designed to promote, govern and check on the performance of the Centre. It became clear that although the internal control system of the MLM DLTC has certain advantages, it is often faced with challenges and features that may affect it negatively.

A deductive approach is followed by conceptualising the concepts 'internal control' and 'internal control system', before embarking on the research design and methodology and refined descriptions of the data analysis. The article is concluded with appropriate findings and recommendations.

CONCEPTUALISING INTERNAL CONTROL

Internal control comprises of manual and electronic systems as well as the procedures and processes implemented to minimise the risks to which an organisation might be exposed to as a result of negligence, organisational weaknesses, fraud or any other irregularities. Internal control contributes towards the promotion of public accountability, since it provides an assessment, evaluation and report on illegalities, irregularities and ineffectiveness in the operational and financial areas of an organisation (Diamond 2016:374 & 379; Nzewi 2017:3).

Control as a regulatory management task is regarded as one of the foundation processes of public management and can be defined as a process designed to provide reasonable assurance about the achievement of objectives. Furthermore, internal control is a process that seeks to ensure compliance with applicable laws and regulations, promote reliability of financial and managerial reporting and coordinate the effectiveness of operations so that institutional objectives are implemented and pursued according to plan (Ijeoma & Nzewi 2016:62).

The following objectives are pursued to realise the aim of internal control:

- Endorsing effective and efficient operations and programmes.
- Validating reliable financial and operational reporting.
- Promoting sound and useful management information.
- Detecting, managing and preventing risks.
- Protecting institutional interests, resources and assets from losses.
- Evaluating the level of performance and productivity.

The need to demarcate the broader work environments within which public officials have to operate, as well as the need to identify the way in which the officials individually and collectively must pursue their responsibilities, necessitate internal control in public institutions. Internal control is utilised to determine whether resources and assets are managed as prudently as possible and whether services are of an acceptable standard. In essence, internal control assists management to evaluate institutional progress, or the lack of it, to eventually achieve the institution's objectives with the minimum resources. Indeed, the scope of internal control is relatively wide to include all operational and managerial activities. It is thus fair to state that internal control cannot exist in isolation, but functions alongside other well-founded administrative functions and processes. For example,

to exercise control successfully, it is important to determine minimum standards against which performance can be measured. This is done by means of standard operating procedures. Furthermore, the monitoring of an internal control system includes the review of existing procedures, while standard operating procedures also need to be developed for the effective implementation of each of the internal control mechanisms (Arwinge 2013:42).

Internal control as process

A 'process' may be defined as a collection of activities that requires one or more types of input and creates an output of value. Building on the definition that internal control is established by management to ensure compliance with laws and regulations, promote reliable reporting and coordinate the effectiveness of operations, it can be argued that the internal control process comprises of a collection of organisational measures and mechanisms that produce assurance that all financial and operational objectives are in place to meet the organisation's objectives. Internal control can thus be viewed as a fundamental and basic process that does not solely relate to accounting and financial matters, but also produces an assurance of the reliability of information and safeguarding of the organisational assets (Visser & Erasmus 2015:278 & 279).

The initial phase in the internal control process is to define specific and measurable accomplishments to be achieved within a specified time and under specific cost constraints. Hence, control prior to the execution of a task entails the design and acceptance of organisational objectives as well as the drafting of standard operating procedures that will be used as measures to assess the achievement of objectives. The procedures need to clearly formalise what is to be accomplished, who will be involved, when the activity will be completed and what and how many resources will be utilised to provide a basis for an ongoing monitoring process. The second phase in the control process involves the actual implementation of internal control to establish whether progress is being made towards achieving institutional objectives. Deviations from standard operating procedures formulated during the first phase of the control process are identified, and remedial measures are issued to ensure that anticipated results are achieved. It entails the comparison of actual performances with the expected outcomes. This allows for the identification of differences or performance gaps (Visser & Erasmus 2015:280–282).

The third phase in the control process is to determine the reasons for discrepancies between actual and expected conditions by reviewing differences, assessing productivity levels and identifying neglected tasks. In essence, this involves collecting information about various operational activities and determining the basic reasons for deviations from predetermined methods and procedures. The

detailed analysis of the reasons for differences links up with the fourth phase that is, recommendations for corrective actions (Pickett 2001:81). Control after execution primarily involves the issue of instructions of how to correct deviations from standard operating procedures and other set standards to ensure that similar errors and deviations do not re-occur. The final phase in the control process includes follow-ups and constant feedback. This is in effect a means to check the effectiveness of the suggested corrective actions and the manner in which the actions had been taken. Furthermore, provide recommendations of how to correct errors and deviations. Internal control after the execution of a task entails preparing reports on the internal control system applied in the organisation. This final step includes a detailed description of any weaknesses of the internal control system as well as ways of improving the latter in the individual control mechanisms, that is, the monitoring and evaluation of the internal control system.

CONTEXTUALISING AN INTERNAL CONTROL SYSTEM

Designing and implementing an internal control system is a legal requirement for national and provincial government departments as well as for municipalities. According to Section 38 of the Public Finance Management Act 1 of 1999 (PFMA), the accounting officer of a national or provincial department must ensure that an effective, efficient and transparent internal control system is implemented. The implementation of a control system is obligatory or disciplinary steps would be taken against any official who undermines the system. Concerning local government, Section 67 of the Municipal Finance Management Act 56 of 2003 (MFMA) stipulates that any local municipality must implement and manage an internal control system to guard against fraud, theft and financial mismanagement. In terms of auditing an institution's internal control system, Section 6(2)(e) of the PFMA, assigned the responsibility to the National Treasury to investigate any internal control system in any government department, public entity or other constitutional institution. Municipalities may also be investigated by the National Treasury in terms of Section 5(2)(d) of the MFMA. Furthermore, a provincial treasury is obliged to monitor compliance with the MFMA as stipulated in Section 5(4) of the MFMA (PFMA 1999: Section 6(2)(e) & Section 38; MFMA 2003:Section 67).

It is clear from the above that legal requirements necessitate the implementation of an internal control system. Other factors that stimulate the need for an internal control system include: complexity of tasks; scope of delegations; frequency of errors; consequences and potential costs of errors; management style and a change in the organisational structure. In a rapidly changing environment, internal control becomes significantly more important. Changes in management, the staff composition and computer systems often result in a fundamental

redesign of an internal control system. External changes, such as demands from stakeholders and partnerships with other significant role players, may also lead to the implementation or the redesign of an internal control system. If change is not managed well in the organisational structure and other organisational systems, it may pose a threat to maintain an effective internal control system (Pickett 2001:223). Without an accurate internal control system, reliable and relevant financial and management information will not be accessible to make informed decisions. Consequently, effective financial and management reporting will be lacking. An internal control system thus provides the public managers with vital information to determine whether the institution's activities operate according to predetermined plans, policies and procedures.

Moreover, an internal control system produces accurate information to enable proper and appropriate corrective actions, where necessary. An internal control system should be logical in nature to effectively contribute to improved individual and institutional performance. When logically constructed, a control system stimulates productivity and growth as well as greater independence and responsibility among management and its subordinates. The prerequisite is that most employees have to accept the control system as useful and helpful in reaching the institution's objectives. An internal control system thus reduces potential losses and expenses, but only when a variety of interrelated internal control mechanisms operate such that the benefits outweigh the cost of implementing it. To minimise the costs during the design and implementation of a control system, only the least possible control mechanisms needed to achieve desired results, should be applied. The components of an internal control system are elaborated on in the following section.

Components of an internal control system

The components that management should consider when designing and maintaining an internal control system are interrelated and include the control environment, risk assessment, control mechanisms, information and communication, and monitoring.

Control environment
The control environment comprises of the standards, processes and structures that top management implements for internal control. A control environment represents the philosophy of the organisation's top management about commitment, integrity and ethical values. Management's view of authority, responsibility and accountability is also embedded in the control environment. The latter environment can be considered as the foundation on which, as well as the umbrella under which the other components of internal control thrive. If this foundation is strong, the entire system of internal control will be effective and efficient so that the organisation's

objectives can be reached timeously (Kgomo & Plant 2015:87–89; Committee of Sponsoring Organizations of the Treadway Commission (CSOTC 2015a:Online).

In a positive and well-communicated control environment, operational activities work smoothly towards set goals. A clear statement of goals must thus be set by management because it forms the basis for the dispersal of institutional resources. Hence, roles and responsibilities must be agreed upon from the outset of establishing an organisation's structure. The primary reasons for unconstructive control environments include unrealistic objectives, vague role definitions, a lack of integrity and ethical values, inadequate reporting lines as well as the recruitment and retention of incompetent individuals (CSOTC 2015b:Online).

Risk assessment

The concept of risk can be explained as a measurement of uncertainty and is measured in terms of effect (impact) and likelihood. Risks include those factors that prevent the achievement of an organisation's goals. Internal control has always had a direct relationship with risk assessment and risk management. Areas in which the consequences of errors will most likely result in failure for the organisation need to be identified and prioritised as a matter of urgency. Once risks are identified, management should consider its significance, the probability of its occurrence and the management thereof. Furthermore, a strategy and procedures must be developed to manage these risks to direct and prioritise the internal control processes and mechanisms (Fourie 2007:739 & 740; PFMA 1999:Sections 51(1)(a) & 76(4)(b)).

The requirements for effective risk assessment can be summarised as follows (CSOTC 2015b:Online):
- Understand the organisation's aim and objectives.
- Identify the risks that prevent the achievement of the objectives.
- Assess the risks, including the likelihood and potential effect of specific risks.
- Develop and implement strategies to address the identified risks.
- Monitor and evaluate the risks and the strategies in place to address risks.

Risk management is the total process of identifying, assessing, controlling and mitigating risks that may adversely affect operations and the achievement of an organisation's goals and objectives. Risk management thus aims at minimising the adverse effects of losses and uncertainties associated with risks and non-compliance with methods and procedures. The identification of high-risk areas is included in risk management.

Control mechanisms

Control activities or mechanisms are the structures, policies and procedures that help to ensure that management's directives are executed and take place

throughout the organisation, at all levels and in all functions. The control mechanisms include a range of mechanisms such as (Auditor-General 2015:Online):

- Organisational structure.
- Segregation of duties.
- Written policies and procedures.
- Physical and mechanical control.
- Authorisation and approval.
- Accounting controls.
- Training of staff.
- Supervision.
- Management.
- Information and communications technology.

A single control mechanism would seldom suffice to meet an institution's objectives. A combination of control mechanisms or complementary control mechanisms thus comprises an entire internal control system. There must be synergy between the different internal control mechanisms so that management's directives are executed, risks are reduced and objectives are met. For an organisation to implement the above listed internal control mechanisms effectively, it must have, among other requirements, relevant, valid, reliable and timely information and communication of internal and external circumstances and events that may affect the organisation (CSOTC 2015b:Online).

Information and communication

The significance of information and communication in general, and the consequence of producing relevant, timely, reliable and high quality information for decision-making purposes, is essential for effective internal control. An internal control system functions as an information feedback system in which information is conveyed so that managers are able to make informed decisions. Determining the direction for the flow of communication in the control system depends largely on the organisation's goals. Within the context of internal control in the public sector, one of the most challenging aspects of communication facing public officials is ensuring that all role players, such as the accounting officer, audit committee, internal audit function, Auditor-General and the National Treasury and provincial treasuries, receive the correct information timeously. Effective communication thus directly influences the success of the internal control system.

Information needs to be identified, captured, distributed and used in an organisation so that the staff is able to complete their internal control responsibilities. From a broader perspective, information and communication programmes used within an organisation, should enable managers and staff to execute their tasks and transactions effectively. Concerning information and communications

technology, auditors need not only to audit an institution's information systems, such as computers and network hardware and software and satellite systems, but also utilise technology to advance the audit process (Visser & Erasmus 2015:292).

Monitoring

Internal and external factors, such as a surge in policies and procedures, new and changing public demands and developments in information technologies, place increasing pressure on organisations to change. Subsequently, the organisation's standard operating procedures and internal control processes will need to change if it is to remain relevant and effective. Therefore, a specific management component needs to provide assurance that the internal control activities and mechanisms used in the organisation remain adequate and effective over time. Monitoring must assess the performance of the internal control systems over time (CSOTC 2007:i).

An organisation's internal control system must be monitored regularly to assess whether control mechanisms are effective and operate as intended. Ongoing monitoring occurs through routine managerial activities, such as supervision, reconciliations and performance evaluations. Monitoring may also occur through internal evaluations or audits as well as by external sources, such as the Auditor-General. Deficiencies found during monitoring must be reported to the relevant employees, and severe insufficiencies reported to top management. Continuous monitoring is thus necessary, primarily because previously monitored controls tend to deteriorate over time. In summary, the following principles reinforce the monitoring framework (Arwinge 2013:50):

- Ongoing monitoring assists management to determine if the components of internal control continue to function effectively over time.
- Internal control weaknesses should be identified and communicated in a timely manner to management, as appropriate.

Evaluating an internal control system

When evaluating an internal control system, it must first be determined whether the objectives of the control system are consistent with the organisational objectives. Should this be in order, it must be established whether the control system's composition is sound and operational, and it has been designed to ensure compliance with internal or external requirements. Apart from the mentioned tasks, it must also be determined whether the control system is operating as intended and the control mechanisms can accomplish their intended purposes. This analysis includes the attitude of management, organisational structures, personnel, delegations of authority, policies, methods and procedures, budgeting and reporting (Visser & Erasmus 2015:281).

One of the primary responsibilities of an internal audit function is to monitor and evaluate the suitability and usefulness of the internal control mechanisms. However, evaluations may also be conducted by external auditors from the office of the Auditor-General. Nonetheless, deficiencies found by either the internal audit function or the Auditor-General should be communicated to the head of the institution or the chief accounting officer. Concerning audits conducted by the Auditor-General, internal control is evaluated against three key areas, namely: leadership, financial and performance management and governance. Appropriate action plans to address internal control deficiencies are assessed concerning leadership, while daily and monthly reconciliations are reviewed together with financial and performance management. The internal audit unit and the audit committee are evaluated against key areas of governance to determine whether they are adequately resourced and whether they perform their legislated duties and promote accountability and service delivery (Auditor-General 2016:Online).

Moreover, the internal and external auditors and the public managers must also monitor the effectiveness of the control mechanisms by evaluating audit findings promptly and deciding on appropriate action in response thereto. Recommendations of how to correct identified deficiencies are generally incorporated in evaluation reports. Included in these reports is a detailed description of system weaknesses and the most suitable approach to these. The areas in which standard operating procedures are excessive and inadequate will also be described. Managers and the accounting officer are expected to correct the identified deficiencies and suggest improvements to the internal control system (Visser & Erasmus 2015:280 & 281).

Organisations have historically relied on manual controls to identify unusual activities and transactions. However, improvements in technology have meaningfully changed the outlook of monitoring and evaluating internal control systems from an auditor's perspective. With the advent of time, changes in technology encouraged the decentralisation of control in organisations (Maleka 2016:166). As in the case with manual control mechanisms, technology controls support the notion that rigidly enforced compliance with policies and procedures need to be replaced by flexible and innovative control processes (Qwabe 2014:195–198).

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Any motor vehicle driver needs to be in possession of a valid and officially issued piece of paper or driving licence card to drive legally on a public road. Driver fitness tests include written and practical driving licence examinations and a vision test. In the local sphere of government, DLTCs are primarily responsible to examine and test applicants for learner and driving licences, and professional

driving permits. However, the implementation of the National Road Traffic Act 93 of 1996 and the National Road Traffic Regulations of 2000 at operational level at the MLM DLTC is crippled by a deficient internal control system. Therefore, the provision of driver fitness and related licencing and transport services remains a key challenge for the MLM.

The MLM DLTC is registered and graded as follows by the North West Provincial Government in terms of Section 24 of the NRTA of 1996:

Table 1: Registration details of the MLM DLTC

Registered name:	Madibeng Local Municipality Driving Licence Testing Centre
Infrastructure number:	00012152
Grading:	Grade A
Physical address:	Bernard Street, Brits

Source: (Authors' interpretation)

The Centre is equipped and authorised to examine and test applicants for learner and driving licences of any code; substitute a driver's licence of any code with the new format driving licence card; and issue new and duplicate learner licences, driving licence cards, and professional driving permits (Lelaka 2017).

In this study, a qualitative research design was followed to determine the ideas and opinions of the employees about which components need to be considered when designing an internal control system. Mixed data gathering instruments, a questionnaire and personal interviews, were used to collect the data from the MLM DLTC.

Sampling procedures

The researcher selected knowledgeable participants who issue driving licences at the MLM DLTC and knowledgeable participants who implement internal control mechanisms to complete the questionnaire. A total of 56 information-rich individuals were sought. The security guards at the entrances of the DLTC were excluded from the sample because they do not have the required knowledge to issue driving licences. Of the questionnaires 47 were completed and returned. The responses to the questionnaire are illustrated in Figure 1.

Furthermore, the sample was designed such that four participants were identified for the follow-up personal interviews. This sample comprised of the management representative and three well-experienced supervisors at the MLM DLTC.

Figure 1: Responses to questionnaire
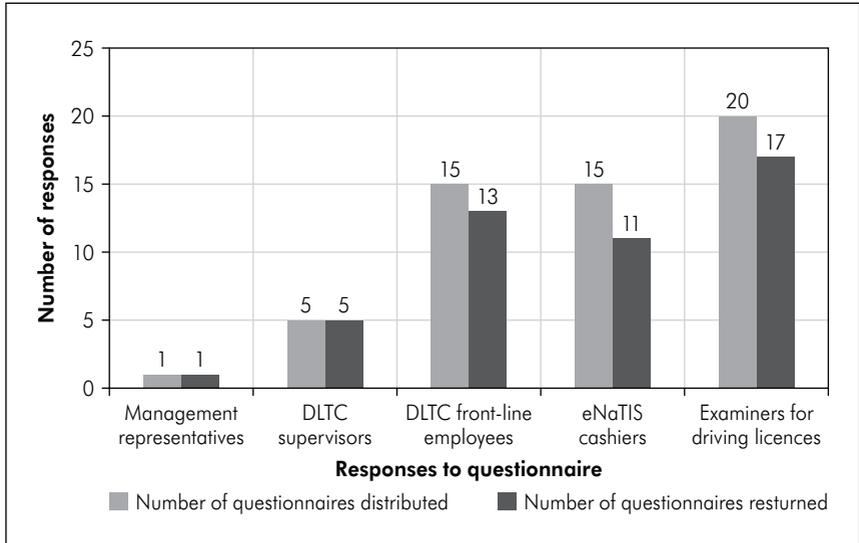
Each step in the process to issue driving licences is linked to a specific occupational category. The respondent's occupational category was therefore considered to create a holistic overview of the process to issue driving licences at the MLM DLTC. The sample distribution by occupational category is illustrated in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Quantitative data – Sample distribution by occupational category (n=47)
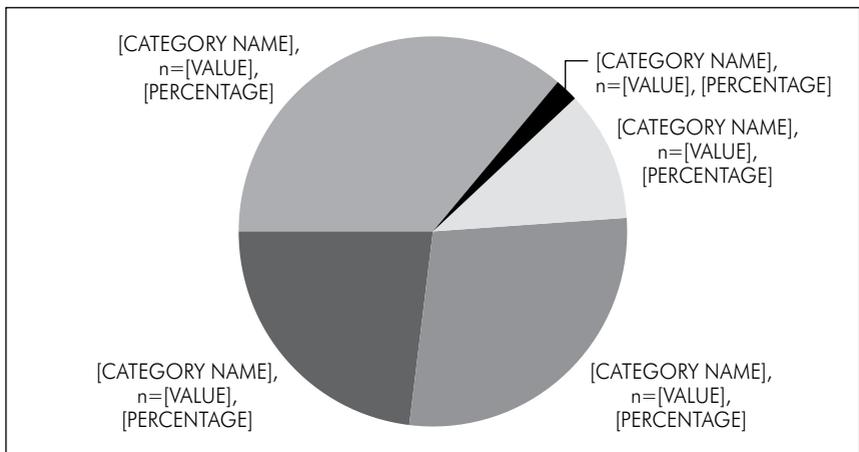
QUANTITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

Since the implementation of an internal control system is a legal requirement for municipalities, the question arises: 'Which components need to be considered when designing an internal control system for the MLM DLTC?' The control environment, risk assessment, control mechanisms, information and communication, and monitoring was expounded upon in the above sections as the primary components of an internal control system. However, it is necessary to test the quality of the components at the MLM DLTC. Consequently, the aim of the questionnaire was to establish the quality of the minimum required components to design an internal control system for the MLM DLTC.

The respondents were requested to consider whether the quality of the components is fit for its purpose. The questionnaire presented five statements and the respondents had to select a number between 1 and 5: 1 = *Quality is very poor*, 2 = *Quality is poor*, 3 = *Quality is acceptable*, 4 = *Quality is good* and 5 = *Quality is very good*. (In this context, the term *poor* implied that the quality of the control mechanisms is bad).

The statements to which the respondents were requested to respond are listed below:

- **C1**: Guidelines and minimum standards for the implementation of internal control mechanisms.
- **C2**: Risk assessment processes and risk management structures.
- **C3**: Control mechanisms, such as policies, balancing procedures and supervision that ensure management's directives are carried out.
- **C4**: Information and communication channels are clear and accessible to all employees.
- **C5**: Monitoring and evaluation by management to assess the internal control system.

General trends in the responses from the different occupational categories is discussed briefly. The following summary of the general responses to the individual statements was acquired by applying the One-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) model on Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS).

It is apparent that no major differences exist between the opinions of the respondents of the following occupational categories, namely: 'Management representatives' (3.40), 'DLTC supervisors' (3.40), 'DLTC front-line employees' (3.15) and 'Examiners for driver licences' (3.04). However, the responses from the group 'eNaTIS cashiers' (2.93) revealed that the cashiers at the Centre perceive the quality of the components of the internal control system much lower than the other occupational categories.

An analysis of the data related to each of the five statements follows below.

Table 2: Means and standard deviations

SPSS descriptives Components of an internal control system								
	N	Mean	Standard deviation	Standard error	95% Confidence interval for mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower bound	Upper bound		
Management representatives	1	**3.40**	.	.	.	.	3	3
DLTC supervisors	5	**3.40**	.510	.228	2.77	4.03	3	4
DLTC front-line employees	13	**3.15**	.384	.107	2.92	3.39	2	4
eNaTIS cashiers	11	**2.93**	.467	.141	2.61	3.24	2	4
Examiners for driving licences	17	**3.04**	.597	.145	2.73	3.34	2	4
Total	47	3.09	.504	.073	2.94	3.24	2	4

Source: (Author's interpretation)

Guidelines and standards for internal control mechanisms

The control environment can be regarded as the foundation on which the other components of internal control are built and includes the governance and management functions of an organisation. It focuses largely on the actions of those responsible for designing guidelines for the implementation and monitoring of internal control in the organisation. Well-communicated guidelines for the implementation of internal control mechanisms ease the achievement of organisational specific goals (Kgomo & Plant 2015:87–89). Statement C1 (*Guidelines and minimum standards for the implementation of internal control mechanisms*) intended to establish the quality of the DLTC's guidelines and minimum standards for the implementation of internal control mechanisms from MLM DLTC employees and management. Of the respondents 7% (*n*=3) selected very poor while 19% (*n*=9) revealed that the quality is poor. However, 40% (*n*=19) of the respondents held that the guidelines, requirements and minimum standards are acceptable, but neither poor nor good. Only 25% (*n*=12) held that the quality of the minimum standards for the implementation of internal control mechanisms is good, while 9% (*n*=4) revealed that it is of very good quality. The majority of the respondents (40%) were undecided and revealed that the guidelines for the implementation of internal control measures is adequate and of average quality. Consequently, it could not be established whether the quality of the guidelines is good. It can be inferred that there is room for improvement of the guidelines, requirements and minimum standards. Moreover, poor guidelines for the implementation of

internal control mechanisms may lead to insufficient monitoring and evaluation of the internal control system.

Risk assessment processes and risk management structures

Statement C2 (*Risk assessment processes and risk management structures*) tested whether the risk assessment processes and risk management structures require revision and improvement. The results revealed that 13% (*n*=6) of the respondents selected very poor while 19% (*n*=9) held that the quality of the risk assessment processes and risk management structures is poor. A total of 28% (*n*=13) of the respondents selected acceptable, while 21% (*n*=10) selected good. The remaining 19% (*n*=9) of the respondents held that the quality of the risk assessment processes and risk management structures is very good. It can be inferred that the risk assessment processes and risk management structures of the MLM DLTC require minimum revision to eventually guarantee improved internal control at the DLTC. This inference is based on 40% of respondents who selected either good or very good.

Internal control activities/mechanisms

The control activities or mechanisms include the policies and procedures designed to ensure that management directives are executed throughout the organisation. Examples of specific control mechanisms include the organisational structure, segregation of duties, written policies and procedures, physical and mechanical control, authorisation and approval, accounting controls, training of staff, supervision, management as well as information and communications technology (Auditor-General 2015:Online). Statement C3 (*Control mechanisms, such as policies, balancing procedures and supervision ensures that management's directives are carried out*) endeavoured to establish whether the control mechanisms ensured the execution of specific management functions.

A total of 13% (*n*=6) of the respondents selected very poor while 21% (*n*=10) revealed that the quality of the control mechanisms utilised to execute management's directives at the MLM DLTC is poor. A total of 36% (*n*=17) of the respondents held that the quality is acceptable. Only 19% (*n*=9) of the staff was convinced that the quality of the control mechanisms, such as policies, balancing procedures and supervision is good, while 11% (*n*=5) selected very good. If a grand total of 34% held that the quality of the internal control mechanisms is very poor or poor, and 36% of the respondents revealed that the quality is average, it can be concluded that the implemented internal control mechanisms at the MLM DLTC is of poor quality.

In summary, a total of 34% of the respondents held that the quality of the internal control mechanisms is very poor or poor, while 36% revealed that the quality is average. It can thus be concluded that the internal control mechanisms of the MLM DLTC is of poor quality. It can be inferred that the standard of the internal

control mechanisms lacks excellence. Inadequate control mechanisms could probably result in poor customer service in the absence of minimum standards.

Information and communication channels

An underlying feature of providing accurate and relevant information at the right time to the relevant role players, implies that information and communication systems include prescribed procedures for the recording, processing and reporting of financial transactions as well as maintaining accountability for assets, liabilities and equity (Tshiyoyo 2017:177–182). Statement C4 (*Information and communication channels are clear and accessible to all employees*) tested whether the information and communication channels at the MLM DLTC conform to the requirements and minimum standards. Moreover, statement C4 also tested whether communication at the Centre is clear and the employees can access the necessary information sources with ease.

Of the respondents 11% (*n*=5) selected very poor (very bad) while 21% (*n*=10) revealed that the quality is poor and not good. A total of 28% (*n*=13) held that the quality of information and communication at the MLM DLTC is acceptable or satisfactory. The majority of the respondents revealed that the quality is high. A total of 23% (*n*=11) of the respondents selected good while a total of 17% (*n*=8) of the staff was convinced that the quality of the information and communication channels is very good, clear and accessible to all employees. This implies that information and communication channels at the MLM DLTC are perceived to be effective.

Monitoring and evaluation of internal control system

The monitoring and evaluation of an internal control system is the process of assessing the continued effectiveness of the individual control mechanisms and recommend necessary remedial action when required. Monitoring can either be ongoing or performed as a once-off evaluation exercise. Either way, monitoring and evaluation must be effective for an internal system to operate as required (Arwinge 2013:50). Against this background, statement C5 (*Monitoring and evaluation executed by management to assess the internal control system*) measured the quality of the processes followed to assess the internal control activities and mechanisms at the MLM DLTC.

In this instance, 7% (*n*=3) of the respondents held that the quality is very poor, while 21% (*n*=10) revealed that the quality of the monitoring and evaluation executed by Centre management to assess the internal control system, is poor. The majority of the respondents held that the monitoring and evaluation executed by management is adequate, while 40% (*n*=19) selected acceptable. Of the respondents 19% (*n*=9) were convinced that the quality is very good while 13% (*n*=6) held it is good. Since the majority of the respondents selected 'Quality is acceptable', it cannot be concluded that the quality of the monitoring

and evaluation executed by management to assess the internal control system is either bad or good. It can be inferred that the respondents were not convinced that monitoring and evaluation at the MLM DLTC is executed as required.

QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

Due to the wide range of internal control mechanisms at the MLM DLTC and to complement the responses to the questionnaire, more information was required to reach the aim of the study. Personal interviews were consequently directed at the management and supervisors until saturation of data occurred and the research question was answered in full.

Management

Manager A was requested to respond to the question: "Please elaborate on the implemented internal control mechanisms at the DLTC". It was revealed that Manager A viewed the DLTC's internal control system as fundamental to assure the reliability of information captured on eNaTIS as well as safeguarding of the Centre's assets. He also confirmed that the implementation of standardised procedures leads to fewer errors in performing routine tasks. Based on Manager A's response, it is found that the sound execution of duties results in improved customer service and better public service delivery.

The findings of the questionnaire revealed that uncertainty exists of the monitoring and evaluation conducted by management to assess the internal control system. This raised the follow-up question: "Please explain how monitoring and evaluation is undertaken to assess the internal control system at the Centre". In his response, Manager A raised challenges relating to monitoring and evaluation; lack of staff and limited time were mentioned. These challenges as well as the divided responsibility of monitoring between the management of the MLM and the management representative at the Centre, could be some of the reasons for the uncertainty regarding monitoring and evaluation at the DLTC. Furthermore, monitoring and evaluation of the Centre's internal control system should include the review of existing procedures. Thus, standard operating procedures need to be developed for the effective implementation of each of the internal control mechanisms.

Supervisors

As a follow-up question, the supervisors were asked to respond to the question: "Please elaborate on the quality of the guidelines for the implementation of internal control at the DLTC". Supervisor A reflected on authorisation and approval as

an approach to detect and prevent risks at the Centre. Supervisor A's answer can be linked to the arguments held by Diamond (2016:376) and Mofolo (2015:896) that authorisation and approval are protective control measures that guard an organisation against illegal and dishonest actions. Supervisor B accentuated the implemented physical controls at the Centre. Based on the response by Supervisor B, it is revealed that the physical controls at the Centre, including the security guards, are primarily responsible for protecting institutional resources and assets from losses as underscored by Pickett (2001:155). Supervisor C's response focused on accounting controls. Supervisor C expressed the same perception held by Mofolo (2015:893) that financial and accounting controls ensure that an institution's transactions are valid and recorded completely. The value of the balancing and reconciliation controls of the MLM DLTC must not be underestimated because it contributes towards transparent and accountable activities at the Centre.

It became clear during the data analysis that the respondents were not convinced that monitoring and evaluation at the MLM DLTC is executed as required. Consequently, the following question was also posed during the personal interviews: "Is there reference to policy documents and records in the standard operating procedures? If not, is there a need to include a list of the relevant policy documents in standardised procedures?" Despite the fact that the existing procedures do not refer to the Acts and Regulations, the three supervisors were unanimous in listing the relevant policy documents and records.

In essence, the interviews with the supervisors confirmed that internal control at the MLM DLTC assists them to supervise the staff so that driving licences are issued as prescribed by legislation. From the variety of topics addressed in their responses, the supervisors also confirmed that the internal control mechanisms cannot exist in isolation, but need to function alongside other administrative functions and processes.

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The implementation of standard operating procedures as an internal control mechanism was explored in this article by critically reviewing an internal control system that is of value to the MLM DLTC. In summary, the responses to the questionnaire applied the following components of an internal control system: control environment, risk assessment, control mechanisms, information and communication, and monitoring at the MLM DLTC, and respond to the research question: 'Which components need to be considered when designing an internal control system for the MLM DLTC?' The following findings and recommendations are revealed:

- **Control environment**: The guidelines, requirements and minimum standards for the design and implementation of the Centre's internal control system are

acceptable but not necessarily poor or sound. It was also established that the MLM DLTC's internal control environment must provide an assurance of the reliability of information captured on eNaTIS. As a solution, the implementation of standardised procedures will lead to fewer errors when undertaking routine tasks and will ultimately result in improved service delivery.

- **Risk assessment**: The risk assessment processes and risk management structures at the MLM DLTC require revision to guarantee improved internal control at the Centre. It is, therefore, recommended that management invests in a total process to identify, assess, control and mitigate risks that may affect operations adversely at the Centre.
- **Control mechanisms**: In general, the current internal control mechanisms at the MLM DLTC, are of poor quality. There is thus room for improvement in the guidelines for the implementation of internal control mechanisms, due to insufficient instructions of how to implement the process. It is further recommended that action be taken to impede the lack of monitoring and evaluation at the Centre. It is also proposed that the DLTC management prioritise this concern and implement remedial action. Authorisation and approval are protective control measures that protect an organisation against illegal and dishonest actions. It is recommended that authorisation and approval procedures be optimised to ensure that the resources are utilised effectively and efficiently. To be specific, it is suggested that the DLTC management accept full responsibility to monitor control-related policies and procedures to ensure that the institution's internal control system continues to function as intended. Also, potential risks revealed by any of the internal control mechanisms must be monitored closely to ensure that it is corrected and resolved timeously.
- **Information and communication**: The information and communication channels at the MLM DLTC are perceived to be effective.
- **Monitoring**: Uncertainty exists of the monitoring and evaluation conducted by management to assess the internal control system at the Centre. Furthermore, the responsibility of monitoring the DLTC is divided between the management of the Municipality and the management representative at the Centre. Clear delineation of duties should be set in this regard. In addition, authorisation and approval are necessary to ensure that the resources are utilised in the interest of the MLM and the public.

Although the internal control system of the MLM DLTC has benefits, it is faced with challenges that may affect it negatively. In essence, the components of the internal control system at the Centre should be re-conceived so that, among other objectives, errors and non-compliance with legislation, policies, and methods and procedures are minimised.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this article was to explore the critical components that need to be considered when designing an internal control system at the local sphere of government, specifically the MLM DLTC. Based on the insights obtained by conceptualising 'internal control' and 'internal control system' and by the analyses and findings of the empirical research, recommendations could be made to the MLM on the critical components that need to be considered when designing an internal control system. The significance of this study is thus found in the conceptualisation of the essential components of the internal control system of the MLM DLTC: the control environment, risk assessment, control mechanisms, information and communication, and monitoring. The researcher established that the design and implementation of the Centre's internal control system are acceptable but not necessarily poor or sound. The researcher also found that improved internal control can be achieved by reviewing the risk assessment processes and risk management structures at the MLM DLTC. Another finding was that the internal control mechanisms at the MLM DLTC are of poor quality. Therefore, the quality of the internal control mechanisms lack excellence. Then, since the information and communication channels are perceived effective, these available channels should be used to drive change and improvement in the implementation of the internal control system. Lastly, the uncertainty that exists about the responsibility of monitoring the DLTC must be addressed by a clear delineation of duties in this regard.

NOTE

* This article is partly based on the doctoral thesis of Dr C Alers. The doctoral thesis is entitled: *The Development and Implementation of Methods and Procedures of Issuing Drivers Licences in the Madibeng Municipality*. The degree was conferred in June 2018. Dr Alers was supervised by Prof G M Ferreira and the late Prof D J Brynard at the University of South Africa. For more information on the development and implementation of standard operating procedures, the reader is advised to consult the original thesis.

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AUTHOR'S CONTACT DETAILS

Dr Corlia Alers
Department of Public Administration and Management
P O Box 392
UNISA
0003
SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 012 429 6286
E-mail: alersc@unisa.ac.za

Factors Affecting Post-Secondary Correctional Education in South Africa

A Case of Brandvlei Correctional Centre in Cape Town

A Miselo
School of Management IT and Public Governance
University of KwaZulu-Natal

S Mutereko
School of Management IT and Public Governance
University of KwaZulu-Natal

ABSTRACT

Although some studies have shown that offering Post-Secondary Correctional Education (PSCE) to the incarcerated population in the *Correctional Education Programmes* has positive outcomes that are fundamental to reducing recidivism, factors that enable or hinder the success of such education have not been examined. This study examined the factors that enable or hinder the *Post-Secondary Correctional Education Programme* with a specific focus on distance education offered by the University of South Africa (UNISA) to inmates at the Brandvlei Correctional Centre in Cape Town. Drawing on a mixed methods approach, data for this study was drawn from in-depth interviews with prison officers responsible for PSCE, and questionnaires and focus group data from inmates who have participated in the PSCE programmes. Additional data was elicited through PSCE document analysis. The results indicate that offenders had access to the internet and books, but prison officials, for security purposes, controlled the access to such resources. Other factors that emerged from the study include lack of financial aid and overcrowding which hindered effective learning for offenders. These findings have profound implications for policymakers and correctional services officials who are tasked with the provision of PSCE. The findings should also be of interest to higher education institutions offering distance education.

INTRODUCTION

The state and all its institutions should ensure that every single individual's right to education is protected. In South Africa, this fundamental right to education draws its motivation from Section 29 (1) of the *Constitution of South Africa. Section 29* argues that " (1) Everyone has the right –

(a) to a basic education, including adult basic education; and
(b) to further education, which the state, through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible".

Moreover, according to the Department of Correctional Services (2012:34), the right to education has also been extended to include those who are incarcerated for various criminal offences. The justification for this is that providing education and skills to offenders promotes the chances of reducing recidivism. In this process, the DCS South Africa drafted and is in the process of implementing, various formal education programmes for offenders. Without this, one incessant unintended consequence that has ensued from the failure to extend the PSCE to all offenders is that most of them leave prison without undergoing skills development training that could equip them with necessary life skills to adjust to, and to use in their lives after prison. In view of this, the significance of correctional services education can never be over-emphasised. Recent studies have suggested that offering education to the incarcerated population in the Correctional Education Programmes has resulted in the kind of positive outcomes that are fundamental in reducing recidivism (Ellison, Szifris, Horan & Fox 2017; King, Measham & O'Brien 2019; Long, Sullivan, Wooldredge, Pompoco & Lugo 2019).

Despite this, there is a paucity of literature on the factors affecting PSCE in South Africa. In one study, Mkosi (2013:30) points out that the Department of Correctional Services (DCS) cannot afford to fund PSCE. Moreover, the Department of Correctional Services (2012:65) revealed that the administration of the correctional service education programme is difficult to administer because there is a lack of clear policy that gives direction on the parameters of the programme. In another study, Miller in Miller and Barnes (2019: 583) argued that a bottleneck system has been initiated that resulted in the reduction of the number of offenders that qualify for the education programme. Besides being informative and generating insights useful for further studies, most of this literature on PSCE has been descriptive in nature; dealing with trends in PSCE implementation and failure of different PSCE programmes without probing the underlying causes that affect their success or failure. Consequently, our knowledge of the factors that affect PSCE in South African prisons is based on speculation and conjecture. Given that background, this article explores the factors that enable or hinder PSCE in South African prisons by drawing on a case study of Brandvlei Correctional

Centre in Cape Town. Using data drawn from interviews and documentary analysis, this article hopes to demonstrate that PSCE is far from being linear in character as it is affected by issues that include lack of funding, overcrowding, and access to books and internet facilities.

Drawing on Mkosi's conceptualisation of factors that affect PSCE (Mkosi 2013:32), the Relapse Prevention Theory (RPT) and the case study of Brandvlei Correctional Centre in Cape Town, South Africa, this study aimed to examine the factors that enable or hinder PSCE offered at this Centre. Data for this study was drawn from in-depth interviews with prison officers responsible for PSCE, from questionnaires and from focus group discussions involving inmates who had participated in the PSCE programmes. Additional data was obtained through PSCE document analysis.

The next section will review the literature and will attempt to develop and present a conceptual framework for PSCE. The third section outlines an overview of the research methods adopted to elicit the data for this study. The fourth and fifth sections present and analyse the findings by focusing on the emergent themes. Finally, the last section draws conclusions and provides the study's implications for policy and practice.

LITERATURE REVIEW: FACTORS AFFECTING POST-SECONDARY CORRECTIONAL EDUCATION

The ability to deliver effective prison education inside a correctional centre depends on financial, human and material resources, namely, funding, libraries, staff and the conditions of the prisons (Provest, Noad & Sylva 1998; Howard 2009; Mkosi 2013). Figure 1 draws on these authors' conceptualisation of factors affecting PSCE, and other sources reviewed. The subsequent subsections try to explain each factor and illustrate how these factors affect PSCE.

Funding as a factor for PSCE

Qhogwana (2017: 56) is of the view that funding is one of the fundamental components required for delivering effective prison education. In South Africa, post-secondary education is funded through the National Skills Fund, applied for through NSFAS and offenders are means-tested to determine their financial eligibility once they have been enrolled for post-secondary education. According to Qhogwana (2017:55) funding for offenders' correctional education, specifically post-secondary education; comes from either the family of the offenders or in the form of financial aid. However, most countries experience challenges concerning funding for PSCE programmes. Bozick, Steel, Davis, and Turner (2018:

Figure 1: Post-Secondary Correctional Education
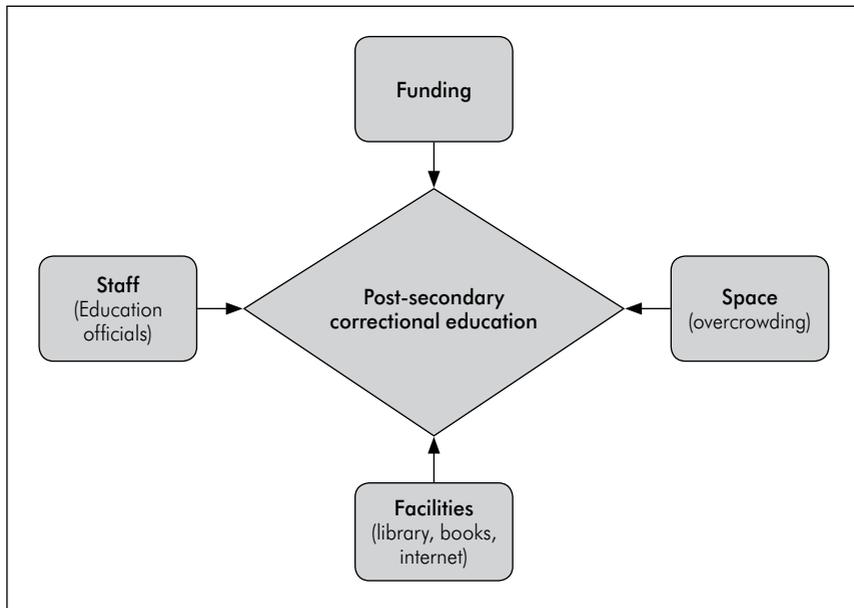
389) indicate that in the USA, funding for correctional education programmes emanates from different organisations, making it difficult to collect financial information on the resources spent on correctional education. According to Bagnall, South, Hulme, Woodall, Vinall-Collier, Raine, Kinsella, Dixey, Harris and Wright (2015:290), South African Correctional Education financing is insufficient and unconventional. This influences the progress of the offenders due to constrained resources, which could otherwise enable some of them to succeed. In this regard, not all offenders who are interested in further studies are granted the opportunity to do so, particularly the financially destitute. The arguments raised by the scholars Dissel (2008) and Qhogwana (2017), show that funding plays a critical role in the success of PSCE.

Effect of facilities and libraries on PSCE

The significance of libraries is regularly trivialised. The educational capacity for the teaching of offenders has two elements. Libraries enhance and broaden the scope of learning that occurs in classes by providing books and different materials. Libraries are additionally a vital source of informal teaching in their own particular right and are frequently utilised by individuals who do not join other

educational exercises or courses. According to Howard (2009:1), a book is something from the outside world to which the library user can relate. A book is a social instrument, yet it is additionally something individual, giving access to a private world. Further, Howard (2009:1) holds the view that no prison education would be complete without libraries accessible to student offenders. In spite of this, recent research has suggested that most prison centres do not have functional libraries at all (Howard 2009; Pulsipher, Langholz, Wall, Schultz, Bunin, Carroll, Raetz, Gardner, Goyal, Gastier-Foster, and Borowitz 2015; Finlay 2018). As literature reveals, there can be no effective correctional education without functional libraries. The setting is not the same as regular libraries and offenders have limited time that they are able to spend in the library if the centre has one. In most correctional service centres, all offenders are allowed to borrow books from the library, unless the offender is banned from doing so due to disciplinary action. Libraries and computer access are normally unavailable in correctional centres. Some correctional centres do have some level of computer or library facilities but they are usually not well resourced to cater for PSCE student needs (Howard 2009:1). In Norway, the policy on libraries allows offenders to have direct access to an outside library, which they should be able to use under close supervision on a regular basis. Otherwise, efforts must be made to provide a full service within the prison (*Council of Europe* 2000:125). It is clear from the discussion above that the role of libraries in correctional centres is regarded as being of fundamental importance. Drawing on various arguments from the scholars cited in this section namely: Howard (2009); Pulsipher, Langholz, Wall, Schultz, Bunin, Carroll, Raetz, Gardner, Goyal, Gastier-Foster, and Borowitz 2015; and Finlay (2018), it can be seen that although various correctional centres fail to provide sufficient quality libraries, the importance of libraries is recognised as being crucial to making sure that PSCE programmes are a success.

Staff as factor for PSCE

Globally, different countries have different arrangements for staffing incarceration education areas and distinctive methods for combining skills, inside and outside, with the prison framework. Yet, whatever the course of action, it is necessary that the learning should benefit the community and that it should be derived from the education offered within the prison framework (Darke & Karam 2016:460). Occasionally, it is practical to include prison staff to provide training when they have a suitable state of mind and capabilities, which can do much to reduce boundaries between various types of staff and offenders. The absence of experienced specialised trainers to provide correctional education assistance in prisons creates a serious challenge for many incarceration centres across the world (Bullock, Bunce, Dodds 2018:5). Sound leadership and dedicated staff,

committed to assisting inmate students enrolled in PSCE, are crucial to ensuring that prison education becomes effective for the development of offenders. Additionally, the shortage of staff to assist offenders with their educational needs can reduce the effectiveness of correctional education. According to Helgesen (2019:64), deficiency of knowledge and skill in the prison staff, particularly in those who aspire to teach, produces low self-confidence and a general sense of weakness. Without specialist teaching staff, inmates will not be able to acquire suitable prison education effectively. Customarily, each incarceration centre that offers PSCE must also have a supervisor that investigates the everyday operational difficulties and necessities of the offenders selected for PSCE. From the literature, it is clear that although most correctional centres provide staff to cater for the teaching and learning in PSCE, often such staff are not well equipped to take up the task. This, in turn, affects the quality of PSCE programmes since they rely heavily on the quality of the teaching staff.

The effect of space and overcrowding on PSCE

Space and overcrowding have been identified as critical issues for PSCE. In one study, Johnson (2015:8) investigated the perceptions of the offenders who were enrolled in education and training programmes offered by three correctional centres in Pretoria. In this study, Johnson (2015:71) employed a qualitative methodology in order to examine the perceptions of prison offenders in educational programmes. He also investigated the perceptions of the officials to ascertain whether the programme was effective or not in addressing the much-desired personal development of the offenders. Johnson (2015:58) stressed that one of the challenges that hinders smooth learning is the nature of the prison setting. The prison setting made it difficult for the learning process to happen. This is so because most prisons are overcrowded. The learning programmes in the correctional services are made difficult by the unbearable conditions that prevail within the South African prisons. For example, Johnson (2015:106) revealed that male correctional centres in Pretoria with the normal carrying capacity of 1 500 had, at the time he conducted his study, 3 000 offenders, making it 200 per cent full.

Provest, Noad and Sylva (1998:93) and Dissel's (2008:172) characterisations seem to suffer from being too simplistic and for ignoring other factors such as prison education policy and political will on the side of politicians. Additionally, Provest, Noad and Sylva (1998:89) cited in Mkosi (2013:32) do not seem to provide much credence to the actual processes of PSCE. Notwithstanding these limitations, Mkosi's (2013:32) conceptualisation provides a useful heuristic device for investigating prison education. This study draws on Provest, Noad and Sylva's (1998:93) conceptualisation of prison education to argue that without adequate funding, PSCE is unlikely to be successful. Provest, Noad and Sylva's (1998:93)

emphasis on the availability of facilities is especially valuable to this article's analysis as it permits one to think through the most important factors that affect PSCE at Brandvlei Correctional Centre. To this end, Provest, Noad and Sylva's (1998:93) conceptualisation of funding, human resources, facilities and spaces as major factors affecting prison education is generative for understanding how prison education should take place, as opposed to its current manner of delivery. It is here also that Howard's (2009:1) attention to library and internet facilities for inmate students is of value for informing prisoners and they should be given access to such facilities without compromising the security aspects of correctional services in a broader sense.

One issue that is missing from the literature reviewed so far is the national education system. This is particularly important because the PSCE does not operate in a policy vacuum. In a doctoral study, Johnson (2015:4–20) revealed that the education system in the country may positively or negatively affect the success of the PSCE in any given country. Drawing from the data that was collected in a study conducted in Namibia, the New Era reporter argued that the Namibian education system is not progressive and thus negatively affects the nature of prison education in the country. The reporter argued, "that some of the dilemmas that the education system in Namibia still bears such as the resemblance of the Bantu education system of the former South African regime" (Johnson 2015:45). Essentially, the education system of Namibia is perceived as a disempowering tool that falls short of the basic standards of equipping the citizens with the national identity, belonging and self-esteem. According to Amukugo (2017:45), the education system is flawed as it still reflects the injustices of the past and colonial thinking. Therefore, if extended to the correctional services, little or nothing is expected to change. Johnson argued that the flaws in the education system have hindered the development of the ordinary people and should never be expected, when forming the basis of correctional services, to transform, empower and equip the offenders with valuable skills that are necessary for them to use after their release from prison (Johnson 2015:45). From the arguments raised in this section, one can conclude that the nature of the national education system is bound to affect the quality of the PSCE programmes offered in correctional centres. If the general education system is disempowering, it follows that the education that will be offered to inmates will not achieve the desired goals of the PSCE.

Theoretical Framework Relapse Prevention (RP) Theory

As developed by Marlatt and Donovan (2005:45), the RP Theory is a "cognitive-behavioral approach theory designed to help individuals anticipate and cope with setbacks during the behaviour change process" (Hendershot, Witkiewitz, George & Marlatt 2011:7). According to Herring (2019:34), the far-reaching objective of

the RP model is to reduce the "incidences and severity of relapse". Hendershot *et al.* (2011:7) argued that the RP has two main goals, namely, "to minimise the impact of high-risk situations by increasing awareness and building coping skills, and to limit relapse, promoting a healthy and balanced lifestyle". In previous years, the RP principles have been applied across a cumulative array of behavioural fields, with addictive behaviour remaining to epitomise the principal application. For instance, Leone, Lockwood, and Gagnon (2015:2) applied the theory in their study at Pendleton Juvenile Correctional Facility in Indiana, USA. These scholars argued that "the principles of positive youth development and a facility-wide system of behaviour management can be used to shape institutional culture in ways that support youth and teach positive prosocial behaviour" (Leone *et al.* 2017:1). In that way, a positive youth development perspective can be created, in which concerned adults can work with incarcerated youth to create "a wide range of constructive pathways to reconnect with schools, family and community life, and to redefine their own future" (Butts, Bazemore & Meroe 2010: 5). Gagnon, Barber, & Soyturk (2018:3) stressed that to reduce relapse behaviour correctional facilities are incorporating Positive Behavioural Intervention Support (PBIS) which comes in the form of educational programmes and other skills-training exercises. These authors reiterate that "professional development and monitoring of staff implementation are also important components for consistent implementation of the PBIS in correctional centres". This assertion emphasises the role played by the correctional staff in the positive behavioural change process of inmates.

The RPT provides a useful theoretical basis for understanding relapse and strategies that are crafted to reduce relapse likelihood and severity among offenders. Moreover, the RPT's emphasis on specific intervention techniques and global self-control is especially useful for this article's analysis as it allows one to think through the role played by staff, libraries, internet and books in PSCE. Hendershot, Witkiewitz, George & Marlatt's (2011:45) views of RPT are helpful in corroborating the importance of this role in the positive behavioural change process of inmates.

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

Participants

Data for this study was drawn from the interviews that were conducted with staff from UNISA comprising two Hub specialists and one Education and Training manager at Brandvlei Correctional Centre. Supplementary data was collected from 16 purposively selected offenders who were registered in various post-secondary school educational programmes with UNISA. All the respondents were

above the age of 22 with the majority being in the 31–35+ age group, the median age was 31–35 years of age. A high percentage of the respondents (61.5 per cent) were older than 35 years of age. About 18.8 per cent of the respondents had committed robbery with violent crimes and 12.5 per cent had committed robbery only crimes, while 18.8 per cent were convicted for rape and 18.8 per cent had committed murder. About 62.5 per cent of the respondents were in the justice system for the first time with no previous convictions.

Instruments

At the first session of the organised meetings, questionnaires were administered to the 16 selected respondents. The Likert scale was utilised in this study to quantify the variables in the questionnaire. The questionnaire adopted a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 'strongly agree' on the one hand to 'strongly disagree' on the other. The questionnaire also had open-ended questions that the respondents completed. The questionnaire had two distinct sections: Section A established the biographical data of the participants, while Section B sought to understand issues related to PSCE. Semi-structured individual interviews were carried out with two managers of the Education and Development Division in the correctional services and, in addition, three DCS officers were tasked to work closely with the inmates registered in correctional education. In addition, the researcher utilised a focus group with the PSCE students.With the consent of the respondents, a voice recorder was used to collect data that was later transcribed verbatim for analysis.

Data collection procedures

Authority to conduct the interviews, focus groups and surveys was obtained from the DCS. All 16 selected participants were asked to sign a consent form and each received a hand-delivered copy of the questionnaire. These were later collected from the participants and this process of collection yielded a 100 per cent response rate. Afterwards, the focus group discussions were carried out with the inmate students, in two sessions with eight participants in each group. The participants were given planned questions and a topic to discuss with the researcher. The researcher carried out a total of five face-to-face interviews. In other instances, a telephonic interview was administered. As a means to ensure consistency with all respondents and participants, the researcher asked a set of predetermined questions for direction, in order to make sure that similar areas were addressed with every single interviewee. During the process of the interviews, every interviewee was afforded a chance to expand on or to give information if they wished to do so.

Data analysis

A simultaneous process of data analysis that involved qualitative and quantitative data was conducted. The method of data analysis for qualitative data employed in this study is grounded in the content analysis process (Mutereko & Wedekind 2016:912). It was divided into two segments as per the nature of the recorded information. The audiotaped data was transcribed verbatim in preparation for analysis. Primarily, the focus was placed on providing an argument based on the analysis of data gathered from the semi-structured interviews. Emergent themes were analysed using RPT and Mkosi's (2013:32) conceptualisation of PSCE. For ethical reasons, alphanumeric codes (FGDR1 to FGDR16 and CORSEO1-4) were used for each participant. Quantitative data drawn from questionnaires was captured using SPSS and descriptive statistics were used to gauge the trends in the findings. Graphs were prepared to provide a visual presentation of the findings.

FINDINGS

The purpose of this study was to examine the main factors that enable or that hinder the effective delivery of PSCE at the Brandvlei Correctional Centre. This section examines these factors by unpacking three sub-themes that were extrapolated from the data: access to the internet and books; the effect of overcrowding; and access to financial aid.

Access to the internet and books to help offenders succeed

Adequate resources, for example, reading material and internet access to perform practical exercises were required for the effective delivery of PSCE at Brandvlei Correctional Centre. These ought to be provided with the specific end goal of offering help and inspiration to offenders who are studying. These facilities will include books, libraries, the internet, and other relevant stationery. Providing access to a library and to a functional computer lab can be two of the most useful tools in preparing offenders for life outside prison. The respondents were asked if they had access to the internet and books to help them succeed in their studies. Figure 2 provides an overview of the responses.

Figure 2 shows that 37.5 per cent of the respondents strongly agreed that they had access to the internet and books at the Brandvlei Correctional Centre, while the majority of the respondents (50.0 per cent) agreed with the statement. The minority of the respondents (12.5 per cent) had a neutral response to the question of having access to the internet and books at the correctional centre. What is

Figure 2: Offenders' access to the internet and books

Bar chart showing percentages for "I have access to the internet and books":
- Strongly agree: 37.5
- Agree: 50
- Neutral: 12.5

Y-axis: Percentage (0 to 60)
X-axis: I have access to the internet and books
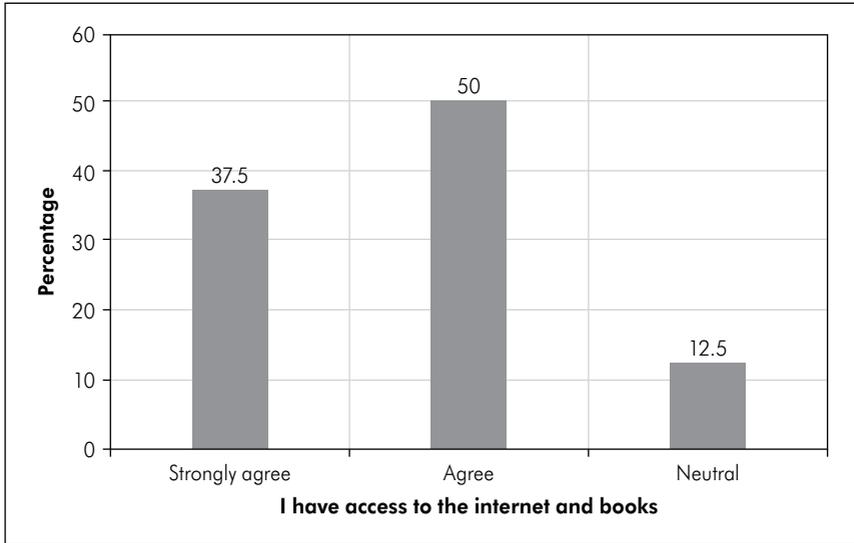
interesting about the data is that it is unlike findings from other studies (Johnson 2015:23) that stress that correctional services are failing dismally to provide the most basic tools required for PSCE. The majority of the respondents agreed that the centre was doing everything in its power to ensure that the inmates were accessing the necessary resources for them to succeed academically. There was a consensus among the respondents that the facility provided them with the necessary learning materials to ensure their success. FGDR16 said: "I would not want to say that all has been bad in our learning. The prison education department has ensured that we have the required learning material for our reading and knowledge attainment. However, one would not be sufficed with having that only without an explanation of content."

Further to that, FGDR3 reiterated that as learners at Brandvlei, unlike other correctional centres, they had access to internet sites that had to do with their learning. However, there were restrictions to the sites one could visit and many felt this was an unnecessary restriction, as they wanted to explore further other learning opportunities. FGDR13 complained that: "Red tape for me is a challenge. For example, there are many rules around access to resources. Some of the resources I need to succeed in my studies are available but I cannot access them because of prison rules, there are a lot of walls that are in place that are preventing one to access a few necessary resources that I would have personally appreciated to continue with my studies." FGDR13

It appeared that there were many rules around obtaining access to the resources needed for aiding their studies. Document analysis revealed that access to electronic books and the internet was achieved through the UNISA website, in a formal education partnership between UNISA and the DCS. The documents stated that the Department established DCS-UNISA Hubs in 2014 *(DCS Annual Report 2013/14:9)*. These were established in order to assist all offenders who are studying through UNISA in various correctional centres around the country. These centres provided regulated support to offenders studying via UNISA in different correctional facilities in South Africa. This incorporates access to laptops with internet access, UNISA library materials, tutorial exercises and online submission of assignments. This establishment yielded positive results.

Data obtained from the Brandvlei Coordinator through interviews revealed that each offender was obligated to sign a declaration of indemnity form stating that they bound themselves to follow the regulations of the UNISA Hub. The regulations included having an identity card in their possession at all times. The findings showed that the centre had to ensure optimal utilisation of resources in terms of offenders' participation in the same educational programme. Every DCS centre had to ensure that formal programmes were provided as outlined in the comprehensive framework for formal education programmes, taking into consideration available human resources and infrastructure.

The effect of overcrowding

In South Africa, overpopulation in incarceration centres has surpassed 100 per cent, which indicates that there is a great need for additional resources (Kayomo, Hasker, Aloni, Nkuku, Kazadi, Kabengele, Muteteke, Kapita, Lufulwabo, Mukadi & Muyembe-Tamfum 2018:2029). Overcrowding continues to overwhelm the delivery of administration and challenges the improvement of rehabilitation programmes for offenders. Furthermore, post-secondary education requires concentration and undisturbed focus from a student and consequently, overcrowded cells may distract studying offenders as they have limited time in the UNISA hub. The study sought to establish if overcrowding affected PSCE students' ability to concentrate and focus on their studies at the Brandvlei Correctional Centre. The responses are illustrated in Figure 3.

As can be seen from Figure 3, only 6.3 per cent of the respondents strongly agreed that overcrowding does not impact their ability to succeed academically. Of the respondents 18.8 per cent agreed with the statement, while 12.5 per cent of the respondents disagreed with the statement. A closer inspection shows that the majority (62.5 per cent) of those who responded to this item felt that overcrowding indeed impacted negatively on their ability to succeed academically.

Figure 3: Does overcrowding affect your ability to succeed?
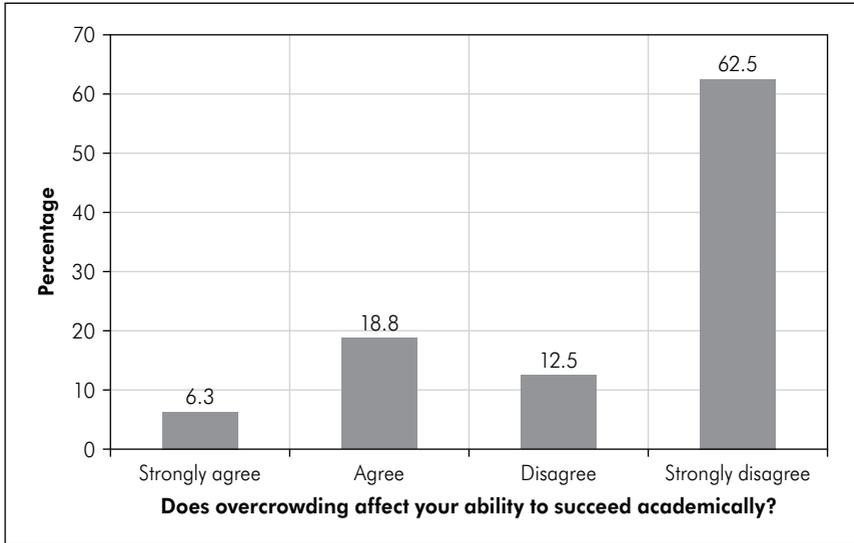
Source: (Authors' interpretation)

Overcrowding of prisons was another factor that was raised by the respondents during the focus group discussions and interviews.

"We were moved here without being consulted. The department never investigated if this space is conducive for studying. We sleep in communal tiny cells, which are already in violation of laws and stuff. The noise level is high, we have a challenge of overcrowded cells, and the department is expecting good results from us. Therefore, I think that needs to be taken into consideration." FGDR11

"Overcrowding remains a big challenge which we are pleading with the authorities to resolve if we need to have results within the educational department of the centre. In most cases, there is discomfort, learner offenders are forced to forego their studies due to duties and noise that will be occurring within the cells, and as such, there is a hindrance to their progression in learning." CORSEO2

Further analysis of the DCS annual reports revealed that the issue of overcrowding was yet another one of the real difficulties that the Department was faced with due to a persistent increment in the prisoner population inside DCS correctional facilities. The aggregate number of offenders in DCS centres unmistakably portrays the challenge of overcrowding inside the South African correctional framework. Largely, incarceration centres were 34 per cent overpopulated (2015/16), while various individual centres were more than100 per cent overpopulated. The findings show that overcrowding influences effective service delivery in terms of provision of basic services; for example, sustenance and well-being,

provision of rehabilitation programmes, security, offices, and community correc-
tion. This means that the Department had to work resolutely to guarantee that the
privileges of offenders were ensured in the midst of overcrowding difficulties in
correctional centres.

Accessing financial aid

The world revolves around money; higher education access is fundamental for
societal progress and unfortunately, higher education is expensive (McKinney,
Novak, Hagedorn & Luna-Torres 2019:184). Most offenders paid for their own
studies and some had applied for financial aid through NSFAS. Respondents were
asked about their experience in accessing financial aid and whether the process
was simple for them. Figure 4 presents a statistical summary of the responses.

Figure 4 shows that a minority of respondents (6.3 per cent) both strongly
agreed and agreed, that accessing funding was an easy process for them, while
12.5 per cent somewhat agreed with the statement. Equally, 12.5 per cent of the
respondents disagreed with the statement and 62.5 per cent of those who were
surveyed indicated that the process of accessing funding was not easy for them.
State financial aid is important to guaranteeing broad access to PSCE by offenders.
It is apparent from Figure 4 that very few offenders experienced an easy process in
accessing financial aid. In addition, it was observed that payment of educational

Figure 4: Accessing financial aid is an easy process
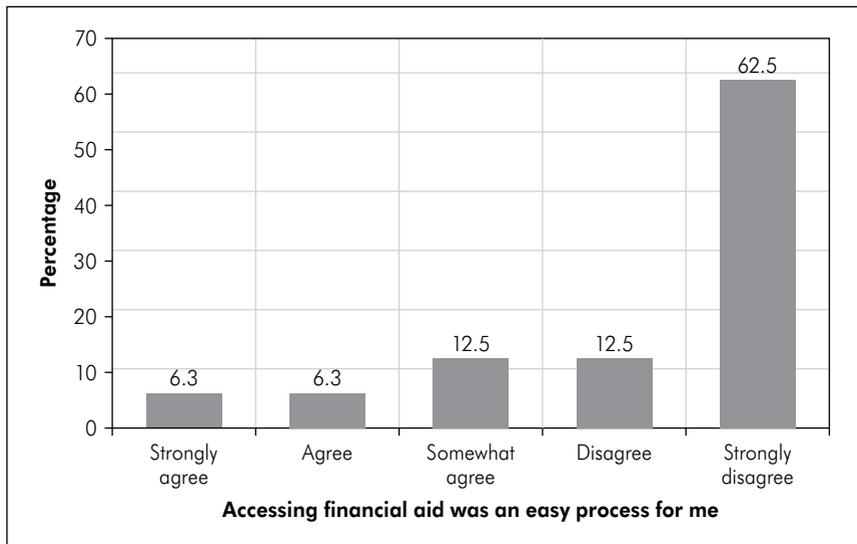
Source: (Authors' interpretation)

expenses or even 50 per cent payment of educational costs was difficult for offenders as they came from different backgrounds. Currently, offenders have had almost no access to financial aid to assist in payment for their educational costs. This was a rather disappointing outcome. Furthermore, the study sought to investigate access to funding for the education of offenders from various sources that were provided by the South African government. It emerged that a lack of funding access was a challenge for many of the offenders as the process appeared to be more difficult than anticipated. FGDR4 noted that: "The facilities that are availed for funding us have been hijacked by many red tapes such that we deem it necessary to have funding from personal sources (that is if you have). There seem to be efforts made to make the process harder such that there is channeling of funds for other purposes other than learning within the Brandvlei centre." FGDR4

"The major challenge is that we cannot dispute what we get for the education of offenders from the responsible authorities. As such, we are always left in the [dark] and we have no other way to supplement the availed funds but to cut on the usual budget." CORSEO2

Turning to document analysis regarding accessing funding, the DCS policy procedures on formal education clearly stated that offenders should be encouraged to further their studies at an institution of higher learning in their own time and at their own cost. The correctional officers also viewed the lack of funding as a hindrance; however, they placed responsibility on the authorities for not having availed funds for this legitimate initiative. This, therefore, means that the Department had to find ways to raise funds that would assist in encouraging offenders who want to pursue PSCE.

DISCUSSION

This present study sought to determine the factors that enable or that hinder post-secondary education at the Brandvlei Correctional Centre. In this study, it was revealed that offenders agreed that UNISA provided them with the essential academic and administrative provisions, for enrolled student offenders. The study further found that offenders had access to the internet and books, but that DCS officials, for security purposes, control the access to these resources and they restrict the time allocated for the use of the learning facilities. The role of the DCS officials was therefore found to be very important in the success or failure of the PSCE programmes in the Brandvlei Centre. These findings support the contentions of RP scholars like Gagnon *et al.* (2018:7) that prison leaders and staff play a crucial role in the success of various PBIS systems within the correction settings. However, the most surprising finding was that participants reported that whenever they needed to use their laptops to do their coursework by accessing

academic online activities, or to find out about tasks for research purposes, they needed to request permission from the appointed correctional education officials who granted them authorisation entirely at their discretion. Therefore, if the official was having a bad day, the students suffered. This is barely distinguishable from Johnson's (2015:109) findings which suggest that because of some offenders' abuse of the use of the internet, strict rules were enforced, rendering their utilisation exceedingly restricted, controlled and under security inspection. However, these findings contrast with those of Borden and Richardson (2008:8) who stated that the advantages of internet-based technology were numerous and most higher education institutions offered post-secondary education academic qualifications to offenders through the internet, therefore direct and unlimited access to academic online material would meaningfully increase educational opportunities and offenders' growth. This may be justifiable since few offenders proceeded with their criminal activities by utilising the internet. Consistent with Yates's (2016:600) findings, this study also found that RPT provides a means to evaluate the execution of rehabilitation programmes on criminal behaviour changes over time and on the avoidance of relapse. Applying restrictions to the offender's internet access may minimise the high risk of offenders relapsing to bad behaviour through social pressure.

Another important but surprising finding was that most offenders reported that the overcrowding did not affect their ability to succeed academically. These results contrast with those of the *National Prisons Project of the South African Human Rights Commission* (1998:5) cited in Johnson (2015:45) that indicated that overcrowding made it difficult for those individuals who were focusing on their studies and completing assignments. Several DCS reports dated 2015, 2016, 2017 and 2018, have shown that overcrowding may have a negative impact on the delivery of PSCE within the correctional service centres because of insufficient resources (Mkosi 2013; Johnson 2015). It is difficult to explain this result, but it may be related to the fact the Brandvlei Correctional Centre only detained offenders who were studying formal and informal education, as it was the only correctional centre that detained studying offenders (Watney 2017:708). This may suggest that the Western Cape region had few offenders receiving rehabilitation through formal education, especially PSCE.

The results of the study showed that a lack of funding access was a challenge for many of the offenders, as the process seemed to be more difficult than expected. This may imply that there were offenders who met the higher education admission criteria to study PSCE but did not have the financial means to pursue their studies. Literature shows that offenders access education through financial aid and assistance from their families; however, in the South African context most offenders were unable to further their studies because of financial constraints. This study confirms that dropping out was associated with a lack of

resources and support from their families and some could not afford study and the cost of learning materials. This study may enhance our understanding of the critical factors that enable or hinder PSCE at the Brandvlei Correctional Centre. A further study could assess ways to attract more offenders into the PSCE space while ensuring that those who are on board receive the support and resources required to succeed.

CONCLUSION

This study set out to examine critical factors that affect PSCE. It gave specific attention to the case study of Brandvlei Correctional Centre in Cape Town, South Africa. The study has, in agreement with previous studies, confirmed that factors like funding, resources, lack of staff, and limited access to learning facilities and resources are the most important factors that affect the successful implementation of the PSCE programmes. Another major but surprising finding from this study was that offenders did not think that the problem of overcrowding posed any threat to their learning process. In general, the results of this study suggest that the poor implementation of post-secondary education was more related to poor administration and funding issues than it was to the lack of willingness on the part of the offenders to participate in such a programme. Findings from this study should be of interest because they provide insight into the critical issues that have marred the successful implementation of correctional education in correctional centres in South Africa. Regrettably, the scope of this study was limited in that it was only focused on one correctional centre, Brandvlei Correctional Centre. However, findings from this study could be a good reference source for the Department of Social Development, the NSFAS and other institutions of higher learning because it points out areas that need more attention in policy intervention strategies.

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AUTHORS' CONTACT DETAILS

Ms Amanda Miselo
Junior Researcher
Research & Policy
2nd Floor, House Vincent
10 Brodie Road
Wynberg
Cape Town 7744
Tel.: (021) 763 3200
E-mail: AmandaM@nsfas.org.za

Dr Sybert Mutereko
Senior Lecturer
Academic Leader – Public Governance Discipline
School of Management, IT and Public Governance
University of KwaZulu-Natal
2nd Floor M Block, Room 212
Westville Campus Durban
Tel: +27 (0) 31 260 7951
E-mail: sybert@ukzn.ac.za

Type III Errors

A Reflection of Policy Design Efforts in Corruption Prevention

W N Webb
Department of Public Administration and Management
University of South Africa

M Kanyane
Department of Public Administration
University of Fort Hare

ABSTRACT

The basis for many anti-corruption policy interventions in developing states may be traced back to the implementation of National Integrity Systems (NIS). National integrity systems embody a comprehensive view of reform and comprise of eight pillars inter alia public sector anti-corruption strategies, watchdog agencies, public participation in the democratic process, public awareness of the role of civil society, accountability in the judicial process, the media, the private sector and international co-operation.

However, in efforts to implement these policy initiatives the public service is at risk of addressing the symptoms of corrupt behaviour in the public and private sector, rather than the root cause. Corruption prevention with added rules and regulations causes a loss in effectiveness and efficiency, and often produces more opportunities for corruption (Anechiarico & Jacobs 1995).

Public policy compliance and top-down policy design are common features in the South African public service. Senior public officials are often found working frantically in pursuit of satisfying the wishes of their political office-bearer or avoiding the adverse attention of the Auditor-General seeking to uncover cases of either public service behaviour not complying with its own policy directives, or engaging in activities outside the purview of legitimised executive and administrative policy. After all, the committees of the legislature are quick to pounce on senior officials who are subject to an adverse audit opinion or a disclaimer from the Office of the Auditor-General. However, these top-down policy design and implementation habits weaken the success of our anti-corruption efforts. The causal factors of

corruption are not attended to. Corruption is the symptom of public officials who are greedy and/or citizens who pursue their own selfish interests at the expense of the greater weal. It is here where policy attention should be directed. Evidence in the literature abounds that the solutions to public service corruption are not found in a myriad of public policy interventions and compliance with them, but rather focusing on the cause-effect linkages.

According to Stapenhurst and Langseth (1997) corruption is caused by inter alia economic and psycho-social factors, but more specifically organisational factors, such as, excessive discretion, outdated and inadequate policies and procedures and insufficient supervision, complex legislation, lack of an ethical awareness campaigns, and deficient control and accountability. Klitgaard *et al.* (2000: 31–36) identifies key objectives of a strategy against corruption: reduce the monopoly power of an official, limit or clarify official discretion and increase accountability. Rose-Ackerman (1999) remarks that, changing the way government does business, and not only establishing integrity systems, should be the objective in combating and preventing corruption. The emphasis should not be on less discretion, imposing rule bound systems, and ex post facto control. Rather, the objective should be to reform the public service and change its rules and policies to reward good performance.

The South African anti-corruption policy framework is testimony to the country's resolve to reduce incidents of malfeasance, but perhaps its focus should be directed to its causal factors. In this article, the authors reflect on the policy conceptualisation, design, and problem solving efforts of our anti-corruption champions in the public service. The authors used a theoretical and exploratory approach and cited baseline data and anecdotal evidence to substantiate their propositions.

INTRODUCTION

In the recently published National Anti-Corruption Strategy: Diagnostic Report (2016), reference is made to South Africa's robust legislative framework combatting and preventing corruption. In the Global Integrity Report 2010, the country was scored 88 out of 100 for its legal framework, but simultaneously records the apparent weak implementation, enforcement and compliance with this framework. As authors of this article, this proposition is challenged on *two* related fronts (National Anti-Corruption Strategy: Diagnostic Report 2016).

In the first instance, the enforcement and compliance with the legislative framework preventing and combatting corruption serves little–if any – rational

purpose. In an earlier publication, Webb (2012) questioned the appropriateness of a compliance based approach to integrity management. The compliance based approach focuses on the imposition of external control and compliance with policies and rules. Various authors (Rossouw 2008; Anechiarico & Jacobs 1995; Hoekstra, Belling & Van der Heide 2008; Frederickson 1997) pointed out the many unintended consequences of such an approach including the reduction in administrative discretion; increased democratic controls; the inhibition of workflow, creativity and responsiveness; and the reduction of the effectiveness of public administration. Procedural controls introduced to reduce corruption have caused government to become slow, non-risk taking, bureaucratic and unresponsive. Corruption prevention policies and structures not only reduce public service efficiency and effectiveness, but also create more opportunities for corruption.

In the second instance, this statement is based on a misunderstanding of the process and nature of policy analysis. The proposition that a state promulgates excellent policies, but lack enforcement capacity is conceptually flawed and simply wrong. Policy design and implementation processes are inextricably linked. Policies are designed to solve problems, and if it fails to solve those problems, the root cause lies with its designers and not its implementers. One of the main ingredients to policy design is the ability to design policies that are pragmatic as opposed to ideological or incremental.

BACKGROUND TO THIS STUDY

In this article the authors intend to reflect on this conceptually flawed statement i.e. that the challenge lies with the implementation of South Africa's anti-corruption policy infrastructure and not the policy infrastructure per se. Here an attempt is made to conceptualise and ground a proposition, and later provide some anecdotal evidence and observations to provide justification for this proposition. This reflection was prompted one of the author's involvement over the past more than ten years with the Executive Development Programme (EDP) of the National School of Governance. In the EDP senior officials are introduced to various disciplines that are central to the competencies that such officials should possess. These disciplines include strategic human resource management, project management, leadership, and public policy design and implementation. In the facilitation of public policy workshops, it was evident that senior officials rarely engage in meaningful policy design efforts. In fact, most officials have not been involved in identifying policy issues, agenda setting, undertaking root-cause analysis, policy option generation, and evaluating the impact of newly proposed policy articles. Most public policies appear to originate elsewhere rather than being the conceptual product of senior officials themselves.

To many public policy fanatics, this should be a major cause of concern. It raises the question whether the public services are able to identify and solve policy issues proactively. After all, a public service which only responds to policy issues ex post facto is often more engaged in crisis management than it should ideally be. A professional public service is one that seeks to identify issues e.g. integrity violations before they occur, pre-emptively conceptualise policy solutions to it, evaluate the impact of these policy proposals, and legitimate the most beneficial policy solution for implementation. This is all the more a sin qua non for public services in developing states!

Such a rational approach to policy issues should be devoid of the influences of ideological, incremental, and garbage can policy design. When senior officials engage in conceptual, directive, innovative and problem solving approaches, the public service becomes more than merely maintaining the status quo but is enabled to bring about real transformation of society.

THEORETICAL GROUNDING OF PROPOSITION

To enable the authors to ground this article's proposition, it is necessary to define the public policy process and agenda setting. Cloete, De Coning, Wissink and Rabie (2018) defines public policy as "a public sector statement of intent, including sometimes a more detailed programme of action, to give effect to selected normative and empirical goals in order to improve or resolve perceived problems and needs in society in a specific way, thereby achieving desired changes in that society".

From this definition it is important to emphasise the following aspects: public policy is intentional and pro-active (or pre-emptive), it often provides for detailed set of actions to be undertaken, and it serves to resolve policy issues in society. These issues are perceived (as opposed to real) which implies that there may or may not exist agreement on the extent or seriousness of the problem. Public policies should contain both normative and empirical goals, it should solve the issues at hand, and do so in a specific way. This exposition provides policy designers with a clear checklist to measure the design and content features of public policies. This definition implicitly assigns a very important role for public officials in the policy design process; one to which the authors intend to return to later.

Secondly, Cloete *et al.* (2018) defines agenda setting as "a deliberative planning process through which policy issues are identified, problems defined and prioritised, support mobilised and decision makers lobbied to take appropriate action". Agenda setting could be regarded as an instrument which officials (and other stakeholders) could use to bring a policy issue to the attention of senior officials and the political office-bearer. Agenda setting requires public officials to

define a policy issue that should reach the agenda. Later in this article, the authors refer to problem structuring, root cause analysis, and cause-effect linkages as part of the process of defining a policy issue. From this it is also evident that agenda setting serves the purpose of filtering policy issues; deciding which issues should receive the attention of policy decision-makers. Not all issues can (or should) be solved by the public service. But providing an official with an instrument without explaining how it should be used would be irresponsible. When officials engage in agenda setting, some of the following decision criteria should apply: urgency of the matter, how wide the impact of the policy issue is, whether the internal capacity exist to resolve the issue, and whether the official setting the agenda would receive the required support from the portfolio manager (or the decision maker) (Cloete *et al.* 2018).

POLICY CONCEPTUALISATION AND DESIGN: THE ROLE OF SENIOR PUBLIC OFFICIALS

In the following paragraphs, the author's continue with the theoretical grounding of this article i.e. policy design and conceptualisation. In the author's interactions with senior and middle managers in the public service, discussions are often initiated by citing the diverging roles of a senior public official viz-a-viz a managerial and supervisory public official. Whereas managerial and supervisory officials are responsible for the managerial functions of planning, programming, monitoring and evaluation, leading, motivating, training, devising methods and procedures, reporting, assessing performance, and setting duty inventories, senior public officials are responsible for conceptual, initiatory, innovative and directive functions. These include identifying needs, analysing existing policies and systems, and preparing policies, devising and improving organisation structures, devising staffing systems, and reporting to governmental institutions and office-bearers (Cloete & Thornhill 2012).

For the purpose of this article, the authors intend to narrow down the discussion to the conceptual, innovative and directive functions of senior officials relating specifically to their policymaking functions. When the policymaking function is the focus, it is also important to distinguish between the various policy levels including the political, executive, administrative, and operational policy levels (Cloete *et al.* 2018). Again, for the purpose of this article, the authors are mainly interested in the departmental and operational policy levels. After all, when the focus is on administrative corruption or the management of integrity violations among officials within a department, corruption prevention policies at the political and executive levels are less significant. The generic anti-corruption, fraud

prevention, and whistleblowing policies are typical examples of policies at the administrative and operational policy levels.

In this regard, it is incumbent on senior public officials to identify policy issues in their immediate work environment, undertake problem structuring which includes to identify cause-effect linkages and root cause analysis, and policy design including to decide on goals and objectives and generating alternative policy remedies. The remaining functions of the policy process such as policy implementation, programme and project implementation, and policy evaluation will be excluded for the purposes of this discussion.

THE AUTHORS' PROPOSITION

What should be evident from the discussion above is the explicit responsibility of senior officials to initiate and design public policy. For the purpose of this article the authors focus specifically at the administrative and operational policy levels. Whereas anecdotal evidence and observation suggest that policy emanates elsewhere, the authors are of the view that policies are an instrument in the hands of officials to solve societal challenges. This implies a strong focus on bottom up, evidence based, and experimental policy design. Although officials may delegate the responsibility to collect, analyse and interpret data on policy issues to others, they should know how to use such data for improved policy design.

For the purposes of this article, the authors return to the issue of corruption prevention and combatting efforts. Based on the above discussion, the following proposition is formulated: Corruption combatting and prevention efforts should be informed by continuous authentic and reflective policy conceptualisation and design interventions. Such interventions implies a bottom-up approach to policy design; one in which policy is continually conceptualised and informed by empirical data on the policy issue as well as values that guide policy decision-making.

SOLVING "WICKED" PROBLEMS

In Temeer *et al.*'s (2015) view, policy actors often lack the multiple capability to solve contemporary problems, or "wicked problems". These capabilities could include the ability to apply multiple perspectives (to appreciate a variety of perspectives or to reconsider dominant problem frames), and to recognise and unblock counterproductive patterns of policy processes (to apply policy innovation to cope with wicked problems). Temeer *et al.* calls these capabilities to be reflection and revitalisation. Their description of policy makers who – when

confronted with wicked problems–become stranded in their attempts to cope dif-
ferently with these problems, or when policy actors are no longer able to change
policies even when more of the same solutions no longer work or even become
counter-productive, sounds familiar in the South African context. In the author's
view policy actors are often guilty of tunnel vision and bureaucratising public
policy. According to Temeer *et al.* when policy actors apply capabilities of re-
flection, resilience, responsiveness and revitalisation, they would make small but
sustainable policy gains in solving wicked problems.

METHODOLOGY

The aim of this article is theoretical and exploratory. The authors of this article
followed a deductive research approach. A significant body of literature exists on
this research topic i.e. policy design within the broader top-down and bottom-
up traditions of policy design and implementation. Public service corruption, its
causes and consequences are well researched and published from a range of
different disciplinary perspectives such as economics, public administration, and
law. This is a rich body of knowledge which provided the authors with valuable
insight and understanding on this phenomenon. To test their assumptions, the
authors were guided by what has been published on this topic and also by what
they observed as Public Administration scholars.

In this article the authors also report on their exploration of this topic. As one
of the authors of this article studied corruption prevention policies at the DCS
from 2004 to 2010, an adequate baseline of policy development and innovation
existed. This baseline enabled them to compare the extent to which corruption
prevention policy evolved over time i.e. 2004–2019. To support and illustrate
their argument, the authors used a recent policy example from the Department of
Correctional Services i.e. DCS Anti-Corruption Policy. However, the authors wish
to state explicitly that this analysis does not provide an in-depth and comprehen-
sive analysis of the policy practices at the DCS.

Their empirical work is further supported by their observations and some
anecdotal evidence. The prevailing policy practices within the public service
tend to be top-down in nature. In the authors' view this practice is informed by
a compliance oriented approach to public policy formulation and implementa-
tion, as opposed to a problem solving approach. Administrative and operational
policy is the product of central coordinating institutions such as the Department
of Public Service and Administration. Such policy design initiatives are often in
response to qualified audit opinions or disclaimers issued by the Office of the
Auditor-General. Pro-active and pre-emptive policy design is the exception rather
than the rule.

As researchers the authors were (and should be) guided by the scientific principle that empirical data should be reliable and valid. For the purpose of this article they acknowledge that their findings are at most tentative and is in urgent need of further research. The findings provided them with avenues which could set the agenda for future research. In the DCS case, the authors' analysis confirms that public policies were not informed by real data, real problems, and not the product of bottom-up policy design. The findings will be discussed in more detail later in this article.

ANTI-CORRUPTION POLICY INFRASTRUCTURE

South Africa has promulgated a myriad of anti-corruption policies at various levels including the executive, departmental, and operational policy levels. It's status as signatory to the UN Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC) and its adoption of the OECD Convention on Combating Bribery of Foreign Public Officials in International Business Transactions has no doubt placed anti-corruption on the agenda and triggered the adoption of these polices.

By 2008, the following statues were promulgated: Public Finance Management Act 1 of 1999; Treasury Regulations, 2002; Public Service Proclamation 103 of 1994, Public Service Regulations, 2016, Protected Disclosures Act 26 of 2000, Prevention and Combating of Corruption Act 12 of 2004, and Executive Members' Ethics Act 82 of 1998. Various generic anti-corruption policy guidelines were approved including the Public Service Anti-Corruption Strategy (2002) and the Anti-Corruption Capacity Requirements: Guidelines for implementing the Minimum Anti-Corruption Capacity Requirements in Departments and Organisational Components in the Public Service. By 2008, the Department of Correctional Services (DCS) – as would most other administrative executive institutions–approved the following policies at the departmental policy level: DCS Whistle-blowing Policy, DCS Anti-Corruption Strategy, DCS Fraud Prevention Policy, DCS Anti-Corruption Policy, DCS Anti-Corruption Procedures, DCS Vetting Policy, DCS Code of Conduct, and the DCS Disciplinary Code and Procedure for the Department of Correctional Services, Resolution 1 of 2006 (Webb 2010). A few years later–in 2013 – the Department of Public Service and Administration (DPSA) drafted the Public Sector Integrity Management Framework, and in 2014 the Public Administration Management Act 11 of 2014 was promulgated.

After the establishment of a constitutional democratic state in 1994, South Africa experienced a rigorous policy development and review phase. During this phase more than 700 statutes were promulgated with questions remaining about their efficacy (Du Plessis 2009). Evident from this policy process, specifically from 2002 onwards, was the manner in which these policies were drafted

and approved. These policies appear not to be informed by processes of problem structuring, root cause analysis, data collection (informed by these root causes), and policy option development. The policy process was enforced from the top; a hall mark of the top-down policy design process.

REFLECTING ON PUBLIC POLICY DESIGN PRACTICES

The evidence suggests that the policy design capacity of the public service seems to be severely limited. This capacity constraint could be due to conflicting values, different contexts changing the importance of some values vis-à-vis others, or simply because officials are lazy and do not have the skills training to effect any sense of meaningful policy analysis. As a baseline study, the Webb (2010) investigation of the management and implementation of corruption prevention measures in the public service proves useful. The Department of Correctional Services (DCS) was selected as a case study and extensive data was collected. The fieldwork included a review of departmental policies and reports, the administration of a survey, focus group discussions, as well as individual interviews. Departmental policies that were reviewed included the Whistleblowing Policy of the DCS, the DCS Anti-Corruption Policy, and the Fraud Prevention Policy of the DCS. At the time of this publication–over eight years later–the same policies were perused and the results were not surprising.

Incrementalism appears to be the dominant policy design model applied in the public service. The content of the DCS Anti-Corruption Policy and the Fraud Prevention Policy of the DCS were left unchanged. In respect of the Whistleblowing Policy of the DCS, the earlier version of the policy seems to have been amended when compared to the latest version (at the time of publication). In the earlier version of the policy, one section focused on the inmate dimension of the DCS which provides for whistle-blowing of inmates in the event that they witnessed any form of malfeasance. This section also provided inmates with various avenues for reporting misconduct and reassured inmates that they would be protected in the event of a disclosure. Not long before the approval of the official DCS policy, the Department was investigated by the Jali-Commission for alleged incidents of corruption, maladministration, violence and intimidation. During the inquiry, it became evident that some prison warders regarded 'jail smuggling' (i.e. inmates being allowed certain illegal privileges such as dagga, liquor and extra visits) as acceptable (Keyser 2003). At the time of this publication, this section was omitted from the said policy.

It is evident from the above case study that despite provisions within all three departmental policies that it should be reviewed annually, this did not happen. Or alternatively, the review was undertaken but no policy amendments were made.

In fact, the omission of the section focusing on the "inmate dimension" appears to be a step backwards. But the absence of meaningful agenda setting, policy structuring and root cause analysis is not only limited to the DCS.

This institutional paralysis in public policy design efforts is not limited to the DCS only. In the case of the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC), a similar observation was made. The Use of Official Languages Act 12 of 2012 was promulgated in 2013. Act 12 of 2012 requires national government departments, national public entities and national public enterprises to develop and adopt departmental language policies to give expression to the recognition of the 11 official languages and promote linguistic diversity in post-apartheid South Africa. In September 2014, all accounting officers were requested to report on their progress with developing departmental policies and establishing language units (*Sunday Times* 2014). Three years later in 2017, the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) convened public hearings on multilingualism and the use of official languages and invited all national government departments to report on the manner in which the use of the 11 official languages are promoted (PanSALB 2017).

A review of these policies for twenty national state departments reflect little if any real divergence in policy content. In fact, it seems that the implementation detail of these policies were not properly considered. During a visit by one of the authors to the Ditsong Museum in Pretoria – an agency of the DAC–it was evident that very little changed at implementation level. Museum artefacts in the museum was described in two languages only i.e. Afrikaans and English. This was despite the Official Language Policy of the DAC indicating the use of at least three official languages in its public entities. This is evidence of a top-down policy approach with very little consideration of data emanating from the bottom-up. In fact, this is an indication that problem structuring was not part of the policy design efforts of the DAC.

It may be helpful to evaluate current policy practices through the lenses of the following policy models i.e. incrementalism, garbage can policy design and rational policy making. In the next section the authors evaluate the attributes of these modules.

DISJOINTED INCREMENTALISM IN POLICY DESIGN

When senior managers in the public service are confronted with the question: "But how do you make policy", the response almost always reflected a combination of incrementalism, garbage can policy making and crisis management. Rarely, if ever, was the indication that public officials engaged in rational policy design efforts i.e. identifying policy issues, undertaking root cause analysis, deciding

on policy goals and objectives, developing policy alternatives and selecting that policy alternative that maximises cost-benefit. In fact, this phenomenon is so common that the authors prefer to call it a form of "institutional paralysis". In their view, the public service is either not willing to act pre-emptively in solving policy challenges or is simply unable to do it (or perhaps both). What this means for a society expecting redress, upliftment and poverty eradication, was more of the same as government could do little to change their lot.

But how do theorists explain this phenomenon? One plausible explanation of this policy phenomenon was expressed by Lindblom who provided a much more subdued account of the policy capacity of officials. He argued that when policy problems are complex, the rational decision making method is usually impossible to implement. Public officials are confronted with the following challenges: disagreement exist on which values and objectives to achieve, officials are unable to rank or give weights to these values, the importance of values and objectives is depended on context. Furthermore, limits on human intellectual capacities and on available information set definitive limits to official's capacity to be comprehensive (Lindblom 1959). Less discreet, is the view that public officials do not engage in conventional and prescribed rational decision-making because they are incompetent, ill-trained and insufficiently motivated.

For the rationalist, the application of theory is the most economic and systematic way to bring knowledge to bear on a specific problem. It is the most appropriate way to design a policy to address a specific problem. However, in Lindblom's view, theories are sometimes of extreme limited value in policy making for two reasons: Theory requires facts and it could be applied only after the collection of observations. In a more modest way officials should choose among policies that differ only incrementally from each other and present policy. Officials only seek to know how the consequences of each policy differ from each other. For this purpose, no theory is required (Lindblom 1959).

Incrementalism, or "muddling through", contains the following attributes: the selection of goals and the means to achieve them are not distinct from one another; the test of a good policy is when analysts and officials agree on a policy (and not necessarily on the means to achieve its objectives); important alternative policies and values are neglected, and comparisons of policies that differ little from one another eliminates reliance on theory (Lindblom 1959).

This account of policy design practices was provided nearly sixty years back. To what extent is it applicable today when the public service is confronted with complex social problems such as global warming, great inequality in wealth distribution, and corruption and integrity violations? According to Bendor, disjointed incrementalism did not develop as a scientific field of study – in the same way that policy monitoring and evaluation did. This school of thought was not subjected to hypothesis testing and development. Although disjointed incrementalism almost

disappeared, key elements of it have been thriving; even in combination with some elements of the synoptic (rational) approach (Bendor 2015).

According to Bendor (2015), disjointed incrementalism is not an identifiable integrated body of knowledge. Although incrementalism and the synoptic (rational) approach to decision-making are often viewed as diametrically opposed packages of elements, elements of both approaches can be combined to produce a hybrid approach. The elements of disjointed incrementalism that thrive include local search, iterative adaptation, and the distribute intelligence of multiple minds.

GARBAGE CAN POLICYMAKING

To Dryzek (1983) when faced with complex policy problems (such stubborn integrity violations) incrementalism may not be the appropriate response. In his article he is critical of allowing markets to determine policy choices, or political actors to mutually adjust on policy issues; something he terms "coin tossing". He suggests a contingency approach to policy design; to avoid unnecessary noise, the complexity of the problem should determine the level of cogitation.

Depending of the level of complexity and uncertainty, Dryzek suggests that policy makers should conceive (or cogitate) policy responses. Dryzek proposes that when problems are well structured, incrementalism could suffice. However, when complexity is profound, the best strategic choice may be to relinquish the decision to future generations. Dryzek is critical of pure rationalism in policy design. Policy designers should apply three streams of activity in policy design i.e. context, action and theory. However, these streams are not without weaknesses leading the decision maker to pursue the most robust policy option, rather than the option which optimises.

Whereas incrementalism could be placed on one end of the continuum, garbage can policy design finds itself midway to rational policy design on the other end. In the following section attention is paid to those attributes most closely associated for rational policy design efforts.

RATIONAL POLICY MAKING: SETTING THE AGENDA

To the authors of this article the rational approach to policy design is a bottom-up endeavour. Such bottom-up policy practices include identifying the policy issue, structuring the problem, collecting, analysing and interpreting data, and applying policy innovation. A policy designer should have a clear understanding of the main elements of the issue or problem. The policy intervention or solution identified to solve a particular issue must establish clear causal linkages between

the policy issue and its intended solution. The wrong diagnoses of the policy is-sue may result in an incorrect policy strategy prescription (Cloete *et al.* 2018; Cairney 2012).

Importance of structuring the problem

Hogwood and Peters (1985) in their book entitled The Pathology of Public Policy point to the analogy between the physician and the public policy analyst. Whereas the physician uses the hard sciences in the fields of chemistry and biolo-gy to diagnose a patient's disease, the policy analyst studies human behaviour and is expected to diagnose the ills of society. The policy analyst must often cross tra-ditional disciplinary boundaries in the social sciences, cannot afford to be bound in a single cultural or political system, must confront and master subject matter specialities, and have the ability to work with others in organisational settings.

In the same way that a physician is confronted with the symptoms of a disease and should prescribe appropriate treatment, the policy analyst is faced with a similar problem. However, the policy analyst may be confronted with additional challenges. There may be no agreement that there is in fact something wrong. There may also be very little agreement about what the appropriate treatment should be. Hogwood and Peters extend the analogy further. When the causes of a disease is not known, physicians may opt to treat the symptoms only. When treat-ment is prescribed without knowing what the underlying causes of a disease are, it may be disastrous and produce many more problems than it may have solved.

In their analysis of policy issues, Hogwood and Peters (1985) categorise vari-ous types of diseases that can confront policy analysts. They distinguish between acute disorders (an immediate crisis), chronic disorders (policy issues that persist even though they have been identified), self-limiting problems (policy issues that would eventually solve themselves), and terminal diseases (policy issues that require direct intervention). Hogwood and Peters also point to a number of chal-lenges that policy analysts experience when they diagnose problems i.e. public issues are often caused by multiple factors, changing symptoms and diseases, and different diseases manifesting through similar symptoms. When confronted with symptoms of a disease, it is important that the policy analysts undertake root cause analysis: determining the root causes of a problem.

In the context of public service corruption, De Graaf (2007) is of the view that policy instruments to combat corruption would only be effective when the causes of corruption are known. For example, when corruption is viewed as the rational behaviour of actors in maximising personal benefit, the solution to corruption should be a comprehensive system of control based on surveillance and aggres-sive enforcement of criminal and administrative sanctions. When the causes of corruption are perceived to be societal or organisational value deficiencies, the

policy solution should be as ethics training and codes of conduct. Additional strategies aimed at addressing the root cause of malfeasance could include reducing the monopoly power of an official, limiting or clarifying official discretion, and increasing accountability (Klitgaard *et al.* 2000). Rose-Ackerman (1999) refers to changing the way government does business, and not only establishing integrity systems.

However, for those responsible for drafting corruption prevention policies, De Graaf (2007) also cautions that causality cannot be proven. Whether the focus of corruption prevention efforts is on individual, organisational or societal "causes", it would be more appropriate to refer to correlations. The attention of scholars and practitioners should be directed at understanding corruption, rather than explaining it.

Dunn uses a different classification of policy issues. In his view the policy analyst is confronted by problems that are ill-structured, ill-defined, or wicked (cf. Temeer *et al.* 2015). When information of policy problems is accompanied by alternative solutions, and the probability that each solution would lead to solving the problem, one can describe the problem as a well-structured problem. Whereas well-structured problems are problems about which enough is known, ill-structured problems are pervasive and a consequence of conflicting representations of a problem being created, maintained, and changed by stakeholders. On the other hand, wicked problems are difficult to define, the solutions to these problems are not known, and analysts are unable to specify the decision makers, alternatives, outcomes, values and probabilities.

According to Dunn problem structuring serves to produce information. When attempting to solve problems, information is required in respect of the antecedents of a problem, the values that drive the solutions to a problem, alternative solutions to a problem, and the probability that alternatives will lead to a solution. The way a problem is structured will govern the identification of solutions. Inadequate of faulty information may lead to serious or even fatal errors and formulating the wrong problem. Dunn defines "assumption drag" as errors in forecasting the probability of alternatives to solve the problem. For the purpose of this article, the question should be posed to what extent policy designers forecast the probability of integrity interventions solving ethical dilemmas? And if so, how effective is the forecasting?

In Dunn's analysis of problem structuring, he identifies the lack of methodological congruence as a challenge for policy analysts. Methodological congruence refers to identifying particular methods of problem structuring (e.g. brainstorming) that are appropriate for the level of problem under consideration. In his view, conventional scientific methodologies are incompatible with social problems that have exceeded a given threshold of complexity. When inappropriate methods of problem structuring are used to solve wicked problems, Dunn refers to Type III

Errors. Type III errors occur when policy issues are subjected to problem structuring and the incorrect causes of a problem are identified. Diagnosing incorrect causes of a problem could lead to the wrong policy decisions and therefore lead to exacerbating the policy issue or the waste of public resources. Problem structuring should lead to changing ill-structured or wicked problems into well-structured or tame problems.

Dunn points to the paucity of research on the effectiveness of problem structuring methods. In his view this paucity may be due to three reasons i.e. journals in public policy being unfamiliar with the process of problem structuring, those who write about public policy analysis have had little exposure to complex and real life contexts, and the efficacy of problem structuring methods (such as the creative use of metaphors and analogies, and analysing problems from multiple perspectives) have simply not been tested.

Innovation in policy design

Problem definition leads nowhere if clear goals and objectives are not formulated. There should be clarity on the objectives–the what–which policy designers want to achieve and how they intend to achieve it. This involves the use of judgement and the ability to anticipate future events. Policy design is probably the most important stage in the process of policy analysis (Cloete *et al.* 2018).

The rational policy process always starts with the identification and definition of the problem. The policy process is not only concerned with the expectations of a target group or those that will be affected by a particular policy outcome, but also with the differing values and culture of groups concerned with the policy problem. This means that a researchable problem should exist for which–after data is collected and knowledge systemised–alternative solutions could be proposed. This form of policy analysis is closely aligned with the procedure and methods followed in conducting any kind of research.

Policy design is not only concerned with setting goals and objectives, but also identifying policy alternatives to achieve those goals. Policy design requires the policy analyst to apply critical and creative thinking, and the ability to invent and design. It requires imagination, intuition, and sound judgement (Cloete *et al.* 2018).

FUTURE RESEARCH WORK

In the authors' review of policy exhibits and the extent of policy conceptualisation and design, it is evident that those responsible for this function in practice are either unprepared, unaware or simply too lazy to pursue these ends. The evidence suggests that the anti-corruption policy infrastructure is inappropriate for

the policy issues (i.e. integrity violations) it intends to solve. In future empirical research, the question should aske "why" this is the case. Such empirical work should be guided by the following research questions in the domain of the prevention and combating of corruption:

- To what extent do senior officials reflect on their policy design and implementation practices?
- To what extent do senior officials engage in problem structuring including agenda setting and root cause analysis when they seek the most appropriate policy solutions?
- To what extent do senior public officials collect data on their policy issues i.e. integrity violations?
- To what extent do senior officials propose authentic policy solutions to these integrity violations?
- To what extent do senior public officials evaluate/pre-empt the impact of new policy solutions on their departments?

CONCLUSION

In this article the authors reviewed the literature on various theories of public policy conceptualisation and design. Various alternative instruments could be used when policy design is required. These instruments range between incrementalism one the one end to rationalism on the other end of the policy design spectrum. The choice of these policy instruments depend on the nature of the policy problem to be solved. Problems range from well-defined to complex and wicked problems and it remains the responsibility of the policy designer to select the correct policy design and decision instrument.

The anti-corruption policy infrastructure is ill-suited to solve the problem it is meant to solve. In fact, what is clear from the authors' assessment, is that the public service is committing type III errors. Type III errors occur when policy issues are subjected to problem structuring and the incorrect causes of a problem are identified. Incorrect causes could lead to the wrong policy decisions and therefore lead to exacerbating the policy issue or the waste of public resources. Although multiple causes of corruption can be identified, its root cause remain i.e. greed. Any policy interventions that neglect to address that root cause will end in failure. In the authors' observation of anti-corruption policy infrastructure it appears that state departments neglect to do problem structuring. The policy responses suggest that a standard one-size-fits-all policy approach is followed. Accurate problem structuring is a sin qua non for effective policy design.

Although the authors do not propose solutions in this article, the concepts and theoretical models presented sets the basis for further empirical work. Future

researchers should seek to know why senior officials engage in policy design in the way they seem to. The evidence suggests that a "one-size-fits-all" approach to policy development originates from a central source (read top-down policy design). Policies should be informed by practice, quantitative and qualitative data, empirical evidence, and bottom-up policy design. But this is rarely the case. Senior officials should be reflective in their conceptualisation and design efforts and suggest authentic policy solutions to the ills of the public service. The "wicked" problems of corruption will not be solved if officials fail to undertake problem structuring.

NOTE

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AUTHORS' CONTACT DETAILS

Professor Werner Webb
Department of Public Administration and
Management
P O BOX 392
University of South Africa
0003
E-mail: webbwn@unisa.ac.za
Tel.: 012 429 6909 (w)

Professor Modimowabarwa Kanyane
Department of Public Administration
University of Fort Hare
P O BOX 1153
King Williams Town
5600
E-mail: bkanyane@hsrc.ac.za

Influence of Employee Participation in Work Decision-Making on Organisational Performance

Theoretical Discourse and Overview of Empirical Evidence from Nigeria

E Ejere*
School of Public Management, Governance and Public Policy
University of Johannesburg

D B Jarbandhan
School of Public Management, Governance and Public Policy
University of Johannesburg

ABSTRACT

In recent years there has been an increasing trend towards decentralisation in organisations in keeping with greater democratisation in the workplace. In the wake of an increasing emphasis on decentralisation in the workplace, participative decision-making is becoming the flavour of the day. However, the issue of whether or not employees' participation in workplace decision-making positively affects organisational performance is not yet fully interrogated in academic circles. Consequently, this article uses a qualitative research method to examine the relationship between participative decision-making and organisational performance on the basis of international literature and empirical evidence from Nigeria. Research evidence is provided in this article to support the view that employee participation in decision-making in the workplace has significant, if not, substantial influence on organisational performance. The conclusion reached in this article is that employees appreciate being recognised as individuals and having a voice on organisational issues where they work, and as such, participative decision-making is essential to attaining improved organisational performance.

INTRODUCTION

It is unclear in academic literature whether or not an increase in employee participation in work decision-making directly and positively affects organisational performance. Numerous studies, for example, Searfoss and Monezka (1973); Miller and Monge (1986); Levine and Tyson (1990); Lawler (1992); Cotton (1993); Buhuiyan (2010); Kim, Mac Duffie and Pil (2010); and Khattack, Igbal and Bashir (2012) have shown that employee participation has a significant positive effect on organisational productivity. However, other studies such as Cotton, Vollifath, Froggatt, Lengnick-Hall and Jennings (1988) and Locke and Schweiger (1997) suggest that employees' participation in decision-making has only an ambiguous effect on organisational performance.

Broadly speaking, it appears that employees' participation in decision-making has significant, if not, substantial influence on organisational performance. Likert and Likert (1976:75–76) indicated that participative management systems, which encourage decision-making throughout the organisation, and in which communication flows both up and down the organisational hierarchy, were most effective in achieving performance goals. This means that the more employees are involved in workplace decision-making, the more they are motivated to help in achieving corporate objectives and solving work-related problems.

But there are situations in which participative decision-making (PDM) can be time-wasting and counter-productive as it can reduce employee effectiveness and job satisfaction. There is also the possibility that employee self-interest in decisions could lead to goal displacement (Juechter 1982; Verma and Syha 1991; Salamon and Derek 1992).

The main aim of this article is to examine how PDM affects organisational performance specifically in the Nigerian work environment. Consequently, the article examines the relationship between employee participation in work decision-making and organisational performance by drawing on the extant international literature and empirical evidence from Nigeria.

RESEARCH METHODS

A qualitative research method that was informed by a review of official government documents, peer-reviewed research publications and an in-depth academic literature review underpinned the methodology for this article. The aim of this article is therefore achieved through an interpretive research strategy (Ritchie and Lewis 2003:56; Nicholls 2009:643). A synthetic methodological process underpins the research strategy, which is embedded in the contribution of this article in

terms of employee participation in decision-making and its influence on organisational performance in the Nigerian workforce.

McNabb (2008) adds that a qualitative research method is a set of non-statistical inquiry techniques and processes used to gather data about social phenomena. Qualitative inquiry is a less structured method of data collection and analysis in comparison to the quantitative research method.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In today's world, there is growing acceptance of the democratic culture which is rooted in popular consent and participation in governance. Theobald (1994:123) attests to this by indicating that "a full-fledged democracy cannot be said to exist unless the principle of meaningful participation is extended to the workplace". Democratisation of the workplace, sometimes referred to as industrial democracy, is anchored in increasing decentralisation rather than the traditional centralisation in organisations, be it public or private.

Henri Fayol posits that centralisation is present to a greater or lesser extent in all organisations. According to him, everything which increases the employees' role in organisational decision-making focuses on decentralisation, while that which reduces it is centralisation (Fayol 1949). Decentralisation implies that discretion is pushed down to lower level employees (Cole 2005).

Since employee participation involves creating a work environment in which people are granted the opportunity to exert influence on decisions and actions that affect their jobs in the organisation, human relations and decision-making theoretical orientations are central to organisational performance. Moreover, the human relations approach advocates a participative style of management in decision-making, especially when it focuses on employees' work (Mayo 1933; Roethlisberger and Dickson 1939). Furthermore, Chester Barnard sees the organisation as a social system that requires employee cooperation to be effective. In his Acceptance Theory of Authority, Barnard holds that employees have what he calls "free will" and will therefore choose whether or not to follow managerial orders or decisions (Barnard 1938).

According to Simon (1979) Decision Making Theory proposes that what employees need most is an opportunity to participate in organisational decision-making. Accordingly, this theory posits that the design of organisations should be such to facilitate decision-making with due participation by employees. Naidu (2014:6) has a different view on decision-making that, it may be noted that hierarchical rigidity and participatory decision making do not go together. It, therefore, is opposed to traditional authoritarian bureaucracy which glorifies rigid hierarchical relationships. It can exist within an open, democratic work environment only.

This view purports that modern organisations are less hierarchical, more flexible and responsive to the environment.

Motivation theories play a significant role in understanding the complexities surrounding employee participation in decision-making. Lunjew (1994 in Singh 2009) indicates that [employee] participation in decision-making, as it relates to a higher level needs, draws from theorists like Maslow, Alderfer, McClelland, and Herzberg as well as Douglas McGregor's Theory X and Y that explicitly explains management's view of employees and its impact. Useful frameworks for understanding employee motivation in the workplace can be provided by reviewing contributions of the need theories developed by these theorists. In today's modern organisations, these need theories imply that higher level needs are responsible for motivating people and interestingly, participating literature and research has identified PDM to satisfy these needs.

Irawanto (2015:160) studied employee participation in decision-making in Indonesia's state-owned enterprises. The author found that many state-owned enterprises in Indonesia do not encourage employee participation in decision-making, furthermore despite encouraging participation through formal programmes the uptake in participation remains low due to the bureaucratic structure of the state-owned enterprises.

Moreover, managers in Indonesian organisations do not necessarily encourage employee participation as they see this level of participation as "a personal setback for them" (Irawanto 2015:160). Moeljono (in Irawanto 2015:160) makes the point that, especially in Indonesia, workers feel morally obliged to follow bureaucratic rules, rather than participate in decision-making. Amah and Abiauzu (2013:2) support the view that managers in the Nigerian banking sector focus on technical aspects rather than human dimension, they go on to further indicate that managers in Nigerian banks "do not focus properly on people management issues as they manage through rules, systems and procedures". Tchapchet, Iwu and Allen-Ille (2014:295) are of the view that autocratic management, which vests power, authority, and decision-making in management, is "deemed to be incompatible with employee participation in decision making".

The issue of cultural sensitivity in promoting participation must also be considered. The Indonesian study concluded that there needs to be programmes that promote employee participation in organisational decision-making, the benefits of which could be promoting democracy, improving employee motivation and making employees feel that they are meaningful assets to their organisations. Figure 1 indicates the relationship between mental and emotional involvement, and also highlights the fact that participation increases motivation and allows leaders to reach organisational goals and bring about meaningful change.

Wilkinson, Gollan, Marchington and Lewin (2010) are of the view that many organisations do not involve employees in organisational change

Figure 1: Relationship between mental and emotional involvement
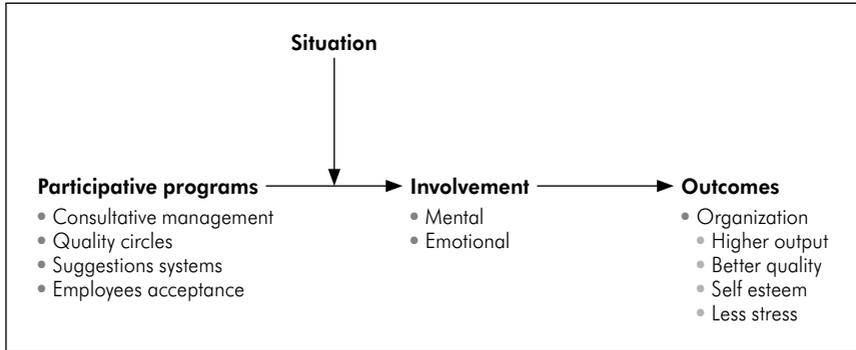
initiatives until the later stages of change that is, after management has designed an organisational change initiative and determined how it will be implemented. Employees are meant to 'rubber stamp' the changes – this is due to the mindset of managers who believe that decision-making is primarily their domain. In the modern world of industrial citizenship, worker rights and organisational democracy, the need to accept workers as an important part of organisations, is paramount.

EMPLOYEE PARTICIPATION

Employee participation focuses on involving employees in the affairs of the organisation (Cole 2005). Tjosvold (1987) defines employee participation as joint decision-making in which employees are allowed to help solve organisational problems. Robbins (2003:193) states that "participation is a more limited term. It's a subset within the larger framework of employee involvement. All of the employee involvement programmes … include some form of employee participation". Thus, employee participation is a part of the broader concept of employee involvement. Employee involvement refers to a participative process that uses the entire capacity of employees and is designed to encourage increased commitment to the organisational success (Robbins 2003).

Employee participation can be direct or indirect. Direct participation involves the individual employees relating to decisions that concern them. In essence, the employee takes over or is drawn into certain decisions which have traditionally been the preserve of management. Conversely, indirect participation is a participative process where employees are involved in decision-making through delegations or representatives. Some of the ways in which employees can be

involved in the affairs of the organisation include consultation, work teams, employee committees, participative decision-making, employee suggestion forums and collective bargaining. Cole (2005) identified a range of options which reflects the various degrees of participation that may be made available to workers for employee participation, such as share options/profit-related pay, consultation, job enrichment, participative management, collective bargaining, work councils, board representation, and workers' cooperatives. These will be explored further in the section below.

Share options/profit-related pay

Relevant employees are offered the chance to own shares in their organisations, which allows them to participate in its financing and profit-sharing. Employee effort is also linked to profitability by permitting profit-related elements in total pay. This option gives employees the chance to have a stake in their enterprise but is scarcely relevant if one considers participation to involve sharing in vital decision-making.

Consultation

This can be seen as participation only in the sense that employees are consulted about decisions affecting their working lives, though employers need not take into account employees' views in reaching final decisions.

Job enrichment

This is participation in the sense that the employee is given greater discretion over immediate work decisions. However, it does not offer any opportunity to participate in the major strategic decisions affecting the organisation.

Participative management

In full application, participative management implies that employees will be allowed to share in the decision-making process at all levels, including the strategic level.

Collective bargaining

Bargaining by its very nature is adversarial, and its outcomes, therefore, depend on the relative power of the negoting parties, and the extent to which compromises can be reached.

Work councils

These are joint bodies of managers and employees established to consider and agree on key matters affecting employment within the organisation. Unlike collective bargaining that involves union-only employees, work councils are open to all employees regardless of any union membership.

Board representation

The appointment of rank and file employees to non-executive directorship on the board of enterprises is another manifestation of employee participation.

Workers cooperatives

This option is closest to workers' control. Effectively, it means that the organisation is run by the employees in a totally collaborative way.

Figure 2 encapsulates the alternative range of employee participation.

Figure 2: Range of alternatives for employee participation
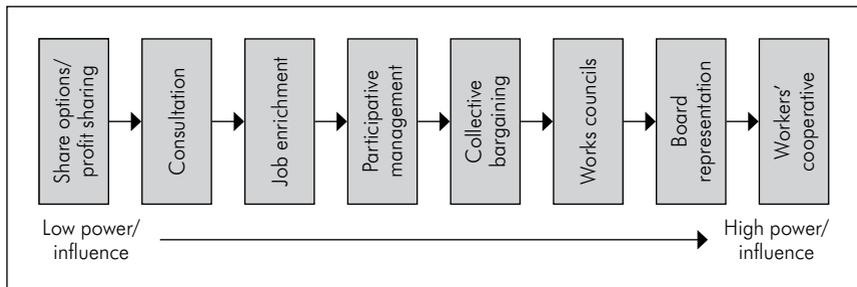
Source: (Cole 2005:402)

Cole (2005) further states that organisations which are considering establishing some form of increased participation in decision-making need to ask themselves a number of crucial questions, such as:

- Should participation be confined to operational processes or extended to include strategic issues?
- What topics or issues should be the subject of shared decision-making?
- How should individuals be selected for participation in relevant bodies?
- What part should trade union representatives play in any arrangements?
- How should statutory obligations be dealt with?
- What standards of behaviour may need to be established for participants?
- What employee training and other resources may need to be provided?

- How can participative groups contribute to the needs of other stakeholders, especially customers? (Cole 2005:404).

Furthermore, Globerson (1970) suggests five levels of employee participation to support decision-making, these are: sharing general information with personnel, joint consultation, passive participation in management, active participation in management, and self-management. Kearney and Hays (1994:46) indicate that employee participation in decision-making has benefits for both the employee and the employer (the organisation), this is captured in Figure 3.

Lawler (1986) posits that there are three essential conditions for effective employee participation: knowledge, motivation, and mechanisms for decision implementations. If an employee has no knowledge and competence on the subject for decision-making, their opinion will have little or no value. Likewise, employees need to have the right motive and proper motivation for decision-making. For effective participation to take place, the organisation must provide a conducive psychological climate, effective communication system (two-way flow of information), and guidelines for participation in decision-making and implementation. Davis (2009) specified the following essential guidelines for employees' participation in decision-making.

- There must be time to participate before action is required as appropriate in emergency situations

Figure 3: Linkage between participative decision-making and personal organisational benefits
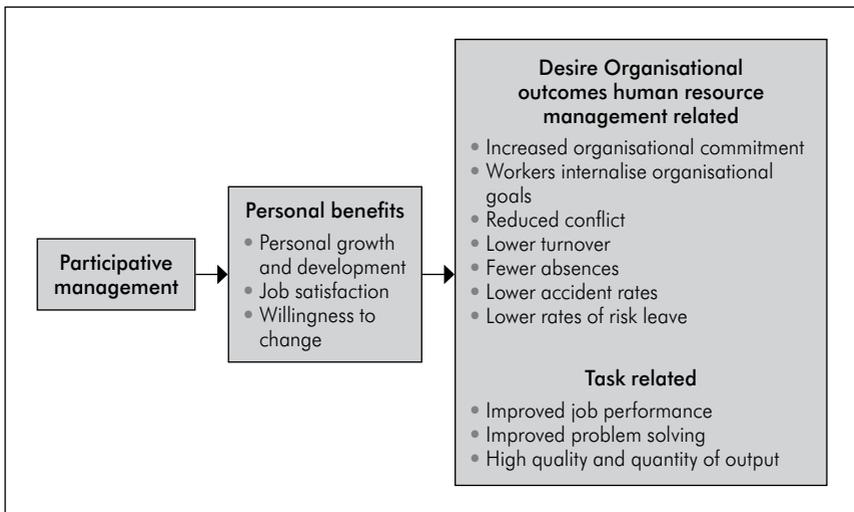
- The potential benefits of participation should be greater than its costs. For example, employees cannot spend so much time participating and neglect their work
- The subject matter should be relevant to the employee or employees concerned, otherwise employees will be busy bodies
- Employees should have abilities such as intelligence and knowledge to participate effectively
- Both parties – employee and management – should not feel threatened by participation
- Participation should be limited to the employees' area of job freedom.

DECISION-MAKING

A decision, according to Drucker (1960) is a judgement – a choice between alternatives. Anderson (1984), states that decision-making involves the choice of an alternative from among competing alternatives. Moreover, decision-making is viewed as the process of generating and evaluating alternatives and making choices among them. Decision-making is therefore a choice analysis.

Decision-making can be classified broadly into programmed and non-programmed decisions. Programmed decisions are used for structured or routine work while non-programmed decisions are used for unstructured, novel, and ill-defined situations of a non-recurring nature (Weihrich, Cannice and Koontz 2008). Decisions can also be categorised on the basis of sector such as: private and public decisions, decisions could also be labeled political, economic, social, legal, educational, technical and so on. Decisions could be strategic, operational or tactical.

The decision-making process (see Figure 4) involves six major stages according to Gomez-Mejia, Balkin, and Cardy (2005). These stages are summarised thus: identifying and diagnosing the problem, generating alternative solutions, evaluating alternatives, choosing the best alternative, implementing the decision, and

Figure 4: The stages in the decision-making process

Identifying & diagnosing the problem → Generating alternative solutions → Evaluating alternatives → Choosing the best alternative → Choosing the best alternative → Implementing the decision → Evaluating the results
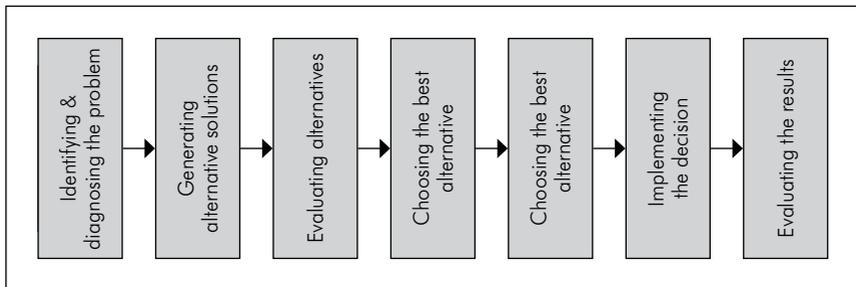
Source: (Gomez-Mejia *et al.* 2005)

evaluating the result. Ideally, decision-making should involve everyone in the organisation. According to Naidu (2014:313), participative decision-making means the involvement of workers in decisions that directly affect their work.

As Kreitner and Kinick (2007) maintain, decision-making lays the foundation of a successful organisation. Models of decision-making include: rational decision-making model, incremental model, mixed scanning model, satisficing model and optimal model.

Rational decision-making model

The rational decision-making model entails specific logical steps in decision-making which facilitate efficiency while excluding non-rational considerations that can interfere with the maximisation of goals. Rational decision-making is to choose the one best option – it is designed to maximise net value achievement. A decision is considered rational if it is the most efficient, for instance, is the ratio between the values it achieves and the values it sacrifices positive and higher than any other alternative course of action? (Abba, Anazodo and Okoye 2004:134)

Incremental decision-making model

The leading proponent of this model is Charles Lindblom. Based on the assumption that rational decision-making is impossible or Utopian, this model posits that administrative decision-making usually involves a continuation of past practice or course of action with the least possible incremental modifications to suit the changing circumstances (Lindblom 1959).

Mixed scanning decision-making model

In order to avoid the pitfalls of both rationalism and incrementalism, Etzioni (1967) proposed the simultaneous utilisation of the rational and incremental decision-making models in different situations. While in some circumstances, rational decision-making will be needed, in other situations, incremental decision-making would be more appropriate.

Satisficing (bounded rationality) decision-making model

Herbert Simon developed the satisficing model in reaction to the short-comings of the rational model. According to him, due to human, information, time and other constraints, complete rationality is impossible in decision-making. As such, most decision makers attempt to make the best decisions they can within the limits of rationality and in light of the degree and nature of the risks involved. According

to Simon, whereas the rational-economic man maximises by selecting the best option from among competing alternatives, the administrative man satisfies by looking for a course of action that is satisfactory or good enough (Simon 1979).

Optimal decision-making model

In response to the drawbacks of the rational and incremental decision-making models, Dror (1968) similarly offers the optimal model that seeks to improve policy decision-making by minimising the risk of uncertainty through the use of extra-rational processes for decision-making. The optimal model is thus also a modified version of the rational model.

ORGANISATIONAL PERFORMANCE AND PRODUCTIVITY NEXUS

Organisational performance refers to the ability of an organisation to achieve its goals by using resources in an efficient and effective manner (Daft 2000). It is a measure of how efficiently and effectively an organisation uses available resources to attain its goals. Efficiency is a measure of how well resources are put into productive use to accomplish a goal; while effectiveness is a measure of the appropriateness of the goals an organisation is pursuing and of the degree to which it achieves those goals. Consequently, high performing organisations are efficient and effective (Jones and George 2008:6). Success and failure are thus at the two extreme ends of the performance continuum.

In a general sense, productivity is related to organisational performance and is a measure of efficiency that summarises the value of output relative to the value of input used to create them (Griffin 1999:641). According to Robbins (2003), productivity is a performance measure that includes effectiveness and efficiency. Effectiveness has to do with the achievement of goals; while efficiency concerns the ratio of output to the input required to achieve it. An organisation is productive if it achieves its goals and does so by converting inputs to outputs at the lowest cost (Robbins 2003). Productivity in terms of quantity of output results in doing more with less. In terms of quality of output, productivity results in customer or users' satisfaction (Hill and Jones 2008).

Public sector productivity remains an important indicator of the economic performance of a country. Thornhill (2006 in Linna, Pekolla, Ukko and Melkas 2010:300) identifies three main reasons why public sector productivity is important. First, the public sector is a major employer. Second, the public sector is a major provider of services to an economy, particularly business services (affecting cost of inputs) and social services (affecting labour quality). Third, the public

sector is a consumer of tax resources. Therefore, changes in public sector productivity may have significant implications for the economy.

Although the issue of productivity and performance enhancement in the public sector is nothing new, scholars and practitioners have worked for decades to identify what makes government productive and effective. However, the measure of productivity and performance in the public sector remain elusive due to the scope, nature, size and context of the public service mandate.

It should be noted that there is a conceptual problem of distinguishing between performance and productivity (Heffernan and Flood 2000). Sometimes, the two terms are used interchangeably and at other times they are given different meanings. As Ricardo and Wade (2001) pointed out, performance is a broader indicator that could include productivity and other factors such as quality and consistency. In the context of this work, Organisational performance and organisational productivity are used interchangeably.

INFLUENCE OF EMPLOYEES' PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING ON ORGANISATIONAL PERFORMANCE/ PRODUCTIVITY: SOME EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE FROM NIGERIA

There are a number of studies (especially from 2014 onwards) that investigated the relationship between participative decision–making and organisational performance in various work settings (public and private) in Nigeria. Some of the major findings of these studies are presented in this section.

In their research, Ojokuku and Sajuyigbe (2014) investigated the effect of employee participation in decision-making on the performance of selected Small and Medium Scale Enterprises (SMEs) in Lagos, Nigeria. The study was based on a quantitative survey of 129 workers and 27 owners/managers of randomly selected SMEs from the manufacturing and service subsectors. Data generated for the study, was analysed using both descriptive and inferential statistical tools. The research result showed that overall, employee participation in decision-making had significant positive impact on organisational performance in the SMEs with p = 0.597, t = 6.572, p < .01.

In a perception survey of 200 randomly selected respondents, Agwu and Olele (2014) examined the influence of employees' participation in decision-making on organisational productivity in Julius Berger Nigeria PLC, Bonny Island, Nigeria. Results arising from the data analysis indicated that a significant relationship exists between employees' participation in decision-making and increased employee commitment on the one hand and between employees' participation and organisational productivity on the other hand.

In a similar study, Nma, Chigbu and Chinwe (2014) assessed the effect of employees' participation in decision-making on organisational performance

using Guinness Nigeria PLC Ltd as case study. The researchers employed the structured survey questionnaire to elicit data from 200 randomly selected workers of the company while the Product Moment Correlation Coefficient statistical tool (through the use of Statistical Package for Social Science [SPSS]) was applied for hypothesis testing at a 0.05 level of significance. The research result revealed that there is a significant relationship between workers' participation in decision-making and organisational performance.

Another survey carried out by Udu and Aturu-Aghedo (2016), focusing on the relationship between participative decision-making and performance in the Federal Airports Authority (FAAN), Lagos, Nigeria indicated that participative decision-making engenders greater employee commitment as well as improved organisational performance.

Nnamseh and Ayandele (2016) investigated the effect of employees' participation in decision-making on corporate performance in selected banks in South-South Nigeria. The survey method was adopted for the study while the multiple regression statistics analysis was used to analyse the research data. The main finding of the study was that a significant positive relationship exists between employees' participation in decision-making and corporate performance.

In further research Nwoko and Emerole (2017) examined the effect of employees' participation in decision-making on organisational performance using a National Root Crops Research Institute (NRCRI), Umudike, Nigeria case study. Data was obtained from a sample of 275 employees of the institute while logistic regression analysis and Pearson Product Moment Correlation were used for data analysis. The research result revealed that employees' participation in decision-making had a positive effect on organisational performance.

Olatunji, Nwachukwu, Worlu, Ogunaike and Abimola (2017) in their study, empirically assessed the link between participatory decision-making and work performance in the Nigerian banking industry. The survey design involving 288 research participants was adopted for the study. The regression analysis and Pearson Correlation Coefficient were applied to test the research hypotheses. The results showed that a significant relationship exists between employees' participation in work decision-making and organisational performance variables: quality, firm profitability, and timely service delivery.

In a study, Oyebamiji (2018) likewise examined the impact of employees' participation in decision-making on organisational performance. The research location was the Ladoke Akintola University of Technology Teaching Hospital (LAUTECH), Ogbomosho in Nigeria. The descriptive survey design was adopted to carry out the study with a sample of 205 randomly selected employees of the hospital from whom data was elicited via a structured questionnaire. Data was analysed using frequency counts, simple percentages, mean, standard deviation and linear regression analysis. The study found that both direct and indirect

representative participation had positive and significant impacts on organisational performance in the teaching hospital.

The foregoing overview of recent Nigerian-based empirical studies lends considerable support to the notion that there is a direct positive relationship between employee participation in decision-making at work and increased organisational performance/productivity. It appears that there is virtually no research finding to the contrary in the literature pertaining to Nigeria.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Although there is still ongoing controversy concerning the extent to which employees should be involved in decision-making, several recent empirical studies carried out in Nigeria (as earlier presented) have established that employees' participation in work decision-making and organisational performance/productivity are positively related. It is clear that allowing employees to actively participate in decision-making could help improve performance/ productivity in organisations.

Only rarely are people not motivated by being involved or consulted on actions that affect them. Since most employees at the centre of work operations have knowledge of problems and solutions applicable to them, the right kind of participation yields both motivation and knowledge valuable for enterprise success. Participation is also a means of recognition. It appeals to the need for affiliation and acceptance. Above all, it gives people a sense of accomplishment (Weihrich, Cannice and Koontz 2008). Werther and Davis (1993) also posit that employees' participation in work-related decision-making is critical to their acceptance and effective implementation of the decisions. Such participation, according to them, could even encourage employees to accept the decisions reached as their own, thus giving their best to ensure the successful implementation of the decisions.

A leading decision theorist Herbert Simon, who contributed widely to administrative thought and decision-making, states that involving employees in decision-making would lead to:

- Better goal setting and clarification: obviously, employees appreciate being recognised as individuals and having a voice in organisational affairs, corporate objectives and solving work-related problems. Provision of much needed information which management alone cannot obtain in exclusion of other employees.
- More identification of employees with the decisions reached and greater involvement in their successful implementation and thus greater goal attainment (Simon 1979).

As Cole (2005:404) rightly observes, "in the current climate of intense competition, reduced public expenditure and the need to create flexible, responsive

organisation, it would seem that both private and public sector organisations could gain much from increasing the extent of their employees' participation in the decision making processes".

In order to further increase the participation of employees in work-related decision-making, the following suggestions are advanced:

- Adoption of management by objectives (MBO): MBO involves organisational members working in conjunction with one another, identifying common goals, and contributing their efforts towards achieving these goals. Of importance is the motivational value of the participative process in decision-making entailed in MBO.
- Encouraging participative leadership/management: The participative leadership style emphasises the participative role of organisational members with full involvement of all persons in the decision-making process. This style of leadership or management encourages employees to participate actively in organisational decision-making. A participative leader consults with subordinates and encourages their participation at work.
- Fostering employee empowerment: Employee empowerment implies that superiors have to share their authority and decision-making power with their subordinates. Werther and Davis (1993) conceived empowerment from a decision perspective. To them, empowerment is employee involvement in decisions that affect them and their relationship with the organisation.
- Encouraging decentralisation/delegation: Decentralisation in terms of delegation of authority and responsibility to subordinates should be encouraged. Where decentralisation through delegation is adequately done, employee participation in decision-making is enhanced.
- Applying job enrichment: Job enrichment involves giving employees greater opportunity to plan, organise, and control portions of their jobs. The intent of job enrichment is to provide employees with greater involvement in their work, improved meaningfulness of the work, and a greater sense of accomplishment (Gomez-Mejia *et al.* 2005).

NOTE

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AUTHORS' CONTACT DETAILS

Dr Emmanuel S Ejere
Research Associate
School of Public Management, Governance
and Public Policy
College of Business and Economics
University of Johannesburg
P O Box 524
Auckland Park
2006
Tel: +234 8050317877
E-mail: emmanuelejere@uniuyo.edu.ng

Prof D B Jarbandhan
Associate Professor
School of Public Management, Governance
and Public Policy
College of Business and Economics
University of Johannesburg
P O Box 524
Auckland Park
2006
Tel: 011 559 2905
E-mail: vainj@uj.ac.za

How to Organise Citizen Engagement

Experiences of Dutch Municipalities

V Siebers
Het Zijlstra Center for Public Control, Governance and Leadership
School of Business and Economics
Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

ABSTRACT

Involving citizens by means of citizen engagement has become widely accepted within local governments, also in the Netherlands. Scholars have long asserted the value of citizen engagement. However, understanding the way citizen engagement is organised and why it works or does not work is still a challenge. This article explores the experiences of Dutch municipalities with organising citizen engagement. Via 54 semi-structured interviews with municipal representatives and document analyses the article explores motivations to initiate citizen engagement. It analyses the deployed methods and reflects on the role of involved actors. Finally, it reveals challenges that occur during the organisation of citizen engagement. The findings indicate that organising citizen engagement is not an easy task and that the extent to which the motivation, methods and roles are clear among municipal council, board of mayor and aldermen and bureaucracy is of importance.

INTRODUCTION

In the last decades citizen engagement has extended within governments (Michels and De Graaf 2010). Citizen engagement can be understood as the process in which citizens are involved in a greater or lesser degree in tasks and services of the government (Ekman and Amnå 2012; Nabatchi and Amsler 2014). Especially at the local level citizen engagement is seen as a way to collect input, mobilise resources and find (new) solutions for societal challenges (Horlick-Jones, Rowe and Walls 2007; Irvin and Stansbury 2004; Meerkerk, Koppenjan, Keast 2015;

Nabatchi and Leighninger 2015). Local governments recognise the value of citizen engagement and believe in the capacity of civil society (Van Dijk and Van Loon 2019; Roberts 2004).

At the same time, the context in which municipalities operate is susceptible to change (Grotens, Van Dijk and Vugt 2018). Societal developments like decentralisation, globalisation, increased technology and individualisation play an important part in this (Andrew and Goldsmith 1998; Fischer 2000; Gaventa 2002).

These developments together with the broadening in citizen engagement have led to a growing attention for citizen engagement on local level and the way local governments are organised or should be organised to set up citizen engagement (Dobss, Manyika and Woetzel 2015). Despite the importance and normative significance of citizen engagement, municipalities still struggle to organise citizen engagement effectively. Municipalities search for ways to do this and from local executives is expected that they understand the requirements that are necessary to do so (Chatfield and Reddick 2017; Cooper and Menzel 2013; Gaventa and Barett 2010; Lowndes, Pratchett and Stoker 2001; Michels and De Graaf 2010; Nabatchi and Amsler 2014; Nabatchi and Leighninger 2015). On top of that, our knowledge about citizen engagement is still fragmented leading to a desire for more empirical evidence on the process and organisation of citizen engagement (Nabatchi and Amsler 2014).

This article explores the way citizen engagement is organised by municipalities in practice. It focuses on experiences of Dutch municipalities because of the recent decentralisations of various public tasks. Dutch municipalities have been considered to be primary in managing these tasks and local executives use citizen engagement to do so. As such, the pressure to organise citizen engagement has increased significantly and therefore also the desire to implement it effectively. The article begins by deliberating what already is known about citizen engagement on local level in literature, followed by a description of citizen engagement in Dutch municipalities. It then compares four Dutch municipalities and explores the way in which they organise citizen engagement. The article concludes with reflections on the main findings and makes suggestions for future research.

CITIZEN ENGAGEMENT ON LOCAL LEVEL IN LITERATURE

Citizen engagement is a much-discussed topic in literature (Nabatchi and Amsler 2014; Rowe and Frewer 2000). For example, it is indicated that citizen engagement mainly takes place within the context of local governments. It is suggested that municipalities are closer to civil society compared to national or regional governments and are therefore observed as more able to respond to local needs (Nabatchi and Amsler 2014). As such, local governments pay extra attention to

citizen engagement and actively invite citizens to generate and design solutions to problems they encounter. In many cases it is suggested that this is based on the idea that "those who are subject to laws and policies should engage in making them" (Fung 2006:66). Besides identifying the context in which citizen engagement often occurs, there are several other studies that have examined different areas of citizen engagement such as advantages of citizen engagement, criteria for citizen engagement, characteristics of those who engage or mechanisms of citizen engagement. For example, it is shown that citizen engagement is often initiated to benefit from its advantages such as, the improvement of social cohesion, safety or livability in communities, to gain support for public decisions or better acceptance of these decisions or to utilise resources within society (Fischer 2000; Fung 2007; Held 1987; Irvin and Stansbury 2004; Mostert 2003; King, Felty and Susel 1998; Lee 2014; Nylen 2002). Furthermore, there are studies that reveal that criteria such as representation of participants, transparency, amount of influence and available resources support citizen engagement (Callahan 2007; Rowe and Frewer 2000). Additionally there are studies that focus on features of those who engage. These studies demonstrate that often Caucasian, middle-aged, male and highly educated citizens are the ones who participate frequently (Tonkens and Verhoeven 2018). Lastly, there are studies that focus on the mechanisms of citizen engagement by revealing guidelines that support municipalities in organising effective citizen engagement. These studies reveal that aspects like context, objectives, leadership, motivation of those who initiate participation, roles of involved stakeholders and methods are important to organise effective citizen engagement (Nabatchi and Amsler 2014; Fung 2007; Sørensen and Torfing 2016).

Against this background, it becomes clear that a lot is already known regarding citizen engagement. Despite this knowledge, there still seems to be no clear picture on how to organise the process of citizen engagement efficiently. One of the main issues is that different contexts, definitions, processes, designs and outcomes are applied, causing variation in the organisation of citizen engagement to emerge in municipalities (Lowndes *et al.* 2001; Nabatchi and Amsler 2014; Yang and Callahan 2005). Additionally, it is difficult to measure the outcomes of citizen engagement (Fung 2006; Irvin and Stansbury 2004). Consequently, it makes it difficult to pinpoint what works and does not work in citizen engagement and to connect the theoretical knowledge to the existing practices (Nabatchi and Amsler 2014). Most studies talk about what helps in citizen engagement but hardly try to find out why citizen engagement works or does not work and why certain challenges occur in practice. It is suggested that this has likely to do with the way the process of citizen engagement is organised and the aspects that are identified as important for it, but it is not mentioned if this is based on empirical reasoning or normative reasoning (Nabatchi 2012; Nabatchi and Amsler 2014). Ultimately, the question is how to understand citizen engagement in a way that it identifies what

works and does not work. It is an example of a context in which citizen engagement is significant, that the article now turns to.

Citizen engagement in the Netherlands

The Netherlands is an example that is known for its strong activities to organise and involve civil society in governmental processes at local level (ROB 2012; WRR 2012). Within the Netherlands, local governments are seen as the most important and visible level. They have a certain amount of autonomy regarding public services and are often more citizen-oriented compared to the central level (Gradus and Budding 2018). The local government centres on municipal actors; consisting of the municipal council, the executive board of mayor and aldermen and the bureaucracy.

In the last years several public tasks such as, employment, health care or home care for elderly and disabled have been transferred from central to local governmental level. The argument was that local governments are more suitable to respond to local needs and therefore also to manage these tasks efficiently and effectively. As a result the importance of local services has increased significantly and the engagement of citizens has become a vital aspect for governing within municipalities. By means of citizen engagement Dutch municipalities aim to fulfill these tasks and strengthen the relationship between government and civil society (Van Houwelingen *et al.* 2014; Gradus 2017). Dutch municipalities are expected to respond to this development. They enthusiastically organise citizen engagement and thereby choose their own ways to fulfill the new tasks and to involve public actors (VNG 2013; ROB 2012). However, it is at the discretion of the individual municipality to fulfill these tasks and to organise citizen engagement effectively. Municipalities search for what works and does not work and give their own interpretation on how this can be done by understanding what citizen engagement means for the involved municipal actors, like councillors, aldermen, civil servants or citizens (Van Houwelingen *et al.* 2014; ROB 2012; Wal, Pröpper and Jong 2012; WRR 2012). After all, it is precisely these actors who are expected to organise citizen engagement properly.

With the recent decentralisations there is an increased pressure on Dutch municipalities to implement citizen engagement. This pressure appears to be mostly social and stems from the desire to respond accurately to the increasing public tasks and local needs and corresponds to the described issue regarding citizen engagement in literature. Whereas in literature is pointed out what helps in effective citizen engagement in general, the challenge in practice is still to organise the conditions to implement citizen engagement effectively on local level. The Netherlands provides an interesting context for exploring this and to discover how engagement of citizens is organised. By exploring the experiences of Dutch

municipalities with citizen engagement in practice, this study aims to shed light on the way these municipalities organise citizen engagement and to understand why it works or does not work.

RESEARCH METHOD

To explore the way Dutch municipalities organise citizen engagement a qualitative comparative approach was taken, specifically a case study was conducted. A case study enables to study a phenomenon, like citizen engagement in its own context (Baxter and Jack 2008). Based on that we selected four Dutch municipalities: Zeist (62 830 inhabitants), IJsselstein (34 208), Ermelo (26 590 inhabitants) are mid-sized municipalities, whereas Ede (113 421 inhabitants) is a large municipality (CBS 2017).

The municipalities are selected based on several characteristics. First the size, in the Netherlands the majority of the municipalities is mid-sized (between 25 000 – 100 000 inhabitants) or large (100 000+ inhabitants); for this reason we selected municipalities corresponding to that size. Second the location of the municipality; a division is often made between municipalities positioned in urban areas (i.e. Zeist, IJsselstein and Ede) and municipalities that are located in less densely populated areas (i.e. Ermelo). Last, the selected municipalities are all searching for ways to understand the organisation of citizen engagement. In particular, since the increase in public tasks due to the decentralisations. Additionally, the municipalities are all willing to participate in a case study. As such, the subset of these four municipalities represents to some extent the variance that exists within Dutch municipalities.

To explore the organisation of citizen engagement semi-structured interviews were held between November 2015 and November 2017. In total, 54 semi-structured interviews were held within all four municipalities. In the municipality of Zeist, 13 interviews took place between November 2015 and January 2016. In the municipality of IJsselstein, 14 interviews were held during January and February 2016. Subsequently, 16 interviews took place in the municipality of Ermelo between November and December 2016. Lastly, 11 interviews were held in the municipality of Ede between October and November 2017. In each municipality interviews were held with representatives of the municipal council, executive board of mayor and aldermen, public administration and civil society[1]. These representatives were selected by the relevant municipality based on variation in age, gender, function and experiences with citizen engagement. Due to availability of the interviewees the amount of interviews can vary between municipalities. The semi-structured interviews were held during the same election period (2015–2018) and thereby ensured consistency in the composition of the

municipal council, executive board of mayor and aldermen and bureaucracy in each municipality. The interviews lasted in general one hour and centred on aspects that support citizen engagement, offering a framework to understand what works or does not work in the organisation of this. Specifically, aspects like motivations to organise citizen engagement, applied methods when organising citizen engagement and roles of involved actors were discussed (Nabatchi and Amsler 2014; Fung 2007; Sørensen and Torfing 2016). In this way, the semi-structured interviews allowed a systematic discussion of these aspects in relation to citizen engagement. In addition, the interviews addressed challenges related to organising citizen engagement by asking explicitly about it. All interviews were transcribed and summarised. These summaries were then sent to the interviewees and were all approved. After approval, the data was coded via Atlas.ti focusing on the discussed aspects during the interviews. During the analysis we looked for similarities and differences among the themes (Strauss and Corbin 2014; Yin 2009). Finally, documents that were found on websites or given to the researcher during the interviews were used.

RESULTS

The comparative analysis focuses on aspects that facilitate effective citizen engagement: motivation, methods and role of involved actors. The analysis of the motivation is concerned with reasons and objectives to organise citizen engagement. The analysis of methods looks at the different methods that the municipalities deploy while organising citizen engagement. The analysis of the role of involved actors addresses the influence of citizen engagement on those who organise citizen engagement. The analysis ends with a brief overview of challenges that are experienced during setting up citizen engagement.

Motivation: reasons and objectives

The results of the empirical analyses of the municipality's motivation to arrange citizen engagement are displayed in Table 1. The findings reveal similarities in the reasons to start citizen engagement. These reasons were mainly dominated by societal challenges that the relevant municipality faced. Reasons cited are: to manage individualisation, decentralisations or cut-downs, to manage different demands within the civil society, to increase trust or to respond to the benevolence of the community to participate. During the interviews it became clear that these societal challenges led to a re-examination of the way the municipality should operate and an increased focus on citizen engagement in all municipalities examined. A council member of Zeist explains: '*Where in the past the municipality*

could say to citizens just go to sleep we will take care of it, today this isn't possible anymore due to the amount of information that is available. That means that a municipality is not a self-evident authority on everything they do anymore, but it means that it is important to connect more to civil society'. A council member of IJsselstein agrees and points to the wish to respond and to connect to civil society: 'Citizens do not have the feeling that they are heard and have less trust [...]. Consequently, they are less involved and the municipality longs to respond to this'.

Besides reasons to organise citizen engagement, also objectives were identified. Table 1 shows that these objectives vary among the municipalities. Within the municipality of Zeist these objectives were clear and focused on innovative democratic processes in which citizens' knowledge and expertise is used to create new solutions for societal challenges. A board member confirms: 'The strength of society, their thinking power and their experience are needed to get insight into societal issues'. Within the municipality of IJsselstein the objectives were multiple, focusing on giving citizens more responsibilities. However, most of the interviewees agreed that it was of essence to create an effective and efficient functioning government by citizen engagement. Within the municipalities of Ermelo and Ede clear objectives seem to be absent, leading to a search in these municipalities for well-defined objectives regarding citizen engagement. The findings of the municipality of Ermelo reveal that municipal actors have an idea about which objectives matter, by emphasising the importance of the connection between the municipality and civil society, but simultaneously indicate to search for clarity in these objectives. A civil servant of Ermelo points out: 'We want to facilitate and give space to initiatives from civil society and connect to these [...], but how this is done is something we still search for.' Whereas the findings in the municipality of Ede only indicate what is important in citizen engagement without appointing clear objectives. A civil servant of Ede gives a possible explanation: 'I don't know if we have explicitly formulated clear objectives for citizen engagement. To say that we know what we exact want with citizen engagement is not formulated'. The quote indicates that the municipality did not yet formulate clear objectives regarding citizen engagement, which contributed to a search for it.

In sum, the findings show that the four municipalities vary in terms of motivation to organise citizen engagement mostly reflected in the presence of clarity or ambiguity in objectives. It is suggested that a lack of this possibly leads to a search for this within the relevant municipality.

Methods of citizen engagement

The findings show a variety of methods the municipalities deploy to organise citizen engagement (Table 2). It becomes clear that in the municipality of Zeist one method dominates when organising citizen engagement. The municipality

Table 1: Motivation: reasons and objectives

Municipality	Reasons	Objectives
Zeist	• Manage challenges like individualisation, digitalisation, computerisation or cut-downs; • Manage increased tasks of the municipality; • Manage different demands within society.	• Innovate democratic processes by utilising knowledge and expertise of citizens in which the values trust, strength and closeness form the basis.
IJsselstein	• Manage challenges like individualisation, decentralisations, digitalisation or cut-downs; • Increase trust of citizens; • Cope with negative perceptions of citizens towards the government.	• Increase efficiency and effectivity of the municipality; • Give citizens more responsibilities.
Ermelo	• Manage challenges like individualisation, digitalisation and decentralisation; • Respond to the changing role of the government.	• Search for clear objectives. At the same time ideas about which objectives are important like, connecting to the civil society, giving citizens more responsibilities or giving citizens a voice.
Ede	• Manage challenges like individualisation, increased technology, increased amount of info; • Respond to the benevolence of the community to participate.	• No clear objectives. Municipal actors only indicate what they find important but do not name concrete objectives. For example: anticipating on developments in the society, connecting to the society, create tailor-made policies or promote social cohesion.

constantly establishes a dialogue between relevant stakeholders within the civil society (e.g. local residents, entrepreneurs or private stakeholders). By means of dialogue the municipality aims to put these stakeholders central and develop substantive proposals for challenges in civil society and uncover what matters for them. A board member confirms: '*To know what is going on in civil society requires organizing dialogues*'. As such, the municipality aims to mobilise the expertise and knowledge of the local society. It is said that civil servants in particular facilitate this dialogue and have created a clear process on how to perform this dialogue.

The findings further reveal that the municipalities of IJsselstein, Ermelo and Ede did not apply one dominant method. These municipalities used various methods that are similar to each other in order to engage civil society. In the municipality of IJsselstein these were, for example, conversations, interactive decision-making or information meetings. Likewise, in the municipality of Ermelo the interviewees

mentioned that methods like voting, information meetings, advisory councils, lunches with the mayor, consulting hours or citizen initiatives are mostly used to set up citizen engagement. Last, in the municipality of Ede, identical methods were found like, voting, council meetings or information meetings (see Table 2 for more information). In addition, it became clear that these municipalities searched for more direction and structure regarding the methods that are used. A council member of Ede confirms: '*A lot is happening without a concrete direction, from the bottom of the organization to the top of the organization without a red threat in it*'.

All in all, the findings indicate that the municipalities examined use different methods to organise citizen engagement, indicating that citizen engagement exists in no clear form or direction. This is in particular visible in the municipalities that do not seem to apply one dominant method: IJsselstein, Ermelo and Ede. Notable is that, the methods the municipalities examined use, hinge mostly on citizens having an informative and consultative role. The activities facilitate an interactive governance process in which public and private actors exchange views and ideas on municipal matters (Torfing *et al*. 2012).

Table 2: Methods of citizen engagement*

Municipality	Methods
Zeist	Dialogue.
IJsselstein	Conversation, interactive decision-making, information meetings.
Ermelo	Voting, information meetings, advisory councils, lunches with the mayor, consultation hours, citizen initiatives.
Ede	Voting, council meetings, information meetings, advisory councils, interactive decision-making, neighbourhood focused working.
*The methods presented are most often mentioned.	

Role of involved stakeholders

Related to the involved stakeholders the findings reveal that organising citizen engagement mainly affects the functioning of council members, board members and civil servants. It becomes clear that within all four municipalities organising citizen engagement did not influence the legislative powers and responsibilities of these actors. This means that throughout citizen engagement the municipal council is still the representation of the civil society and establishes frameworks according to which the municipality works. The executive board of mayor and aldermen is still in charge of the daily operations and gives orders to the civil servants and the

bureaucracy executes these orders and implements local policies. Instead of that the findings reveal that organising citizen engagement requires a change in the functioning roles of these municipal actors reflected in their attitude and behaviour, to make citizen engagement effective.

The analysis reveals some interesting differences. In the municipality of Zeist there seems to exist a clear view on the needed attitude and behaviour of council members, board members and civil servants in citizen engagement. According to them, to engage citizens means being facilitative, listening, proactive, open, curious and willing to implement new methods. The actors state that discussing the implications of citizen engagement for their role, contributed to the creation of a shared understanding of each other's role during citizen engagement.

In the municipality of IJsselstein the role of the municipal actors in citizen engagement is still ambiguous. The interviews reveal that due to a recent merger and outsourcing of tasks, the municipality had become both owner and purchaser of these tasks. This change had an influence on how citizen engagement is organised and the roles of those who accomplish it. It is suggested that council members, board members and civil servants need to focus on core tasks, outcomes and efficiency. At the same time they need to let go, steer on main lines and have effective conversations. However, it is not pointed out who exactly needs to display certain behaviour, causing the municipality to search for a well-defined perspective on their role in relation to citizen engagement.

Similarly, the interviews in the municipality of Ermelo reveal that municipal actors know that a different role is required to organise effective citizen engagement, but still speculate about an exact definition of this. Civil servants mainly emphasise the current role, which is defined as active and searching for a conversation, whereas council and board members emphasise the desired role, which is defined as open, listening and actively going to the civil society. As a result the municipality consciously tries to bridge the differences in role interpretation and searches for a clear direction in definition.

Different to the other municipalities, the role of each municipal actor during citizen engagement in the municipality of Ede remains unclear. The interviews reveal that municipal actors have only ideas about what these roles should be. Civil servants in particular, want clarity in attitude and behaviour, whereas council and board members want clarity in processes and structure and promote behaviour that is in line with this. In order to organise proper citizen engagement, the municipality wishes to have guidance and direction concerning these roles and searches for alignment among the different views that exist between municipal actors.

Last, interviews with civil society members in all municipalities reveal that they agree with the aforementioned changes. They acknowledge that the municipalities examined perform various attempts to involve civil society by initiating participation. They also recognise that it is important to keep civil society actively

involved. Achieving this necessitates a change in attitude and behaviour of the entire municipality.

Considering this, citizen engagement seems to necessitate a change in roles, whereby some municipalities have a clear perspective on this between their actors and other municipalities still search for it. Interesting to see is that the proposed attitude and behaviour seem to correspond well to a certain kind of public leadership, namely transformational leadership (B hn reanu 2011; Basss 2010). Transformational leaders are characterised as leaders who engage with and listen carefully to their followers to create solutions for problems (Bass 2010; House and Howell 1992). Although the findings suggest that this leadership style is identified as important to organise citizen engagement, it also shows that this leadership is not always defined or self-evident. It seems that also other leadership styles are visible, which is disclosed by the other behavioural characteristics that are stated during the interviews and the search for clear roles in some of the examined municipalities. As such, defining the roles of municipal actors comes with some challenges for public managers. With the attention on citizen engagement, it is expected from public leaders that they focus on the external environment to lead collaboration between private and public stakeholders to discover new solutions (Grotens *et al.* 2018), while the findings indicate that this is not so clear in practice. This observation brings us to the challenges encountered in these municipalities.

Challenges

The interviews reveal various challenges the municipalities face while organising citizen engagement. Table 3 reveals that the challenges the municipality of Zeist experiences slightly differ from the challenges in the municipalities of IJsselstein, Ermelo and Ede. Whereas in the municipality of Zeist the challenges mainly relate to the external environment focused on developing new innovative methods to engage civil society, the challenges in the municipalities of IJsselstein, Ermelo and Ede mostly related to the internal organisation by focusing on clear processes, clear frameworks, clarification of motivation or creating a shared understanding about their functioning roles. A board member of IJsselstein confirms: '*The municipal organization has not been able yet to realize the participation society 100%, where the municipality thinks and acts from the residents itself this asks a change'.*

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

Citizen engagement offers a way to involve citizens and relevant actors in developing solutions for challenges that local governments face. In this article we explored experiences of Dutch municipalities in organising citizen engagement

Table 3: Challenges to citizen engagement

Municipality	Challenges
Zeist	• Develop innovative methods to involve the civil society; • Organising a good process of citizen engagement; • Coping with initiatives of the civil society.
IJsselstein	• Enhance connection between municipality and citizens by implementing different forms of engagement; • Formulate clear framework and roles according to which the municipality operates; • Clarify when and why (motive) citizens engage.
Ermelo	• Concretise and create shared understanding between municipal actors about their functioning roles; • Facilitate citizen engagement methods; • Coping with initiatives of the civil society.
Ede	• Create integral and clear direction between municipal actors regarding motivation, methods and roles in citizen engagement; • Develop clear competencies that suit the organisation of citizen engagement.

by understanding what works or does not work. Especially since the decentralisations, Dutch municipalities experience pressure to enhance citizen engagement. Despite the fact that the aspects motivation, methods and roles are indicated in helping to organise citizen engagement (cf. Fung 2007; Nabatchi and Amsler 2014), the findings show that this is not an easy task in practice. More specifically, it appears that there are differences in the actual realisation of these aspects, reflected in the way that municipalities give meaning to these aspects. We revealed that this can be clear or unclear as it is shown that some of the examined municipalities struggle more with this than others. In municipalities where there is clarity in motivation, there also seems to be clarity in methods and roles among municipal actors like councillors, aldermen and civil servants (e.g. the municipality of Zeist). Consequently, there seems to be a clearer way of organising citizen engagement and thereby also new possibilities to deploy further developments in the field of citizen engagement. In municipalities where this clarity is still absent, like in IJsselstein, Ermelo and Ede, a search within these municipalities develops focus on streamlining processes and clarifying these aspects to organise effective citizen engagement. Additionally, we also revealed that certain leadership styles were addressed for organising citizen engagement.

While it is far too early to conclude that clarity in these aspects contributes to implementing citizen engagement, it can be at least concluded that clarity plays a role. As suggested by Denhardt and Campbell (2006) and Sørensen and Torfing (2018), concrete and clear motivation, designs (methods) and leadership do help in sustaining citizen engagement, portraying the importance of clarity. As such, in

order to organise citizen engagement it is important for municipal actors to clarify such aspects before implementing them. Although, based on our research, it is not yet clear how the aspects motivation, methods and roles relate to each other. A possible direction might be that a clear motivation contributes to choosing a suitable working method and corresponding roles. Future research should show if this is the case and how this relationship reveals itself.

The results of this study are not without limitations. First, we used only four municipalities. As no other municipalities were available at the time, it makes it difficult to generalise the findings. In addition to that, we only examined municipalities in the Netherlands, which makes it difficult to generalise the findings to other countries. It would be worthwhile to expand the study to other municipalities as well as to other countries to find more explanations and patterns. Second, the examined municipalities are positioned in a country in which the conditions for citizen engagement are favourable. Future research should therefore also address municipalities who have to organise citizen engagement under unfavourable conditions to examine to which extent clarity in motivation, methods and roles matter. The third and final limitation has to do with the fact that citizen engagement is a broad subject and is often portrayed as a strategy to tackle challenges on various domains like decreasing trust, urban development or cut-downs. Although it was beyond the scope of current research, future research will have to prove if citizen engagement is indeed a strategy for these challenges. Nevertheless, this explorative study gives us insight on what works and does not work in organising citizen engagement in Dutch municipalities. This study is therefore a next step in understanding effective organisation of citizen engagement in local governments.

NOTE

1   The civil society consists of citizens, private organisations and civil society organisations.

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AUTHOR'S CONTACT DETAILS

Vinitha Siebers MSc
PhD-Student
Het Zijlstra Center for Public Control, Governance and Leadership,
School of Business and Economics
Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam
De Boelelaan 1105
1081 HV
Amsterdam
Tel: +31 (0)20 59 84172
Email: **v.m.siebers@vu.nl**

The Legal Framework for the Management of Public Finances in Uganda

Key Management Challenges

T Muzaale*
Mbarara University of Science and Technology
Uganda

C J Auriacombe
School of Public Management, Governance and Public Policy
University of Johannesburg

ABSTRACT

A well-designed, democratically oriented legal framework provides a clear understanding of how public financial management should be applied in the public sector. It outlines key deliverables, such as the reasonable and equitable allocation of finances, accountability, transparency, consensus-oriented participation, equity, efficiency and a focus on responding to public needs. However, when financial resources are not applied productively, it is to the detriment of a country's sustainable economic growth, productivity and prosperity. While public financial management plays a key role in all government operations, there is limited literature on the role and implication of legal frameworks within this paradigm. In a bid to add to the empirical body of knowledge on this key topic, this article focuses on the legal framework that underlies public financial management in Uganda. More specifically, it examines the link between the country's legal framework and public financial management, as well as public institutions' compliance with specific laws and regulations. The methodological approach to the study included a triangulation of both qualitative and quantitative research. Primary data was gathered through interviews with Members of Parliament. Desktop research was used to gain a deeper empirical understanding of policies' influence on public finance management.

INTRODUCTION

Public financial mismanagement is a complex social phenomenon. The motivation to engage in corrupt behaviour can be seen on a micro-, meso, and macro-level of government (Killick 2013:19). Likewise, the mismanagement of public finances has several implications from an economic, societal development, institutional and judicial perspective. It weakens policy formulation and implementation, undermines quality public service delivery, causes unnecessary fiscal pressure and leads to broad-scale public distrust in government (Bjuremalm 2012:31).

In the past, research on public financial mismanagement was limited to the fields of Sociology, Political Science, History and Criminal Law. Its implications only started to capture the attention of researchers in the field of Economics in the 1980s. With the increasing quality and availability of data, empirical research on public financial mismanagement has helped to generate better targeted and more effective anticorruption policy measures (Lonti and Woods 2008:12). In line with this, the current study hopes to provide insight into the link between a well-implemented legal framework and sound public financial management.

BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE TO THE STUDY

Modern democratic governments derive their legitimacy from the citizens they serve (Rakner, Mukubvu, Ngwira, Smiddy and Schneider 2004:11). These governments primarily focus on good governance (Rakner *et al.* 2004:11; Lonti and Woods 2008:11). Ideally, there should be a strong focus on sensitivity and responsiveness to collective public needs (Lledo, Schneider and Moore 2004:78). Responsiveness denotes that institutions and processes aim to serve all stakeholders, while good governance focus on serving stakeholders within a reasonable timeframe (Gibbins 2014:56).

In a democratic society, efficient public financial management should be a participatory process (Kasozi 2010:56), as it fosters transparency and accountability within government institutions (Killick 2013:19). Lonti and Woods (2008:12) state that democracy within a public financial management context is both participatory and representative. In a participatory democracy, citizens are involved in decisions on issues that influence them directly, including financial matters (Rakner *et al.* 2014:17).

The Greek philosopher, Aristotle, first introduced the concept of participatory democracy to his home country (Rakner *et al.* 2014:17). He believed that a democratic government could not make decisions on behalf of its citizens (Pagano and Hoene 2006:71; Lonti and Woods 2008:32). The philosopher stated that free men (thus, excluding slaves and women) should participate in public meetings on

matters concerning the governing and administration of their cities (Erasto 2015:78; Bjuremalm 2012:31). However, due to the nature of participatory democracy, it only is suitable for small local communities (Lonti and Woods 2008:12).

According to Kivumbi (2013:9), taxpayers' fundamental right to participate directly in governments' financial decisions can be traced to the *Magna Carta Liberatum* (Medieval Latin for *The Great Charter of Liberties*), which was signed by King John of England on 15 June 1215. Today, the *Magna Carta* serves as the cornerstone of Western democracy (Lonti and Woods 2008:16). According to Gibbins (2014:64), it granted taxpayers and elected representatives in Parliament authority over public financial matters and tax-collection methods (Gibbins 2014:64).

Killick (2013:29) states that the burden of taxation must be shared fairly; revenue raised nationally must be shared equitably between central and local government; and expenditure must be directed towards the country's development. In line with this, Newberry and Pallot (2014:22) argue that special provision must be made for marginalised groups and regions, while the burdens and benefits of resource usage must be shared equitably between present and future generations. Thus, public funds must be used transparently, prudently, economically and effectively.

A key question in terms of public financial management is whether there is an available framework to demarcate possible theoretical approaches. Moreover, which aspects should be considered to structure a comprehensive response? Chandan-Kumar (2015:44) notes that countries have different legal systems and therefore their anti-bribery laws are not the same. While certain acts are viewed as bribery and subject to legal punishment in some countries, these acts are acceptable in other countries (Tanzi and Hamid 1997:23).

Legal systems also differ in the treatment of the person who offers the bribe and the person who accepts the bribe. In an asymmetric liability regime, the person who offers the bribe is punished less severely than the person who accepts the bribe (Chandan-Kumar 2015:11). Countries that follow this approach include China, Japan and Russia (Newberry and Pallot 2014:37). In a symmetric liability regime, the legal system holds the person who offers and receives the bribe equally culpable. Countries that follow this approach include Germany, India, the United Kingdom (UK) and the United States (US) (Chandan-Kumar 2015:22).

Deininger and Jevir (2014:22) proposed that India should implement asymmetric liability for 'harassment bribes', where a person is forced to pay a bribe to receive a service to which he/she is entitled. The authors argued that this would help curtail bribery, since the bribe giver would have a greater incentive to report the incident as he/she would no longer be subject to legal prosecution. However, critics argued that replacing symmetric liability with asymmetric liability might

not have the intended results. It was argued that it could have the opposite effect where laws were weakly enforced. Their proposal Deininger and Jevir (2014:22) was also criticised on the grounds that it could promote unethical behaviour and make bribe-giving an acceptable norm.

The enforcement of anti-corruption legislation requires an efficient, predictable and accountable judiciary system (Basheka, Tumutegyereize and Agaba 2011:11). However, the reform and modernisation of judicial systems are relatively new to public financial management (Moak and Hillhouse 2014:79). As such, there is much to learn about the most effective judicial reform approaches and how to link judicial reform to anti-corruption strategies (Moak and Hillhouse 2014:80). Naluwairo (2013:34) argues that the key to anti-corruption efforts is an independent judiciary system with the power to enforce its rulings without government interference. All developed countries and several developing countries rely on the judiciary to hold the executive accountable under the law and to interpret and enforce the constitution (regardless of the relationship between the judiciary, legislature and the executive) (Newberry and Pallot 2014:82).

The judiciary cannot be effective if its decisions are not enforced. Thus, other branches of government must provide consent and the resources needed to ensure that laws are enforced. In this regard the structure, functions, interrelationships and fiscal powers of the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government should be clearly specified. Relationships between the government and public corporations should be based on clear arrangements. In a similar vein, the government's relationships with the private sector should have well-defined rules and procedures.

CONCEPTUALISING PUBLIC FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT

Public financial management is not limited to financial legislation, regulations, theoretical and philosophical discourse (Hodges, Tibana and Roberto 2010:88; Andrews 2012:25; Allen, Schiavo-Campo and Garrity 2014:91). It underlies all government activities and covers the processes and institutional arrangements (stakeholder roles and responsibilities) involved in the planning, budgeting, management and reporting of both financial and non-financial public sector resources (Killick 2013:45). As such, public financial management encompasses the mobilisation of revenue, the allocation of these funds to various activities, expenditure and accounting for spent funds (Lonti and Woods 2008:39).

Hendrick (2011:17) describes sound public financial management as collecting sufficient resources from the economy in an appropriate manner, along with allocating and using of these resources efficiently and effectively. On a practical day-to-day basis, a well-implemented public financial management system

includes three essential elements, namely transparency, accountability and equality (Gibbins 2014:61):

- **Transparency:** Transparency is built on the free flow of information. Information should be freely available and directly accessible to those who will be affected by decisions and their enforcement (Okello 2012:45). Decision-making and implementation should be done in a transparent manner (Brooke 2013:43). Furthermore, sufficient information should be provided in easily understandable forms and the media (Andrews 2006:68). Thus, citizens should have access to information relating to governmental, political and economic activities and decisions that affect their lives (Kasozi 2010:44).

- **Accountability:** Who is accountable to whom depends on whether decisions or actions are internal or external to an organisation or institution (Kasozi 2010:44). In general, an organisation or an institution is accountable to those who will be affected by its decisions or actions (Gibbins 2014:45). For example, the state is held accountable for its choices and actions by both its people and its elected bodies (Gibbins 2014:44). Here, accountability cannot be enforced without transparency and the rule of law.

- **Equality:** Citizens should be treated equally under the law and have a certain degree of equal political participation in terms of their own governance (Andrews 2006:67). Participation is built on freedom of association and speech, as well as the right to participate constructively in financial management matters (Kivumbi 2013:32). According to Drummond (2015:11), participation by both men and women plays a key role in sound public financial management. To succeed, participation needs to be informed and organised – freedom of association and expression, as well as organised civil society should be present (Kivumbi 2013:34). As such, all citizens should have a voice in decision-making, either directly or through legitimate intermediate institutions that represent their interests (Drummond 2015:13). Within this context, Auriacombe (2015:131) warns against 'ratification', where citizens or their representatives have the false impression that they form part of the decision-making process.

PUBLIC FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT IN UGANDA

After African countries' independence from colonial rule, public financial management primarily focused on achieving greater efficiency within government entities (Kasozi 2010:33). As such, the Ugandan Government implemented the following sound legislative framework to regulate public financial management: The Constitution of Uganda, 1995; the Anti-Corruption Act, 2009 (Act No. 6 of 2009); the Inspectorate of Government Act, 2002; the Local Governments (Amendment)

Act, 2015 (Act No. 16 of 2015); and the Public Procurement Disposal of Public Assets Act, 2003 (Act No. 1 of 2003) (Okello 2012:76). Furthermore, the Office of the Auditor-General, the Public Accounts Committee and the Inspectorate of Government were established to control and manage public finances.

Despite these systems, processes and structures, Gibbins (2014:57) states that the Ugandan Public Service is characterised by widespread corruption. Muzaale (2014:23) concurs, adding that a number of gaps have been identified in the management of public finances. The public sector has been involved in several financial malpractice cases, especially regarding fund embezzlement and misappropriation (World Bank Report 2009; World Bank Report 2012). According to the Inspector-General of Government's Annual Performance Report (2014), numerous public official-run syndicates have misappropriated public funds without due punishment.

The Office of the Auditor-General's Report (2012) revealed that there were an estimated 7 600 ghost workers on public sector entities' payrolls. The Report revealed that the scheme was made possible by a collusive agreement between officials within the Ministries of Public Service and Finance (Office of the Auditor-General's Report 2012). The Director of Public Prosecution's Annual Performance Report (Office of the Auditor-General's Report 2012) stated that, of the more than 50 billion Ugandan shillings that were misappropriated in the Prime Minister's Office between 2009 and 2011, only 240 million Ugandan shillings had been refunded.

While citizens view corruption as a growing problem, there seems to be a lack of political will to implement the necessary reforms to curtail the problem (Kasozi 2010:76). Furthermore, the World Bank's Annual Africa Development Indicators Report (2012:67), indicated that broad-scale financial mismanagement, along with a lack of accountability has harmed the country's relationship with several international donours, including Ireland, Denmark, Norway and the UK.

To date, the institutions that are responsible for public financial management have failed to perform their functions, as mandated by Article 225 of the Constitution of Uganda, 1995. Undeniably, the ineffective and non-transparent implementation of public fiscal management systems are one of the greatest obstacles to the country's economic development, as it threatens both access to, and the quality of, public services (Kasozi 2010:66; Kivumbi 2013:81).

EMPIRICAL FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

This section presents the empirical findings of the current research and analyses existing approaches to facilitate sound public financial management and effective governance to combat financial corruption in Uganda. In line with this,

the legal framework and unethical public financial management practices will be investigated.

Compliance with laws

As democratic institutions, governments need to build trust within society. This can only be done by creating a culture of transparency, with frequent reporting on initiatives to develop communities, stimulate economic growth and deal with political unrest (Berke and Kartez 1995:45; Beder 2002:55). As such there needs to be a great degree of political will and fiscal control within all spheres of government.

Muzaale (2014:34) notes that, although Uganda has several public financial management laws in place, there is a low level of compliance in the public service. This undermines the effective management of public finances (Muzaale 2014:34). Kivumbi (2013:21) notes that the handful of laws that are enforced are those known to the general public. However, most public agencies do not inform the general public of existing laws. This limits the enforcement of the financial management laws in many public agencies (Kivumbi 2013:21).

Local governments have the key task of ensuring quality service delivery to citizens. The Auditor General's Report to Parliament (2013) cites that Regulation 44(1) of the Local Government Financial and Accounting Regulations, 2007, requires that: "The Chief Executive shall appoint vote controllers, every year after the approval of the Budget Estimates, who may be the Head of a Department or Section or Unit responsible for the votes within the approved estimates of the department or Section and ensure that expenditure is not incurred in excess of provisions authorised in the approved estimates, or as may be amended by properly authorised virement, reallocation and supplementary estimates". However, the Report indicated that local governments have failed to enforce laws and statutes regulating public financial management (Auditor-General's Report to Parliament 2013). Likewise, most respondents agreed that local governments have not honoured regulations relating to financial management.

According to Naluwairo (2013:54), local governments had the highest number of cases where civil servants failed to abide by financial and accounting regulations. In line with this, the opinion leaders who were interviewed during the current research confirmed the gross violation of financial and accounting regulations within local governments. Four interviewees from the Public Accounts Committee stated that should the trend continue, many high-ranking civil servants within local government could face possible prosecution should they appear before the Parliament of Uganda's Local Government's Public Accounts Committee.

Paragraph 5.6.3(2) of the Local Governments' Financial and Accounting Manual (2007), states that each local government's salaries subsection and

personnel officer should ensure that all facts pertaining to the payroll is correct. According to Reports examined by Parliament's Public Accounts Committee (2014), certain local governments failed to apply these financial management regulations. A review of council records in the Moyo District revealed that 19 district staff members had received higher salaries than their pay grade in March 2014. This is also contrary to Section 43(2) of Local Governments Financial and Accounting Regulations, 2007,

In 2012, the Public Procurement and Disposal of Assets Authority issued amendments to the Public Procurement and Disposal of Public Assets Act, 2003, which introduced the 'force account mechanism' to implement public works by procuring and disposing entities. Section 4.3(e) requires that the project supervisor issue both project performance and completion certificates (Public Procurement and Disposal of Assets Authority Circular No. 3 of 2012). The Parliament's Public Accounts Committee Reports (2014) stated that payment for various projects were made without performance and completion certificates, as required by the above regulations. For example, in the Bundibugyo District, 4.2 million Ugandan shillings was paid for various projects without the required performance and completion certificates (Parliament's Public Accounts Committee Report 2014).

Enforcement of laws

The interviews and the literature review revealed that, while anti-corruption agencies has tried to tighten their legal reins to curb financial mismanagement, arrests, prosecutions and reprimands remain limited. During one of the interviews carried out at the Parliament of Uganda (15 November 2015), a Member of Parliament noted that, "We have laws, but the enforcement of the laws has been very poor. The perpetrators who have been implicated and tried under the Anti-Corruption Act, 2009, are always released early". The interviewee's statement highlights that public finances have been managed poorly, given the weak enforcement of existing laws.

Okello (2012:15) points out that the government has not fully supported the activities of law-enforcing agencies such as the Police, the Office of the Auditor-General, and the Public Accounts Committee. In line with this, the Inspectorate of Government Report (2014) states that political interference has hampered its anti-corruption endeavours. The Report noted that suspects with political connections received bail or were released before they received judgment. Kivumbi (2013:59) points to the case where four ministers who were implicated in the Global Fund scandal spent less than two weeks in prison, since the Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions had lost interest in the case.

Muzaale (2014:42) states that criminal investigations into the recovery of public resources and the prosecution of offenders are ineffective. For example, during the course of investigations, investigating officers from the Criminal Investigation

(CID) and officials from the Inspector-General were often bribed. As a result, of-fenders are either acquitted due to a lack of evidence or received light sentences (Anti-Corruption Coalition Uganda Report 2015).

A case in point is a pension scheme scandal that involved four officials from the Ministry of Public Service who were accused of embezzling 165 billion Ugandan shillings. A study by Okalany (2015:48) points out that, during the in-vestigation into the pension scam, CID officers failed to find sufficient evidence against the four suspects. As a result, state attorneys initially struggled to find suf-ficient evidence to build a case against the suspected offenders. It was later found that the investigating officers had been bribed (Okalany 2015:48) and the officials were later prosecuted and sentenced.

Corruption is often blamed on the low wages paid to public servants (Naluwairo 2013:36). Mazzara (2006:33) notes that African governments' failure to address sal-ary inequalities in the public sector has left public servants vulnerable to corrupt practices.

Procurement regulations

In Uganda, procurement is one of the government sectors most vulnerable to cor-ruption (Basheka, Oluka and Tumutegyereize 2012:34). Regulation 34(7) of the Local Governments Public Procurement and Disposal of Assets Regulations, 2006, states that only pre-qualified service providers can bid for government tenders. However, in 2013, the Koboko District contravened the aforementioned regulations, by allowing service providers that had not qualified to bid for tenders in the district. Muzaale (2014:53) notes that this state of affairs pointed to poor task delivery and a failure to adhere to legal regulations pertaining to public financial management.

Section 84(1) of the Local Governments Public Procurement and Disposal of Assets Regulations, 2006, states that a Procurement and Disposal Unit (PDU) must submit a recommendation for awarding a contract to the Contracts' Committee af-ter the evaluation process has been completed. The Office of the Auditor-General's Reports for 2014/15 and 2015/16, stated that 52 out of 105 local governments had violated these provisions. Regulation 118(8) of the Local Government's Public Procurement and Disposal of Public Assets Regulations, 2003, states that micro-procurements must be reported to the Contracts Committee on a monthly basis. Despite this, the Office of the Auditor-General's Reports for 2014/15 and 2015/16 highlighted that 33 local governments had failed to report micro-procurements.

Financial regulations

Financial control is necessary to maintain acceptable levels of accountability with-in government. It helps ensure that public funds are not misappropriated and that

financial transactions are recorded transparently (Majam and Du Toit 2017:66). According to Okello (2012:49), a failure to follow financial control procedures has resulted in increased deviations between budgeted and actual expenditure, which led to excess expenditure. In a similar vein, the Annual Performance Report by the Auditor-General (2014/2015) revealed several deviations between planned and actual expenditure within different public entities, as highlighted in Table 1.

Table 1: Budgetary deviations in public entities (actual and excess)

No.	Entity	Budgeted	Actual	Excess
1	Nakivubo War Memorial Stadium	291,270,822	648,483,941	357,213,119
2	National Drug Authority	86,282,950	182,564,435	96,281,485
3	National Council for Children	392,714,000	516,763,360	124,049,360
4	Uganda National Cultural Centre	1,348,427,874	1,891,210,057	542,782,183
5	National Youth Council	304,974,000	531,484,920	226,510,920
6	National Medical Stores	9,934,672,373	11,122,590,424	1,187,918,051
7	Uganda Wildlife Training Institute	438,913,616	654,429,286	212,515,670
	Total	12,797,255,635	15,547,526,423	2,747,270,788

Source: (Auditor-General's Annual Performance Report for the Financial Year 2014/2015)

Moak and Hillhouse (2014) warns that when funds are not accounted for, it could lead to the falsification of documents and financial losses. Muzaale (2014:53) agrees, adding that poor fiscal accountability can often be traced back to accounting officers, who fail to enforce internal control measures. The Auditor-General's Annual Performance Report (2013/2014) noted that the most common areas of non-compliance were:
- no consolidated procurement plans;
- no pre-qualified list of suppliers;
- a failure to maintain procurement records;
- the application of inappropriate procurement methods (less competition with a risk of higher costs); and
- a lack of procurement officers.

Public entities can only be regulated when there is increased oversight and compliance with legislation. According to Ochieng (2016:60), the Anti-Corruption Act, 2009, provides for the identification and prosecution of corrupt government structures and civil servants. However, the current status quo is that law-enforcement agencies are often equally corrupt. According to the 2005 Uganda Bribery

Index (Transparency International 2005), the Police Force is the most corrupt agency in the Ugandan Government.

Policy formulation and implementation

The empirical findings provided a negative perception of the role key state organs played in enforcing legislation and policies pertaining to public financial management. The interviews clearly highlighted that the implementation of legislation and policies remained a fundamental challenge. Furthermore, the opinion leaders that were interviewed expressed their dissatisfaction with public institutions' lack of knowledge regarding public financial management policies.

Respondents provided mixed responses on the effectiveness of existing policies. Some felt that the policies would only be effective once there was widescale public awareness. In line with this, interviewees from the Public Accounts Committee highlighted that more funds needed to be allocated towards awareness-raising campaigns on existing policies. In a similar vein, Ochieng (2016:42) notes that, while there are several useful policies in place, the government has not created the needed public awareness and understanding to ensure effective implementation.

Table 2: Summary of qualitative findings (compliance with the legal framework)

Themes	Emerging issues
Compliance with laws	• Laws were not complied with, which undermines the effective and transparent implementation of public financial management. • Local governments had the highest number of non-compliance cases.
Enforcement of laws	Gaps in law enforcement were attributed to: • inadequate budget allocations; • lack of political will; and • political interference.
Policy formulation and implementation	Existing policies have not been publicised and implemented effectively.
Financial regulations	There were many cases of: • funds that were unaccounted for; and • unreturned interest earned.
Procurement regulations	Reported cases included a lack of: • consolidated procurement plans; • documentation on pre-qualified suppliers; • a failure to maintain procurement records; and • the application of inappropriate procurement methods (less competition with a risk of higher costs); and • a lack of procurement officers.

Source: (Authors' Own Primary Data 2016)

QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS

The section below presents the findings related to the following hypothesis: 'The legal framework influences public financial management'. The hypothesis was tested using Regression Analysis and Analysis of Variance (ANOVA), based on the following conceptual frameworks: Laws, policies and regulations.

Table 3: Regression analysis of the legal framework's influence on public financial management in Uganda

	Summary Output					
	Regression Statistics					
	R	.697				
	R-square	.485				
	Adjusted R-square	.401				
	Standard Error	.50252				
	ANOVA					
		Sum of square	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig
1	Regression	3 969.98	1	3969.9	42.688	0.03
	Residual	7 345.34	118	93.011		
	Total	11315.3	119			
Step	**Variable**	**B**	**SE**	**Beta**	**T**	**Sig**
1	Constant	60.712	.411		12.992	0.00
	Legal Framework	.708	.110	.697	5.021	0.03

Source: (Authors' Own Primary Data 2016)

Table 3 indicates an r-value (coefficient) of .697 ('r' denotes the correlation between the predicted and observed management of public finances). Based on the strong correlation, the model presents an accurate indication of public financial management in Uganda.

The r-square value (coefficient of determination) of 0.485 indicates to which extent the legal framework (independent variable) could explain the management of public finances (dependent variable). Based on the r-square value of .485, the legal framework predicted/explained the variance in public financial management by 48.5%. Thus, the legal framework had a statistically significant influence on public financial management.

Variances in the legal framework's influence on public finances management

- The error degree of freedom was 119–1 = 118 (the df total minus the df model).
- The total degree of freedom for Table 3 was 119, as four observations had missing data and were not included in the analysis. (Each mean square was calculated by dividing the sum of square by its degrees of freedom.)
- The f-statistic was calculated by dividing the mean square (regression) by the mean square (residual) (3969.688/93.011 = 42.688).
- The full model was statistically significant (f = .42.688, df = 119, 1, sig. = .03).
- Given the strength of the correlation, the model was statistically significant (p = 0.03 < .05)

The coefficient of the legal framework and public financial management

As per the SPSS output generated above, Y = 60.712 + .708 the equation (Y = β0 + β1X1 + β2X2 + β3X3 + β4X4+ ε). Overall, the legal framework affected the management of public finances (beta = .697). The average class size (legal framework, b = .697) was marginally significant (p = 0.03), while the positive coefficient indicated that larger class sizes were related to the management of public finances.

Beta coefficients allow one to compare the relative strengths of predictors. In this case, they reflect the amount of public financial management units that increase for a single unit increase in each predictor (legal framework). (A beta coefficient is statistically significant if its p-value is less than 0.05).

Based on the above regression equation, taking all factors into account (adoption of the legal framework) at a constant of zero, effective financial management equaled 60.712. Taking all other independent variables at zero, a unit increase in the legal framework scores led to a 0.708 increase. The coefficient of the legal framework (b =.697, p = 0.03) was positive. Thus, the greater the legal framework, the greater the management of public finances. As such, there was a statistically significant relationship between the legal framework and the management of public finances. The t-test for the legal framework equaled 5.021, which was also statistically significant.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This article attempted to determine whether the Ugandan Government's legal framework has facilitated quality public financial management in the country. Although sound financial management remains a priority that falls within the

ambit of national and the local government, the research results revealed a lack of accountability.

The analysis of available literature on the topic highlighted that certain public entities had failed to apply efficient and effective public financial management due to legislative gaps and poor law enforcement. Most respondents noted that several challenges existed regarding public financial management in public entities. This was in line with reports by Uganda's Auditor-General, Public Procurement and Disposal of Assets Committee and Public Accounts Committee that pointed to gross financial irregularities.

Despite the above challenges in the management of state funds, respondents stated that existing laws could render positive results through proper enforcement. The aforementioned statements were supported by the quantitative findings of the current research, which reflected a strong correlation between the implementation of a legal framework and the management of public finances.

Based on the research results, it is recommended that the Ugandan Government (and governments in general) refine laws on a continuous basis to ensure that no loopholes exist. Moreover, regulations pertaining to the planning, financial management, accounting, and auditing of public finances should be re-evaluated. Notably, there is a need for legislation to protect whistleblowers and provide incentives to expose unethical acts within the public sector. Within a democracy, citizens should play a key role in public financial management. As such, legislation should be ratified to ensure that the country's people are informed about laws and policies. Such legislation should also facilitate the release of unclassified information by government departments and agencies on request.

NOTE

* T Muzaale is a Research Associate in the School of Public Management, Governance and Public Policy at the University of Johannesburg, South Africa.

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AUTHORS' CONTACT DETAILS

Dr Tonny Muzaale, PhD
Research Associate
School of Public Management, Governance
and Public Policy
College of Business and Economics
University of Johannesburg
Tel.: +25 6782321119
Email: muzaale.tonny04@gmail.com

Prof C J Auriacombe
Director: School of Public Management,
Governance and Public Policy
University of Johannesburg
P O BOX 524
University of Johannesburg
Auckland Park
2006
Email: christellea@uj.ac.za
Tel: +27 115592385

The Multidimensional Regional Economic Development Index (MREDI) Applied in the North-West Province

A Rural Regional Application

J J de Jongh*
Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences, TRADE research entity
North-West University

D F Meyer
Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences, TRADE research entity
North-West University

ABSTRACT

Highly urbanised regions, also known as leading regions, have been responsible for global growth over the last few decades, while on the other hand, rural regions also known as lagging regions, have been stagnating. The important role of regions for development, has made the research field of regional economic development of major significance within the research field of development economics. Economic development researchers and practitioners are continuously investigating improved methodologies and tools to measure and quantify progress in regional economic development. Single and limited composite indices, such as the Human Development Index (HDI) have been used but with limited success in the past as these types of indexes do not capture all aspects of development, leaving a gap for the development of multidimensional measurement indexes. The primary objective of this study was therefore to apply the multidimensional regional development index (MREDI) as developed by the authors in the North-West province as a rural regional analysis from 1998 to 2018. The methodology utilised included a comprehensive literature review and the use of secondary data in the application of MREDI. The index was applied to six of the rural municipal regions in the North-West Province in South Africa. Interesting findings and results emanated from the index. The

rural regions had different rates of improvement in the index or economic development, with the Mahikeng region showing the highest rate of improvement, although the Rustenburg region achieved the highest index. The analysis provides detailed trends and changes of the socio-economic strengths and weaknesses of rural regions in the province. This successful application of MREDI on rural regions confirms its usefulness of economic development measurement in any region and allows for comprehensive assessment and comparisons of regions.

INTRODUCTION

The emergence and significance of regional development in predicting global development has increased dramatically over the last decade (Jovovic *et al.* 2017:259). While the world has progressively become more connected through the forces of globalisation, the importance of developmental progress on the local level has become one of the leading concerns for national policymakers. This has largely come as a result of the mounting challenges countries and their state organs face in light of a more connected world (Gygli *et al.* 2019:4). While globalisation was first thought to bring with it various advantages including greater efficiency in production practices, the eradication of geographical borders and enhanced flow of information; many critics have come to consider the negative effects of the process (Potrafke 2018:7). In fact, various acknowledgements have been made that the associated advantages of the process have not been realised by all, with many countries exposed to significant uncertainty and volatility (Amavilah *et al.* 2017). From this point of view, globalisation has posed several implications for countries and their developmental endeavours. Rodrik (2018:9) explains that this especially holds true for countries in their novel stages of development where political and institutional environments are characterised with a large degree of instability. In fact, globalisation in this regard has caused concerns regarding an increased occurrence of resource concentration and market turbulence that has inadvertently raised the risk of the marginalisation from both an economic and social perspective for many regions (Bogovi & egar 2015:63).

Therefore, countries and regions across the globe have had to strategise in order to retain their local and national identities (Dauth & Suedekum 2015:1005). Ironically from this point of view, although considered to bring about a more integrated and borderless world economy, the process has reiterated the importance ascribed to local and regional communities and their development objectives (Ascani *et al.* 2012:5). This has particularly been evident in more modern times

with growing cognisance of the importance of these regions in promoting well-being at a national level (Kahika & Karyeija 2017:13). Evidence surrounding this phenomenon has become increasingly evident across the globe where dense regional agglomerations of economic activity have acted as primary drivers of social and economic well-being. Agyemang *et al.* (2017:71) have likewise supported these notions, attributing that increasing attention especially over the last two decades has been directed towards the establishment of major-city regions and large condensed urban areas. The latter has been characterised with a large degree of innovation and intrinsically complex and connected economic processes that have brought with it more than acceptable standards of living.

In light of the reinvigorated importance given to local and regional areas together with their associated multidimensionality, the assessment and subsequent analysis regarding the progress in their developmental objectives have been significantly convoluted (Paradowska 2017:19). Despite their multifaceted nature attempts have nonetheless been made in various regards with a variety of different measures applied to provide some insight into the matter. These have primarily included the use of indicators such as the HDI and the Weighted Index of Social Indicators. In their application, these indices have contributed to the understanding of various aspects of development, shedding light on the more holistic nature of this process (UNDP 1990:1). In fact, the use of these composite measures has been associated with the movement away from single denominators acknowledging the failure of viewing regional development as a simplistic concept (Hajduová *et al.* 2014:747). Nonetheless, despite the use of these composite measures, none has been without its own limitations and shortcomings (Schrott *et al.* 2015:5). It is based on these deficiencies that the study attempts to add to the underlying body of knowledge surrounding a more comprehensive understanding of the regional development process.

From this point of view, the primary objective of the study is to further test and implement the MREDI as developed by Meyer *et al.* (2016) and Meyer and De Jongh (2018). It does this by measuring and assessing the developmental dimensions within the North-West province of South Africa and its inherent municipal areas from 1998 to 2018 as a rural regional test for the index. This specific study area was chosen with the purpose to ascertain the economic and social progress the province has made since the transition to democracy. The area is considered to be only a moderate contributor to national output; however, its economic and social structure provides a unique environment when compared to the national perspective. In fact, it is largely considered a rural province with economic activity predominantly encompassed within primary sectors of agriculture and mining (Pisa *et al.* 2015:501). Based on this background, the area provides a somewhat complex foundation in which the viability of the multidimensional index can be

tested while also providing novel space in which the leading and lagging areas of the province can be identified; as well as a rural regional classification.

LITRATURE REVIEW

The advancement of living standards and the creation of an inclusive economic growth path has become among the leading policy objectives for most countries (UN 2018:3). However, the majority of countries, especially those in the developing world have been faced with a myriad of challenges in achieving this goal. Over the course of the last two decades increasing populations, widespread poverty, as well as worryingly high inequality levels, have all had various implications in the effort to improve the lives of those who need it most (WEF 2017:2). Even in the face of progressing economic activity, many have still come to face daunting socio-economic challenges which inadvertently have raised several debates surrounding the true meaning of economic well-being. From the earliest of views, classical protagonists such as Myrdal (1957) and Rostow (1959) predominantly viewed economic progress from purely quantitative perspectives. Higher levels of production and output from these perspectives were largely the result of the effective use of capital and labour and assumed to be shared by all. However, as time passed these conceptualisations have been somewhat augmented. Various ideological schools of thought have contributed to more advanced notions of economic progress. These views, although predominantly still enshrined within the quantitative belief have incorporated the significance of technological advancement and innovation in the process that has come to characterise more recent understandings surrounding these concepts (Ucak 2015:663).

While taking into consideration the significant contributions of these views and the framework they provided in understanding various economic occurrences their insight to what truly constitutes societal progress has faded moving into the 21st century (Ivkovi 2016:257). Assumptions surrounding the trickle-down effect of higher output and production have in fact been scrutinised by many (Qadri 2018:1). The onset of interconnected geographies and the emergence of increasingly complex cross-border economic interactions have meant that notions surrounding the unidimensional view of economic progress have largely fallen short (Constanza *et al.* 2009:7). In stark contrast, more modern conceptualisations have rather started recognising economic progress from a more holistic viewpoint. These ideological doctrines see the advancement of communities and regions alike on a multitude of factors, encompassing elements spanning over several dimensions (Milne 2017:553). These have included aspects revolving around the improvement of standards of living, increasing access to education and an

overarching focus on providing sustainable production practices that incorporate considerations for future consumption decisions (Kramer 2016:3).

Ascribing to these multidimensional views, understandings revolving around the development of communities and their economic systems have become centrally important especially over the last few years (Liu 2016:4). In comparison to the purely quantitative views, economic development is rather seen from more qualitative and multidimensional perspectives. Storank (2017:59) suggests that the process incorporates not only foci on the economic elements but likewise considers the advancement of communities and their underlying geographies regarding the social and cultural aspects. In this light regions and their associated developmental progress no longer ascribe to the casual nature of the exogenous environment but rather have incorporated a more bottom-up approach (Shannon & van Egeraat 2013:75). This approach in stark contrast to the beliefs of Perroux (1955:42) and Krugman (1979:471) advocates that as opposed to the exogenous nature of development regional prosperity it is largely driven by the endogenous elements inherent in societies. These elements include an array of aspects which among others correspond to the degree of social cohesion, environmental protection and considerations and decision-making of these regions for future generations.

While these augmentations have significantly advanced a more accurate understanding surrounding regional development it has likewise inferred various implications in the measurement thereof (Feldman & Lowe 2017:44). With contemporary conceptualisations progressing; so too have the developments in the indicators or measures used towards reflecting the inherent levels of development within regions. Earlier applications saw the adoption of single indicators that much like the original beliefs surrounding economic progress, attempted to capture the quantitative performance of regional systems. These even presently have adopted the use of assessing the performance of a country or region's gross national product (GNP) as well as gross domestic product (GDP) per capita. Nonetheless, despite their widespread use, these indicators arguably only present a limited overview on the development process and as such their applicability in this regard has been questioned by various academics across the globe (Giannetti *et al*. 2015:11). According to Hryhoruk *et al*. (2019:5), the concerns raised from this point view predominantly entail the misrepresentation especially regarding the more qualitative dimensions of the development process. This entails the failure of these single denominators to incorporate aspects reflecting the quality of life of communities that have now become deeply intertwined with modern views on regional development (Vanderleeuw & Sides 2016:661).

With this in mind, more recent approaches in measuring this process have applied the use of composite indices. These measures as defined by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (OECD 2008:3) represent

a combination of indicators that are selected based on specific models which attempt to provide a holistic view on complex constructs. Within the development discourse, a range of these measures has been applied towards the provision of a reliable assessment of the underlying economic and social performances of the regions and their communities. Among the more noticeable of these are the UN's (1990) HDI, the Weighted Index of Social Indicators (Estes 1997) as well as the Index of Sustainable Economic Welfare (Cobb *et al*. 1998). To date, these measures have been applied in a variety of inquiries and have provided significant insight into the nature of regional development specifically addressing dimensions of knowledge accumulation, quality of life and underlying health levels of societies (Seth & Villar 2017:4). Notwithstanding the significance of these measures, and their contribution to the subject field, various shortcomings surrounding their use have also been raised. Schrott *et al*. (2015:3) in fact explain that the construction of these indices has shown notable differences while selection of individual indicators has largely been based on subjective views. Moreover, Majerová (2012:1) suggests that although they comprise a combination of indicators, most if not all, still fail to measure all the domains associated with regional economic development.

These shortcomings have to some extent reflected the complexity associated in the provision of a reliable and accurate means of assessing both the social and economic prosperity of regions (Stanickova & Melecký 2018:232). Nonetheless comparatively these composite indices have proven quite effective in providing insight into these intricate relationships (Periši & Wagner 2015:207). Not only do they provide the advantage of encompassing large amounts of information through the use of various individual indicators but they likewise have the ability to retain the value of each of these included measures to ultimately provide a more multidimensional view in their application. Greco *et al*. (2018:2), however, have reiterated that caution should be exerted in their use and application if not correctly constructed. This pertains to the likelihood of providing misleading information that induces inaccurate reflections and the use of subjective weighting procedures that can contribute to misaligned policy agendas. In light of these risks, international bodies such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (2006) and the OECD (2008) have issued guidelines and criteria aimed to direct valuable designs of these measures. The advocated principles in this regard highlight that chosen indicators should be selected based on their reliability, availability and relevance (OECD 2008:45). Moreover, these indicators should be easily accessible and ensure the provision of the necessary cohesion towards constructing a viable composite measure.

Therefore assessing regional development in the South African context has proven significantly complex. Characterised by a somewhat controversial past, social dynamics and economic activity within the country have presented its own

unique evolution (Kamara 2017:99). This has been particularly evident in the construction of various indices attempting to capture some of the processes. Examples of these indices include the Everyday Quality of Life Index as developed by Higgs (2007:3), a Quality of Metropolitan Life Index (Naudé *et al.* 2009:319) as well as the Development Index constructed by the South African Audience Research Foundation (SAARF 2016). Most of these indices have been directed towards the measurement and comprehension of the nature of the micro-living conditions of individuals, assessing their ability to function within these conditions. Indices that have asserted their primary focus on measuring regional development within the country, however, have been limited. The most notable contribution in this regard has been the Gauteng City-Region Quality of Life Index (Greyling 2013). The index includes five dimensions; housing infrastructure levels, socio-economic well-being, social interactions, health and effectiveness and quality of governance. From these dimensions, the index primarily provides insight into the standards of living of individuals within the Gauteng province. Notwithstanding the importance of these indices, Greyling and Tregenna (2017:891) note that in their attempt to reflect related processes these indices differ significantly in their selection of indicators; partly showcasing the complexity associated with the task of assessing developmental progress within the South African context.

The difficulty in achieving this task has undisputedly come as a result of the country's complex geopolitical past. In fact, over the course of its history, South Africa has attributed its own unique and intricate development path differing significantly from countries on similar growth trajectories (Kamara 2017:101). While it has had to deal with a large extent of political instability, complex social dynamics and various systemic challenges that have instilled a continuous struggle in combatting high inequality levels, South Africa's economic composition across various dimensions has been eccentric. Among these, geographical location has played a significant role (Mahofa 2017:37). With nine different provinces across its landscape, various ambiguities across these regions from both social and economic perspectives are evident. For example, while the Gauteng province accounts for roughly 1.5% of the country's land area it contributes approximately a third of the national output; where economic and social environments are largely characterised as diversified and urbanised (StatsSA 2018). Contrastingly provinces in close proximity such as Mpumalanga and the North-West province are significantly larger; however, their economic systems are largely concentrated in primary sectors with significantly lower population densities (TIPS 2016:3). Based on these idiosyncratic characteristics, the study has the primary objective of further testing and applying the MREDI within the North-West province of South Africa. It does this with the purpose of ascertaining a broader view regarding regional development within economic and social contexts that are characterised as highly susceptible to broader economic fluctuations.

METHODOLOGY

This section discusses the methodology that was applied in conducting the inquiry and comprises three subsections. The first among these elaborates on the research design that was adopted while clearly clarifying the primary objective. This is followed by a discussion on the multidimensional index that was utilised during the analysis of the regional economic development levels within the North-West province. The four different sub-dimensions are explained together with scoring criteria utilised. Finally, the section discusses the weighting and classification system applied to ensure the identification of the different lagging and leading regions within the province.

Research objective and design

In undertaking the research, the primary objective of the study was to measure and determine the various regional economic development levels in various municipal areas within the North-West province of South Africa. The province, situated in the northern part of the country on the Botswana border, is largely considered a rural area (Pisa *et al.* 2015:501). Nonetheless, towards achieving the primary objective, the research design comprised both qualitative and quantitative elements. The qualitative element included an extensive literature review which provided the needed theoretical context and base in which the research was grounded. Thereafter, the quantitative part was completed through the use of secondary data obtained through the Global Insight (2019) database. The sample period covered a total of 20 years from 1998 to 2018. In analysing the data and determining the inherent regional development levels within the province, the MREDI developed by Meyer *et al.* (2016) was utilised. The focus on the North-West province was largely driven based on the intricate nature of the underlying areas' economic structures. While the majority of the country's economic activity is concentrated within the secondary and tertiary sectors, the province is highly dependent on the activity within the primary sector, specifically agriculture and mining (TIPS 2016:2). Moreover, the selected sample frame further assisted in ascertaining the progress regarding the improvement of regional development within the province since the country's transition to democracy.

The multidimensional regional economic development index (MREDI)

While various indices have been developed in an attempt to provide an adequate view of regional development, the MREDI employs a holistic approach in eliciting a comprehensive view on this process. It is constructed through the

use of four sub-dimensions which measure various socio-economic dimensions encapsulated within the development process. These sub-dimensions comprise 18 social and economic indicators which are categorised within a demographic, social development, economic and labour component. Indicators within each component, depending on their performance, are assigned a score from zero to five with higher scores associated with better outcomes (Meyer & De Jongh 2018). Subsequent to this, performances regarding each subcomponent are then aggregated in order to obtain a comprehensive measurement of the development process in the respective area.

Demographic sub-dimension

The first sub-dimension comprises the elements regarding the demographic structure and nature of the underlying regions. Inherent in the well-being of regions, demographic structure and population dynamics play significant roles and hold various monetary and social implications in the development process (Matuschewski *et al.* 2016:225). In measuring these dynamics, the index included four variables among which the population growth rate (%), population density (people per sq. km), household size (number of people in the household) and levels of urbanisation present within each municipal area were measured. The scoring criteria for each of these variables are shown in Table 1. As can be seen, population density and levels of urbanisation were positively correlated with the scoring criteria given that higher values in this regard infer better developmental characteristics (Narayan 2014:901). The scoring criteria applied to population growth rates as well as household size, however, were more intricate with both maximum and minimum threshold affecting the obtained measurements.

Table 1: Scoring criteria for the demographic sub-dimension of the MREDI

Index score	0	1	2	3	4	5
Population growth rate	< 0% and > 4%	0.0%–1.0%	1.1%–2.0%	2.1%–3.0%	3.1%–3.5%	3.6%–4.0%
Household size	> 6.0 and < 2.5	5.0–6.0	4.5–4.9	4.0–4.4	3.5–3.9	2.5–3.4
Population density	0–20	21–50	51–100	101–150	151–200	200+
Level of urbanization	0–30%	31–40%	41–50%	51–60%	61–70%	70%–

Social development sub-dimension

In line with the first sub-dimension, the second aimed to measure interregional social development levels. In assessing regional development, the social charac-teristics of any community are regarded as central elements not only in providing

adequate and acceptable standards of living but likewise ensuring good social cohesion (Kolev 2017:3). Factors such as the levels of education, crime, equality levels as well as the conditions in which many live, in this regard play a fundamental role in providing social environments that enable communities. Given this multifaceted association, seven indicators were used to construct the social development sub-dimension. As shown in Table 2, this included the HDI, literacy rates and an infrastructure index all which attributed a positive relationship with the applied scoring criteria. In contrast, the Gini-coefficient, poverty levels, percentage of the people living in informal housing as well as a crime index showed negative associations with the applied scoring criteria. Here, lower scores were assigned for higher levels given the inverse relationship between these elements and regional economic development (Bourguignon 1999:9).

Table 2: Scoring criteria for the social development sub-dimension of the MREDI

Index score	0	1	2	3	4	5
HDI	< 0.40	0.40–0.54	0.55–0.64	0.65–0.69	0.70–0.79	0.80–1.00
Gini coefficient	1.00–0.80	0.79–0.70	0.69–0.60	0.59–0.40	0.39–0.30	< 0.30
Poverty levels	60%+	51–60%	41–50%	31–40%	21–30%	0–20%
Literacy	< 60%	60–74%	75–84%	85–89%	90–94%	95–100%
Infrastructure index	< 60%	60–69%	70–79%	80–89%	90–94%	95–100%
% household in informal housing	> 30%	21–30%	16–20%	11–15%	6–10%	0–5%
Crime index	> 101	81–100	61–80	41–60	21–40	0–20

Labour sub-dimension

Arguably, one of the most important factors contributing to economic and social prosperity is well-functioning labour markets (De Jongh 2017:12). Here the employment of labour and the effective utilisation thereof hold significant value for communities and their well-being. In fact, having a large majority of the labour force in employment infers the successful absorption of human resources into economic processes and likewise the continual development of the skills levels in regions (Downes 2008:25). In addition to this, the more economically active populations are furthermore highly associated with safer living conditions (Bruce 2015:25). As a means of measuring the performance of areas in this regard, the labour sub-dimension comprises two indicators. These, as shown in Table 3, included the percentage of the population that were economically active as well as

the inherent unemployment levels. While the former is positively associated with the applied scoring criteria, higher unemployment levels attribute lower regional development scores.

Table 3: Scoring criteria for the labour sub-dimension of the MREDI

Index score	0	1	2	3	4	5
Economic active population	0–10%	11–20%	21–30%	31–40%	41–50%	50%
Unemployment	> 30%	26–30%	16–25%	11–15%	6–10%	0–5%

Economics sub-dimension

Finally, the fourth sub-dimension measures the underlying economic progress of regions. Although economic activity is not the sole determinant of developmental progress it does play a pivotal part in the advancement thereof (Haller 2012:66). Gnade *et al.* (2017:350) confirm that while higher economic growth and income levels provide monetary assistance, the associated linkages these factors have with the social advancement of communities are equally important. Based on this, the index in its attempt to measure underlying levels of economic activity included five indicators among which the GDP growth rate, trade surplus, household annual income and per capita income levels all attributed higher index scores for higher values. Contrastingly, the tress index (which seeks to measure economic diversification) attributed an inverse scoring mechanism given that lower scores signify higher levels regarding the diversification of economic activity. Table 4 below presents the scoring criteria of the economic sub-dimension highlighting the manner in which scores were awarded for each individual indicator.

Table 4: Scoring criteria for the economic sub-dimension of the MREDI

Index score	0	1	2	3	4	5
GDP growth rate	< 0.0%	0.1–1.0%	1.1–2.0%	2.1–3.0%	3.1–4.0%	4.0%
Trade surplus (R per capita)	< 0.00	0.00 – 500.00	501–1 000	1 001– 1 500	1 501– 2 000	2000+
Household annual income (R)	0–50 000	50 001– 100 000	100 001– 150 000	150 001– 200 000	200 001– 250 000	250 000+
GDP per capita (R)	0 – 20 000	21 000– 40 000	41 000– 60 000	61 000– 80 000	81 000– 100 000	100 000+
Tress Index	70+	61–70	51–60	41–50	21–40	0–20

Classification and weighting system

Following suit with the principles outlined by the OECD (2008) regarding the construction of composite indices all the included and selected indicators were weighted by means of a participative methodology. Here, 30 local and international regional economic development experts were asked to rank individual indicators together with each sub-dimension in accordance with their perceived importance. The ranking process made use of a four-point scale where experts assigned values with 1 = low importance to 4 = very high importance. After collecting the feedback from this process, scores from all participants were aggregated and an average score was obtained. Subsequent to this, normalisation was applied by using the highest obtained average which gave each indicator a weight ratio between zero and one. From this, a final measurement score could be obtained with a maximum index measurement of 69.25. As the final step in calculating and classifying the inherent regional development levels, scores were converted to a percentage. Based on these scores regions within the province were then classified according to the classification system shown in Table 5.

Table 5: The applied classification system

Index score	Classification
0–10	Very low index
11–20	Low index
21–30	Medium-low index
31–40	Upper low index
41–50	Low medium index
51–60	Medium index
61–70	Upper medium index
71–80	Low high index
81–90	Medium-high index
91–100	High index

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Annexure A contains a comparative summary of social and economic data for South Africa (SA), the North-West Province (NWP) and a selection of six of the 13

local municipalities in the NWP. Data was sourced from Global Insight Regional Explorer data sets. The raw data for all of the variables included in the study, was used to allocate the 'scores' contained in the index as shown in Annexure B. Annexure B provides the results of the total development index for each of the regions included in the study (SA, NWP and the six municipal regions). This section provides some of the main findings from the raw data contained in Annexure A. The data for SA was used as the baseline to compare the provincial and local government results. Table 6 provides a summary of the six local municipal regions included in the study with the abbreviations used in the analysis in the two annexures.

Table 6: The selected six municipal regions in the North-West Province

Rural region	Abbreviation	Main towns in the region
Rustenburg Local Municipal region	RUSM	Rustenburg, Bafokeng, Marikana, Tlhabane.
Mahikeng local Municipal region	MAHM	Mahikeng, Mmabatho, Kopano, Barolong.
Ditsobotla Local Municipal region	DITM	Lichtenburg, Itsoseng, Boikhutso, Coligny.
Naledi Local Municipal region	NALM	Vryburg, Huhudi, Stella.
Matlosana Local Municipal region	MATM	Klerksdorp, Jouberton, Stilfontein, Orkney.
JB Marks Municipal region	JBM	Potchefstroom, Ventersdorp.

The population in all the regions in the study has increased for all the regions analysed, with SA and NWP having relatively high growth rates in 2018 of 1.6% and 1.7% respectively. For the local municipal regions, RUSM and JBM had the highest growth levels of 2.8% and 2.1%, while MATM had the lowest population growth rate. Household sizes have significantly decreased from 1998 to 2018 for all the regions. In 2018 SA had an average household size of 3.51 and NWP even smaller households of 3.35. RUSM and JBM had the smallest household sizes of the local regions of 3.02 and 3.39 respectively. While DITM and MAHM still had the largest households although the sizes have also significantly declined since 1998. In terms of population densities measured as number of people per square km, the densities have increased from 1998 to 2018 for all the regions analysed. RUSM, MAHM, MATM and JBM have all higher densities than the NWP with RUSH at 193 people per square km having the highest density of all the local regions followed by MATM with 119, while NALM had the lowest density of only 10. Urbanisation is taking place in all the regions but at different paces. The NWP had a low level of urbanisation of only 47% if compared to SA at 65%. MATM had the highest level of urbanization at 95% followed by JBM at 82%.

HDI generally increased for all regions with SA moving from 0.54 in 1998 to 0.66 in 2018, while NWP had slightly lower levels of HDI. The two best performing local regions in 2018 on HDI were RUSM and JBM, while DITM had the lowest HDI. Regarding income inequality (GINI coefficient), the values were relatively stable with small movements. SA had an improved index of 0.63, while the NWP had an index of 0.61 which is better than for the country as a whole. Local regions that achieved increased inequality are RUSM, NALM, and JBM. The local region with the best index is MATM at 0.59. Poverty remains a massive problem in SA, although that poverty level has decreased from 73.7% to 58.2% with NWP having similar data. Of all the local regions, RUSM had the lowest poverty rate in 2018 at 41.6% followed by JBM at 54.5%. DITM had the highest level of poverty at 64.8%, down from 80.8% in 1998. Poverty levels have significantly declined since 1998 but are still high. Literacy levels have also significantly improved over the last 20 years for all the regions included in the study. Of all the local regions, RUSM had the highest level of literacy at 85.5 (above the national and provincial average). DITM and NALM are lagging behind the other regions in terms of literacy levels. Basic infrastructure provision has also improved significantly over the last 20 years with the national index at 0.75 and the provincial index at 0.70.

The local regions also had strong increases in the infrastructure index with MATM achieving the highest index at 0.86 followed by JBM at 0.80. The poorest performing local regions are DITM and MAHM. Formal housing provision in SA has been a development policy focus of national government. A large number of affordable houses have been provided, but the influx of people into the country has diluted the results achieved. In general the number or percentage of people living in informal structures has decreased from 1998. The housing backlog has generally decreased for local regions except for MAHM, and DITM. The best performing local region is MATM with a backlog of only 13.3%. As with poverty and unemployment, crime is a major issue in SA. The raw data indicates that the local regions have higher levels of crime if compared to the national averages. Local regions with the lowest crime rates are MAHM and RUSM while the regions with the highest levels of crime are JBM and NALM.

The economically active population (EAP) has also increased significantly since 1998 in SA and for all the local regions. The EAP in the local regions are, however, all below the national average, with RUSM and NALM having the highest levels. DITM had the lowest EAP in the region. The unemployment level is still rising in SA and is a structural economic problem. It is interesting to note that unemployment in NWP is slightly lower than that of the national average, while the local regions have mixed results. NALM surprisingly had the lowest unemployment rate of 16.1% followed by DITM. MATM had the highest unemployment rate of 48.7%. Since the financial crises in 2008, economic growth has been low and all regions in SA have been affected negatively. For example, the NWP had a negative economic growth

rate of -0.2% in 2018. All local regions have been severely affected and have recorded much lower growth rates in 2018 than in 1998. The local regions that had the highest growth rates in 2018 were NALM with 2.0% and MAHM with 1.6%, while RUSM and MATM had significant negative growth rates. GDP per capita has been steadily increasing over time for all regions in the study except for RUSM and MATM. JBM had the highest GDP per capita of all the local regions followed closely by NALM. The worst performing regions in terms of GDP per capita in 2018 were MATM and DITM. In terms of net trade surplus per capita, NWP had a much higher value than the national average, while for the local regions, RUSM had by far the highest value. A number of local regions had negative net trade surplus values including NALM, MATM and JBM. Average income per household for all the regions in the study has increased since 1998 to 2018. RUSM had the highest average household income of R137 000 followed by JBM with and average income of R133 000. DITM and MAHM had the lowest household incomes in 2018. Lastly, the tress index indicates the level of diversification of the economy with a lower score indicating higher levels of diversification.

SA had a slight improvement in the tress index from 1998 to 2018, while NWP had a huge negative movement in diversification of the economy. The only local region that had an improvement in the tress index is DITM with an index of 37.6, while all the other local regions moved backwards regarding diversification with RUSM the worst performing region with a tress index of 83.1. In conclusion, and in general terms when looking at Annexure A, socio-economic conditions in NWP lag behind that of the country as a whole. Regarding the local North-West regions included in the study, RUSM has been the best performing region since 1998 but the region has been struggling over the last few years with a deteriorating mining sector leading to a negative growth rate and alarming movements backwards regarding GDP per capita and the tress index. The worst performing local region was DITM with extreme high levels of poverty, and low income levels.

Application of index including results and discussion

Annexure B indicates the detail on the application of the index for all regions included in the study. The index was created using the raw data from Annexure A, applying the scoring system from Tables 1 to 4 and applying the weighting system resulting in a final score per indicator. Each region has an aggregate index score with sub-index scores. Annexure B is analysed by first looking at the overall index scores, followed by an analysis of the four sub-index scores. First, the country versus the province total index is analysed. SA has an overall index score of 40.6 (indicating a low-medium index) in 2018 compared to NWP of 38.3 (indicating an upper-low index) with overall annual index growth rates of 1.5% and 1.9% respectively. Some convergence is therefore identified with NWP closing the development gap. Local

regions RUSM, JBM and MATM all have higher overall indexes than SA. In terms of the overall ranking of local regions, it was found that RUSM has the highest composite index of 45.9, indicating a low-medium development index, followed by JBM with an index of 43.7 (low-medium index). The local region with the lowest index is DITM, with 36.6 (upper-low index), followed by MAHM (upper-low index). Different regions grow and develop at different paces and tempos. The question of convergence between leading and lagging regions is evident in that the region with the second lowest index, namely MAHM, also had the highest overall annual growth rate of the overall index of 2.8%, followed by NALM which had the third lowest index, with growth of 2.3% and DITM with growth of 1.8%. The leading regions of RUSM and JBM had relatively lower growth in the index of 0.75% and 0.82% respectively per annum over the last 20 years.

In terms of the **sub-index: Demographic development** (maximum score of 13.31), the local regions with the highest overall indexes were RUSM and MATM with scores of 10.6 and 10.1 respectively which is much higher than national and provincial scores, while MAHM had the lowest score of 5.4. MAHM is also improving the fastest in terms of this sub-index at 3.7% per annum growth since 1998, while MATM had the lowest growth of 0.7%. Regarding the **sub-index: Social development** (maximum score of 31.73), RUSM again has the highest score of 13.1, followed by MATM with 12.5, while the lowest scores were recorded by DITM and MATM with sub-index scores of 7.38 and 7.39, respectively. All regions had high levels of improvement regarding this sub-index, with RUSM and JBM leading the way with relatively high annual growth rates of 6.7 and 6.0 % respectively.

The **Labour sub-index** (maximum score of 9.3) indicates a decline in the sub-indexes for SA, NWP, RUSM, and MATM with MATM the worst performing region from a growth point of view. Lastly, the fourth **sub-index: Economics** (maximum score of 19.52) provides some interesting and surprising results with most of the regions in the study achieving a deteriorating index with NWP having a higher sub-index than the index for SA, although both regions achieved negative growth rates on this sub-index of –0.45 and –0.39. Local leading regions of RUSM (–1.7%), MATM (–1.5%) and JBM (–2.2%) all achieved only significant deteriorating sub-indexes, indicating a struggling and negative economic environment. MAHM achieved growth of 3.8% while DITM achieved 2.6% over the 20-year period. The comparative index indicates that it is possible to facilitate economic development over a period of time; in this case, over 20 years. The analysis indicates some convergence over time where lagging regions can catch up with leading regions. Overall, for all the local regions combined, the average annual improvement rate of the total index from 1998 to 2018 was 1.46% which is similar to the country while NWP overall had an annual growth of 1.9%. The sub-index that improved the most is social development with 4.19% annual growth (both SA and NWP had much higher improvement rates of more than 6%), followed by the demographic sub-index at 1.76%

Table 7: Index and classification results

Rural region	1998 Multi-dimensional Regional development Index classification from annexure B (ranking in brackets)	2018 Multi-dimensional Regional development Index classification from annexure B (ranking in brackets)	Rural regional Classification (classification used and developed by Meyer, 2013)
Rustenburg Local Municipal region (RUSM)	Upper-Low index: 39.8(1)	Low-Medium index: 45.9(1)	**Fringe rural region** at 150km and 1h50min drive from metro region.
Mahikeng local Municipal region (MAHM)	Medium-Low index: 25.0(6)	Upper-Low index: 38.9(5)	**Rural region** at 300km and 3h30min drive from metro region.
Ditsobotla Local Municipal region (DITM)	Medium-Low index: 26.9(5)	Upper-Low index: 36.6(6)	**Rural region** at 240km and 2h50min drive from metro region.
Naledi Local Municipal region (NALM)	Medium-Low index: 27.2(4)	Upper-Low index: 39.7(4)	**Deep Rural region** at 390km and 4h00min drive from metro region.
Matlosana Local Municipal region (MATM)	Upper-Low index: 39.2(2)	Low-Medium index: 41.8(3)	**Fringe rural region** at 170km and 1h55min drive from metro region.
JB Marks Municipal region (JBM)	Upper-Low index: 37.5(3)	Low-Medium index: 43.7(2)	**Fringe rural region** at 120km and 1h25min drive from metro region.

(SA growth was 1.12% and NWP growth 4.8%) and the economic sub-index at 0.44% (both SA and NWP had negative growth rates). The labour sub-index had the lowest improvement rate of 0.04% (both SA and NWP had negative growth rates). Developmental processes are slow and long-term processes. The results of the index could be used to identify weaknesses and strengths for a specific region, comparison of regions, determine the speed and tempo of development and be utilised to compile strategic development policy for regions.

Table 7 is a summary of the overall outcome of the MREDI analysis as well as an application of the rural classification by Meyer (2013). From an overall perspective, RUSM has the highest index score of 45.9 but is only classified as a low-medium index. MAHM had the highest annual improvement rate of 2.8% (compared to RUSM with only 0.76%). The deep rural region, NALM had a ranking of 4th but has shown surprising improvement rates of 2.3% mainly due to improvements in social development, while the rural regions of MAHM and DITM were the worst performing

regions in terms of index scores but had significant improvement rates of 2.8% and 1.8% respectively; indicating convergence with the fringe rural regions. In a previous yet unpublished study by Meyer and De Jongh in 2019, where the metropolitan regions in South Africa were analysed, index scores ranged between 65.9 and 47.4. In this rural region study index scores ranged between 45.9 to 36.6, and the huge difference between the two ranges is an indication of huge differences in economic development between the two types of regions.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Economic growth and development are driven and facilitated by leading regions of the world. Rural regions, also known as lagging regions have been stagnating and most research on a regional level is focused on leading regions. The primary objective of this study was to further apply the MREDI developed by Meyer *et al.* (2016) within a rural region in South Africa. MREDI was developed as a multidimensional index which could measure and compare regions quantitatively. The results of the analysis via the MREDI methodology with the focus on rural regions in the NWP, allowed for in-depth insights in rural development in the province. The rural regions surprisingly had a combined annual improvement index of 1.46% and did not stagnate as initially thought. Of the four sub-indexes, the Social Development index contributed the most to this economic development improvement with an annual improvement rate of 4.2%, compared to the Economic sub-index of only 0.44%. This situation is mostly due to the dominant focus on social development policy in SA. The deep rural and rural regions had the highest improvement rates if compared to the fringe regions, and this phenomenon indicates convergence between leading and lagging regions. The index is based on quantifiable data sets and does not include subjective indicators that require surveys, which could be seen as a limitation of the index. Future studies could include more comparative studies in SA but also abroad; as well as refinement of the index and the indicator weighting system. The use of the MREDI process is significant and allows for a rapid but comprehensive economic development analysis of any region. Regions are analysed leading to strategies and comparative studies. The MREDI makes it possible to analyse any region and to determine the level of progress in terms of economic development.

NOTE

*The article is partly based on a PhD thesis titled: "Regional index development and classification", under the supervision of Prof D Meyer.

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AUTHORS' CONTACT DETAILS

Mr J J de Jongh
PhD student
Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences
North-West University
Vanderbijlpark, South Africa
Tel: 016 910 3524
Email: Jacques.dejongh@nwu.ac.za

Prof Daniel F Meyer
Director: TRADE research entity
Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences
North-West University
Potchefstroom, South Africa
Tel: 018 285 2656
Email: daniel.meyer@nwu.ac.za

ANNEXURE A. REGIONAL PROFILE

Indicator	South Africa		NWP		RUSM		MAHM		DITM		NALM		MATM		JBM	
	1998	2018	1998	2018	1998	2018	1998	2018	1998	2018	1998	2018	1998	2018	1998	2018
Population Growth Rate in %	1.3	1.6	0.8	1.7	3.5	2.8	0.3	1.2	1.4	1.5	–0.7	1.6	0.5	1.1	1.0	2.1
Household Size	4.38	3.51	4.51	3.35	3.98	3.02	4.64	3.52	4.82	3.67	4.38	3.45	3.94	3.45	4.23	3.29
Population Density*	36	47	29	37	105	193	72	87	23	29	8.3	10	101	119	27	39
Level of Urbanization in %	56	65	39	47	54	66	22	19	54	57	67	81	90	95	80	82
HDI (0–100)	0.54	0.66	0.48	0.62	0.55	0.69	0.50	0.62	0.46	0.59	0.46	0.62	0.53	0.64	0.54	0.66
Gini Coefficient (0–100)	0.64	0.63	0.60	0.61	0.58	0.61	0.63	0.61	0.61	0.60	0.60	0.61	0.59	0.59	0.61	0.62
Poverty Levels** in %	73.7	58.2	78.8	58.9	66.1	41.6	78.1	59.0	80.8	64.8	76.6	56.2	68.5	58.5	65.6	54.4
Literacy *** in %	68.0	84.8	61.5	79.5	69.8	85.8	65.9	81.8	55.6	75.0	53.6	75.1	68.6	84.2	69.1	81.2
Infrastructure Basic Index (0–100)	0.63	0.75	0.56	0.70	0.59	0.75	0.56	0.71	0.63	0.65	0.71	0.75	0.73	0.86	0.68	0.80
% of Households in Informal Housing	30.3	20.9	23.0	21.0	30.3	26.3	8,5	13.3	15.4	25.9	16,4	16.4	34.0	13.6	23.3	17.4
Crime Index****	147	98	137	91	193	94	125	91	120	102	223	136	201	107	271	139
Economically Active Population in %	29.9	38.5	28.6	33.1	33.8	38.4	31.0	35.6	26.5	31.1	28.4	36.5	32.4	34.0	29.0	33.4
Unemployment in %	23.6	27.2	21.1	26.7	17.3	26.8	20.9	19.9	23.5	19.4	19.8	16.1	21.8	48.7	21.1	20.6
GDP Growth Rate %	2.2	1.6	0.9	–0.2	–1.5	–1.2	0.2	1.6	2.0	1.0	0.4	2.0	3.9	–3.4	7.2	0.6
GDP per capita in R (X000)(Constant)	42.8	54.8	38.7	44.1	84.9	53.3	35.6	47.9	28.1	42.0	31.2	54.5	57.6	41.9	44.1	54.7
Trade Surplus per Capita (R1 000)	0.23	0.42	3.39	20.7	26.1	109	–0.01	0.99	–0.11	1.67	0.10	–1.42	–0.17	–1.88	1.32	–1.75
Average Income per Household (Rx1000)	107	119	83	103	110	137	91	100	82	93	88	115	96	104	112	133
Tress Index (0–100)	41.2	40.3	39.6	50.5	59.9	83.1	56.8	57.9	41.1	37.6	43.6	45.4	45.4	46.7	41.2	43.4

*Number of people per km² **Share below upper poverty line ***Functional literacy: age 15+, completed grade 7 or higher ****Weighted average /100 000 people. Source: Global Insight (2018).

ANNEXURE B. SCORING AND CALCULATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT INDEX

Indicator	South Africa		NWP		RUSM		MAHM		DITM		NALM		MATM		JBM	
	1998	2018	1998	2018	1998	2018	1998	2018	1998	2018	1998	2018	1998	2018	1998	2018
Population Growth Rate (%)	1,26	1,26	0,63	1,26	2,51	1,88	0,63	1,26	1,26	1,26	0,00	1,26	0,63	1,26	0,63	1,88
Household Size	1,69	2,25	1,12	2,81	2,25	2,81	1,12	2,81	1,12	2,25	1,69	2,25	2,25	2,81	1,69	2,81
Population Density*	0,68	0,68	0,68	0,68	2,03	2,71	1,36	1,36	0,68	0,68	0,00	0,00	2,03	2,03	0,68	0,68
Level of Urbanisation (%)	2,38	3,17	0,79	1,59	2,38	3,17	0,00	0,00	2,38	2,38	3,17	3,97	3,97	3,97	3,97	3,97
Sub-index: Demographic Development (13.31 max)	6,00	7,36	3,22	6,33	9,17	10,58	3,11	5,42	5,44	6,56	4,86	7,47	8,88	10,07	6,96	9,34
HDI (0-100)	0,99	2,98	0,99	1,98	1,98	2,98	0,99	1,98	0,99	1,98	0,99	1,98	1,98	1,98	0,99	2,98
Gini Coefficient (0-100)	1,74	1,74	1,74	1,74	2,60	1,74	1,74	1,74	1,74	1,74	1,74	1,74	2,60	2,60	1,74	1,74
Poverty Levels**(%)	0,00	0,95	0,00	0,95	0,00	1,90	0,00	0,95	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,95	0,00	0,95	0,00	0,95
Literacy ***(%)	1,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	3,00	1,00	2,00	0,00	2,00	0,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	2,00
Infrastructure Basic Index (0-100)	0,90	1,80	0,00	1,80	0,00	1,80	0,00	1,80	0,90	0,90	1,80	1,80	1,80	2,70	0,90	2,70
% of Households in Informal Housing	0,00	0,76	0,76	0,76	0,00	0,76	3,04	2,28	1,52	0,76	1,52	1,52	0,00	2,28	0,76	1,52
Crime Index****	0,00	0,88	0,00	0,88	0,00	0,88	0,00	0,88	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00
Sub-index: Social Development (31.73 max)	4,63	11,10	4,49	10,11	5,59	13,05	6,77	11,63	5,15	7,38	6,05	9,99	7,39	12,52	5,39	11,88
Economic Active Population (%)	1,74	2,60	1,74	2,60	2,60	2,60	2,60	2,60	1,74	2,60	1,74	2,60	2,60	2,60	1,74	2,60
Unemployment (%)	1,98	0,99	1,98	0,99	1,98	0,99	1,98	1,98	1,98	1,98	1,98	1,98	1,98	0,00	1,98	1,98
Sub-index: Labour (9.30 max)	3,72	3,60	3,72	3,60	4,59	3,60	4,59	4,59	3,72	4,59	3,72	4,59	4,59	2,60	3,72	4,59
GDP Growth Rate (%)	2,38	1,59	0,79	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,79	1,59	1,59	0,79	0,79	1,59	3,17	0,00	3,97	0,79
GDP per capita	1,85	1,85	0,93	1,85	3,70	1,85	0,93	1,85	0,93	1,85	0,93	1,85	1,85	1,85	1,85	1,85
Trade Surplus per Capita (R1 000)	0,67	0,67	3,35	3,35	3,35	3,35	0,00	1,34	0,00	2,01	0,67	0,00	0,00	0,00	2,01	0,00
Average Income per Household	1,47	1,47	0,74	1,47	1,47	1,47	0,74	0,74	0,74	0,74	0,74	1,47	0,74	1,47	1,47	1,47
Tress Index (0–100)	2,33	2,33	3,11	1,55	1,55	0,00	1,55	1,55	2,33	3,11	2,33	2,33	2,33	2,33	2,33	2,33
Sub-index: Economics (19.52 max)	8,70	7,91	8,91	8,22	10,07	6,67	4,01	7,07	5,58	8,50	5,46	7,24	8,09	5,65	11,63	6,45
Total Index Score (73.86 max)	23,05	29,96	20,34	28,26	29,42	33,89	18,47	28,70	19,89	27,03	20,08	29,29	28,94	30,85	27,70	32,26
Index out of 100 score	31,21	40,56	27,54	38,26	39,84	45,89	25,01	38,86	26,92	36,59	27,19	39,66	39,19	41,76	37,50	43,67
Overall ranking					1	1	6	5	5	6	4	4	2	3	3	2

*Number of people per km² ** Share below upper poverty line ***Functional literacy: age 15+, completed grade 7 or higher ****Weighted average /100 000 people.

An Integrated Civic Crowdfunding Model for Infrastructure Rehabilitation

The case of the City of Harare

L E Chigova*
Future African Cities Institute
Harare

G van der Waldt
North-West University
Potchefstroom Campus

ABSTRACT

Financial resource challenges in local government necessitate the embracement of emerging strategies that improve revenue mobilisation and citizen participation in city governance. Emerging strategies, such as civic crowdfunding, can provide additional financial resources and can promote partnership relations between communities and local authorities. These strategies are critical to cities such as the City of Harare due to limited financial capacity and other infrastructure development and rehabilitation limitations. This is in spite of the fact that the City is envisioning the attainment of world-class city status in the near future. In this light, appropriate funding models have to be developed for cities to be able to sustainably rehabilitate city infrastructure. This article reflects on the findings of an empirical survey conducted in the City of Harare to investigate the potential of civic crowdfunding for the rehabilitation of community infrastructure. The study was handicapped by the paucity of an integrated civic crowdfunding model that can be applied by cities in the developing world particularly in Africa, such as the City of Harare in Zimbabwe. The article contextualises some of the dominant perspectives of civic crowdfunding as a local governance phenomenon and concludes with an outline of a proposed integrated civic crowdfunding model.

INTRODUCTION

Crowdfunding can be regarded as a financial mechanism that creates new opportunities and possibilities both in the private and public sectors. Its usage in the public sector in Africa, however, is still in its infancy (World Bank 2013:10), but its potential is highlighted by Steinberg and DeMaria (2012:1) who argue that it is equally difficult to envision a future without crowdfunding. Gasparo (2015:2) stresses that with limited funding it is becoming increasingly important for cities in the developing world to become more self-sufficient regarding infrastructure services. Thus, to be self-sufficient implies that local authorities should explore new financial models. Civic crowdfunding is one such financial model. As the World Bank (2013:15) highlights, crowdfunding has emerged as an alternative to more traditional funding tools such as bank loans and government grants. Gasparo (2015:2) went further to argue that embracing crowdfunding provides new opportunities to fund infrastructure projects and address funding challenges. Also, Candelise (2015:4) is of the view that crowdfunding is an alternative source of funding, which allows raising funds for projects that could not be financed through conventional institutional channels.

The Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) (2004:VII) notes that more recently, the World Bank and other donors in Africa have been concerned with finding alternative ways of organising and managing the public services and redefining the role of the state to give more prominence to markets and competition, and to the private and voluntary sectors. Hence, new innovative ways of financing public infrastructure are gaining attention and favour as they are vital for bridging fiscal gaps. Important to emphasise is that the role of the state as the sole provider of public goods is now being questioned and scholars of public policy increasingly advocate for a paradigm shift whereby non-state actors are incorporated into governance functions (ECA 2004:10).

The New Public Governance paradigm is predicated upon the existence of a networked, plural state where multiple interdependent actors contribute to the delivery of public services (Osborne 2006:384). Innovative governance approaches associated with this paradigm, according to Christensen (2012:6), underscore that "governance rests on the mobilisation of multiple and complementary sets of institutions, actors, interests, decision-making arenas, values, norms, and cleavages". Also Bourgon (2011:19) stresses that the "burden of serving in the 21st century exposes that government authorities can no longer assume a monopoly of expertise or resources necessary to govern, and must look to a plurality or interdependent institutions drawn from the public, private and voluntary sectors". According to Newman (2004:71), this search for plurality is through "a shift from government as a sole provider of service to citizens to one of co-creation and co-production of public goods with citizens". Bourgon (2011:52) continues

to argue that "enabling others to co-create and co-produce public results is not a way of reducing public spending or passing on the cost of public services to the community". It is rather about the creation of "an interdependent relationship between government, society and people to achieve results of higher value at a lower overall cost to society". In a similar vein, Candelise (2015:1) and Veelen (2015:5) state that as the traditional markets fail to fund civil society improvements, so-called "bottom-up instruments" emerge. These bottom-up instruments entail new financing instruments outside the traditional banking sector and include crowdfunding, peer to peer lending, SME mini-bonds, social impact bonds, community shares and virtual currencies. This new approach is calling upon the *en masse* participation and investment of the public to fill the void. So-called "people power" can cover up for the general lack of capital.

Chatiza (2010:22) underscores that meeting community welfare needs and facilitating local economic development are essential municipal functions critical to development. However, in addition to failing to meet community needs, local authorities in Zimbabwe are also failing to maintain, support, preserve and even build new community infrastructure. As Dewa, Dziva and Mukwashi (2014:193) stress, "the financial muscles of local authorities in Zimbabwe are constrained to do an overhaul of the dilapidated infrastructure". Arguably the most significant challenge is the lack of financial resources. This is underscored by Zhou and Chilunjika's (2013:243) study on Zimbabwe which notes that "revenue collection is generally inadequate to finance council operations". This has further been fuelled by limited government fiscal transfers, inadequate private investment for infrastructure development and maintenance, as well as the general failure by the state to prioritise infrastructure rehabilitation and renewal. According to Zhou and Chilunjika (2013:243), central Government has drastically slashed its subsidies to local authorities owing to governmental financial obligations. Furthermore, traditional infrastructural financing instruments have been "going out of favour" as they typically overburden the Government. Mbara, Nyarirangwe and Mukwashi (2010:155) underscore the limitations regarding funding sources and attempts by local authorities to pursue the option of involving the private sector, hence the need to innovate and capitalise on the opportunities provided for by civic crowdfunding.

The aim of this article is to reflect on findings of an empirical investigation undertaken on the City of Harare (CoH) with the purpose to design an integrated crowdfunding model for community infrastructure rehabilitation. The article will first provide a conceptual and contextual orientation, and second, explicate a proposed integrated crowdfunding model based on the research findings. The results conclusively indicate that the City of Harare, like similar cities on the African continent, has not yet systematically adopted crowdfunding as a resource mobilisation instrument despite its significant potential as alternative source of revenue.

CIVIC CROWDFUNDING: A CONCEPTUAL AND CONTEXTUAL ORIENTATION

Literature is littered with various conceptualisations of civic crowdfunding as a subgenre of crowdfunding. Auditors KPMG (2014:5), for example, conceptualises crowdfunding "as a financing instrument which appeals to a large number of people (the crowd) to make limited contributions in order to achieve a financing goal". The word "crowdfunding" can be traced to the concept of "crowdsourcing" (Freitas and Amado 2013:6). Freitas and Amado (2013:6) argue that crowdsourcing is a composite of the words "crowd" and "outsourcing" meaning outsourcing to the crowd. According to Davies (2014a:25), the rise of crowdfunding is often linked to the 2008 global financial crisis. Stiver *et al.* (2014:3) in this regard argue that global reward-based crowdfunding leaders such as Indiegogo and Kickstarter, made significant contributions to popularise crowdfunding as an alternative source of funding during the global financial crisis. Similarly, Candelise (2015:1) and Veelen (2015:5) regard crowdfunding to be a relatively new way of raising capital and it could serve as an invaluable financial tool to rehabilitate community infrastructure beyond traditional funding arrangements.

According to Veelen (2015:17), civic crowdfunding is inextricably linked to the interrelationship between communities, government institutions and non-profits. Veelen's (2015:5) position is thus that civic crowdfunding introduces "initiatives that focus on the development of community assets". In this regard, Davies (2014a:29) sees a civic crowdfunding project as "a project that develops a shared resource that is accessible to the community either as a public asset, a community owned resource or a public private partnership, and may or may not involve government". Davies (2014a:28) chose to approach the question of what constitutes a civic crowdfunding project from two directions: the goods being produced and the actors involved. In this context, Davies (2014a:28) stresses that "civic crowdfunding projects would be expected to produce goods that are non-rival and non-excludable: that once produced can be enjoyed by all members of a community equally, perpetually, and without regard for their contribution". Thus, Davies (2014a:29) is of the view that civic crowdfunding projects are "projects that produce some non-rival benefits that serve either the non-excludable public or broad sections of it". Put in simple terms, civic crowdfunding outputs are for the public (Stiver *et al.* 2014:12). In support of this view, Charbit and Desmoulins (2017:2) argue that "civic crowdfunding should be distinguished from other types of crowdfunding since it pursues an objective of general interest and mainly concerns place-based projects instigated by citizens and civil society organisations". In terms of resourcing, Davies (2014a:30) argues that in theory a civic crowdfunding project could be resourced by the crowd alone, by a combination of the crowd and government (e.g. taxation), or by the crowd and organised for-profit or non-profit interests, without government investment. On

the same note, Brent and Lorah (2017:7) state that another distinguishing characteristic of civic crowdfunding is that such projects are primarily planned, funded, and implemented by private citizens, residents and community groups looking to improve their own circumstances.

The basic logic behind civic crowdfunding is to establish a platform for the transfer of funds from those who are willing to donate or invest to the capital needs of public entities. In the conceptualisation of NESTA (2012:2), crowdfunding platforms are typically online intermediaries that facilitate this process. Boyle (2016:16) and Brent and Lorah (2017:2) add that civic crowdfunding borrows principles from both private crowdfunding and grassroots community organisation by enabling citizens to develop community projects that are funded by donations through an online platform.

According to Adams (2014:13), local communities and groups have consistently found innovative ways of raising funds for local and community projects, and it seems crowdfunding is an extension of these innovative practices. Similarly, Brent and Lorah (2017:2) assert that civic crowdfunding typically empowers community leaders to initiate worthwhile public projects in their neighbourhoods and allows citizens to "vote with their pocketbooks". Adams (2014:13), however, points out that crowdfunding is clearly not a panacea to solve all fundraising problems and can be considered as one of several funding and resourcing options and mechanisms. Hence, it is one of several options that, as Brent and Lorah (2017:2) observe, "act as a catalyst for citizens to improve their own neighbourhoods as opposed to waiting for government or external philanthropic organisations to intervene".

From conceptualisations of civic crowdfunding above, it can be concluded that civic crowdfunding represents an area of great opportunity, enabling a consideration of financial and non-financial strengths of crowdfunding (cf. Stiver *et al.* 2014:14). It provides for increased citizen participation where people are regarded as "value creators" (Bourgeon 2011:25) and offers vast financial possibilities in an environment where local authorities are financially handicapped.

Civic crowdfunding as a means to co-production

Davies (2014a:42) states that civic crowdfunding provides a "context or occasion", for communities to request money for projects as well as an established process for how to do so. Bourgon (2011:24) notes that Classical Public Administration viewed citizens as voters, taxpayers, users and beneficiaries of public services with no role to play in the development, design and co-production of public services. According to Bourgon (2011:24), this approach to public administration did not only "crowd-out the contribution of society in solving public problems" but also devalued the role played by citizens and community groups in the co-production

of public goods. However, in the past decade the Internet and the World Wide Web have created new processes to harness the creativity of people, create new business models, and reshape economies (Freitas and Amado 2013:5). One such process is civic crowdfunding which provides an opportunity of achieving what Bourgon (2011:25–26) terms "co-creating value with citizens" and "achieving results with citizens".

According to Freitas and Amado (2013:14), city administrations have been integrating participatory tools into their urban planning frameworks. These tools are being used to foster a more direct partnership relationship between citizens and their local authorities. In essence, civic crowdfunding provides a platform to leverage collective power for co-production of community infrastructure. This means that government has the opportunity to "partner", "enable", "co-create" and "empower" (Bourgon 2011:51–53) communities as stakeholders in the provisioning of public goods. As such, civic crowdfunding increases the visibility of public participation in urban planning and could generate, besides funding, increased awareness and interest in the urban environment (Freitas and Amado 2013:14). This is important because people are the main value creators for both public goods and public policy issues (Bourgon 2011:25). In the same vein, Freitas and Amado (2013:7) opine that although crowd-funders might not have any specific knowledge on a particular field, the "wisdom of the crowd" can add significant value in solving problems.

Civic crowdfunding as disruption

According to Davies (2014a:43), it is important to consider the impact that crowdfunding may have on local infrastructure. Davies (2014a:43) goes further to pose the following question: "Can an alternative method of getting something done not only get it done, but also exert influence on the existing, broken method?" Responding to Davies's (2014:43) question, it can be noted that civic crowdfunding "is leading to a redefinition of the way in which public services are organised and delivered" (Michelucci and Rota 2014:1). As Davies (2014a:43) explains, there are several ways in which this effect might be manifested: "First, as a demonstration of another route to influence: a community can use a crowd-funding campaign as a means not only to build something but also to signal support for an idea and a neighbourhood. This could mean, for example, that a community seeks to self-organise to create a community resource instead of lobbying a political representative to achieve the same goal, which will likely over time affect representatives perceptions of their influence and role. Second, by changing and expanding the range of people who are able to access capital or resources, alternative infrastructures expand the marketplace of ideas, values and choices available".

Boyer and Hill (2013:13) support this argument saying that "… while citizens may not have the tools to rapidly recalibrate decision-making processes about their city, they are certainly capable of working outside of them, getting on with doing something …". Said differently, civic crowdfunding offers a means to disrupt, circumvent or force the hand of rigid bureaucracies (Boyle 2016:12). This is especially significant in more traditional public administration settings. In such a scenario, civic crowdfunding represents what Davies (2014b:103) terms the "erosion of public institutions". According to Davies (2014b:103), civic crowdfunding "encourages the decline of municipal spending and faith in government services". Davies (2014b) views civic crowdfunding as an "outgrowth of financial strain among local authorities, and serves a libertarian, disruptive agenda seeking the reduction of the role of government". Furthermore, Davies (2014b:103) argues that the inability or unwillingness of institutions to solve particular problems or serve certain communities may also lead to the conclusion that crowdfunding is an additive innovation rather than a replacement for existing structures. This can be exacerbated by the fact that no government fully controls or has access to all the levers of power to address complex societal problems (Bourgon 2011:15). To this end, civic crowdfunding "provides an opportunity to restore the balance between what government is best positioned to do, what citizens can do for themselves, and what is best accomplished together" (Bourgon 2011:26). Thus, it can be observed that civic crowdfunding is a positive disruptive catalyst for the weakening of government institutions in favour of more networked forms of governance (cf. Davies 2014:119). In other words, civic crowdfunding "can offset or replace the use of other means such as public organisations (i.e. the state) or private contracts (i.e. the market) in service delivery through enhancing and facilitating citizen-based provision of goods and services" (Howlett, Kekez and Poocharoen 2017:4). Therefore, the disruptive nature of civic crowdfunding may threaten the traditional, bureaucratic model of public administration, which positioned government as a sole services and goods provider. It also challenges the exaggerated role of the market in the provision of public goods as the power of the crowd takes centre stage in the development of communities. In this context, civic crowdfunding often exposes government's inability to serve in the 21st century where information and communication technology takes citizens to the frontiers of urban development. Also interesting to note in this regard is that cities are forced to reconfigure their role as sole provider to that of service facilitator. This facilitation role includes approaches that enable co-production and partnerships. Furthermore, because cities are generally financially constrained and community infrastructure rehabilitation is relatively costly, alternative funding models are essential. This emphasises the transformational or disruptive role of civic crowdfunding in facilitating a shift from government to governance.

Civic crowdfunding as community expression and leveraging of collective power

Davies (2014b:103) examines civic crowdfunding as an expression of community agency. According to Davies (2014b:103), this approach works in two ways: "First, backers of projects share common goals and interests, that is, they behave as communities; and second, that projects themselves increase communities' ability to influence the development of the built environment and the planning process". Thus, Davies (2014b:102) considers civic crowdfunding as a form of "co-operative social movement". In the same vein, Veelen (2015:20) describes civic crowdfunding as a "tool for the commons in funding community-based projects". Veelen (2015:20) takes his analysis of crowdfunding as community expression further and highlights the complex issues associated with property rights. Veelen (2015:20) argues that "if a good is communal property, the property rights are assigned to a specific community. Members of this community can thus provoke property rights".

The sociological dimension of civic crowdfunding is highlighted by Davies (2014b:107) stating that "civic crowdfunding projects may be an opportunity to activate latent social capital by giving a community an opportunity to uncover a demand for a shared resource or to engage a community in a collective problem-solving process". Following Davies' point of view, civic crowdfunding is best understood as a form of community organising and collective power (Davies 2014b:103). Similarly, Bourgon (2011:51) emphasises the fact that crowdfunding "leverage collective power" that represents cities with alternative "partnering, enabling, co-creating and empowering" models to engage communities in producing public goods. However, Brent and Lorah (2017:3) assert that "civic crowdfunding is not a replacement for traditional city spending" on community infrastructure rehabilitation.

CIVIC CROWDFUNDING IN COMMUNITY INFRASTRUCTURE REHABILITATION

A literature survey revealed the emerging discourse about the feasibility of using civic crowdfunding in the rehabilitation of community infrastructure. This discourse takes various forms such as using civic crowdfunding for urban "renewal", "rehabilitation", and "regeneration" or to improve the "liveability" and "attractiveness" of cities. To this, Freitas and Amado (2013:5) add that urban infrastructure rehabilitation has been increasingly part of the public policy discourse, state-sponsored gentrification, as well as the rejuvenation of the urban space. Scholars are, however, divided on their views of whether civic crowdfunding is more suitable to small-scale projects or better suited for large-scale infrastructure projects.

As stressed by Brent and Lorah (2017:3), when considering the expansion of civic crowdfunding in improving local communities it is important to consider what types of infrastructure projects are feasible to fund. Boyle (2016:37) suggests that civic projects demonstrate the ease of crowdfunding to fund small-scale, community-led interventions. Brent and Lorah (2017:3) concur and argue that civic crowdfunded projects are generally small scale in comparison to large city capital budgets. Stiver *et al.* (2014:15) who observe that many projects make use of civic crowdfunding on a smaller scale also share this view. Explaining this argument further, Brent and Lorah (2017:4) stress that civic crowdfunding does not typically provide large-scale public goods such as city infrastructure.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study followed a qualitative research design in which key informant semi-structured interviews and documentary analysis were the main data collection instruments. The two instruments complemented each other; for example, semi-structured interviews with purposively sampled key informants were aimed at getting expert views and opinions of officials of the CoH, officials from the Ministry of Local Government, resident associations' representatives, international development practitioners, academics, and members of civic society organisations interested in local government issues. Data triangulation with the literature review and documentary analysis was done for two strategic reasons. First, some documents reviewed were referred to in the responses of the participants, for example, legislation and policy statements. Second, certain organisations did not respond to requests or applications to be involved in interviews. The researcher therefore had to rely on secondary data sources such as official publications and reports, institutional memoranda, minutes of meetings, press releases, and media reports.

The sampling strategy was two-pronged in that it aimed at investigating departments in the CoH and stakeholder organisations working with local government, and participants as units of analysis. Purposive sampling was used to identify these departments and stakeholder organisations since pilot surveys showed that they were directly and indirectly involved in issues of local governance or community infrastructure rehabilitation. To this end, a sample size of 33 participants (*n*=33) was identified and the sample size was broken down to include participants drawn from the CoH, Ministry of Local Government, academia (mainly from the University of Zimbabwe's Departments of Political and Administrative Studies as well as Rural and Urban Planning), international development agencies, residents' associations, urban local authorities' associations and civil society. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with selected participants from these target population groups.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

The study confirmed the fact that there is no civic crowdfunding framework in place in the CoH. Key informants interviewed in this study professed ignorance of any crowdfunding framework in the case study and this was further corroborated by CoH documents analysed during the study period. There were mixed opinions on the practicability of crowdfunding in the CoH with the majority of experts acknowledging the potential of the strategy.

Apart from the above, the findings of the study revealed that the 2013 Constitution of Zimbabwe gives leeway for initiatives such as crowdfunding but there is no complementary legislation, notwithstanding the fact that there are no explicitly prohibitive laws. Also, exposed was that legal challenges varied depending on which stakeholder will be conducting the crowdfunding project. The study's findings exposed the criticality in civic crowdfunding of the Internet and social media, particularly on four fronts, namely raising awareness, increasing transparency and accountability, providing payment platforms for contributions, and providing a platform for engagement.

The findings of the study also reflected on civic crowdfunding's potential for mobilising resources, increasing citizen participation and even helping in establishing a sense of ownership to reduce incidences of infrastructure vandalism. The study's findings further revealed that civic crowdfunding involves multiple stakeholders at different capacities and with different roles. These stakeholders can be grouped into three main levels:

- Governmental level: includes government ministries particularly the ministry responsible for local government; Parliament; and local authorities, inclusive of the CoH;
- Non-governmental level: includes the private sector, philanthropic organisations, banks, civic society organisations, development partners, the media, and churches; and
- Community level: includes residents, residents' associations, community organisations, and celebrities such as prominent musicians and sportspersons.

The study further revealed some of the major challenges that are likely to affect the conduct and practice of crowdfunding which included political polarisation, lack of trust among citizens themselves, among citizens and the government and even among government and non-governmental organisations such as civic society organisations. Some general macroeconomic challenges were also exposed. Against this background, for civic crowdfunding to be successful, the findings of the study revealed that there was a dire need for the following critical success factors:

- a city governance plan to foster partnerships and exploit the potential of crowdfunding;

- the establishment of rallying points and consultation with various stakeholders regarding infrastructure rehabilitation;
- the appointment of crowdfunding champions to drive infrastructure rehabilitation projects;
- fostering a climate of mutual trust between cities and communities, particularly through emphasising transparency and accountability in city governance;
- creating a crowdfunding culture and infrastructure ownership; and
- developing an integrated civic crowdfunding model to align and integrate the factors mentioned above.

AN INTEGRATED CIVIC CROWDFUNDING MODEL FOR APPLICATION BY THE CITY OF HARARE

Building on the above background, this section proposes an integrated civic crowdfunding model. This model is premised on data, method and source triangulation by merging theoretical perspectives, current infrastructure rehabilitation realities, civic crowdfunding praxis, and opinions of experts in this field. As far as the theoretical perspectives are concerned, the framing of the core of the model followed a deductive approach. In other words, after an analysis of literature generally on New Public Governance and the New Synthesis Framework, the study borrowed Bourgon's (2011) four-vector approach and developed it further using a robust literature survey. The researchers then inductively broadened and modified the model using input from participants interviewed and case study analysis by means of documentary reviews of policies, council minutes, official memoranda, and legal documents such as the Constitution, Acts and municipal by-laws. The researchers then deconstructed, contextualised and refined the data by capturing international best practices and triangulated it with existing data sets. The integrated civic crowdfunding model is illustrated in Figure 1.

EXPOSITION OF THE INTEGRATED CROWDFUNDING MODEL

The proposed integrated civic crowdfunding model is integrated because it reflects on the structure, process, system and stakeholders that should be considered in any civic crowdfunding. It builds on the findings of the study (including findings from literature reviewed). In terms of structure, evidence from the findings indicated that civic crowdfunding initiatives should be initiated from the community. Community structures should be accorded the right to form a governance structure.

Figure 1: An integrated civic crowdfunding for the City of Harare
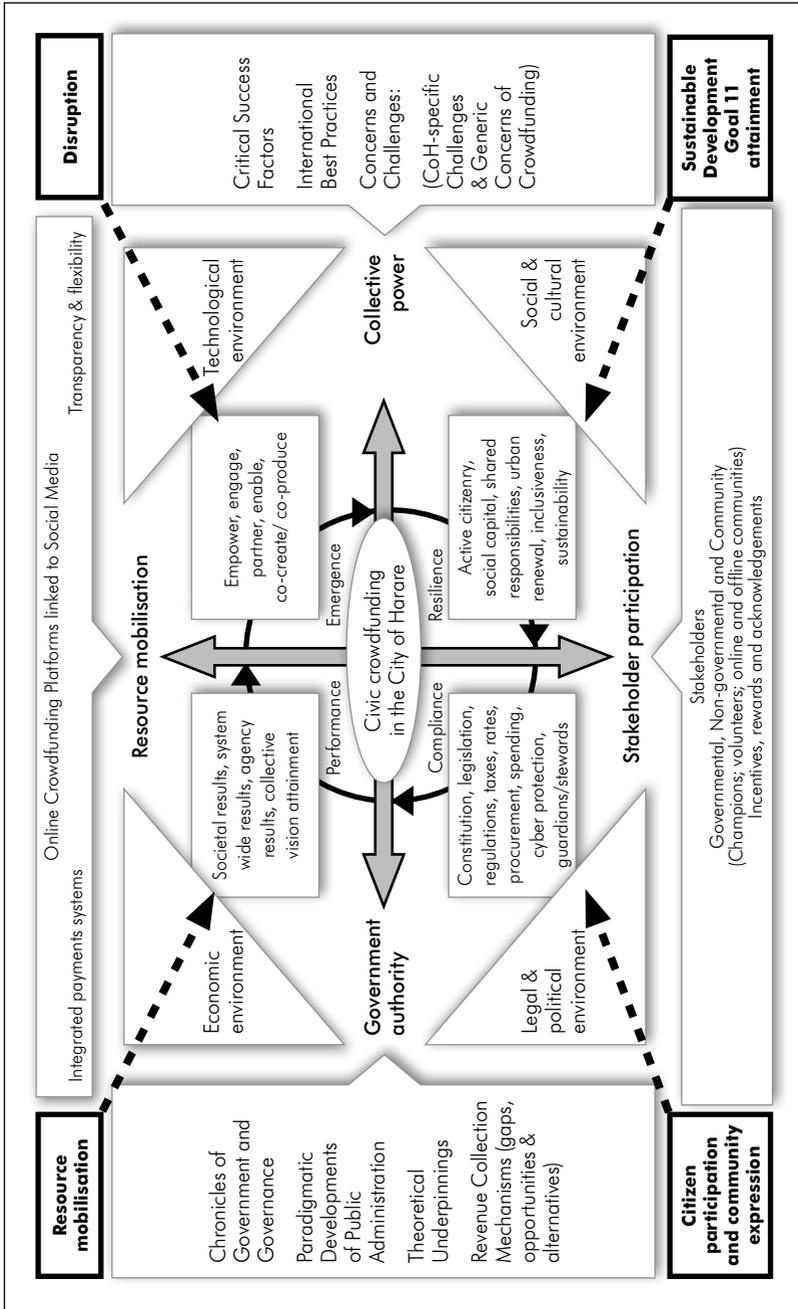
Source: (Authors' own with influence from Bourgon 2011:36, 46)

The model carries some influence from the New Synthesis Framework proffered by Bourgon (2011) in that it is framed around four vectors. These four vectors form the core part of the model. As depicted in Figure 1, the outer layer of the integrated model is influenced by what was reviewed in theoretical chapters of the study inclusive of what was reviewed in literature and evidence from the empirical findings. Expounding on the illustrated vectors, the model submits that civic crowdfunding in mobilising resources juxtaposes "agency results in the broader context of system wide, society results" and shared visions (Bourgon 2011:34). Stakeholder participation relates to how civic crowdfunding can capitalise on the collective power of residents to help in community infrastructure rehabilitation and urban renewal. These vectors, as shown above, further seek to "help explore how government, people and communities can work together and share responsibility for producing results of higher value" through harnessing new innovations that empower communities to take charge of their cities (Bourgon 2011:34).

The vertical vectors explore the interrelationship in civic crowdfunding between resource mobilisation and stakeholder (e.g. citizen) participation. It is argued that the integrated civic crowdfunding model will help to improve the overall performance of the CoH in mobilising resources and subsequently, service delivery. Appreciative of the fact that the proposed model will necessitate the collection of resources, it should be done with circumspection. Responsibilities in this regard will entail that raised resources through, for example, online platforms are accounted for and expended under the confines of the law. These are contracted out responsibilities that might have been necessitated by technological developments and economic considerations. Technological developments allow the CoH to engage its residents, empower them to contribute to their communities through co-producing activities such as infrastructure rehabilitation. To this end, partnerships with communities will mean collective vision attainment. This means that the CoH's vision of achieving world-class city status by 2025 will be shared by residents, thus fostering a sense of ownership.

Successful civic crowdfunding is furthermore hinged on stakeholder participation. Stakeholder participation in civic crowdfunding was situated above as projecting community expression. However, this integrated model emphasises that stakeholder participation should fully comply with existing country legislation and municipal financial regulations. Stakeholders on governmental level, non-governmental level, and at community level have designated responsibilities. For instance, stakeholders at governmental level have obligations to collect revenue, rehabilitate infrastructure and provide guardianship of community infrastructure as provided in the Constitution of Zimbabwe and the Urban Councils Act. It is a responsibility that cannot be abrogated even if civic crowdfunding is embraced. On the same note, stakeholders at non-governmental and community level have duties to pay rates and taxes. More so, participation in civic crowdfunding will mean commitment

of additional resources on top of mandatory obligations of paying taxes and rates. Nevertheless, stakeholder participation in civic crowdfunding, as was expressed in the empirical findings of the study, builds active citizenry and increases social capital. Active citizenry and social capital are key ingredients in fostering urban resilience. Stakeholder participation is imperative since champions will emerge from among them to drive crowdfunding. Most importantly, the success or failure of civic crowdfunding is determined by the levels of stakeholder participation.

The horizontal vectors of the model were adopted from Bourgon (2011:34) but contextualised for the purposes of this model. It focuses on the use of government authority and the reliance on the collective power of society in civic crowdfunding. The findings of the study (i.e. evidence from literature reviewed and interviews conducted) indicated that government has a role to play in local governance in general and in civic crowdfunding specifically. Government in this context include both central and local government spheres. The central government is constitutionally and legally assigned to act as guardian of local authorities while local government acts as guardian of community infrastructure. These responsibilities necessitate government enacting legislation and regulations and to monitor compliance with these laws. It is in these maxims that the integrated civic crowdfunding model seeks to appreciate and acknowledge the guardianship of government. For example, the study exposed some concerns of crowdfunding such as cybercrime and fraud. In this respect, the government has a role to protect citizens involved in crowdfunding against such vices. Also, civic crowdfunding will involve public funds which must be expended in terms of the Public Finances Management Act and procurement regulations. Government also has to conform to changing dynamics in the environment such as technological advancement and economic concerns. Conforming to the environment must also mean responding to how resources are mobilised and citizens participate in community development.

The empirical findings of the study exposed that different actors have different roles to play in crowdfunding. To this end, the integrated model emphasises that resources that are mobilised beyond what government or local governments are usually able to harness extend to the contributions made by urban communities. Therefore, by adopting this model, the CoH will be able to explore alternative infrastructure financing to complement traditional mechanisms of financing and address monetary gaps. Also, to better harness collective power, the proposed integrated model allows the CoH to get a glimpse of what other world class cities gained by learning from international best practices. As such, it could draw lessons on critical success factors as well as establish mechanisms to address challenges and concerns regarding civic crowdfunding. Further to that, collective power will allow the CoH to build resilience through development of an active citizenry, building social capital, and sharing of responsibilities in ways that encapsulate emerging tools that allow it to partner, engage, empower and co-produce services

with other stakeholders. The integrated civic crowdfunding model thus positions the CoH to build a crowdfunding culture.

The integrated civic crowdfunding model depicts multiple tensions at the intersections of the vectors. One such tension is that different stakeholders have different roles and responsibilities as well as priorities and preferences. In this regard, Bourgon (2011:35) states that the greatest potential for innovation lies at the crossroads of the four vectors. This is where issues, tools and capacities may be recombined in new and productive ways … It is where a new sharing of roles and responsibilities between stakeholders (i.e. government and society) may be forged at a lower overall cost to society.

Figure 2 highlights some critical considerations on the structure, system, processes and stakeholders in the integrated civic crowdfunding model.

Evidence from the findings of the study revealed that civic crowdfunding systems should be flexible and transparent. On the same note, evidence from experience from other international cases shows the importance of online crowdfunding platforms in providing systems for citizens to participate in the development of their neighbourhoods. In terms of flexibility, the proposed model underscores that it should cater for all forms of payments that include mobile money, bank transfers, international platforms such as Mastercard and Visa and respond to advancements in this sector. The model argues for the redefined roles of the citizens and

Figure 2: Critical considerations on the structure, system, processes and stakeholders
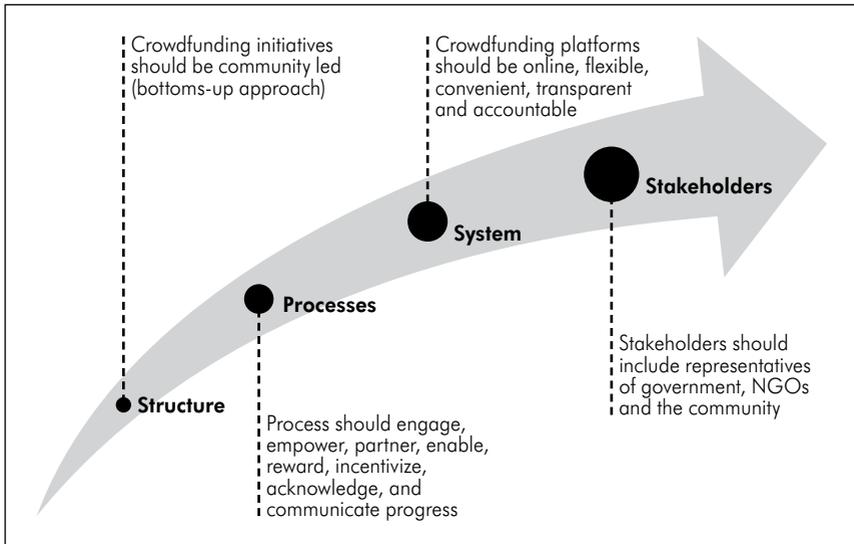
Source: (Researchers' own construction)

the CoH being perpetuated by civic crowdfunding. Evidence from the study (i.e. from the interviews held, documents analysed and literature reviewed) presents the following as some of the roles that residents and the CoH can play in civic crowdfunding. A summary of these roles is presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Proposed roles of the CoH and residents in civic crowdfunding

Role of the CoH	Role of citizens
Facilitate	Initiate
Enable	Participate
Partner	Partnering
Legislate	Act within city by-laws and legislation
Technical support	Donate
Co-produce	Co-produce
Engage	Engage
Guard	Ownership
Empower	Stewardship

Source: (Researchers' own construction)

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE APPLICATION OF THE MODEL

The successful implementation of the model is dependent on a number of critical success factors. These success factors emerged from the analyses of international cases as well as from the responses obtained from various stakeholder groupings during the interviews. The following are particular recommendations for the application of the model in cities in developing countries in general and in the CoH in particular:

- in terms of structure, all initiatives should take a bottom-up approach i.e. they should be community-initiated and championed;
- in terms of system, crowdfunding platforms should be online, flexible, convenient, transparent and accountable;
- in terms of processes, it should endeavour to engage, empower, partner, enable, reward, incentivise, acknowledge, communicate progress, and legislate; and
- in terms of stakeholders, they should include representatives of government, NGOs and the community.

CONCLUSION

The study on which this article is based, was handicapped by the lack of an integrated civic crowdfunding model that could be applied by cities in the developing world

in general and in Africa, such as the CoH, in particular. Cognisant of Davies' (2014a) ground-breaking work on civic crowdfunding and the growing body of literature on civic crowdfunding, this article was focused on an African experience with different social, political and economic variables. For example, Zimbabwe and particularly the CoH, present unique challenges such as political polarisation and mistrust among citizens. On this front, this study was in harmony with Boyle's (2016–17–18) view that generalising conclusions from studies conducted in the Northern Hemisphere may discount the effect of socio-cultural and political nuances as well as geographic differences in shaping attitudes towards civic crowdfunding, government, city planning practices and perceptions of liveability.

The findings of this study pointed to the fact that citizens generally no longer believe that the government alone should be at the forefront of the provision of public goods. Furthermore, the findings highlighted a shared responsibility among a variety of stakeholders, something that continues to give traction to network governance and ultimately literature on New Public Governance. Moreover, the study's depiction of the centrality of citizens in urban development highlighted in civic crowdfunding; points to the shift from government to governance that has been part of New Public Governance thinking. Initiatives such as civic crowdfunding are likely to change the scope and framework of public administration. It may be argued that civic crowdfunding is at the centre of transitioning from Traditional Public Administration to New Public Governance. The study's exposé of multi-stakeholders such as citizens, private sector, government (both central and local), civic society organisations, development partners, philanthropic organisations and academia provided for by civic crowdfunding can be described as the "rolling frontiers" of New Public Governance. As New Public Governance thinking continues to shape the study and practice of public administration in general and local governance in particular, new instruments such as civic crowdfunding require further empirical investigation as to how exactly these new instruments impact on city praxis.

NOTE

*   Mr Chigova is the Executive Director of FACI (Future African Cities Institute) in Harare, Zimbabwe. This article is based on his doctoral thesis under the supervision of Prof Gerrit van der Waldt titled "Civic crowdfunding for community infrastructure rehabilitation: The case of the City of Harare".

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AUTHORS' CONTACT DETAILS

Mr L E Chigova
Executive Director: FACI
Harare, Zimbabwe
Cell: +263 773 583 623
E-Mail: lewis@faci.org.za /
        lewisec47@gmail.com

Prof Gerrit van der Waldt
Research Professor: Public Governance
North-West University
Private Bag X6001
Potchefstroom
2520
Tel: 018 2991633
Cell. 082 4511752
E-Mail: Gerrit.vanderwaldt@nwu.ac.za

The Use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) for Smart Governance in the City of Ekurhuleni

M Ncamphalala*
School of Public Management, Governance and Public Policy
University of Johannesburg

S Vyas-Doorgapersad
School of Public Management, Governance and Public Policy
University of Johannesburg

ABSTRACT

The paradigm shifts in Public Administration underpin South African municipalities' implementation of New Public Management-driven (NPM) measures for improved service delivery. Public management and service delivery are intrinsically linked to information and communication technology (ICT), hence promotes digital smart service delivery in South African municipalities. The article conceptualises and contextualises the ICT initiatives to transform municipalities into smart cities, offering seamless services through smart governance. The City of Ekurhuleni, hereafter referred to as CoE, is used as a case study. The methodology is based on a desktop analysis, which entails a comprehensive literature survey and official documents to conceptualise and contextualise the area of investigation. The methodological approach focuses on specific dimensions of unobtrusive research techniques, such as conceptual and document analysis. The article utilised the 'E-service delivery model' designed by Islam and Ahmed (2007) as a theoretical framework for the study. The study recommends implementation of the e-service delivery model. The rationale is that this model involves creating a networked society through interlinking systems of service delivery, and provides a one-stop service centre in rural and urban settings.

INTRODUCTION

The vision of the CoE is "to be [a] Smart, Creative and Developmental City" (CoE Annual Report 2015/16:8). In order to achieve its vision, the CoE has taken note of the need to improve its ICT network and to make sure that its fibre and wireless grid is properly connected and maintained. There are plans to introduce an ICT operations centre, to provide the basis for the city delivering Wi-Fi service not only to its employees, but also to households and businesses. This ICT initiative is aimed to transform the CoE to become a smart city that is able to service both its business and domestic customers in a modern way (South African Local Government Association (SALGA) 2015a:14). The implementation of these initiatives "should result in a future that can be defined in three inter-connected ways. These being:

- **A Delivering City** – envisaged taking route between 2012 and 2020, the form of which will be a well-managed, resourced and financially sustainable city;
- **A Capable City** – between 2020 and 2030, characterised by an inclusive industrial economy and meaningful reduction in unemployment and poverty; and
- **A Sustainable City** – between 2030 and 2055, where we shall have a clean, green and sustainable African manufacturing and logistics complex in a liveable and dynamic city that is highly integrated in its city region – Gauteng" (CoE Annual Report 2015/16:8).

Qualitative research methods were used to gather data relevant to the scope of the article. Snape and Spencer (2003:2) emphasised that qualitative research methods depend upon a range of factors, including: the researcher's beliefs (ontology) about the nature of the social world and what can be known about it; the nature of knowledge and how knowledge can be acquired (the researcher's epistemology); and the researcher's purpose(s) and aims for the research.

The article utilised the 'E-service delivery model' designed by Islam and Ahmed (2007) as a theoretical framework for the study. In this model "e-governance is based on engagement and the depth and quality of the relationships that surround both citizens and the government" (Sithole in Maseko 2018:52). According to Sithole (2015 in Maseko 2018:52), government departments' websites and portals are linked directly to the customer database and thus accentuates the necessary interface between government and citizens. Governments are able to disseminate information to citizens, business and service providers without time restrictions.

The aim of the article is to provide a conceptual framework gained from the relevant literature in an effort to explain the challenges and solutions on introducing ICT initiatives in the CoE.

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

Information and Communication Technology (ICT) is defined by Oliner and Sichel (1994:1) as a concept that includes computers and other information equipment as well as computer software, that covers computers, peripheral equipment and other information-related office equipment (photocopiers, cash registers, calculators), communications equipment, and instruments.

Oliner and Sichel (1994:1) view ICT as the combination of electronics, telecommunications, software, networks, and decentralised computer work stations, and the integration of information media, all of which impact firms, industries, and the economy as a whole. ICT is comprised of a variety of 'communication equipment' which includes radio, television (TV), and communication equipment and software. ICT investment includes investments in both computer and telecommunications, as well as related hardware, software and services. The use of ICT may transform municipalities into smart cities with seamless delivery of services.

A ***smart city*** is explained by Arroub, Bassma, Essaid and Mohamed (2016:2) as a city that can be defined as 'smart' when investments in human and social capital and modern transport and communication infrastructure fuel sustainable economic growth and a high quality of life, with a wise management of natural resources, through participatory governance.

Governments of smart cities, according to Glasmeier and Christopherson (2015:2), are "transforming from a traditional model of a silo-based organisation to a more collaborative, integrated service delivery model. Cities will collaborate with each other to drive smart city innovation by entering into partnerships with each other". Smart cities are therefore, according to Abbas (2017:10), referred to as "urban areas that use digital technologies in a secure fashion to manage the municipality's assets, enhance sustainable economic development, reduce costs and resource consumption, and support the well-being of its citizens".

Smart governance is defined by Bolivar and Meijer (2015:2), as a government that uses new channels of communication for the citizen, for example, 'e-Government'. Bolivar and Meijer (2015:9) further emphasise that "the growing role of technologies in the functioning of urban systems is making governments rethink the role they must have in a knowledge-based society. This role has been referred to as 'smart governance'". Smart governance means that various stakeholders are engaged in decision-making and public services; it also means that new technologies that is, social media, the internet, open data, citizen sensors,

and serious games are used to strengthen the collaboration between citizens and urban governments (Weiss 2000:799).

CONCEPTUALISING ICT, SMART CITIES AND SMART GOVERNANCE

Abbas (2017:4) highlights that throughout the world, cities are growing at exponential rates. In 1910, 10% of the world's population lived in cities. By 2014, 50% of the world's population lived in cities, and it is projected that by 2050, 75% of the world's population will live in cities.

In addition in.KNOW.vation (a magazine of SALGA) adds that as urban municipalities grow, they face the challenge of increased populations, greater service-delivery requirements, and a more demanding, educated consumer. Many rural municipalities, on the other hand, are shrinking, together with their tax bases and access to capable talent (SALGA 2015b:1).

This is furthermore highlighted by Das and Misra (2017:1), that in 1950, only "30% of the world's population was urban". According to the United Nations Report (in Das and Misra 2017:1) "54% of the world's population was living in urban areas in 2014, which is expected to increase to 66% by 2050. In 2014, the most urbanised regions include Northern America (82% living in urban areas), Latin America and the Caribbean (80%) and Europe (73%)". Das and Misra (2017:1) further stress that "Africa and Asia remain mostly rural, with 40% and 48% of their respective populations living in urban areas. Africa and Asia are urbanising faster than the other regions and are projected to become 56% and 64% urban respectively, by 2050".

This situation demands urban renewal in terms of infrastructure and services; therefore, the establishment of smart cities is considered as a requirement for seamless services. Smart cities can bring smart solutions to make infrastructure and services effective and efficient. However, this scenario can possibly be achieved through the implementation of smart governance that according to Basheka (2012:34) is synonymous with practices such as e-Governance.

The concept e-Governance, according to Vyas-Doorgapersad (2009:460), "refers to new processes of coordination made possible or even necessary by the advent of technology-and the spreading of online activities in particular". Maseko and Vyas-Doorgapersad (2018:176) further cite Hernon and Cullen (2006) highlighting "that e-Gvernment not only seeks to improve services and efficiency, but also contributes to public management modernisation and reform".

Poor service delivery has created stress in the daily functioning of municipalities, especially on the African continent, that have experienced and still experience a crisis of political turmoil, intolerance and harsh dictatorship; some countries have a 'military regime' with highly centralised government processes

(Vyas-Doorgapersad 2011:238). This scenario has impacted negatively on the delivery of services to end users who are the consumers of municipal services. Kanyane (Undated:78) highlighted that for the NPM proponents, the recipients or beneficiaries of public service delivery are referred to as "customers, while in the context of the discipline of Public Administration, they are usually referred to as the citizens". The term NPM appeared in the early 1990s and puts strong emphasis on the idea of providing service to customers.

African countries are currently introducing NPM-inspired initiatives of public management such as public-private partnerships; the issuing of service contracts, decentralisation, and alternative mechanisms. These include ICT that utilises digitalised means to create a "networked society, networked cities and networked governance associated with ICTs", to transform municipalities (Castells 2008 cited in Sadoway and Shekhar 2014:1), into smart cities creating smart citizens, smart mobility, smart networks, smart grids, smart parking, smart energy, smart water, and smart transport; to state a few outcomes. The ultimate outcome is to create a municipality that is digitally equipped to offer smart services to citizens. The rationale is the need to revolutionise the method/s of delivering services to the people. To make this a reality, there has to be a move away from the conventional approaches to public service delivery, where government is the sole provider of such services. Alternative mechanisms must be used instead; these must be cost-effective and efficient and be in accordance with the prescribed legal frameworks in the specific country (in Maseko 2018:32–33).

Like other African countries, municipalities in South Africa also have to find practical answers to common challenges, from providing power, water, homes, roads and transport, to catering for the needs of a varying body of citizens. Big cities are growing bigger. Smaller municipalities struggle both financially and in developing capacity to deal with years of apartheid-neglected infrastructure (SALGA 2015a:5). The rapidity of change in municipalities, according to SALGA (2015a:5) can have some devastating effects on planning services such as transportation, safety, basic water and electricity to customers on a continuous basis. The municipalities whose solutions are resilient and scalable have the most opportunities to be smart cities.

Smart cities, according to Meering and Balella (Undated:1), "have become a global phenomenon, and municipal leaders around the world are interested in the potential opportunities as they prepare their cities for the future". Smart cities, according to Das and Misra (2017:1), encompass citizens who collaborate and aim to provide services to people and government (including municipalities) through augmented infrastructure, environment, and economy; while ensuring mobility. In the context of smart cities, smart governance is a key issue.

However, this notion of smart cities and smart governance, demands that citizens who are the end users of service delivery also have access to ICT tools and ICT-based services. The demographics of South African households that have access to

ICT interventions (internet, mobile, web, fibre connection, broadband connectivity, etc.) is discussed in the *3rd Report on the state of the ICT sector in South Africa* released by the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) on 31 March 2018. The following statistics are obtained from ICASA (2018:5–6):

- According to Stats SA's *General Household Survey* (GHS), nationally the number of households that have access to some form of a telecommunication service in 2016, cellular phones accounted for 87.0% (an increase from the 85.5% reported in 2015 (ICASA 2018:5).
- Household internet usage nationally was reported at 59.3%. This essentially means that for 59.3% of households, at least one member in that household had access to the Internet either at home, workplace, place of study, or Internet café (ICASA 2018:5).
- Access to internet using mobile devices by households nationally, was reported to be 53.9%. Accessing the Internet at home was 9.5%, at work 15.8% and at Internet Café or educational facilities 9.8% (ICASA 2018:6).

Access to ICT-related interventions and devices in South Africa as a developmental state still encounter challenges due to poor households that cannot afford access to these devices. In this digitally transformed era, the way people communicate and access information and services and interact with each other and government has changed dramatically over the past twenty years. People now need an electronic address as well as a physical address, access to broadband and not only to a telephone line and the skills, means and knowledge to be able to use communications technology to improve the quality of their lives (RSA Department of Telecommunications and Postal Services 2016:6).

Access to ICT is considered imperative to receive the benefits of services that are cost-effective, time-effective, geographically-feasible, seamless, convenient, and available 24/7.

Notably, smart governance is a concept that is closely related to smart cities. From this perspective, one important element of governance is collaboration; both across departments and with citizens and making public service operational and services truly citizen-centric (Pereira, Cunha, Lampoltshammer, Parycek and Testa 2017:4). For Pereira (2017:4), the development of ICT promises to transform urban governance into smart governance, because ICT enables city governments to carry out their tasks effectively and efficiently. Moreover, ICT supports relationships among citizens and other organisations and presents new opportunities, particularly for governments, to promote new forms of communication, consultation, and dialogue between public organisations and citizens.

In order to achieve these benefits, some of the South African municipalities that have already implemented ICT initiatives to become smart cities with improved smart governance, are:

- *City of Johannesburg:* To provide effective, efficient and seamless services to citizens, the City is utilising technology (e-Governance) and being creative by implementing, among others, the following innovations: affordable broadband connectivity among City-owned facilities, and access in the City through the creation of wireless hotspots at all *Rea Vaya* stations and in the buses, as well as selected open spaces; an Intelligent Operation Centre; smart transport technology, and promoting ICT literacy via public access to internet (Maseko 2018).
- *eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality:* The Revenue Management Unit of the municipality has launched Smart Community – a smartphone application that allows customers to interact with the municipality. Residents who own smart phones or tablets can download this app from Google Play and Apple Store. Residents can use this app to report faults using GPS to record the accurate location, view emergency contact numbers and receive their revenue balances and municipal alerts (eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality: online). Due to smart governance initiatives in the municipality, Durban City (a city of the municipality) has therefore won the International Business Machines (IBM) Smarter City Challenge (eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality: online), that will see IBM experts providing expertise and working with the City's leadership to develop a roadmap to a smart city which is aligned to the economic development and job creation plan for the City (eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality: online).
- *City of Cape Town:* The main emphasis of Cape Town's smart governance and smart city strategy is "on e-Government to provide better access to and more efficient delivery of human facing services. Providing social and economic development by improving ICT skills is also an area of priority for Cape Town" (Lourie 2017: online). This accounts for the city's relatively high 'smart' score. Cape Town's principal smart city activities to date include: Public Wi-Fi; 560 cameras located throughout the city; Open Data Portal; and Smart grid (Lourie 2017: online).
- *City of Tshwane:* The municipality has established an e-government-based Innovative Hub to advance research-based opportunities and collaborations between the industries operating within the City. There is also an e-Health Project under way to establish an electronic health record-base in the city's clinics. A detailed description of these projects is available at the municipality's website, namely, **www.tshwane.gov.za** (City of Tshwane: online; Maseko 2018*).* The Tshwane Smart City Project (City of Tshwane: online) and its residents aim to enhance the city's "operations through use of smart technologies to provide efficient service to the residents".
- *City of Ekurhuleni:* The municipality has developed the following 11 IT strategies: deliver business solutions; optimise IT management and governance; improve IT organisation and employee capabilities; reduce IT costs; integrate IT operation and resources; expand the scope of informatisation and data

analysis; deploy mobile solutions; simplify business processes; integrate main businesses; improve the relationship between business departments; and facilitate infrastructure development or management (Huawei 2019: online). Tumelo Kganane, Chief Information Officer of the City of Ekurhuleni stated that Ekurhuleni has deployed city-wide wired and wireless networks, powerful cloud data centres, and government applications. These are the cornerstones of a Smart City. We plan to build other IT applications, such as Smart Transportation, Smart Buildings, Smart Meter Reading, and Smart Education. We will also build a command and control system based on unified communications to further improve city operation efficiency. We are determined to be a Smart City pioneer in South Africa by staying focused on good governance, people's welfare, and economic revitalisation (Huawei 2019: online).

The section below discusses the ICT initiatives, the level of achievements in terms of seamless service delivery, and challenges that require measures for improvement in the CoE.

THE CITY OF EKURHULENI

The CoE was established in 2000 from the amalgamation of two existing regional entities, namely, Kyalami Metropolitan and the Eastern Gauteng Services Council. This is unlike the other metropolitan regions formed after the 2000 local government elections, which were formed around large cities (CoE Integrated Development Plan (IDP) Draft 2016/2017–2021: 17). The CoE as a Category A municipality covers an extensive area from Germiston in the west to Springs and Nigel in the east (Yes Media 2019:1).

The economy in the CoE is larger and more diverse than that of many small countries in Africa. It accounts for nearly a quarter of Gauteng's economy, which in turn contributes over a third of the national Gross Domestic Product (Yes Media 2019:1). Many of the factories for production of goods and commodities are located in Ekurhuleni, often referred to as Africa's Workshop. The city's main economic sectors are manufacturing (23%), finance and business services (22%), community services (19%), trade (15%), transport (11%), construction (5%), electricity (3%), and mining (2%) (Yes Media 2019:1).

The network of roads, airports, rail lines, telephones, electricity grids and telecommunications found in Ekurhuleni can be regarded as the transportation hub of the country. It is home to OR Tambo International Airport; South Africa's largest railway hub, a number of South Africa's modern freeways and expressways, the Maputo Corridor Development, direct rail, road and air links connecting Ekurhuleni to Durban City, the Blue IQ projects, with linkages to the City Deep Container

terminal, the planned Gautrain rapid rail link to Johannesburg and Pretoria, and the OR Tambo International Airport Industrial Development Zone (IDZ) (CoE 2018a:2). The OR Tambo International Airport has been identified as the nucleus for the development of the Aerotropolis, which is one of the flagship projects of the municipality to stimulate growth and job creation (Coastal & Environmental Services 2016:15).

Ekurhuleni's journey, according to the CoE IDP and Budget (2018:18), is towards establishing an effective and efficient local government started with the mammoth task of having to merge the different administrative systems responsible for governance and service delivery. The city differs vastly from other large cities in the country like Johannesburg, Cape Town, Pretoria and Durban that reinvented themselves around relatively mature colonial city centres.

The CoE IDP and Budget (2018:18) further highlights that much like the heterogeneous confluence of locals that make up its citizenry, the CoE had to chart a new path in rationalising its administration, and consolidating its spatial footprint into a single identity. The city was confronted with having to create a single uniform identity, and to create and optimise linkages between towns, townships and economic centres. This included the promotion of access to services and facilities and the protection and maintenance of open spaces with the vision of the Gauteng City region in mind.

These services and facilities demand the implementation of ICT initiatives for smart governance in the CoE.

ICT in the CoE

ICTs including computing and broadcasting, can contribute to sustainable human development and poverty eradication through making social communication easier and more affordable and by enabling speedy and secure economic transactions (Scupola 2008:20). As accelerator, driver, multiplier and innovator, ICTs are powerful if not indispensable tools in the massive scaling up and interlinkage of development interventions and outcomes in the 21st century. ICTs in the context of governance may also play a critical role in speeding up the flows of information and knowledge between government, citizens and business. This, according to CoE Annual Report (2017/18), assumes regular interaction and feedback, as envisaged in the community participation requirements for the municipal IDPs. In addition, the following ICT-based measures are implemented by the CoE to offer technology-driven seamless services to community members through smart governance.

ICT-based partnerships: The CoE has partnered with Bytes Technology Networks (BTN), in a project worth about R12 million, to upgrade and replace much of its existing networking infrastructure. The project is part of the Ekurhuleni vision to bring improved automated services to the community members (Botha 2005:1). According to Colin Pillay, Executive Director: ICT at the Ekurhuleni

Metro (Botha 2005:1), in the CoE, not only was the existing network old but it was already battling to handle the existing network traffic, without even the consideration of new services and applications being rolled out across the region. The goal is to create a first-class network that is able to scale to accommodate the provision of e-services to the citizens in the region.

Ekurhuleni Broadband Initiatives: In terms of the CoE Growth and Development Strategy 2025, the development of an ICT infrastructure and the lobbying for broadband infrastructure provisioning in selected priority high tech hubs such as the OR Tambo international airport and surrounds will work closely with the City of Tshwane and Johannesburg in promoting the smart province concept and attracting ICT development and investment to the region.

Kekana (2013:23) emphasised that the CoE "Integrated Development Plan indicates under the ICT operational plans that there will be a…development of the fibre network for the Aerotropolis". The Aerotropolis is defined as the airport city that contains the full set of commercial facilities that support airlines and aviation-linked businesses, as well as millions of air travellers who pass though the airport annually and offers businesses located on and near the airport speedy connectivity to their suppliers, customers, and enterprise partners nationally and worldwide, modelling a gateway to international countries (Kekana 2013:240). According to Kekana (2013:240), fundamental to the success of the Aerotropolis concept is broadband infrastructure that supports and enables business interactions thereby promoting economic growth. Therefore, it can be accepted that ICTs and broadband will be an integral part of the Aerotropolis if it is in support of the growth and developmental agenda of the Metro. ICTs and broadband infrastructure form a nerve centre that would enable the seamless business operations within the central business district or the airport driving economic growth of the Metro and its surrounding cities.

Growth and Development Strategy: The CoE has incorporated municipal broadband initiatives and plans with the broader municipal's Growth and Development Strategy (GDS) (2025). This is a clear demonstration of good governance and policy leadership on the part of the Metro. The CoE's GDS emphasises collaborations with other metros and government entities in their build-up of the broadband infrastructure to support the smart province concepts and markets (Kim, Kelly and Raja 2010:2).

The intention as highlighted by markets (Kim *et al.* 2010:2) is to collaborate with other stakeholders, in the build-up of broadband networks and reflect good governance and leadership that seeks to reduce duplication of effort and resources in implementing their broadband policies and strategies.

ICT Tools: Different types of broadband networks or tools are utilised under smart governance as follows:
- Cable Modem: Cable modem service enables cable operators to provide broadband using the same coaxial cables that deliver pictures and sound to your TV

set. Most cable modems are external devices that have two connections: one to the cable wall outlet, the other to a computer. They provide transmission speeds of 1.5 Mbps or more (Federal Communications Commission 2019:2);

- Fibre to the home (FTTH): A fibre optic technology similar to standard cable that allows for transmission speeds of up to 10 Gbps. Fibre optic cables are rolled out to the home of the consumer and can carry video, data, voice and interactive video-telephone services (Distaso, Lupi and Manenti 2006:90);

- Fixed Wireless Access (FWA): Sometimes known as Fixed Wireless Broadband – is an alternative means of providing internet connectivity that uses wireless network technology rather than fixed lines. An access unit is attached to street furniture – like a lamppost – which then wirelessly connects to a receiver placed inside a home or business property; the receiver then feeds a router (often integrated into the same form factor) which provides WiFi signal into the building, enabling users to connect their numerous everyday devices (Arqiva 2019: 2);

- Satellite: Satellite is a broadband technology that uses satellite TV equipment to carry data. At the moment, the majority of services based on satellite technology are one-way (they only allow for downstream transmission) and need a dial-up connection for the return channel. The downstream speed ranges between 300 Kbps and 2 Mbps. This technology is considered to be particularly effective for servicing rural areas where other technologies are too expensive to be put in place (Distaso *et al.* 2006:90);

- 3G wireless: Third-generation wireless refers to current and future telecommunications innovations that mobilise broadband access, with the ability to support several different cellular standards and provide multimedia services. The largest potential of this type of wireless technology is that it is not computer-centric, and that it presents the convergence of several second generation (2G) wireless telecommunications systems. The major advantage lies in the possibility for high-speed Internet access through mobile devices. 3G wireless promises speeds at above 2Mbps; however, it remains to be seen how fast this technology will be fully developed and deployed in the market (Papacharissi and Zaks 2006:66).

Through all these ICT initiatives, the CoE aims to employ tactics of densification, infill and development of strategically located brownfields and greenfields to upgrade the city. The spatial reconfiguration is aimed at bringing about the modernisation of the public service, the economy, human settlements and urban development, as well as the modernisation of public transport infrastructure (CoE 2018b:3).

In order to achieve the vision, the CoE is committed to implement ICT-driven measures. In this process, the CoE has received the Customer Innovation Award in the Digital Transformation category at Software AG's Innovation World 2013 event. The CoE has also won the award for using Software AG technology to increase and accelerate service delivery to South African citizens (Hartley 2013:1).

It is imperative to note that the ICT-based initiatives can only be successful when citizens have knowledge, understanding, awareness and training to use the digitalised forms of services. The CoE, according to a study conducted by Kekana (2013:114), does believe in the concept of active citizenry and has established a community broadband project named 'Siyafunda', which allocates free computers to schools around the Metro, and offers experiential training on ICT to community members as one of its community engagement processes.

Achievements and challenges for the CoE to become a smart city with smart governance

The CoE has probably most strongly articulated its vision of a digitally connected city, as one in which all citizens have access to affordable broadband services. ICT development is part of the economic transformation and development of the municipality (CoE GDS 2025). This strategic approach is set out in the GDS 2025, the IDP 2017–2021, the CoE Digital City Blueprint and the Business Plan for the Implementation of Customer Care Centres. Furthermore, the city recognises the contribution that a vibrant ICT sector will make to its manufacturing-oriented economy, which has been lagging in global terms (CoE GDS 2025).

The CoE also accepts that its role is to facilitate this process as it creates opportunities for the private sector to step in and provide the infrastructure and services. In terms of e-administration, the CoE has made great strides in building a wireless network that connects all nine administrative centres. It is now focusing on improving individual administrative processes (business process mapping) and aims to create a single view of its customers (CoE IDP, Budget & SDBIP 2007/8 – 2009/10). The CoE Digital City Blueprint illustrates extensive knowledge of and insight into the characteristics and future requirements of the local economy, local realities and inequalities, and aims to address the identified needs, including digital inclusion and e-governance (CoE IDP, Budget & Service Delivery and Budget Implementation Plan (SDBIP) 2007/8 – 2009/10). The strategy also sees the interconnectedness between social development and local economic development. The GDS 2025 agenda requires the application of ICT with the intended outcome of 'world-class ICT infrastructure' to support economic growth in the city. This perspective includes requirements for broadband infrastructure especially in 'high-tech hubs' such as the vicinity of the OR Tambo International Airport, South Africa's international business and tourist gateway (Abrahams and Bhyat 2007).

The CoE plans to create customer care areas and customer care centres as a mechanism to provide integrated services and information to communities; however, the ideas are general rather than specific (CoE IDP, Budget & SDBIP 2007/8 – 2009/10).

Despite smart governance initiatives, various challenges are confronting and hindering the CoE from achieving smart city status. One of the major challenges is linked to human settlements in terms of the housing backlog and the housing solutions targeting poor families, which is constrained by land availability (CoE SDBIP 2016:16). Another challenge is related to the infrastructure, where extensive investments into renewals, maintenance and decommissioning of infrastructure, is required and it seems to be a challenge for the city to acquire those investments (CoE SDBIP 2016:16). Unemployment is also considered as a challenge confronting the CoE. Attempts are made to minimise the rate by investing in short-term employment solutions, which include community works and expanded public works programme (EPWP). However, these solutions are not sustainable in the long run, and the city needs to find long-term job solutions that will increase growth in employment opportunities (www.ekurhuleni.gov.za: online). Inadequate skills development is also another challenge confronting the city. It can be argued that in making the necessary strides in skills development, the national government established the Skills, Education and Training Authorities (SETAs) to undertake the project of skills development. However, the lack of effectiveness during the implementation of this initiative has raised the need for industry-led skills development approaches (CoE SDBIP 2016:16).

Poor performance of the municipality is another area of challenge. There are performance barriers that need to be identified and unlocked. Inadequate funding in the city is a major challenge; for instance, the city generates annually an average of R2 billion Capital Expenditure (CAPEX) funding to support its infrastructure development programme for growth, renewals and access (CoE IDP 2016:22). For the City to be sustainable, R4 billion CAPEX will be needed annually. This in the short to medium term will require that the City re-examine its priorities given the lack of resources in line with what is affordable within the budget (CoE IDP 2016:22). It is perceived these challenges are the result of the absence of ICT or ineffectiveness of officials to make use of ICT.

The municipality also has been "facing challenges in its finances; infrastructure and planning… It has also lagged behind in providing key services and dealing with outstanding disputes" (South African Government News Agency 2009:1) accelerating the need for improvements in services with smart infrastructure development. The City of Johannesburg therefore was tasked to provide support to the CoE in terms of "basic institutional arrangements, governance, systems, processes and procedures are in place and support the objectives of the council" (SA News: online). In the CoE, the capacity for analysing the alternative and innovative ways of delivering services is lacking. The province was, therefore, also requested to support the municipality by deploying resources and specialists who can develop a bold turnaround plan (SA News: online).

Due to lack of citizen training to utilise e-Government initiatives, and poor internet connectivity; all these good things cannot be reached or afforded.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

The article views the current dedication and implementation of smart governance in the CoE to be deficient, something that has led to a haphazard and partial adoption of smart governance. While various challenges remain, it is the willingness of local leadership and the relative importance that those holding the levers of power in the municipality attach to ICTs, that will determine how deep and far they will drive the municipality towards this goal. Primarily, there is a need for modern-day municipalities to adopt smart solutions which not only improve the effectiveness of public service delivery, but also transform the economic and efficient aspects of the delivery of services to consumers or citizens.

The CoE's smart city initiative with smart governance can be achieved, to put in place solutions to develop and improve the skills of the people. The CoE also needs to focus on the assessment of the ICT infrastructure and finding solutions for smart city and smart governance problems on a regular basis. There should be monitoring and evaluation processes in place to ensure that ICT services are implemented effectively.

NOTE

*   This article is partly based on a completed unpublished MA dissertation titled: Ncamphalala, M. *The role of ICT to promote smart governance in local governments* at UJ under the supervision of Prof S Vyas-Doorgapersad. Unpublished MA dissertation. Johannesburg: University of Johannesburg

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AUTHORS' CONTACT DETAILS

Mr Mncedisi Ncamphalala
Postgraduate Student
School of Public Management, Governance and Public Policy
College of Business and Economics
University of Johannesburg
Auckland Park
South Africa
Cell: 083 891 7085
Email: ncamphalalamncedisi@gmail.com

Prof Shikha Vyas-Doorgapersad
Head: Academic Programmes and Staff
School of Public Management, Governance and Public Policy
College of Business and Economics
University of Johannesburg
Auckland Park
South Africa
Cell: 072 463 8685
Email: svyas-doorgapersad@uj.ac.za

Balancing the Right to Strike with the Right to Public Health Care

Z Rikwe*
Department of Human Resource Management
Cape Peninsula University of Technology

L Gie
Department of Human Resource Management
Cape Peninsula University of Technology

H H Ballard
School of Public Leadership
University of Stellenbosch

ABSTRACT

Labour strikes are prevalent within the South African public sector land-scape which has a negative impact on economic development as it re-lates to worker productivity and its interruption of the provision of much needed essential and emergency services. Services that are categorised as essential relates to inter alia health and security, which are regarded as imperative for ensuring the welfare of society. Employees within these categories are under both a moral obligation and legislative restriction not to strike. The counter argument is that these employees could be exploited by failing to protect their constitutional rights and expressing their expectations. The right to strike is documented in the South African Constitution under Bill of Rights and Labour Relations Act No. 66 of 1995 (LRA), where the latter makes provision for the conclusion of a Minimum Service Agreement (MSA). However, no MSA has been ratified since the LRA was promulgated in 1995. The purpose of this article is to present the guidelines developed from the results arising from a qualitative research study for the establishment of a MSA to promote equilibrium between the right to strike and the right to public health care within the South African Public Health sector.

This study applied qualitative research design, where open-ended questionnaires were distributed to the target research sample. Purposive sampling was applied to a total of 30 participants who were selected from

the Western Cape Department of Health's essential services, including management and trade unions officials. The qualitative data was analysed by using theme identification, grouping similar responses as means to articulate the findings. The results revealed that employees who are providing essential services have the right to strike only if certain conditions are met. One of these conditions is the conclusion of the MSA to ensure a balance between the rights of health workers to strike, and the rights of the citizens to be provided with health care services. The agreement provides the duties and responsibilities of the employer and employees for the continuation of minimum services in the event of a public sector strike to ensure that service delivery is not interrupted.

INTRODUCTION

The public health sector has a constitutional obligation to provide essential services to the nation. Interruption of those services may inconvenience or endanger lives of those who solely depend on them. The public service employees have rights too, as contemplated in Section 23 of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* Act, 1996. Section 36 of the Constitution (Republic of South Africa, Bill of Rights 1996: 18) provides for the rights listed in Section 23 to be limited by the legislation, known as the Labour Relations Act (LRA Act, No. 66 of 1995 as amended). The LRA recognises the right to strike and provides for restrictions to this universal right by prohibiting persons providing essential services from joining a strike. On the contrary, the LRA makes provision for the conclusion of MSA, this agreement will determine the number of the workforce in an essential service who will continue to provide minimum services while other employees are on strike (Republic of South Africa 1995:95).

In the absence of the agreement certain portfolios in a public service are declared essential and the affected employees are prohibited from striking. The LRA was under scrutiny during the public service strikes of 2007 and 2010 where employees providing essential services were part of the strikers. The incident created tension between the public, government and the recognised unions with regard to essential services, since great attention needed to be paid to the rights of the citizens in pursuance of their daily lives unhindered, and to the right of the society to protect their well-being and its own essential functioning. The purpose of this study was to determine the effective utilisation of mechanisms to manage limitations on the right to strike within the public health sector in the Western Cape, South Africa, as provided for by legislation.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Strike action is regarded as one of the most important tools utilised by the workers and their trade union in pursuit of their economic and social interests. It is the most visible and controversial form of collective action in the event of a labour dispute and is often seen as the last resort for workers' organisations in pursuit of having their demands met. A strike is expensive and disruptive for workers, employers and society alike; and, when it occurs, it is owing to a failure in the process of addressing working conditions through collective bargaining. Strikes are often a symptom of broader and more diffuse issues, with the result that, even if a strike is prohibited by national legislation or a judicial order, will not prevent it from occurring if the economic and social pressures are sufficiently strong (International Labour Organisation–ILO, 2001). The global and local context of strikes is presented hereunder. The legislative framework which governs strike action is also presented. The foregoing provides the context for the study.

International Labour Organisation's Standards

The Committee on Freedom of Association (CFA) declared strike action to be a right, and laid down the basic principles underlying this right, from which all others to some extent derive. CFA recognises the right to strike to be one of the principal means by which workers and their associations may legitimately promote and defend their economic and social interests (ILO 1996:101). Over the years, in line with this principle, the CFA has recognised that strike action is a right and not simply a social act, and has also:

- reduced the number of categories of workers who may be deprived of this right, as well as the legal restrictions on its exercise, which should not be excessive;
- linked the exercise of the right to strike to the objective of promoting and defending the economic and social interests of workers (which criterion excludes strikes of a purely political nature from the scope of international protection provided by the ILO, although the CFA makes no direct statement or indication regarding sympathy strikes other than that they cannot be banned outright; this matter is examined subsequently by the CFA; and
- stated that the legitimate exercise of the right to strike should not entail prejudicial penalties of any sort, which would imply acts of anti-union discrimination (ILO 2000:11).

The ILO's standards on strikes and essential services arose primarily from the Interpretation of the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining, Convention 98 of 1949, and The Freedom of Association and the Protection of the Right

to organise, Convention 87 of 1948. One of the Conventions ratified by South Africa (SA) is the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention. In accordance with the SA legislation (Republic of South Africa, 1995:95), trade unions can only embark on strike action if the provision of minimum service agreement is in place. Currently, no MSA has been concluded at the Public Health and Social Development Sectoral Bargaining Council. Therefore, employee's providing public health essential services may not partake on a strike action, anyone embarking on a strike action in the absence of the MSA would be engaged in an unlawful and unprotected strike action and disciplinary action will be taken against those workers.

South African legislation

The Constitution (1996) recognises the rights and responsibilities of its people, which stipulates rights of the citizen, among other rights. Section 11 of the Constitution, 1996 stipulates that everyone has the right to life; section 27 (1) (a)–'everyone has the right to have access to health care services, including reproductive health care and no one may be refused emergency medical treatment; and Section 23 (2) (c) – everyone has the right to strike (Republic of South Africa, 1996:14).

The LRA defines a strike as: "The partial or complete concerted refusal to work, or the retardation or obstruction of work, by persons who are employed or have been employed by the same employer or by different employers, for the purpose of remedying a grievance or resolving a dispute of any matter of mutual interest between employer and employee. Any reference to work in this definition includes overtime work, whether it is voluntary or compulsory" (Republic of South Africa 1995:221).

Section 64(1) of the LRA makes provisions for every employee to have the right to strike and provide for every employer the remedy to lock-out should the requirements of a protected strike or protected lock-out have been conformed in accordance with the LRA. Section 65 of the LRA is a typical example of the fact that the rights that the Constitution, 1996 grants are not absolute, and are subject to limitations. The LRA prohibits employees providing essential services from striking and defines essential service as –

- "a service whose interruption endangers the life, personal safety or health of the whole or any part of the population;
- Parliamentary service; and
- the South African Police Services" (Republic of South Africa 1995:218).

The South African definition of essential service is found to be similar to the definition provided by the ILO, where ILO defines essential service as such that

personal safety, life or health or part of, or of the whole population, becomes endangered. Section 65 of the LRA prohibits essential service employees to strike, because of the nature of services that they provide. In the case of rights that may appear to be in conflict with each other in a certain case, for example, the right to strike and the right to healthcare facilities, a fair balance must be found between interests that are protected by each of these rights. This is addressed by Section 36 of the Constitution, 1996 where the Bill of Rights stipulates that the general application of the Bill of Rights may also be restricted in such a manner that such restriction is reasonable and justified in a free and democratic society, based on human dignity, equality and freedom, considering all relevant circumstances. The right to strike as legislated as it may be, infringes upon other rights, hence limitations provided by law under the Bill of Rights accommodate the conflict between entrenched rights and social interests represented by a democratic government. Public service employees are allowed to enjoy their right to strike just like any other employees. However, the limitations provided by law ought to provide an unambiguous description and categorisation of the public service employees who will be affected by such limitations on their rights to strike. The nature of the duties and responsibilities performed by such public service officials, and the probable effect of service interruption during strike action has to be considered when defining such employees.

Furthermore, the LRA entrusted the Essential Service Committee (ESC) with powers amongst others to decide whether or not a whole or a part of a service should be designated as an essential service; and to ratify a collective agreement for an MSA (Republic of South Africa 1995:14). The ESC has designated a substantial number of services as essential services, some of those services, specifically in the public sector, include inter alia:

a. "Emergency health services and the provision of emergency health facilities to the community or part thereof;
b. Nursing;
c. Medical and paramedical services" (Republic of South Africa 2008:1).

The services that are not listed above are not regarded essential by the ESC, since there are many employees, whose work is hardly vital to protect "life, personal safety and health. The statement is supported by the Constitutional Court judgment between *South African Police Service v Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union & Others* the Labour Court held that the exclusion of the right to strike applies only to members of South African Police Service (SAPS), does not apply to SAPS employees. The court made reference to the SAPS Act which does not exclude "non-members" of SAPS from participating on a strike action, and ruled that those who are not employed under the SAPS Act, the service they provide is not regarded essential, and emphasised on the fact that it was the service that

was essential, and not the industry (Concourt 2011). The court found it difficult to understand that finance administrators, and general assistance employees provided an essential service in that should they participate on strike or their withdrawal from service would impact negatively on service delivery or would "endanger the life, personal safety and health of the whole or part of the population" (Concourt 2011).

Consequently, the Constitution, 1996 cannot be read in isolation from the LRA, as it clearly provides for a definition of a strike, essential services, processes that should be followed before embarking on a strike and the conclusion of the MSA. Equilibrium between the right to strike and the right to health care services should be observed at all times.

Minimum services

Section 72 of the LRA states that the ESC may ratify any collective agreement that provides for the maintenance of minimum services in a service that is a designated essential service. The advantage of this section is that services that are declared to be minimum services become essential services, and only workers who are employed within those designated services are prohibited from striking, whilst other employees can enjoy their right to strike (Republic of South Africa 1995:95). It has been ascertained by the law makers that not everyone who is employed in an essential service performs an essential service. This was substantiated by Pillay (2012:13) who indicated that the past 15 years of the ESC's existence have demonstrated that strikes in health, police, municipal and court services have not resulted in any reported loss of life. Frequent and sometimes prolonged electricity and water cuts have inconvenienced communities and even devastated businesses, but these too have not resulted in any reported loss of life. These experiences have shown that these services can be minimised without endangerment of lives (Pillay 2012:13).

The concept of minimum services is not defined in the LRA, but it is regarded as the minimum service that an industry or workplace would require ensuring that any interruption of services would not endanger the life, personal safety or health of the whole or part of the population. This means a 'reduced' number of employees who will be required to continue working, ensuring minimum service during a strike, to ensure that the service which is normally provided does not cease entirely. Figure 1 is an example of minimum service within in an essential service.

The collective bargaining structure, where negotiations in respect of cost of living adjustments (salary increases) are centralised for all public services, does not allow for a separate collective bargaining structure for essential services. The legislators also recognised that not all public services are essential even within the public health sector; hence the provision of the MSA was made and proves that the sectors

Figure 1: Interpreting Section 72(b) of the LRA–Essential Service and Minimum Service
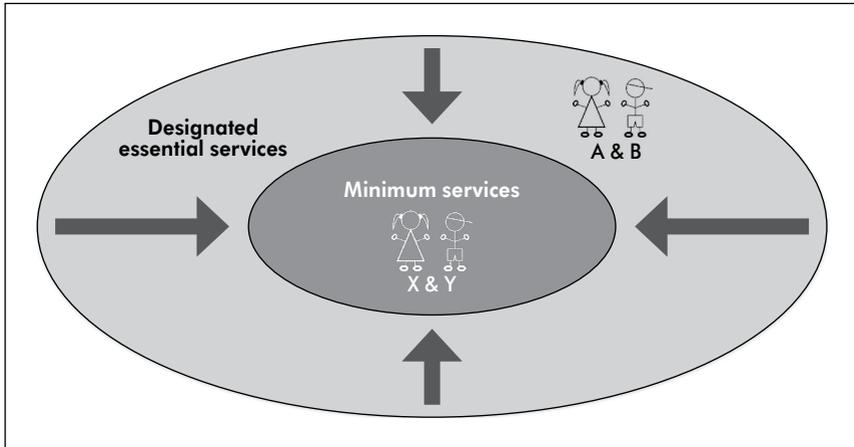
can continue with minimum service. According to the Public Service Coordinating Bargaining Council (PSCBC) (PSCBC 2014), essential services and minimum services agreement has been a matter of discussion for a lengthy period of time with no finality amongst relevant stakeholders. The PSCBC, Resolution 1 of 2007 provides for establishment of a Joint Technical Working Group (JTWG) to draft and develop a MSA. The JTWG was established and held several meetings in 2008 in persuasion of the MSA. PSCBC then also appointed an independent facilitator who would have submitted reports on a monthly basis. The MSA was drafted, but parties could not reach an agreement. To date, the MSA has not been signed by the relevant parties, which will enable employees' providing essential service to strike who are currently prohibited to embark on strike action, because of the nature of their work. If they decide to do so, it would be done illegally (PSCBC 2014).

Brand (2013: 8) states that employers seem not to have considered it to be important to pursue MSA on the grounds that a much bigger quantity of public sector workers are then not excluded from striking. Because South Africa's essential service workers and non-essential services workers are often included in the same bargaining unit, trade unions have successfully pursued strike action across the whole bargaining unit, including essential services workers. Trade unions are aware of that although the strike was unprotected, strikes by essential services workers significantly increase pressure on the employer (Brand 2013:8). In other countries that provide minimum services, their means of ensuring enforcement is by way of penalties. When a strike is prolonged, the court can rule that the strike must cease and that all concerned must report for work. It would seem that this

issue is not political, but it is, since it involves citizens who are voters and those who depend solely on public health services. Hence, the MSA, needs to include tight regulation about consequences of prolonged strikes (De Bruin 2013:30).

This research study set out to provide guidelines for the establishment of a MSA within the Public Health Sector to determine those employees that may participate in protected strike action, and those who cannot and must instead continue to provide minimum services within an essential service. In this way, no constitutional and labour rights are violated.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This study applied a qualitative research design to acquire knowledge, opinions, attitudes and behaviours regarding essential services (Creswell 2006:6; Kothari 2004:5). The target research sample was 50, selected via purposive sampling that equally included 25 employees / management and 25 trade union officials from the Western Cape Department of Health who were actively engaged in the collective bargaining processes and had knowledge of the LRA.

Owing to the complexity of strike action in essential services, 23 open-ended questions were designed to explore participants' interpretation and understanding of the provision made by the LRA for parties to conclude a MSA, which would allow some employees within the essential service designate to embark on strike action. The open-ended questionnaires were emailed to participants for convenience, while others were hand delivered as not all had access to emails. The text data was analysed individually, comparisons drawn and common themes were grouped together for interpretation.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As a result of the 2007 and 2010 public service strikes, employers should have established a mechanism to ensure that essential services were never interrupted again. Analysis revealed that 19 respondents supported the conclusion of a MSA, while 5 stipulated that the Department had to have a contingency plan in place; 4 supported compulsory arbitration as the best way to avoid a strike, and 2 suggested the use of agency services. The literature review stipulated that minimum services had to be provided within an essential service, which must remain operational during the strike. The MSA is not defined by the LRA, but the LRA in Section 72 makes provision for conclusion of an MSA. Most of the respondents had knowledge of what a MSA was and how it should work. Although no definition is found in the LRA, a definition should be part of the MSA itself, once concluded.

The respondents were requested to mention factors that the parties need to consider prior to conclusion of a MSA that concerned the workers and may negatively affect and cause division amongst them. One of their main concerns, was the 'no work, no pay' principle, followed by the protection of non-striking employees. It is envisaged that employees who strike may suffer financially owing to the implications of a 'no work, no pay' rule, while the results of their strike action may well benefit all workers. This might cause conflict towards the workers who provide minimum services and hence their safety might be at risk.

Furthermore, challenges which parties may face in an effort to conclude a MSA that regulates minimum services within public services include the difficulty of pre-determining numbers or the percentage of workers that would render such minimum services. The division of employees, between those that will offer minimum services and those that would participate in strike action, could cause conflict based on the fact that the principle of 'no work, no pay' will apply, which means that non-strikers will receive their full salary (a factor for consideration in MSA). These two challenges are central to conceptualisation of the study's objectives, and this research aimed towards making recommendations for the effective establishment of the minimum services.

Several substantive issues and concerns were mentioned in responses that would be faced by involved parties, should the MSA be concluded, and hence it is believed that this is why parties are reluctant to enter into this agreement. The employer has a constitutional obligation to provide the public with health care services, while conversely, trade unions use the strike as a fundamental tool to get the employer's attention in response to their demands, and they would also want to avoid creating divisions among members. 5 respondents raised the concern by stating the service delivery would be compromised, which could lead to loss of life. The principle of 'no work no pay' is also raised by 5 respondents as a challenge; while 5 mentioned disunity among employees; 1 expressed concern about determination of who will render the minimum service and while on the other hand 5 respondents states that the division of employees might be the challenge; again the 4 respondents referred to the protection of strikers; 3 referred to the agreement interpretation; 3 stated that reaching consensus on various categories and enforcement should be considered; 2 respondents claimed that the strike is the only weapon that the employer understands; and 2 did not address the question.

The majority of the respondents stated that the absence of the MSA provides an opportunity for employees to strike and that there are serious repercussions for the employer because service delivery will collapse; hence the need to conclude a MSA. A substantial number of respondents concurred that employees participating in a strike action will also have to face the consequences of being subjected to disciplinary action against them, and they might face the possibility of being dismissed. Two respondents said that employees' salaries

will be negatively affected, while 5 respondents said that there will be no repercussions, since the law permits employees to strike and one respondent went further by saying that the strike will be protected. Five respondents argued that employees will be lead to believe that they have the right to strike, while people will do as they please and take no responsibility. Employees need to consult with their relevant trade unions, which further highlights that it is important to belong to a union, as they are in a position to give guidance and they have a better understanding of these issues. Conversely, one respondent stated that the employees will demand and operate outside of the provisions of the LRA by losing confidence in trade unions and becoming unruly. This could lead to tension between employees and their respective employers. During the Public Service strike of 2010, when employees did not cooperate after being ordered to suspend a strike and report for duty, they were dismissed. Although they were reinstated following deliberations, they were disciplined and issued with final written warnings. This shows that if there is no MSA in place, employees may not understand fully what is expected of them in terms of service delivery. They may even believe that it is their right to strike in the absence of an MSA, as their trade unions will convince them. This is contrary to the LRA, which states that employees should not strike unless an MSA is in place.

The vast majority of respondents, (17+5=22) indicated that striking employees should take turns to do so, so that everyone could feel the effects of the 'no work, no pay' principle. One respondent indicated that the trade unions should establish a strike fund; while 6 respondents suggested an implementation plan where the agency fee money should be used to compensate for employees' financial losses as a result of striking. Since the majority of respondents referred to the challenge of the 'no work, no pay' principle as a threat during strike action, it shows an awareness of the gravity of this challenge for all concerned parties, particularly the trade unions. The separation of workers into those who will provide minimum services and those who can strike would need to be done in a diplomatic manner, while all should be included in any relevant consultation to avoid conflict.

The essential service workers are trapped in conflicting emotions among exercising their own fundamental right to strike and performing their duties and responsibilities in the workplace. It is, therefore, a difficult situation, which is equally uncomfortable, and hence a MSA should be concluded. Without an MSA the situation remains potentially explosive and might demotivate essential services employees, because strikes are a way for employees to break a deadlock during negotiations. Without an opportunity to exercise such a right, employees may become demotivated since their rights may be undermined by the employer.

There is congruence between the literature and the research findings in favour of enforcing the agreement with penalties for those who do not adhere to the requirements of the agreement, while those employees who provide the minimum

services and decide to join the strike should be penalised individually. In addition, the trade unions must ensure availability of staff, or their members, to provide the minimum service. The MSA must make provision for unions to ensure that agreed upon staffing levels of minimum services are maintained during a strike. If more than one union operates within a workplace and all of the unions participate in the strike action, then they need to take collective responsibility to deliver the minimum services. Failure to comply should render the strike unprotected and employees will be subject to disciplinary action, while participating trade unions should be penalised. Furthermore, sanctions should be imposed if parties do not adhere to the MSA's provisions.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The conclusion of an MSA and the effective management of it to ensure firmness, the study proposes the following recommendations:
- Negotiation towards conclusion of a minimum service framework should be done at PSCBC/PHWSDBC level and be filtered down to institution level, where the designation of employees takes place.
- The minimum service framework should stipulate aspects that the employer has to deal with such as identifying the minimum services and identifying the number of workers who will be obligatory to deliver these minimum services and occupational categories. The employer has to make sure that those employees understand the reasons why they are not allowed to engage in strike action and be informed of the consequences of possible disciplinary action that should be taken against them, should they renege.
- Employees that provide minimum services should realise that they will not be expected to perform the duties of non-minimum service employees in the event of a strike; although non-minimum service employees may be requested to perform the duties of minimum service employees during a strike.

The principle of 'no work no pay' is a great concern, but the study recommends that it should not affect employees that provide minimum services.

If the above-mentioned recommendations are applied, there will be harmony between the provisions of the Constitution's Bill of Rights (Republic of South Africa 1996:6-20), as it currently present a challenge within the public health care system, since public health care workers, as South African citizens, have the right to strike, while the broader society has the right to life and health, which the public health care services provide.

The results of this study show that the negotiating parties should conclude an MSA framework that will serve as a guiding document that should be utilised at

institutional level. The respective parties should not agree to a set number or percentage of workers to perform minimum services beforehand, but should rather establish a framework of what services would constitute minimum services, which will allow institutions to decide on the number of employees that will be required to perform these functions before the commencement of a strike. If parties fail to agree at institutional level on the number of employees or the specific work that should be performed, the Essential Services Committee must then make such a determination.

NOTE

*   Mrs Z Rikwe is employed in the HR department in the Western Cape Department of Public Health. This article is based on her master's mini-thesis under the supervision of Dr Liiza Gie and guidance of Prof Harry Herbert Ballard entitled: "The effectiveness of the mechanisms to manage strikes for essential services in the public health sector, Western Cape, South Africa".

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AUTHORS' CONTACT DETAILS

Mrs Zoliswa Rikwe
Department of Human Resource Management
Cape Peninsula University of Technology

Prof Harry Herbert Ballard
Extraordinary Professor
School of Public Leadership
University of Stellenbosch
Tel: +27 (0)82 200 7043
E-mail: ballardh15@gmail.com

Dr Liiza Gie
Department of Human Resource Management
Cape Peninsula University of Technology
PO Box 652
Cape Town 8000
Tel: +27 (0)21 460 3701
E-mail: giel@cput.ac.za

The Evolution of Lesotho's Political-administrative Interface through its Different Regime Types

A Case Study of the Ministry of Home Affairs

M Molefi*
Public Administration and Management
University of the Free State

A du Plessis
Public Administration and Management
University of the Free State

ABSTRACT

This article systematically reviews the impact of different regime types (monarchy-chieftaincy, colonial rule, parliamentary democracy, military rule and coalition government) and their impact on the evolution of the political-administrative interface in the Kingdom of Lesotho. The article provides a theoretical review of the political-administrative interface, together with empirical evidence on how the relationship between ministers and principal secretaries affects the effectiveness of the Ministry of Home Affairs. This research is based on a conceptual and an empirical data analysis, since most scholars have thus far neglected to analyse the political-administrative dichotomy within Lesotho's different regime types. The major finding of this article is that the political-administrative dichotomy may not be universally applied without considering the type of regime(s) in existence and needs to be contextualised within the specific form of government. This article recommends that scholars should not only corroborate the theory on the political-administrative interface but should rather rigorously test the viability of the theory with experimental data.

INTRODUCTION

The political realities or *realpolitik* of post-colonial African states are often ignored vis-à-vis the bureaucratic machinery of the continent. Scholars studying

Africa have often used a theory of political progression with little linkage, if any, to reality. The theory of political progression is best described by Fukuyama (1989:8) in his assertion "that the homogenous state would eventually become victorious throughout the world." This logical progression may have led to inaccurate analyses of political-administrative interfaces in Africa, with the exception of South Africa (De Visser 2010; Reddy 2017; Mantzaris and Pillay 2014). Research on the African continent has been predominately focused on "high" politics, with the state and major political actors as the dominant units of analysis. Post-colonial scholars often compare Africa's political and administrative systems with those of Europe and North America, specifically the United States of America (Chabal 1994:12-14). This has led to the drawing of flawed analytical inferences about Africa's political and administrative "dichotomy". Unlike the West, where states evolved as organic units (Root 2009:102), African states were imposed and designed to advance imperial interests, with little consideration for downward accountability to its citizenry (Vale 2001:26). Thus, the political-administrative interface debate in Africa is about more than just finding equilibrium between politicians and administrators when performing their respective functions. Svara (2001:179) has found that in established democracies equilibrium is achieved when politicians do not encroach on the administrative competence and commitment of officials, and when officials not only respect, but are accountable to politicians. Thus, equilibrium exists when there is mutual respect for the different functions performed by politicians and administrators. In Lesotho, however, it appears that different regime types – such as monarchy-chieftaincy, colonial-monarchy rule, military rule and coalition regimes – have politicised the bureaucracy, making the political-administrative equilibrium unattainable.

In addition, colonial powers, especially in Africa, created administrative jurisdictions at the expense of a democratic political system. Bureaucracies were not established for the advancement of civil society or the delivery of effective and efficient services (Poku and Mdee 2011:13). Ribot (1999:26) posits that in most African countries, political-administrative laws are often utilised to immobilise accountable local government and citizen participation. Nonetheless, progressive analysts studying state formations may believe in the triumph of Western liberal democratic ideas (Fukuyama 1989:3) and the transferability of a classical political-administrative dichotomy to the African continent without any modification. However, the independence of many African states did not lead to liberal democracy (Ribot 1999:3), which forms the basis on which the political-administrative interface was built (Svara 2001:179). Central to this discourse is the question: how does the evolution of theoretical discourse surrounding the political-administrative interface match the situation in Lesotho? Or is it perhaps an opportune time to confirm or negate the existence of the

political-administrative interface in the Kingdom of Lesotho, with specific reference to the Ministry of Home Affairs?

This study used a deductive qualitative analysis approach, together with a case study research design for theory testing. Lesotho was selected because the country has transitioned through at least five regime types with varying impacts on the political-administrative interface. Consequently, this article has the following objectives:

- to draw hypotheses on the political-administrative interface from the major contributions by Woodrow Wilson, Frank Goodnow and Max Weber and then to compare these with contributions by contemporary scholars
- to provide an overview of applying the political-administrative interface as a universal concept in the African context
- to examine the impact that each regime type had on the political-administrative interface in Lesotho
- to test the hypotheses in line with the key findings derived from the case study of the Ministry of Home Affairs.

ORIGINS OF THE POLITICAL-ADMINISTRATIVE INTERFACE

The political-administrative interface is derived from a number of models, such as the political-administrative dichotomy model, the politicised bureaucracy model, the complementarity model and the British permanent model. However, due to the limitations of this article, particular emphasis will be placed on the theories that form the foundation on which aforementioned models are constructed. The authors Woodrow Wilson, Frank Goodnow and Max Weber are undeniably the most authoritative scholars when examining the political-administrative interface. For this reason it is essential to discuss their contributions to the theory of the political-administrative interface.

Woodrow Wilson's contribution

Historically, Wilson is widely renowned as the father of the political-administrative dichotomy (1887:1). His view on the political-administrative dichotomy envisages public employees who are neutral, apolitical and professional in their day-to-day dealings with various elected political office bearers (Wilson 1887). Wilson (1887:210) emphasises that "administration lies outside the proper sphere of Politics and that administrative questions are not political questions." He mainly concentrates on lobbying for cooperation between politics and administration, with the view to establish clearly defined roles and responsibilities for both role players in public administration. According to Wilson, the generic policies and

plans of governmental action are not administrative, but the comprehensive implementation of such plans and policies is. Wilson originally viewed politics and administration as two different fields, independent of each other, but later upheld the significance of a dichotomous version, which assumes that politics and administration interact to improve the organic state. He found the corrupting and politicising interference in administrative affairs by party organisations concerning (Overeem 2012:59).

It may be deduced that Wilson ultimately sought to professionalise the public service, in which public servants would administer the state without undue influence from politicians. Therefore, it may be hypothesised that if political principals do not interfere in the appointment, recruitment and administration of the apparatus of the state, then public servants would be able to fulfil their management function and improve public services.

Frank Goodnow's contribution

Goodnow agrees with Wilson's idea that politicians and administrators have different roles in public institutions. Goodnow (cited in Overeem 2012:67) argues that a government has two basic functions: expressing the will of the people through manifestos and then executing that will. He explains that the will of the state is confined to the political expressions advanced by political office bearers, while the role of administrators is to execute that will. That is, through their political manifestos, the politicians can make policies to address the challenges the public faces or to fulfil promises made during election campaigns. The role of the administrator, then, is to implement those policies efficiently and successfully (Overeem 2012:67). This is a rather narrow interpretation of what constitutes politics (manifestos) and administration (the execution of policies). Such a view inherently excludes the complexities of contemporary politics and administration. Nonetheless, Goodnow (cited in Overeem 2012:67) contends that it is analytically possible to separate administration from politics, but from a pragmatic perspective it is impossible for the two functions to be added to one branch of government.

Goodnow's interpretation of the political-administrative dichotomy may be viewed as an input and output process. In other words, the powers of political principals to formulate policies (input) should be distinguished from the implementation function (output) fulfilled by administrative office bearers. This highlights the inseparable causal governance linkages in which political principals seek to advance the interest(s) of the electorate in tandem with administrative office bearers. For this reason, it may be hypothesised that if political principals formulate policies through their manifestos, then administrative office bearers will be able to implement policies in terms of tangible services, projects or programmes as output.

Max Weber's contribution

Early in the 20th century, Weber also proposed a dichotomy between politics and administration, but he took a different approach to Wilson and Goodnow. Weber's, (cited in Tahmasebi and Musavi 2011:133) argument is that politics is not strong enough to curb administrative power, and that is the danger of *Beamtenherrschaft* (government by functionaries), which threatens government (Tahmasebi and Musavi 2011:133). Therefore, he insists that it is crucial to maintain the political-administrative dichotomy. Weber emphasises the different roles that politicians and administrators play in the governance of the state.

He argues that roles and responsibilities for the politicians and administrators must be set out clearly in order to ensure an effective relationship between them. Weber bases this point of view on his conviction that bureaucrats (administrators) are technical people who need to be politically neutral and are expected to provide non-partisan advice to politicians and the executive (Overeem 2012:74).

In view of the above, it may be deduced that Weber's interpretation is mainly centred on neutralising the administrative apparatus of the state. Therefore, it may be hypothesised that if the political-administrative interface is guided by the rule of law and administrators act in a neutral manner when advising political principals, then the relationship becomes effective and harmonised, allowing both parties to fulfil their respective roles and responsibilities.

THE CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL-ADMINISTRATIVE INTERFACE

The dichotomous interpretations advanced by the above theorists have come under severe criticism from contemporary public administration scholars (Reddy 2016; Demir 2009; Thornhill 2012; De Visser 2010; Svara 2001). Empirical and theoretical studies have revealed that a strict separation between politics and administration is unattainable (De Visser 2010:89; Jacobsen 2006:303). Contemporary scholars therefore point to the overlapping roles of both politicians and administrators, specifically arguing that administrators are not excluded from the political process in terms of policy formulation (Demir 2009:877). Thornhill (2012:60) illustrates this by arguing that policy formulation requires technical, administrative and managerial expertise, which makes administrative officials an integral part of the political process. One could argue that both politics and administration are part and parcel of governance. In other words, politicians and administrators share a reciprocal relationship, in which the one cannot function independently from the other (Svara 2001:179).

When comparing the views advanced by Wilson, Goodnow and Weber to contemporary scholarly contributions to public administration, it is apparent that contemporary scholars have not dislodged the political-administrative interface from the liberal democratic theory. To corroborate this, Svara (2001:180) concludes that the contemporary model, known as the complementarity model, highlights continuous reciprocal, mutual respect between elected officials and administrators, but does not seek to replace the old model (dichotomy), as the latter continues to evolve. It is for this reason that this article applies the work of both classical and contemporary scholars to the context of Lesotho. With these insights, the article can pinpoint the stage in which the Kingdom of Lesotho finds itself and trace the evolution thereof.

OVERVIEW OF AFRICA'S POLITICAL-ADMINISTRATIVE "DICHOTOMY"

In order to dissect the challenges to Africa's political-administrative interface, the limitations to finding a political-administrative dichotomy in Africa must be examined. The literature does not explicitly refer to an African political-administrative dichotomy, nor is there any attempt from either the West or Africans themselves to devise a model that reflects Africa's governance arrangements. While Europe and the United States have moved through different phases of the political-administrative dichotomy (Overeem 2012:63), it is almost impossible to pinpoint the phase in which Africa finds itself or whether the dichotomy indeed exists. It cannot be assumed that the work of Wilson, Goodnow and Weber has transformed the African state, since the idea of a political-administrative interface is a Western construct (Hansen and Ejersbo 2002:734). Scholars therefore need to examine the political-administrative interface within the context of a particular African state. Thus, ideas derived from the West cannot be blindly borrowed without modifying them to the governance arrangements of African states. This is in line with what Wilson (1887:219) argued when the United States borrowed ideas from Europe: that it is impossible to transplant foreign systems without modification. As point of illustration, Wilson (1887:219) states that "we borrowed our whole political language from England, but we leave the words 'king' and 'lords' out of it." Furthermore, it would be unscientific at best if scholars accepted the notion that the political-administrative dichotomy evolved organically from Europe and the United States to Africa, with little or no modification. Such an approach would not only lack scientific rigour but would also be open to unfair criticism of the work of Wilson, Goodnow and Weber, since none of them attempted to study, nor did they devise, an African political-administrative model.

Poku and Mdee (2011:25) assert that the African state is far too complex to be categorised. The African continent was and still is plagued by different regime types that have a direct bearing on the administrative machinery. Each African state is unique and possesses its own political and administrative systems (Thomson 2010:3).

Nonetheless, it would be equally flawed to claim that no "new" lessons can be learnt from the work of Wilson, Goodnow and Weber, although, it may be argued that the theory of the political-administrative interface is not applied in Africa as expected by proponents. For example, Dasandi and Esteve (2017:231) have found that the political-administrative interfaces of developing countries differ significantly from established democracies in developed countries, especially concerning the institutional and governance arrangements. The failure of theory to explain African realities is not only found within the confines of Public Administration as a discipline. African political scientists who also seek to explain the African state suffer a similar fate. This has led Swatuk and Vale (2001:10) to ask, "If the categories of state, regime and world system so rarely speak to those on the ground should we not perhaps reconsider their value in explaining the world 'as it is'?" In line with this question, De Coning and Wissink (2018:6) point out that there is no simple answer, since the conceptual apparatus of a theory serves as thinking tool or guideline, which cannot be ignored or dismissed. Therefore, the above scholars agree that Western theories should be contextualised within the confines of African reality.

THE POLITICAL-ADMINISTRATIVE INTERFACE

The term "political-administrative interface" is used to describe the functional relationship between politicians (ministers) and administrators (permanent secretaries), and it is seen as one of the most important parts of a government system (Thornhill 2012:65). In addition, according to Miller and McTavish (cited in Kathyola 2010:56), the political-administrative interface is defined as the intersection of leadership roles within a dichotomous relationship between the realms of politics and administration.

While the roles of elected and appointed politicians tend to be different from those of professional and career civil servants, the implication of this definition is that this difference is sometimes vague, since these roles often overlap. According to Wille (2007:6), in many governance systems, the relationship between politicians and administrators is one of the most complicated. Both play a part in managing the public sector, but the assumption is often that they each have their own goals, interests, resources and commitments. One may argue that on the one hand, administrative office bearers may blindly pursue departmental interests

with little consideration for the impact it might have on the political sphere. On the other hand, political principals may pursue ambitious goals without considering the administrative capacity or the availability of resources, leading to desynchronisation of the respective roles and responsibilities of political principals and administrative officials, plagued by conflict and distrust. In the traditional consideration of this difficult relationship, Weber's and Wilson's models of bureaucracy are often cited in the literature.

According to Wille (2007:3), there is a clear distinction between politicians and bureaucrats, and they work within a definite hierarchy. A politician represents political values and interests and acts as sovereign, while a bureaucrat has more of a subordinate position and is an expert advisor and policy executor. Bureaucrats focus more on efficiency and on not basing their actions on biased, partisan or personal orientations. However, it is important for politicians and administrators to find common ground from where they can work together as a team to manage public affairs and to deliver services to the people.

In view of the above, it is essential that there should be clear roles and responsibilities for politicians, administrators and managers. This will ensure that they excel in successfully formulating and implementing any policy.

In addition, Thornhill (2012:14) argues that it is the responsibility of politicians to make sure the policies, which serve the interests of the people they represent (electorates), materialise into tangible benefits. Likewise, it is the task of the administrators to apply their skills, competences and experience to make available all the necessary resources (money, experts, etc.) to ensure that the policy is implemented successfully. Therefore, if there is a lack of trust, a lack of clarity about each group's responsibilities or a poor working relationship between the politicians (policymakers and overseers during implementation) and the administrators (top officials responsible for the implementation of policy), the public service will not be able to deliver services optimally.

For the purpose of this analysis, the political-administrative interface is defined as the functional relationship between the politicians and the administrators. In other words, it is the interactive relationship between the administrators and the politicians while performing their respective duties.

THE EVOLUTION OF LESOTHO'S POLITICAL-ADMINISTRATIVE INTERFACE

It may essentially be argued that the outcome of the political-administrative interface is determined by the changes that occur in the type of regime(s) under investigation. According to Wigell (2008:233), a differentiated approach is necessary when analysing the governance arrangements of any state. Thus, the mere export

of liberal democratic institutions and structures to developing countries, in order to improve the political-administrative interface and ultimately the public service, have often failed to achieve the desired results (Dasandi and Esteve 2017:242). For this reason, it is necessary to understand the context and the specific conditions that may have led to the formation of a particular political-administrative interface in the Kingdom of Lesotho. In a liberal democracy, good public sector governance forms the premise on which an effective political-administrative interface is built (Kathyola 2010:56). Therefore, strengthening the political-administrative interface can help improve public sector effectiveness in service delivery (De Coning and Wissink 2018:13). However, Lesotho's different regime types, as discussed below, may have led to various impacts on the political-administrative interface, with varying degrees of improvement of the public service.

Early forms of governance in Lesotho were based on traditional authority. By the 1830s, Lesotho had been consolidated into a state by King Moshoeshoe I, who created a monarchy-chieftaincy regime. Thus, the monarch and the various chieftaincies administered the state, and conflict was resolved through *makhotlas* (judiciary). This form of governance was reflective of the state and was accountable to the people through *pitsos* (public gatherings). The *pitso* was an institution of policy formulation and the expression of the popular will, and through *pitsos*, the public could take part in the government and governance of the country (Monyane 2009:7). According to Matlanyane (2013:56), the various chieftaincies played both political and administrative roles, under the guidance of King Moshoeshoe I. Thus, instead of a political-administrative interface centred on liberal democracy, a monarchy-chieftaincy regime was formulated on the premise of the will of the people. This streamlined the hierarchical relations, and a balance was achieved through the judiciary in line with customary laws (Monyane 2009:6). This state of affairs ultimately led to what Allen (1995:305) terms centralised-bureaucratic politics. The latter is indicative of hierarchical control over the administrative apparatus of the state with the president at the top of the echelon. In the case of the Kingdom of Lesotho, King Moshoeshoe I had the prerogative to appoint loyal chiefs in each region, ensuring not only clear lines of communication, but also control over chiefs in each district. In view of the above, the political-administrative interface was not separated in a dichotomous form.

The second phase that influenced the political-administrative interface occurred when the British colonised Lesotho between 1868 and 1966. The aim of the colonial administration was to maintain their domination over Moshoeshoe's successors (chiefs) who were part of the National Council. Their functions included controlling land disputes, maintaining court hierarchies and administrating taxes (Monyane 2009:8). The chiefs attended the Council mainly to advance their own interests and to pander to the interests of the colonial administration. The interests of the Basotho nation were largely relegated to the periphery and

only concerned the chiefs in a time of crisis, and when the position of the chieftaincy was under threat and the public began to doubt the colonial administration (Monyane 2009:8). Consequently, the public service at the time was negatively affected, as administrators and politicians were serving their personal interests and those of the British rulers at the expense of the general welfare.

It may be deduced that the monarchy-chieftaincy regime formed in 1830 converged some of the indigenous governing features with colonial administration, in which the king and the chiefs became subordinates in the hierarchy of authority. However, they maintained some of their control over the districts and advised British colonial district commissioners, while reporting on and executing their mandates in line with the British imperialist government (Mofuoa 2005:2). This coincides with what Eldredge (2007:5) refers to as the diffusion of ideologies, which combines indigenous and foreign governance systems in colonised states. Subsequently, civil society was weakened and the undemocratic control of the British rulers at the time strengthened. In addition, Mofuoa (2005:1) states that colonialism in Lesotho weakened the responsiveness of chiefs to the demands and needs of the citizenry.

For these reasons, Lesotho's governance arrangements could best be explained as a hierarchical governance trichotomy. Unlike the dichotomy, the hierarchical governance trichotomy was a direct result of colonialism. In other words, Lesotho was governed in a hierarchical order by the parent state (British colonial government), colonial administrators (British commissioners) and indigenous authorities (also known as the Basutoland National Council), which included 95 chiefs and five commoners representing the people of Lesotho (Eldredge 1994:350). The major implications of the hierarchical governance trichotomy on the political-administrative interface, was that the administration of the state was directed and controlled by the British. Domestically, politics in the form of manifestos was non-existent and the monarch and chieftaincies were mere implementers of policies (Eldredge 2007:123). Unlike the first phase, in which chiefs under the guidance of the monarch played both political and administrative roles, during colonialism the aforementioned roles were centred in the British imperial government, eroding the essence of the political-administrative interface in a liberal democratic dispensation. Figure 1 serves as an illustration of Lesotho's hierarchical governance trichotomy under colonialism.

The third phase in the evolution of Lesotho's political-administrative interface occurred between 1965 and 1970. Although Lesotho became an independent parliamentary democracy in 1966 (Monyane 2009:2), it maintained key features of the colonial governance systems as part of its evolution. In 1966, educated Basotho filled the vacant positions left by the colonial administrators through a merit system (Phoofolo 2015:7). Competent members of opposition parties were eligible for the positions as well. As a result, professionalism was enhanced and conflict between the principal secretary and the minister was minimal, resulting in productive collaboration and improved service delivery (Phoofolo 2015:8).

Figure 1: Lesotho's governance Trichotomy

Parent state
(British colonial government)

Colonial administrators
(British resident commisioner)

Basutoland National Council
(monarch and chieftancies)
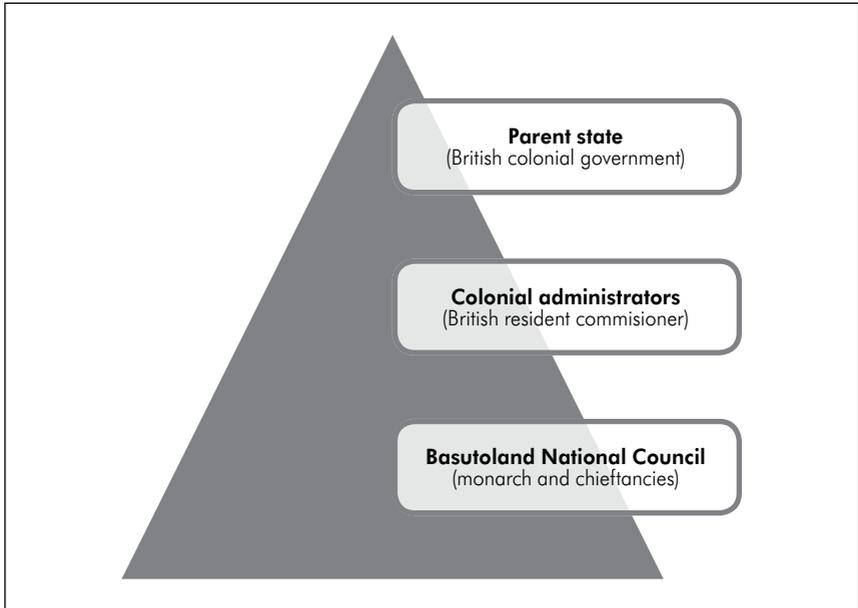
However, the above political-administrative interface was superficially engineered and formed within the confines of the governing elite, with little power, if any, trickling down to civil society. According to Allen (1995:303), the British formulated a gradualist decolonising strategy, in which the governing elite (politicians and administrators) were drawn from the educated and the rich and trained in self-government. In other words, the governing elite were imposed with little consent, if any, from civil society. Consequently, the political-administrative interface "superficially" evolved into the political-administrative dichotomy as proposed by Wilson, Goodnow and Weber. However, the emphasis during this regime was on neutrality in politics and policies. This was difficult to maintain without accountability to civil society, thus eroding the essence of a liberal democratic dispensation, which formed the premise on which the political-administrative interface was built.

THE COLLAPSE OF LESOTHO'S POLITICAL-ADMINISTRATIVE INTERFACE

From 1970 to 2014 Lesotho experienced six military coups, which resulted in the demise of the political democratic system (Matlosa 2005:87; Benyera 2017:56).

During these times, the state was under complete military rule, and thus the conventional political-administrative interface fell. With no elected political officials representing the people, the notion of a political-administrative dichotomy as advanced by Wilson, Goodnow, Weber and contemporary scholars became increasingly problematic.

It may be argued that for a functional political-administrative interface to exist, democracy and political stability serve as prerequisites. Militarised forms of governance not only concentrate power at the top of the hierarchy, it erodes and diminishes democracy and accountability (Afegbua 2016:175) therefore weakening the bureaucratic machinery and depriving the community of essential services (Poku and Mdee 2011:46). Ultimately, Lesotho's military rule eroded the rule of law, which paved the way for the demise of democracy (Mahlakeng and Solomon 2013:37) and, with that, the end of the conventional political-administrative interface.

IMPLICATIONS OF LESOTHO'S FRAGILE POLITICAL-ADMINISTRATIVE "DICHOTOMY"

In 1993 democracy in Lesotho was re-established (Mahlakeng and Solomon 2013:37; Coplan 2001:82), and by 1995 the principal secretary position was changed from permanent to contractual terms, and the Public Service Commission, on the advice of the prime minister, became the appointing authority (Government of Lesotho 1995). During this time, Lesotho's public service became increasingly fragile and politicised. The ruling party's supporters who failed to secure parliamentary seats during elections were appointed to the position of principal secretary, and their contracts were often renewed as their political party stayed in power for almost 20 years (1993–2012) (Phoofolo 2015:8). Thus, it may be argued that this sequence of events negatively affected effective governance, in that the administrative arm was no longer subordinate in a clear line of authority guided by legislation. Instead, a merit-based system of appointment and recruitment was replaced by political appointments centred on loyalty towards the ruling party. This is in line with what De Coning and Wissink (2018:40) refer to as loyal political bureaucratic appointments or what Shale and Kapa (2014:96) call "office-seeking motives", where administrators utilise their expertise and technical knowledge to advance self-centred political party and personal interests (job security) at the expense of improving the public service and the general welfare of society.

Although the dominant political party system helped diminish the natural tension between the ministers and the principal secretaries, as they were all from the same political party, it eroded professionalism and meritocracy associated with an effective bureaucracy (Heywood 2002:44). Schrire (1989) confirms that long periods in office lead to the politicisation of the public service, with public

servants gradually starting to adopt the government's way of thinking. This weakens the political-administrative interface in two unique ways. First, politicians lose legitimacy as their manifestos are not derived from the populace in a competitive election. In other words, election promises are purely based on clientelism and not on making credible promises about the delivery of public goods and services. Second, administrators lose their ability to manage public goods and services in a neutral and professional manner, subsequently diminishing state capacity in terms of administrative, managerial and technical expertise.

In 2012, for the first time in Lesotho's political history, three political parties (All Basotho Convention, Lesotho Congress for Democracy and Basotho National Party) formed a coalition government. Since the introduction of the coalition government, there has been increasing tension between political office bearers and administrators (Letsie 2015:83). Tension escalated, especially in a situation where ministers had to perform their duties with principal secretaries appointed by a collapsed government (Shale and Kapa 2014:108). One may argue that this state of affairs has led to a fragmented government, in which power is dispersed among ministers and administrators appointed by different political parties pursuing divergent interests. Shale and Kapa (2014:108) illustrate this with the example of the All Basotho Convention leader and political principal of the Ministry of Higher Education who failed to resolve a staff and student protest due to the non-payment of bursaries, largely because the vice-chancellor, as administrator, pursued political interest aligned with the Lesotho Congress for Democracy. Subsequently, coalition governments in Lesotho have become extremely fragile, and this state of affairs has seen many governments collapse prematurely, and the political-administrative interface along with it (Letsie 2015:83).

One may ask what impact this has on the political-administrative interface. First, political instability deprives the electorate of credible promises made by politicians. Second, because of conflictual political leadership among coalition parties, administrators pursue departmental interests aligned with sectoral political mandates at the expense of the general welfare of society. Third, the tenure and stability of the public service may come to a complete halt, stifling effective governance. Finally, opposing interests and ideological stances reduce trust, making policy formulation and implementation unattainable, with dire implications for the legitimacy of the governing elite in the eyes of the electorate. In this regard, Sejanamane (2016:4) argues that coalition governments in Lesotho have negatively affected the functionality and continuity of ministry programmes, leading to poor service delivery. It is for this reason that the then Prime Minister (2012–2015) Tom Thabane stated: "We need to declare our stance on the nature of the public service, in practice, the post of the PS (principal secretary) is political, but in future we need to decide whether to openly politicise or depoliticise the civil service" (cited in Zihlangu 2013).

The above quotation reveals that there is a lack of transparency and consensus among coalition partners about the form and shape of the political-administrative interface. More specifically, it indicates that there is a lack of clearly defined roles and responsibilities among politicians and administrators. This means that Lesotho's political-administrative interface will remain fragile, especially with the signing of coalition agreements with little if any, statutory power. The various coalition agreements, with the latest in 2017, have been in direct contrast with the 1993 Constitution of the country. More specifically, section 139 (1) of the Constitution gives the prime minister the power to appoint principal secretaries after consultation with the public service commission. The Constitution provides for the establishment of a coalition government, but it is silent on how governing powers should be shared among political leaders who have formed such a government. It places all the governing and administrative powers in the office of the prime minister. As a result, in a coalition government, the power vested in the prime minister alone to appoint the principal secretaries becomes problematic, since the survival of any coalition government requires that various political parties agree on the appointment of senior civil servants and political principals. Among other things, the coalition agreement stipulates that whenever the prime minister considers a political appointment at any level of government, it will be made in consultation with all coalition party leaders (Government of Lesotho 2015:14). However, the first coalition government, led by the then Prime Minister Thabane, was often accused of using political criteria and acting unilaterally when appointing top civil servants (Wisfelder 2015:63). This led to the breakdown of relations among coalition partners and subsequently to the collapse of that coalition government (Letsie 2015:84).

In view of the above, it might not be possible to import the ideas from both classical and contemporary scholars within the context of Lesotho. Instead of rules and regulations guiding public institutions in a liberal democracy, in a patronage regime, political elites determine the bureaucratic machinery, leading to administrative instability and corruption, in which the tenure and neutrality of officials are at the mercy of politicians (Allen 1995:304).

METHODOLOGY

The research was conducted in the Lesotho Ministry of Home Affairs, in five of the 10 districts, namely Maseru (headquarters), Leribe, Teya-teyaneng, Butha-buthe and Mokhotlong. A deductive qualitative analysis approach was utilised for this research, since it was best suited to answer the research question. More specifically, for theory testing, a case study research design was used to answer the research question. The research was conducted in the sequence proposed by Løkke and Sørensen (2014:68), who state that the researcher must first draw logical

propositions or hypotheses from the theories and then compare the hypotheses to the empirical data derived from participants. Thus, the research commenced with preliminary theories on the political administrative interface and tested the viability of the aforementioned theories within the context of the unit of analysis.

Data was collected by means of semi-structured interviews. The study was based on criterion-purposive sampling due to a lack of financial resources, and because information was only accessible from a specific group of administrative officials and political principals in the Ministry of Home Affairs. The projected sample comprised 35 participants. Of the participants, 22 took part in the semi-structured interviews, representing a response rate of 62%. The sample population (n) comprised former and current ministers (n = 2), former and current principal secretaries (n = 3), directors of human resources, finance and legal officers (n = 7) and district managers (n = 10). Data analysis involved transcribing the data from audio recordings and notes taken during the semi-structured interviews by the researcher. Eight broad themes emerged from the participants' responses and were compared to the hypotheses under which the organising and synthesis of data occurred.

RESULTS FROM THE CASE STUDY

This section presents and interprets the findings from the interviewees in line with the hypotheses drawn from the theories on the political-administrative interface. Therefore, the following interview responses were recorded in response to the propositions:

If political principals do not interfere in the appointment, recruitment and administration of the apparatus of the state, then public servants would be able to fulfil their management function and improve public services.

The majority of those interviewed felt that the minimal involvement of the minister in the day-to-day running of the ministry reduced conflict between the minister and the principal secretary. However, some interviewees expressed concern over political appointments, in which the minister of Home Affairs wants the principal secretary to hire his political party supporters in positions that require expert knowledge. This response suggests that ministers are increasingly involved in the appointment of administrative officials. For example, one interviewee said, "They bring with them the culture of being involved in the day-to-day activities of the ministry." As a result, they perform roles that originally belonged to principal secretaries.

It may be inferred that although these findings are corroborated by De Visser (2010:89) and Jacobsen (2006:303) in that no strict separation exists between

politics and administration, the emphasis is nonetheless on policy formulation and not necessarily on the management function, which includes administration, appointment and recruitment. This suggests that the administrative function is being eroded by undue interference of the political principal. The impact of this on service delivery is, as some interviewees argued, that the moment one actor encroaches on the territory of others, conflict arises and directly affects the operations of the ministry and its ability to deliver services. Together, the present findings negate the existence of a functional political-administrative interface as proposed by Wilson. However, the findings indicate a need to establish clear boundaries and consensus between the principal secretary and the minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs.

If the political-administrative interface is guided by the rule of law and administrators act in a neutral manner when advising political principals, then the relationship becomes effective and the execution of their respective roles and responsibilities is harmonised.

The majority (72%) of those interviewed confirmed that Lesotho's Public Service Act of 2005 is in direct contrast to coalition agreements. More specifically, interviewees indicated that although the aforementioned Act allows for employment contracts that are renewable every three years, in practice, coalition agreements state that principal secretaries' contracts will expire on the collapse of the administration that appointed them. This suggests that there is a need for coalition partners to adopt reforms that will streamline the relations between political principals and principal secretaries. In addition, some interviewees pointed out, that principal secretaries are not impartial, as they often compete with ministers in order to take services to places where their political party enjoys majority support. This finding is corroborated by Shale and Kapa (2014:108), who have found that administrative office bearers are often motivated by sectoral political interests. This negates the above proposition, as both political principals and principal secretaries are not guided by the rule of law. Instead, both seek to advance divergent interests at the expense of the general welfare of society, leading to breakdowns in governance relations.

If political principals formulate policies through their manifestos, then administrative office bearers will be able to implement policies in terms of tangible services, projects or programmes as outputs.

The majority of those who were interviewed indicated that as political parties rotate in forming coalition governments, ministers find themselves working with principal secretaries appointed by the collapsed government. In this state of

affairs, the principal secretary, on the one hand, continues with the implementation of the collapsed government policies while the new minister, on the other hand, gives preferences to those of the incoming government. This is in line with Allen's (1995:304) findings that in patronage or clientelist politics, state resources are often utilised to secure votes or to enlarge the control of the governing party. However, the findings both contradict and confirm Cameron's (2003:6) and Tahmasebi and Musavi's (2011:133) studies regarding the assumption that politically appointed officials will favour the programmes of a political party in power instead of being neutral and non-political, as suggested by Max Weber. On the one hand, the current findings confirm that principal secretaries support the government that appointed them but contradict the idea that the principal secretary in the Ministry of Home Affairs would favour the programmes of the incumbent government. This essentially indicates that the political-administrative dichotomy in Lesotho is politicised, with both politicians and administrators advancing their respective political party interests and not necessarily the interests of the government of the day. A possible explanation of these results is that coalition politics is essentially based on compromise and consensus. However, when no common agreement is reached concerning the governance of the state, both politicians and administrators pursue divergent interests.

CONCLUSION AND REFLECTIONS

This article has compared theoretical arguments to empirical data collected from the Ministry of Home Affairs in Lesotho. This analysis was guided by the question: how does the evolution of theoretical discourse surrounding the political-administrative interface match the situation in Lesotho? Or is it perhaps an opportune time to confirm or negate the existence of the political-administrative interface in the Kingdom of Lesotho, with specific reference to the Ministry of Home Affairs? In answering the aforementioned question, this article has analysed the work of Wilson, Goodnow and Weber and applied it to Lesotho's context, with particular emphasis on the country's multiple regime types.

Unlike the West, where a two-dimensional approach to the political-administrative interface might be feasible, in most African countries, especially in Lesotho, one has to take cognisance of the unique governance arrangements that developed over time. Lesotho's pre-colonial governance arrangements were not reflective of a dichotomous relationship between politics and administration, and colonialism thus worsened matters by creating a hierarchical trichotomy of governance, which led to a limited dichotomous relationship after independence. Due to political instability and the role of the military and the monarch, the political-administrative dichotomy centred on liberal democracy

was replaced by authoritarian rule. The military removed elected politicians and administrative powers were transferred to high-ranking military officers not accountable to the electorate. Consequently, Lesotho's governance arrangement is not only influenced by politicians and administrators, but by the monarch and the military.

The future of Lesotho's public service will increasingly be politicised due to coalition governments and the aforementioned role players. The country will have to amend its constitution to address current challenges to its political-administrative interface. Without a clear legislative framework, the tenure and stability of the public service in Lesotho will continue to be unstable and open to factional political interference. It cannot be assumed that a non-statutory document in the form of a coalition agreement will ensure the continuity of a functional political-administrative interface. This is indeed an opportune time to pronounce the "death" of the conventional political-administrative interface in Lesotho. At this stage it appears that the hypotheses derived from the theories on the political-administrative interface do not match the empirical evidence derived from the Ministry of Home Affairs. It may be argued that the theories on the political-administrative interface are incompatible with all other regime types, or at least those found in Lesotho, except with advanced liberal democracies. This in itself does not falsify the theories advanced by classical or contemporary scholars on the political-administrative interface. It highlights the significance of following a contextualised approach and the need to limit or demarcate the explanatory power of the political-administrative interface to liberal democratic states. Although the empirical evidence negates the existence of a functional political-administrative interface in the Ministry of Home Affairs, it points to the need for the Lesotho government to adopt reforms aligned with an effective political-administrative interface.

NOTE

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AUTHORS' CONTACT DETAILS

Mr Ambrosé Du Plessis (corresponding author)
University of the Free State
205 Nelson Mandela Drive
Park West
Bloemfontein 9300
South Africa
Email: Duplessisar@ufs.ac.za
Telephone: +27 (0) 51 401 2682

Mr M M Molefi
Master's Student
University of the Free State
205 Nelson Mandela Drive
Park West
Bloemfontein 9300
South Africa
Telephone: +27 (0) 51 401 2682

Citizen Engagement to foster Inclusive Development Planning in Local Governance

S Dywili *
Department of Public Management and Leadership
Faculty of Arts
Nelson Mandela University

E Draai
Department of Public Management and Leadership
Faculty of Arts
Nelson Mandela University

ABSTRACT

In accordance with statutory provisions, and legislation, municipalities are required to inform and consult with citizens on matters of local governance and development. This is both an ideal of responsive democracy and a practice that seeks deliberative engagement. Citizen engagement is vital for realising integrated development planning but the public participatory process is complex and fraught with challenges. An exploration follows of the complexity of citizen engagement in rural governance, where public participation is the enabling tool. Recommendations are drawn from a qualitative study conducted in the Chris Hani District Municipality, indicating that public participation with various stakeholders is fundamental for integrated development planning, particularly in co-producing and realising rural local governance.

INTRODUCTION

Integrated development planning that leads to development and service delivery is informed by societal views and aspirations for a quality of life. Integrated development planning is a decision-making process and actions that involve a multitude of stakeholders at different intervals sharing normative insights. The nature of integration in and across the unitary structure of government is complex in that

decentralisation of decision-making is aspired to at local level where a number of stakeholders engage and ideally find consensus on development matters that affect the locality (Madumo 2015:153).

The primary aim of an integrated development plan (IDP) is to provide holistic, integrated and participatory strategic planning to guide the work of municipalities relative to programmes and projects, as well as the provision of service delivery that fosters sustainable development within localities. The epitome of this approach is to engender responsible and engaged citizenship that takes ownership of its own governance and development (Ijeoma 2013:111).

Policy and statutory obligations situates municipalities as the primary enablers of service delivery in line with their IDP. The IDP provides an opportunity for both the community and the municipality to deliberate and interact on issues of local governance. Municipalities are obliged to engage with citizens in a deliberative manner to encourage input into the development plans. In essence, municipalities are expected to co-create development with communities. In the context of policy and statutory frameworks, municipalities also have to create the necessary processes and structures to facilitate deliberative engagement (Tshabalala and Lombard 2009:397).

This article hypothesises that citizen engagement in the form of public participation as an enabling tool remains relevant in the quest for a cohesive society focused on sustainable development within the context of the socio-political and socio-economic milieu. The article seeks to add value to the body of knowledge by critically reflecting on the statutory quest for public participation; however, argues that these provisions are idealistic in nature as local government is plagued with challenges and tensions which detracts from the intention thereof. Local government in South Africa is, however, fraught with challenges and largely dysfunctional in its ability to be responsive and accountable to citizens in efficient and effective service delivery (Franks 2014; February 2018). This sphere of government has been generally unable to deliver basic services to citizens to sustain and improve their quality of life. In essence, the sphere has not been able to meet the basic needs of clean water, sanitation, electricity and general infrastructure maintenance effectively and efficiently.

Citizen engagement may therefore be even more relevant where service delivery and the pace of development are in question, as well as where the political and organisational trust of citizens is in decline (Esau 2016:686). The political interface of local government, local officials including ward councillors, is under constant scrutiny and their commitment to efficient and effective service delivery is generally met with mistrust (Ngamlana 2016: 6). Local government and public service generally is plagued by rampant corruption and maladministration. The Institute of Risk Management South African (IRMSA) identified failure in its top 5 risks and corruption as one of its top 10 risk factors in the January 2017 national

risk survey (IRMSA 2017:5). Failure of governance is also indicated as a direct consequence of the level of corruption (Gumede 2017).

The discussion is predicated on the assumption that the legitimacy of development is a consequence of deliberative engagement with those affected and who will be beneficiaries thereof. The contention is that public participation, although a policy and statutory requirement and a means to promote citizen inclusion, may be idealistic, as it seeks to include communities that are socio-economically marginalised, in flux due to economic migration and/or politically apathetic and disillusioned, as improvement of their circumstances is not occurring in the way they anticipated.

The article posits that while participatory approaches in theory are relevant, the complexity of the implementation thereof is fraught with challenges. The discussion questions the implication of this complexity in a context where local government is largely dysfunctional. The article is premised on two critical questions. Does the voice of the community in public participation resonate in integrated planning? Does public participation lead to better decision-making given the complexity thereof? The article draws from findings revealed in a qualitative study conducted in the Chris Hani District Municipality (CHDM).

POLICY AND STATUTORY OBLIGATIONS
FOR DELIBERATIVE ENGAGEMENT

The foundation of deliberative engagement rests in the interaction and communication that takes place during which reflective analysis of the status quo of a community is taken into account. The process of communication is in the narrative that is sought and derived relative to the level of influence that communities can exercise and hold in integrated development planning. Citizen engagement in this context can be regarded as deliberative interaction and an inclusive approach that seeks insights and allows for reflective practice that will ideally reach a convergence of thought and co-learning that informs development planning. Deliberative engagement places particular expectations on the communities and in turn holds expectations of communities in its quest to legitimise development planning by seeking convergence of thought and ideas among stakeholders (Ercan and Dreyzek 2015:242).

As a signatory to international conventions and in accordance with national statutory requirements, South Africa is obligated to promote public participation. The United Nations Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 16 requires of states to seek peace and justice and to develop strong institutions that foster an inclusive society that upholds the principle of accountability. The objectives of this SDG are that signatories should ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and

representative decision-making at all levels of governance and within society and seek to broaden and strengthen the participation of developing countries in the institutions of global governance (SDG 2015).

National policy frameworks and statutory provisions emphasise deliberative engagement in the form of public participation as an enabling tool for realising development. The National Development Plan Vision 2030 (2013:474), for example, places emphasis on the development of a professional public service as well as the inclusion of an active citizenry in public service delivery. The plan states that all spheres of government: "Can enhance citizen participation through a variety of two-way information gathering and sharing forums and platforms between citizens and government. While these platforms can enable government to inform, they also enable citizens to give feedback to government and monitor performance".

Section 152 (1) of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* 1996 enumerates a number of objectives for local government as the sphere of government closest to the citizenry. This sphere of government is expected to foster and facilitate engagement with communities and community organisations on matters of local governance. The White Paper on Local Government of 1998 refers to developmental local government and states in Section B (3.3) that municipalities should engage citizens in the affairs of local governance in their capacities as voters affected by municipal policy, consumers and end-users of municipal services and partners in resource mobilisation for the development of municipal areas. Engagement can take place via ward committees, budget consultations and IDP forums.

The Local Government: Municipal Structures Act 117 of 1998 specifies the municipal category of a geographic locality and the division of functions between local and district municipality, which also sets the requirement for integration of development. Section 19 of the Act states that the municipalities are obliged to be attuned to the needs of communities and ensure that communities are involved in the development of specific areas. In particular, Section 84(1) states that the district municipality is responsible for the development of an integrated plan and Part 4 of the Act stipulates the functions of ward committees as forums for participatory and deliberative engagement. Chapter 4 of the Local Government: Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000 refers to community participation and the formation of structures and measures to ensure that citizens participate in the IDP process, particularly those with special needs; for example, those that have limited literacy skills, women, people living with disabilities and other disadvantaged people.

Local government has, however, been largely unable to fulfil its mandate to be accountable and responsive in meeting its constitutional obligation. The level of dysfunction and dissatisfaction with the local sphere of government has resulted in widespread service delivery protests; a sign of frustration by marginalised communities with poor service delivery (February 2018). The Back to Basics approach

introduced in 2016 is a strategy that recognises the challenges experienced by local government (COGTA Back to Basics 2016). This strategy reiterates the need for local government to be functional and developmental in its approach in line with the national development plan. This strategy requires citizens' engagement in all aspects of local governance. Public participation remains idealistic in its ability to influence integrated planning and development. The level of dysfunction experienced at the local sphere of government compounds the ideals of public participation therefore far reaching results are not realised in effecting development as aspired to by communities.

INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND CITIZEN ENGAGEMENT

Chapter 5 of the Municipal Systems Act requires municipalities to compile an IDP. This plan can be regarded as a five year blueprint for the municipality that sets the strategic vision and mission for service delivery and development. The IDP informs all municipal activities during the term of office of a municipal council and is the source document for all other plans, including budgetary planning. An important feature of integrated development planning is the obligation placed on municipalities to encourage and create conditions for local communities and traditional authorities to participate in the preparation, implementation and review of IDPs.

The statutory goal for citizen engagement in integrated development planning at the local sphere of government is to facilitate a process for setting priorities and to allocate resources appropriately. In drafting an IDP, each municipality is required to use the mechanisms, processes and procedures established in accordance with Chapter 4 of the Municipal Systems Act to ensure that local communities are consulted about their development needs and priorities and that they participate in the drafting of the IDP. Setting priorities requires co-evaluation of the order and level of priorities in line with the development needs of the locality and related issues. Communities and other stakeholders are attuned to the political and social dynamics in their area. IDP forums are established to encourage the participation of communities and other stakeholders in the IDP process (Madzivhandila and Asha 2012:369).

The purpose of an IDP forum is to provide an opportunity for stakeholders to represent the interests of their constituencies as well as to engage in discussions, negotiations and joint decision-making that lead to informed planning. The forum may comprise members of the executive committee of the council, councillors and district councillors, traditional leaders, ward committee representatives, senior government officials from various departments and representatives from the

community. As part of their obligation to promote public participation in the IDP process, municipalities are required to utilise their resources and annually allocate funds for building the capacity of community members, councillors and council officials to enable them to participate in local governance.

THE COMPLEXITY OF CITIZEN ENGAGEMENT IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE

Citizen engagement comprises components of both formal and informal processes. Formal in terms of the statutory provision that requires public participation within formally created structures in committees, which includes ward committees; informal concerning service delivery protests, structures and the creation of alternative community structures. Policy and statutory obligation for the institutionalisation of citizen engagement is premised on the assumption that communities wish to participate in development pertaining to concerns and issues that affect them and that the communities will have equal opportunities in participation. The principle is that deliberative engagement assumes that citizens desire direct responsibility and accountability for their quality of life in the cycle of responsive government and that citizens wish to hold officials accountable for service delivery at all times (GCPSE 2019). A dysfunctional bureaucracy such as local government is not able to facilitate meaningful participation due to citizens' mistrust of the commitment to development and these principles are therefore meaningless. Policy and statutory measures either become defunct in their intention or self-serving structures of the political status quo that exists within the dysfunctional spectrum. Structures such as ward committees, practise social exclusion in urban environments; as they are often seen as dysfunctional or supporting a particular developmental agenda. Ward committees in rural areas are often inaccessible for optimal engagement due to distances that need to be travelled and may become spaces for contestation between traditional authorities and local authorities (Palmer, Moodley and Parnell 2017:68). Communities sometimes desire development without their direct participation unless they perceive a particular and immediate benefit (Hartz-Karp 2007).

In terms of policy and statutory obligations, citizens are expected to co-partner and co-create with local government as monitoring agents of development to provide practical wisdom to transform their localities. Citizens are expected to shape and define the development of their own localities. Public participation can be regarded as an enabling tool that allows insight into the evolving social needs of communities and solicits a shared approach to addressing issues of service delivery and development. The aforementioned is in keeping with core values of the International Association of Public Participation which fundamentally places emphasis on an

inclusive approach to engagement and decision-making for development. It is particularly important for all stakeholders to understand the complexity of development from a bottom-up, as well as top-down process. Citizen engagement allows stakeholders the opportunity to understand and explore the complexity of social dynamics within an environment relative to the community. It is a process that seeks reciprocal knowledge sharing that involves more than information dissemination and consultation with citizens, officials and relevant stakeholders. The strength of citizen engagement is in the normative insights derived that lend themselves to compromise, consensus and trade-offs. Citizen engagement, whether consultative or where information sharing takes place, is therefore transactional in that the agenda for development is initiated by public officials who are required to meet the statutory obligation of public participation (IPA2 2017).

Citizen engagement is a continuous cyclical process. The implication is that new needs emanate from those that have been identified and met and that the stakeholders in the process do not remain constant but change as new needs are identified. Citizen engagement can therefore never be static but can be challenged concerning its ability to deliver the intended results. There is an acceptance by those who facilitate engagement that participation ranges from peripheral to full immersion as citizens' needs are met while a sense of apathy descends if citizens perceive no value to their engagement (Chambers 2017:274).

By its very nature citizen engagement can be regarded as a complex and temperamental process where human bias, political and economic perspectives and affiliations permeate discussions and decision-making. The socio-economic and socio-political character of a community will define the trade-off in development concerning what can and what cannot be achieved given the political and developmental urgency perceived by the bureaucracy (Hammond 2018:2).

Communication with stakeholders and citizens involved in deliberative engagement is complex in that information sharing and consultation may either take place with each other separately or simultaneously. Sharing of knowledge may be skewed, as stakeholders will hold a variety of knowledge sets and competencies to engage meaningfully and process information. Information sharing and consultation may take place within the context of knowledge elites and those who wish to guide the engagement in a particular direction or align it to a specific agenda (Chambers 2017:273).

Participatory mechanisms are important for understanding the nature of, and requirement for specific issues that define and influence integrated development. The need to integrate development narratives and issues complicates integrated planning and the voice of the community may be lost. Integration is expected to occur both vertically and horizontally, which creates a complex narrative that informs development. First, there is the expectation of integration of the activities of the national, provincial and local spheres of government as well as sectoral

clusters that have different priorities. This level of integration is fundamental for efficient resource allocation. It is for this reason that there should be representation from the sectoral departments of both provincial and national government during the IDP planning workshops.

The second level of integration is between municipalities themselves, where ward committees and councillors should be instrumental in fostering a culture of public participation. Integration should occur between local municipalities and district municipalities. It is a requirement that a district municipality provides a framework for the IDPs of the local municipalities within its area of jurisdiction. The third level of integration is within a municipality itself, where the various departments should integrate their activities so that a vision statement can be formulated. Finally, the local community must also be integrated in the drafting of a municipality's IDP. The critical aspect is the leverage that stakeholders and citizens have over development (Venter 2014:103).

The mode of participation also holds inherent complexity. Public participation continues to be sought in the traditional community hall discussion format, where engagement takes place with ward councillors and relevant stakeholders, as well as via public road shows during which sector departments inform communities of their strategic intent, available services and development issues. This engagement may be either reactive, to stem the tide of discontent in communities where development has been delayed for various political and economic reasons, or a priori from a feasibility study, to seek buy-in and practical wisdom from communities. The reality, however, is that electronic access and platforms created by the government are a convenient mechanism for citizens to share information and state their views.

Active citizen engagement is an ideal in a socio-politically tolerant environment where a plurality of opinions is able to co-exist and active dissent that stems from information sharing and engagement is permitted. The challenge is that communities are defined by divergent political persuasions and are not homogenous and their understanding and expectations of development in their localities differ. Ideals and aspirations are driven by political ideology as well as personal socio-economic circumstances that inform and define their existence as communities and citizens. The challenge for the municipality and stakeholders is to obtain, at best, continued collective insights that promote the progress of developmental objectives (Hammond 2018:17).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The CHDM, as a category C municipality, is mandated by the Municipal Structures Act, 117 of 1998 to support the six local municipalities within its area of jurisdiction so that they are self-sufficient and can manage their own affairs. The original

eight municipalities within the district have been merged and in 2016 there were only six. The district is predominantly rural and the district municipality has a responsibility to ensure that the needs and priorities of the local municipalities are reflected in the IDP. Public participation seeks the integration of the citizen's 'voice', as well as the specification and definition of sectoral agendas that are inclusive of various stakeholders and institutional specifications as defined in various development plans.

The study explored the role of public participation in the integrated development planning processes of the CHDM. The main objective of the study was to explore the development of the IDP and the significance of citizen engagement, where public participation is the enabling tool. The study assessed the various participatory mechanisms employed to solicit optimal participation in the IDP process. The study sought to understand the role performed by the municipality in encouraging public participation in the IDP process.

The study adopted a qualitative approach to data collection and purposive sampling was applied. Semi–structured interviews were conducted with six ward councillors who represent the local municipalities under the jurisdiction of the CHDM. The sample population included seven municipal officials, inclusive of officials directly involved with the IDP and public participation. The officials were from the Integrated Planning and Economic Development department, the Communications department and the Office of the Municipal Manager. Municipal officials included four managers, two assistant managers and one at supervisory level. The responses were recorded and transcribed and the software package NVivo 11 was used to analyse and interpret the findings.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The researcher used word query and text search query in analysis of the findings to determine important statements made by participants. Key words in data analysis included municipality, participation, people, public, community, and district. These words featured high in terms of the 100 most frequently used words in the interviews. The researcher also ran a text search query on words such as public and participation in order to determine the most important statements relating to the subject area. The text search query led to the development of a word tree and identification of the most common phrases and statements made by the participants during the interviews as follows:

- "As a municipality we always have to make sure that we call these meetings";
- "We normally depend on that particular municipality";
- "People have attitude towards government or municipality";
- "Yes, they know the IDP of the municipality";

- "We've got stakeholders in the district municipality";
- "In terms of the district we have public engagements at the municipality";
- "And a municipality would be engaged by the district".

The analysis of the findings also led to the development of recurring themes discussed in the sections that follow:

Local municipalities and public participation

The slogan of the CHDM is "Sustaining Growth Through Our People". This reflects the importance of engaging with communities in the interest of their own development (CHDM IDP 2019-2020). All the participants mentioned the local municipalities as the main link between the district municipality and the members of the community because the district municipality has no wards. The allocation of wards is within the local municipalities. Eight participants cited the importance of local municipalities in assisting the district municipality when it comes to public participation. An official stated that: "Local municipalities are our major stakeholders because from a simple point of view… the district municipality has no wards, people are in wards and we are looking for people, so whatever we do, we can't just go to the ward without the local municipality".

The district municipality as part of its coordinating function relies on citizen engagement by way of public participation. The local municipalities and ward councillors are instrumental in fostering a culture of participation within their localities and providing platforms for the district municipality, as the coordinating arm of local development, to heed the specific concerns and needs of the communities. As a facet of its coordination function, the district municipality arranges IDP and budget roadshows with its local municipalities at public venues to seek public participation and insight into development planning. This engagement makes the requirement for fluent integration and inclusion of the normative community insights imperative.

Establishing a rationale and vision for public participation

Public participation is a fundamental practice in the definition of integrated development and realising inclusive decision-making. The communications unit and the Office of the Mayor are instrumental in promoting citizen engagement and public participation, intra- as well as inter-institutional, including engagement with intergovernmental platforms. The municipality has established various forums that promote and facilitate public participation. The intergovernmental relations framework is a platform whereby governmental structures and sectoral government departments meet to discuss cooperation and coordination for service delivery and

development. The CHDM channels its intergovernmental relations (IGR) through the District Mayors Forum (DIMAFO), which is chaired by the district mayor and comprises representatives from the six local municipalities.

Ward councillors indicated that they were generally satisfied with the manner in which public participation takes place; they indicated that meetings with various stakeholders are held. Municipal officials, however, were not satisfied with the level of public participation and the influence that the community holds in decision-making that reflects their needs. The view held was that public participation exercises undertaken by the municipality are a legislative compliance exercise and not necessarily to seek input for development from the community. Development is thus informed from the top down and renders any ownership thereof meaningless, which is the reason that the requisite service delivery is inadequate.

Citizen engagement, public participation and service delivery

Citizen engagement by means of public participation is critical for local decision-making and integrated planning. Councillors who participated in the study and who were statutorily tasked with facilitating and fostering public participation indicated that engagement is conducted appropriately within wards and by the district municipality and that citizens understand their role in public participation. The participants highlighted a number of strategies adopted by the municipality to encourage members of the public to participate in the municipality's IDP.

The municipality has established a customer care unit to respond to questions asked by members of the public and to enhance public participation. The communications unit in the municipality was established to provide a link between the municipality and the community, providing communication services for all CHDM Directorates. A communication strategy was developed and approved by the council in the 2014/15 financial year so that the communications unit could develop and implement a responsive communication strategy with a programme of action that is aligned to the municipality's IDP and to guide all municipal communication (Chris Hani District Municipality 2015-2016; IDP Review 2015:143).

Municipal officials indicated that public participation in the integrated development planning process is inadequate, as the inter- and intra-organisational units and external stakeholders were not always in agreement about the process to be followed or the development of service delivery. Ward councillors were often challenged in their ability to conduct public participation. Citizens who attended public participation forums enquire about developmental progress and bemoan insufficient basic service delivery. An official indicated that: "People don't understand why service delivery is being so slow. This is actually a result of misinformation and, miscommunication. Therefore, it is clear that members of the public understand that the IDP is a vehicle for service delivery. This is evident as members

of the public always ask about roads, electricity, water and other service delivery related issues whenever there is meeting to address the IDP of the municipality".

Information dissemination and education concerning public participation

The findings indicated that the district municipality does disseminate information to solicit interest from citizens in public participation but respondents indicated that it is often insufficient to solicit public interest. An interviewee stated that: "It is not enough for the Mayor to go on air just to say, I'm inviting you to an IDP public meeting that is to take place and this and this but it is very important to infuse this education part. Before any IDP process kick start, we ensure that we run through a series of drama through community radio stations educating people on what the IDP is".

The dissenting voice, cultural awareness and information elites

Ward councillors perform an important role in ensuring a process of integration of priorities as succinctly as possible for realisation. It is pertinent therefore that ward councillors and officials directly involved in public participation leading to and informing on integrated planning should have the requisite skills to engage in the progress of development. The ward councillor, as part of the institutional information elite, should be in a position to straddle both the municipality and the community (Hartz-Karp 2007). Ward councillors are expected to hold a wide-ranging skill set that includes administration, monitoring and evaluation, political stewardship that takes into account the sensitive power dynamic and cultural awareness that can define engagement. Facilitators of public participation should be as impartial as possible. The findings indicated that facilitators of public participatory processes were not always skilled enough to manage dissenting voices. Consequently, dominant personal considerations or minority views were imposed on others.

Financial constraints in engaging members of the public

Statutory provision stipulates that resources should be made available for citizen engagement. The predominantly rural nature of CHDM means that citizens would need to be transported from various places to a central location to attend public meetings organised by the municipality. The population of the Chris Hani district is dispersed and the municipality normally holds events in central venues to accommodate as many people as possible and transport and other logistics are required. The municipality uses print media, radio stations and other forms of advertising to invite members of the public to participate in municipal

programmes. Officials indicated that the CHDM has encountered financial constraints in facilitating meaningful public participation in rural local government. A councillor noted different time frames between the budget of the national government and that of the local sphere of government as a challenge. The councillor saw this as a challenge in budget allocation at local sphere in respect of facilitating meaningful public participation. This is a challenge because government departments as stakeholders, the councillor stated, only support the municipality financially when their financial year is about to end which impacts on the planning of the municipality.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The study's findings illustrate the complexity that informs public participation in the definition of integrated planning. Analysis of the findings allowed the formulation of a number of recommendations to enhance citizens' engagement where public participation is the enabling tool for integrated planning. The process of public participation should enable citizens to engage stakeholders in deliberative processes leading to more informed decision-making in keeping with the citizens' aspirations for a quality life. Public participation should not be a legislative compliance exercise but rather the voice of the community should resonate in development planning so that local government which is the closest sphere to government heeds the aspirations of the community. Therefore, the recommendations based on the findings seek to engender active meaningful public participation by all stakeholders as follows:

Capacity building programmes for councillors

Ward councillors are the main drivers of public participation at an institutional level. It is essential that councillors are equipped with soft skills such as cultural awareness and managing dissenting opinions. The dissenting voice is important within the context of development and can be either disruptive or valuable. Councillors should have the necessary skills to allow everyone to feel that they have been heard and minimise increasing levels of dissatisfaction with local government. Training needs to be provided for councillors for them to become confident to mobilise members of the public and to educate them about the various programmes undertaken by the municipality, such as the integrated development planning process. A system for managing the way in which councillors engage with members of the public is essential to hold them accountable. This system would also assist the municipality in ensuring that the council is open and transparent in performing its functions.

Creating informed awareness of IDP processes

Educating members of the public concerning municipal processes would ensure that they are aware of their roles in those processes and would ideally encourage them to take an interest and ultimately ownership thereof by way of public participation. Educating members of the public would ensure that the citizens are aware of the stages of the various processes and the need to participate when opportunities arise. Posters, pamphlets, advertisements and announcements pertaining to public meetings should be in a language that accommodates all citizens in the district.

Institutionalisation of public participation

A unit dedicated to public participation that actively engages with officials in the planning and monitoring of the integrated planning process is necessary. The public participation unit proposed in this study would coordinate public participation and the IDP process under the Department of Integrated Planning and Economic Development. This unit would assist in developing a public participation strategy for the municipality. The proposed unit would be fundamental in providing advisory services to members of the public.

Stakeholder relations

The CHDM needs to partner with a range of stakeholders to produce an effective IDP. This relationship between the municipality and its stakeholders needs to be strengthened and nurtured. The stakeholders need to be part of the IDP process from the beginning so that they can align their plans with those of the municipality. It is advisable that the municipality should not only partner with stakeholders operating within the district but also with any potential stakeholders who would bring development to the district.

The CHDM needs to strengthen its relationships with its local municipalities, as they are the closest sphere of government to the people. The district municipality draws its participatory strength from its relationship with ward councillors and committees within local municipalities. These relationships can be strengthened through various platforms and engagements, such as bilateral meetings between the CHDM and each of its local municipalities, as well as through the DIMAFO.

Integration of community needs

Integration of the communities' voice is complex but it is critical that communities have input into the development of the IDP. The IDP should be seen and

implemented by the CHDM as a vehicle for service delivery. The municipality should not adopt an IDP only for compliance, as it should serve as a strategy to improve the lives of the people within the district. This can be achieved if community members are involved in the processes leading to the adoption of the IDP by the municipality. Councillors in the district have the responsibility of ensuring that members of their constituencies attend meetings called by the municipality to address the IDP and play an active role in those platforms. Municipal officials have a responsibility to ensure that resolutions of the council pertaining to the implementation of the IDP are implemented promptly. They also have a responsibility to ensure that sufficient attention is paid to logistics when organising public meetings.

CONCLUSION

Development planning seeks active citizen engagement and public participation, which is a complex process. Public participation in formal, statutorily defined structures such as ward committees is necessary for improved decision-making pertaining to development. Diverse interests and needs have to be taken into account and compromises reached. However, these structures and those that facilitate public participation need to be mindful of the complexity and dynamics of development. This process requires deliberate citizen engagement during a process of co-learning, co-evaluation and ultimately co-production between and by various key stakeholders at various stages.

Public participation in the South African context is fraught with challenges, as people's trust in local government's commitment to development has been eroded with time. The fundamental question to be answered is if better decisions are derived from processes that enable direct participation. The outcome of deliberative engagement should be the realisation of transformation that signifies positive and sustainable development in communities. The process of public participation allows citizens to gain insights, raise awareness and monitor developmental initiatives aimed at meeting their needs and aspirations for a better quality of life. This study investigated the importance of involving members of the public in the integrated development planning process in the CHDM. The investigation confirmed that public input is fundamental for integrated development planning and ultimately, improved service delivery but that meaningful engagement is not necessarily sourced as public participation is often a statutory compliance exercise. The complexity of public participation in its implementation where dissenting voices exist and stakeholder relations are not appropriately managed in municipal governance does not allow public participation to realise its ideals. Equally, lack of resources does not allow the community voice to resonate to hold ownership in integrated development; rendering any attempt at responsible and active citizenship almost redundant.

Municipalities should foster participation in the IDP process, performance management, the budget process and strategic decisions regarding service delivery. They should enable participation through capacity building in communities among staff and councillors. Resources should be availed and channelled to meet the aforementioned purposes. Governance expands the boundaries of government to be more inclusive. The paradigm expounds the notion that multiple interdependent stakeholders are critical for effective service delivery. Essentially, the provision of public services is the shared responsibility of a multitude of stakeholders that includes the government, the market and citizens. The government is, however, the key stakeholder that enables service delivery. Fundamentally, local governance refers to the institutional, structural and process approach of government that enables the delivery of public services.

NOTE

*   S Dywili was a Masters in Public Administration candidate under the supervision of Prof E Draai at Nelson Mandela University. The article is based on his MA thesis entitled: "The role of public participation in the integrated development planning process: Chris Hani District Municipality."

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AUTHORS' CONTACT DETAILS

Mr Siyanda Dywili
3566 Kaunda Crescent
Unifound
Queenstown
5319
Email: Siyanda.dywili@gmail.com

Prof Enaleen Draai
Associate Professor
Department of Public Management and Leadership
School of Governmental and Social Sciences
Faculty of Arts
Second Ave Campus
Summerstrand, Port Elizabeth.
Email: Enaleen.draai@mandela.ac.za
Tel: 041 504 3808 (office)

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