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Editorial perspectives

Public value in a Developmental State - Innovative teaching, training and practice

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The Association of Southern African Schools and Departments of Public Administration and Management (ASSADPAM) endeavours to publish research results and encourage novice Public Administration and Management researchers to publish their research. For this reason, in this volume, ASSADPAM publishes an issue based on articles that were prepared for the workshop and conference at the association's annual conference on 10-11 September 2009 in Stellenbosch, Western Cape. A panel of referees that attended the workshop in Stellenbosch reviewed the articles in this issue.

The papers presented at this conference, represented research and case studies to illustrate innovative approaches in formal teaching programmes. Moreover, practical training interventions and practices in the field of public value generation towards fulfilling the needs of a developmental state amidst global economic uncertainty were investigated. Although not always directly, most of the articles in this issue tie in with the above theme.

The fourth issue will mainly be devoted to the research contributions of emerging researchers resulting from this workshop. Furthermore, this publication of *Administratio Publica* also aims to support and empower student researchers and their supervisors who completed their theses and dissertations to publish their research results. Target readers include academics, researchers and other interested parties involved in the development and publication of research. Authors range from academics with many years of experience to newcomers to the world of published discourse. Finally, the journal aims to encourage debate on previously published publications. This issue incorporates all the above aims.

Policy implementation: Is policy learning a myth or an imperative?

Cross-national experiences and policy design in a specific jurisdiction should theoretically influence policy learning and subsequent policy outcomes. Petrus Brynard's article, "**Policy implementation: is policy learning a myth**

or an imperative?" highlights the myths and imperatives of policy learning by addressing to what extent it contributes to real policy change. According to him, one such myth is that all incidents of policy implementation should foster policy learning and therefore improved service delivery. His article explores the debate around and value of policy learning. Furthermore, it argues that a common definition of policy learning may be possible, but details within every social context differ. The different kinds of learning are instrumental learning, social learning and political learning. The basis for learning includes how conscious learning is, the object of learning, the learners, as well as the status of learning in policy literature. Often, policy change does not result from learning. However, it could occur because of learning. Unfortunately, failed policy learning processes often have more long-lasting effects than learning from successes. Different kinds of policy learning, as well as combinations of these can contribute to meaningful policy change and improved service delivery. Brynard argues that policy change is proof of learning. However, he questions how governments and organisations deal with policy intelligence. For him, policy intelligence should be valued in a culture of policy learning. Hence organisational and intra-organisational learning could stimulate common learning in government and institutions alike (Brynard 2009).

Theory and practice of deliberative participation in policy analysis

In the article, "**Theory and practice of deliberative participation in policy analysis**", Odette Hartslef and Christelle Auriaccombe analyses trends, issues and perspectives proposed to improve the democratic nature of policy analysis. These trends and perspectives relate to the shared responsibility for accountability. Moreover, the process includes implementing various information sources to verify and test constructions and opportunities for participants, such as citizens and other role players.

It is crucial to reflect on the characteristics of the traditional rationalist models. In doing this, the methodological advancement towards the deliberative policy approach is placed in perspective. This article reviews the limitations of using only empirical approaches in relation to the research requirements in a dynamic policy environment. Moreover, it goes on to contextualise the models in the field of policy studies.

Politicians, policy makers and the research community need to be relevant to the mainstream deliberative policy analysis discourse. For this reason, they face pressing questions, such as: How do participatory or deliberative approaches fit into the policy cycle as part of a triangulation process? Can public reasoning and interactive decision-making be developed through participatory policy analysis

in order to promote deliberative democracy? Can participatory methods be used in policy analysis – both in terms of *ex ante* and *post facto* analysis?

Of less general political interest are questions concerning the methodological advancement of deliberative policy analysis, such as: Does the post-positivist discourse offer an approach to policy analysis, as well as a better understanding or description of it than positivists offer to multi-dimensional policy issues? Also, what are the limitations of empirical approaches in relation to the requirements for research in a dynamic policy environment?

In the spirit of these questions, this article offers critical re-interpretations of some of the features of the main theoretical and philosophical frameworks for public policy analysis. It aims is to determine how participatory or deliberative approaches fit into the policy cycle as part of the triangulation of deliberative theory as a more recent mechanism for policy analysis. This is done against the background of traditional rationalist models.

The article also focuses on the potential of participatory methods that can be used in policy analysis – both in terms of *ex ante* and *post facto* analysis. To clarify the discourse, it is important to describe and understand what policy analysis entails, how the main theoretical and philosophical frameworks approach policy analysis and how participatory or deliberative approaches fit into the policy cycle as part of a triangulation process. The article by no means implies that post-positivists reject traditional approaches. It rather supports including deliberative discourse as an enhancing factor to existing traditional research practices (Hartslef and Auriaccombe 2009).

Utilization-focused evaluation as a tool in the development of a participative democratic society

In response to a previous article of Rabie and Cloete that was published in *Administratio Publica* (Issue 17(3), *A new typology of monitoring and evaluation approaches*), Evanthe Schurink and Willem Schurink in their article, “**Utilization-focused evaluation as a tool in the development of a participative democratic society**” explores the quantitative-qualitative paradigm debate in evaluation research. This research dichotomy is not only prominent and persistent, but is also characterised by enormous diversity. This has resulted in a great deal of controversy among scholars regarding the concept “programme evaluation”.

One possible way of clarifying conceptualisation in the field is to simplify the current classification of evaluation theories. However, a mere re-classification will not provide us with the tool to develop programmes and practices so sorely needed in the public administration field. It is therefore necessary to develop a classification system that could meet the needs of the elitist participative and deliberative democracy (Schurink and Schurink 2009).

More specifically, the question remains whether current evaluation methods leaning strongly on quantitative research methods are sufficient to meet the needs of the participative democracy. Their article discusses an alternative evaluation method geared towards creating a participatory democracy as a possible tool to enhance citizen participation in governance (Schurink and Schurink 2009).

Firstly, this article presents an overview of the development of evaluation in the social science field. It then looks at some recent attempts to classify evaluation approaches. Following this, the evaluation needs of a democratic society are addressed with special reference to the participative democracy paradigm. Lastly, attention is paid to the notion of citizen participation and utilisation-focused evaluation (UFE) as a tool to enhance a participatory democracy.

The role of ICTs in reducing administrative corruption in the South African public sector: Connecting the silos

The birth of information and communication technologies (ICTs) has signalled both promise and peril to the anti-corruption movement in their article, “**The role of ICTs in reducing administrative corruption in the South African public sector: Connecting the silos**”, Faniel Habtemichael and Fanie Cloete argue that ICTs can help control corruption by removing away employees’ discretion,. This, in turn, reduces opportunities for arbitrary decisions and actions. ICTs also enhance transparency by enabling the public to monitor government employees’ work process. However, ICTs can also empower information experts to engage more effectively in corrupt activities. Notably, this results in an intergenerational shift in corruption (Habtemichael and Cloete 2009).

The application of ICTs – including e-procurement – in the South African public sector is still in its embryonic stage. Thus, it is not part of the mainstream anti-corruption strategy. To date, the various public sector initiatives to develop management information systems have been mostly disconnected and have operated in isolation. Some of the limitations in the e-government approach to fight corruption in South Africa include a serious lack of new information systems and of interoperability and coordination. This article recommends that South African public service departments have to phase out both technical and human legacy systems and concludes by developing a systematic ICT-based anti-corruption model (Habtemichael and Cloete 2009).

Research support for masters students: The answer to improving methodological quality and increase outputs?

Adéle Burger’s article, “**Research support for masters students: The answer to improving methodological quality and increase outputs?**” addresses

the debate that formed a prominent discourse in the past two ASSADPAM annual conferences and centers around the quality of research within Public Administration. The majority of research in this area is on debating the general quality and academic articles and not necessarily Masters research outputs.

The article sets out to firstly describe the research support approach the School of Public Management and Planning (SOPMP) adopted to improve the methodological quality of research outputs at the Masters level, as a best practice model. Secondly, author provides the reader with a profile of the SOPMP's research outputs at the Masters level from 2002 to 2007. Lastly, the article assesses whether the new approach to research support contributed positively to and increased number of Masters' research outputs for the same period.

The data for this article was obtained from two sources: the research output reports of the SOPMP, as submitted to the university and reflected in the National Research Foundation's (NRF's) NEXUS database, as well as the University of Stellenbosch (US) central electronic administrative system and the SOPMP's internal student records (Burger 2009).

This study's main findings indicate that research support is not the only contributing factor to the increased output during the period 2002 to 2007. It is, however, seen as an important contributing factor; along with certain other programmes and content changes that occurred during the period under investigation.

A case study of the use of qualitative and quantitative methodological approaches in Public Administration research

Werner Webb pursues the aforementioned debate from another angle in the article, "**A case study of the use of qualitative and quantitative methodological approaches in Public Administration research**". He focuses on the importance of the role of methodology and research design in Public Administration theses and dissertations.

A problematic notion for him is that it could be argued that researchers working within the South African Public Administration research community often neglect to establish a 'critical distance' between themselves and their research object. This becomes apparent when researchers' research designs are perused. Many research projects are empirical in nature and aim to provide answers to problems that are found within the 'real world' of the public service. Research designs are often ill conceived. This includes critical aspects such as considering the research problem, the unit of analysis (and the units of observation), the appropriate methodological paradigm, as well as the methods for data collection and analysis. For him, when we agree that researchers should pursue the greatest measure of validity in their research findings – the

epistemological imperative – reflecting on the most appropriate methodological paradigm is indisputable.

In this article, he considers the main attributes of a research design within the empirical domain of Public Administration. This includes quantitative and qualitative methodological paradigms, units of analysis and observation, as well as data collection methods. This is done by reflecting on his experiences while formulating his own research design, and implementing his research objectives while engaging in fieldwork (Webb 2009).

A framework for work integrated learning in Public Administration and Management departments

Natasja Holtzhausen and Pieter du Toit's contribution, "**A framework for work integrated learning in Public Administration and Management departments**," looks at integrated learning and provides a good practice case study. The purpose of this article is to investigate the process of work-integrated learning in the Department of Public Administration and Management at Unisia. The aim is to use these findings as a benchmarking tool at other 'comprehensive' higher education institutions in South Africa. Therefore, this article focuses on implementing the principles of adult learning theories, such as constructivist learning, learning style flexibility, co-operative learning and self-regulated learning.

Furthermore, it includes an investigation of the different roles of the lecturer; the design and development of effective work-integrated learning programmes; the implementation of such programmes by means of facilitating learning and assessing students' mastering of outcomes. The main implications of this case study is the need to explore how other Public Administration departments at South African universities can efficiently and effectively adapt and adopt such knowledge for work-integrated learning. This study represents a knowledge gap. More importantly, it offers practical assistance to Public Administration departments to leverage lecturer's skills and expertise together with their students and consequently to maintain and enhance their work-integrated capability (Holtzhausen and du Toit 2009).

Understanding and avoiding aggressive citizen outcries: The case of the recent outbreaks of violent public service delivery protests in South Africa

The recent outbreak of service delivery protests serves as contextual backdrop to Iris Vernekohl's article, "**Understanding and avoiding aggressive citizen outcries: The case of the recent outbreaks of violent public service delivery protests in South Africa**".

Her contribution is concerned with explaining several questions surrounding the recent public service delivery protests (PSDP) – particularly the impulsiveness and level of violence protesters exhibited. These observations suggest that the reasons for the PSDP may not only be related to public service delivery failures. The protests may be linked to largely unrelated issues, which may be why so many young male citizen-consumers were found in the group of protesters that resorted to violence.

The article shows that insights from the recently emerging field of cognitive evolutionary economics provide a good set of explanations for resolving these puzzles. One of the major findings is that economic welfare and decreasing characteristics of public service delivery may have only triggered the PSDP. Rather, underlying causes are found in a) the procedural aspects of public service delivery, b) habitualised violence, helplessness, and other-accountability, c) the constant obstruction of moral and meaning concerns, d) the relative dominance of entitlement concerns and consumerism, as well as d) traumatic past experiences (especially those in early childhood) together with e) a profound lack of capabilities. She concludes that improving PSD characteristics alone cannot be a panacea. It must be complemented by broader – especially educational and social – policy measures (Vernekohl 2009).

Mainstreaming municipal performance management for efficient and effective service delivery

However, the recent wave of service delivery protests across the country suggests that municipalities have not performed efficiently and effectively. This is according to Kwame Asmah-andoh's article, "**Mainstreaming municipal performance management for efficient and effective service delivery**". Moreover, he argues that they have failed to be responsive and accountable to the community they serve.

Locally determined service delivery programmes on constitutionally mandated subjects require the establishment of municipal performance management systems. Invariably, national policy directives and the management of nationally and provincially mandated programmes should underpin these directives. This dual role makes it rather difficult to conceptualise municipal performance in terms of outcomes: what should one consider when conceptualising municipal performance management?

The article reviews performance management. Moreover, it endeavours to improve our understanding and practice of the design and implementation of performance management systems in municipalities, within the constitutional spheres of government. Some theoretical and practice issues are also identified.

The paper argues that mainstreaming performance management in the multi-level model of government could enhance efficient service delivery and public trust (Asmah-andoh 2009).

Policy implementation capacity challenges: The case of Saldanha Bay Municipality

The article, “**Policy implementation capacity challenges: The case of Saldanha Bay Municipality**” by Gregory Davids argues that the local government is not solely responsible for non-delivery of services. The assertion is made that the three spheres of government should share accountability for slow service delivery – or a lack thereof. Furthermore, delivery capacity consists of three dimensions, namely institutional capacity, organisational capacity and human resources. These dimensions are inter-related and collectively contribute to policy implementation or service delivery. The article seeks to describe developmental local government, conceptualises capacity, and provides justification to use the above dimensions of delivery capacity as a working framework to determine what policy implementation capacity challenges the Saldanha Bay Municipality faces. In the article, Davids refutes the tendency of keeping local government solely accountable for the non-delivery of services (Davids 2009).

Local government restructuring and transformation in South Africa with specific reference to challenges faced by the Buffalo City Municipality

In “**Local government restructuring and transformation in South Africa with specific reference to challenges faced by the Buffalo City Municipality**”, B. H. Sikhakane and P. S. Reddy add to the debate. They investigate the significant role developmental local government should play in creating more viable municipalities. Moreover, the article looks at how these municipalities went about incorporating some of the previously disadvantaged areas into the well-resourced areas. This amalgamation took place so that the former could benefit in terms of development and services.

In the article, a case study of the Buffalo City Municipality (BCM) helps place the aforementioned into perspective. It looks at the East London and King William’s Town municipalities and their respective hinterlands, which were amalgamated to form the new BCM. During the restructuring and transformation processes, the BCM faced numerous challenges and prospects. However, as the article points out, these obstacles were not specific to it, but were common to all municipalities nationally – *albeit* in varying degrees. The more rural municipalities were the most affected and their response

to the challenges was not – and remains –inadequate. One could place all municipalities along a continuum, with the urban well-resourced municipalities at one end, and the rural poorly resourced municipalities at the other end of the spectrum. The BCM fell somewhere towards the former extreme, although it did not escape being included in the ‘Project Consolidate’ list of municipalities requiring government assistance. The authors provide an overview of the local government restructuring and transformation process with particular reference to the BCM. Some of the major structural changes that took place in local government following the 1994 elections are also reviewed and analysed in the specific context of BCM. In addition, the article identifies at the challenges the council currently face. Subsequent proposals made to address the issues highlighted (Reddy and Sikhakane 2009).

The sustainability of gated communities in local government development: Open or close the gates?

In “**The sustainability of gated communities in local government development: Open or close the gates?**” André Van Schalkwyk discusses the controversial issue of the approval of gated communities.

According to him, the decision in terms of the long-term benefits of developmental urban sustainability is currently contested because there are many stakeholders advocating ‘opening the gates’ and others ‘closing the gates’.

The article goes on to discuss various approaches to gated communities. Moreover, it aims to establish the sustainability of gated communities in local government development as well as – if only by implication – whether the authorities continuously act to the benefit of the society, with special emphasis on the developmental role of local government. In terms of Section 152 of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, 1996, the objectives of local government are to ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner, to promote social and economic development, to promote a safe and healthy environment and to encourage the involvement of communities in matters of local government.

The article takes an exploratory look at the role of gated communities. Questions addressed in this article include: What are the benefits of gated communities for a developmental society? What are the positive and negative aspects of gated communities? What are the arguments for and against gated communities? How does the law and government policy affect the phenomenon of gated communities? How does the constitutional right of ‘all people to have access and free movement to all public space’ affect this phenomenon? Who is legally responsible for the financial maintenance of the public spaces and services in these enclosed areas? (Van Schalkwyk 2009).

Learning strategies for a postgraduate educational model for ethics management

The debates surrounding teaching ethics have shifted from whether ethics should be taught, to determining the best methods and strategies for teaching ethics. One of the questions that might need to be resolved is whether one should rely on a single ethics course, or integrate ethics as topic throughout the curriculum. However, Thonzhe Nethonzhe's article, "**Learning strategies for a postgraduate educational model for ethics management**", states that using a dramaturgical approach or 'live' ethics cases seem to be more appropriate than a traditional teaching mode.

In this article the theoretical basics and benefits of dramaturgical teaching and live cases, as well as how the approach works, is discussed in detail. Furthermore, this article addresses issues such as the importance of ethics curricula for public management. It also emphasises the importance of improving teaching methodologies for ethics at post-graduate level in South Africa universities. An ethics management educational model is also posited. Notably, this model could be used to address and streamline ethics management training at post-graduate level.

Ethics management capacity training and education at universities are complex issues. Thus, it is difficult to find a clear-cut ethics-teaching model to recoup the management ethics-training backlog that has built up over years. An ethics management educational model is also posited, which could be used to address and streamline ethics management training at postgraduate level. In order to address ethics management skills, the author argues that an integrated approach would be more appropriate than a parochial one for (Nethonzhe 2009).

Gender racial ratios as a means to achieve equality in the Public Service

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996 is the foundation of human equality in South Africa. In addition, between 1999 and 2009, the *Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998*, and the *White Papers on Transformation* (1995) and *Affirmative Action in the Public Service* (1998) served as a further basis for gender equality and the inclusion of women in the senior management services (SMS) of the public service. Sinval Kahn's article, "**Gender racial ratios as a means to achieve equality in the public service**", examines the extent to which gender racial ratios can enhance the fair implementation of gender equality in the public service.

Kahn argues that, after a decade (1999 to 2009) of determined effort, the public service has failed to achieve government's gender equity target of 50%

women at SMS levels by 31 March 2009. During this period, the corporate advancement of men exceeded that of women. Furthermore, he added that this period saw white women favoured and promoted above their black counterparts, which created racial discrimination among women. The author's empirical research reveals that gender racial ratios are interventions for promoting equity between and within race and gender. Furthermore, it serves as a tool in bringing about substantive equality in the public service. It also permits women equal access to the state's decision-making processes. This, in turn, allows the South African Public Service to benefit from expertise that will improve the quality of life for all South Africans (Kahn 2009).

IN CONCLUSION

Notably, the aforementioned ASSADPAM conference thematised contributions to add public value in a developmental state through innovative teaching, training and practice. This issue of *Administratio Publica* focuses on the practical application of this theme. This includes the workshop theme, which aimed to highlight both the good and bad publication practices of research.

Considerably more work needs to be done to empower novice researchers in Public Administration and Management. However, I believe that the aforementioned goals of ASSADPAM identified this need. This edition is proof of novice researchers and students' efforts to publish *and* critique contributions that were presented to the workshop for analyses.

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Policy implementation

Is policy learning a myth or an imperative?

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ABSTRACT

Cross-national experiences and policy design in a specific jurisdiction should theoretically influence policy learning and eventually policy outcomes. This article highlights the myths and imperatives of policy learning by addressing to what extent it contributes to real policy change. One such myth is that all incidents of policy implementation should foster policy learning and therefore improved service delivery. This article explores the debate around and value of policy learning. A common definition of policy learning may be possible, but details differ in every social context. Different kinds of learning are instrumental learning, social learning and political learning. The basis for learning includes aspects such as how conscious learning is, the object of learning, who learns, and the status of learning in policy literature. Policy change often does not result from learning, although it can occur because of learning. Learning due to failure in the process of policy learning often has more long-lasting effects than learning from successes. Different kinds of policy learning and a combination of them can contribute to meaningful policy change and improved service delivery. Policy change is proof of learning. What is learned is what is remembered, but how do governments and organisations deal with policy intelligence? Policy intelligence should be valued in a culture of policy learning. Organisational and intra-organisational learning could stimulate common learning in government and institutions alike.

INTRODUCTION

In theory, policy implementation experiences should foster policy learning, in that the gradual evolution of policies should have a collective effect on policy

learning. Conversely, it remains an open question whether policy learning serves as a foundation for improving policy-making and policy implementation and therefore ultimately for improved service delivery. Hence, this article attempts to explore the debate surrounding policy learning and the value of policy learning. This article will also attempt to highlight the nature and incidents of policy learning.

It is not always easy to define success in service delivery. Similarly, consensus on what constitutes policy learning remains elusive. Often, an attempt is therefore made to agree about the general meaning of policy learning and then leave the details to be defined within a particular context. However, an understanding of policy learning is critical not only for policy research, but also for the conditions under which policy is implemented. The time has come for policy learning to foster improved policy design and inform the policy debate.

May (1992:332) discusses two ways in which policy learning can occur. The first is instrumental policy learning. This entails learning lessons about the viability of policy instruments or implementation designs. The second way is social policy learning, which entails learning lessons about the social construction of policy problems, the scope of policy or policy goals. In any policy change, these two forms of policy learning are not mutually exclusive. It is therefore evident that policy learning essentially means acquiring lessons about policy processes and prospects. It is also worthwhile to clarify the relationship between policy failure and learning.

The concept of learning

The concept of learning is often studied in psychology, and the insights from psychology can, with a few *caveats*, be transferred to policy learning. In psychology, learning is defined as the revision of cognitions and beliefs as a result of the transformation or recording of information and interpretation (Hemerijck & Visser 2003:5). Under certain conditions, policy change can be imposed, but doing so does not guarantee that there will be any learning. Conversely, there may be no reform, but learning can nevertheless occur. According to Hemerijck and Visser (2003:6), there is no evidence to support the assumption that learning improves performance. This implies that merely acquiring skills does not necessarily contribute to service delivery in local government. Learners may even decide against reform because of what they have learnt; and policy-makers who learn lessons may be replaced before they can apply them (Hemerijck & Visser 2003:6).

The basis for understanding (policy) learning includes a grasp of aspects such as how conscious that learning is, what the object of learning is, who learns and what the status of learning in the policy literature is. The role of feedback in policy

learning and subsequent changes in social policy and behaviour are critical. The ability to learn requires looking at policy's impact in order for a policy to be redesigned (May 1992:333), but policy learning need not be directly linked to a specific policy – other policies and governments' experiences could be equally be important. It should be noted that the method of drawing lessons from other situations may be imperfect. The wrong conclusions could be reached or ideas can be adopted without understanding the particular context for which the policies were originally designed and in which they were implemented.

One can argue that policy experiences therefore form the basis for policy learning. Trial-and-error seems to be a common strategy in policy learning. The well-known 'muddling through' described by Lindblom (1959) in May (1992:333) already suggested gradual evolution. Learning through systematic policy evaluation and experimentation is not the rule: Wildavsky (1979) and Lindblom (1959) in May (1992:333) both highlight the fact that policy implementation is an evolutionary process through trial-and-error. However, this evolutionary process is only possible if the feasibility of a policy is subjected to recurrent testing (May 1992:333). Nevertheless, policy experience through either trial-and-error or systematic assessment does not guarantee any learning. Learning only takes place when there is an improved understanding through lessons drawn from policy problems, objectives or interventions.

Policy learning can also be a broad concept applicable to the re-construction of policy problems and objectives. In some instances, learning refers to the assessment of political feasibility with regard to policy action and the political price to be paid for implementation.

It is also not clear exactly who learns from policy experiences. Is it the implementers of policy or is it the public that is subject to a particular policy? In this regard, May (1992:334) refers to 'policy agents'. Policy agents could also be the leaders of relevant organisations with a stake in the issues that comprise the policy domain.

Instrumental policy learning

Instrumental policy learning entails gaining new understanding and achieving new behaviours regarding the viability of policy interventions or implementation design and practices (May 1992:335). The focus is therefore on implementation designs and learning that will lead to improved designs for the purposes of attaining existing policy goals. Learning from implementation practices should result in increased intelligence about and sophistication in policy implementation design.

Unfortunately, the evidence of policy adaptation and redesign does not necessarily constitute policy learning. It could therefore be argued that true

instrumental learning requires the documentation of increased understanding of policy implementation designs. Intentional instrumental learning can be stimulated by the introduction of learning tools such as evaluation, hearings and assessments of policy design and implementation (May 1992:337).

Social policy learning

Social policy learning entails a new social construction of a policy by the policy stakeholders of a given policy domain. The focus falls on the policy problem, the scope of the policy or policy goals. It is important to realise that policy learning in this regard does not mean that individuals and organisations are necessarily becoming smarter. Social policy learning involves rethinking the policy domain and the fundamental aspects of the policy. Social reconstruction revolves around beliefs about the cause(s) and effect(s) of desired policy outcomes, perceptions of policy targets and beliefs about the fundamental aspects that underpin policies (May 1992:337). Social learning should not be confused with a mere change in policy – changes in a particular policy can also be ascribed to several other causes, such as budget problems or a symbolic undertaking designed to expand political constituencies (May 1992: 338).

The role of policy failure in learning

It is useful to consider cases of policy failure as a resource for policy learning. The organisational learning literature emphasises that dissatisfaction with programme performance can serve as a stimulus to search for alternative ways to operate. This implies that instrumental policy learning is fostered by an organisation's attempts to close the performance gaps. The very same failure of instrumental policy learning can also stimulate causal reasoning about social policy learning (May 1992:341). Policy successes can also provide a strong basis for learning.

It is important to stress that the phenomenon of policy failure is neither simple nor certain. Success and failure are ambiguous concepts, often highly subjective and reflective of an individual's goals and perceptions of need, and perhaps even the person's psychological disposition towards life (Ingram and Mann 1980:12). It is human nature to believe that failure as a stimulus for change is more relevant for policy redesign than success. Policy failure should foster policy learning, but, in practice, acknowledging failure is not that easy. Government leaders may be unwilling to acknowledge failure. This reluctance is particularly strong in ideologically dominated administrations (May 1992:341).

Empirical research suggests that people learn more from failure than from success. Policy learning can therefore be stimulated by unusual events that can be interpreted as a crisis, policy failure or imminent danger. It sometimes takes major external shocks to change core beliefs, decision-making routines, and existing distributions of resources and capabilities (Hemerijck and Visser 2003:10).

Interestingly, when one compares countries with one another, one finds that similar crises or critical developments do not necessarily start major policy reforms in all the countries. Not all policy learning results from events. In some instances, individual people can trigger learning. Leadership succession can bring different sets of beliefs to the forefront; subsequent policy changes are then related to turnover rather than learning (Hemerijck and Visser 2003:10). Often, existing weaknesses are not analysed, unless a crisis arises or there is demonstrable repeated policy failure.

The actors of policy learning

The theoretical debates about who the actors in the policy process are relates to the subjects of learning. The range of actors varies from social to state actors. In the first instance, actors learn in the state institutions where they are involved with policy processes and implementation. A second possibility for learning is the actors in societies that create the conditions to which state officials must respond. In the third instance, one finds that state officials and societal actors are in constant and life-long interaction, which includes learning (Bennett & Howlett 1992:278). Service delivery could therefore be both the cause and the effect of policy learning. In addition, learning may also pertain to group learning and organisational learning. Learning is therefore an activity that takes place at both the individual and organisational levels.

Policy learning is only evident after the diagnosis of societal problems and the consequent build-up of intelligence. Social scientists have an impressive collective capacity to think intelligently and with some sophistication about the problems of long-term government learning, but it is not possible to know in advance to know whether an organisation or individual will diagnose the problem, just as a physician cannot diagnose the causes of illness and problems of the next patient in advance (Etheredge 1979:61).

The object of learning

The concept of learning, intentional or unintentional, is difficult to grasp; and the object of learning is equally ambiguous. Most definitions of the policy

process include conflict resolution. Learning and what is learned in the policy itself is inherent in the policy process. Learning is not only about how policy is done by government, but also how it was done (Bennett & Howlett 1992:283). A comparison between policy learning and cognitive development psychology implies that there should be intelligent growth in government (Etheredge 1981:76).

There are three objective indicators of learning: first, increased capacity for differentiation; second, increased capacity for organisational and hierarchical integration; and, third, increased capacity for reflective thought. Policy learning is not a self-driven and neutral process. Policy learning depends on what universities teach, on what voters want to believe, on what interest groups say, on agendas in the media, on the views of critics, on the mood of the times (*the Zeitgeist*), and on conceptual and methodological innovations from university research (Bennett & Howlett 1992:283). Policy-oriented learning is therefore an ongoing process of (re)search and adaptation motivated by the desire to realise core policy beliefs.

The results of learning

Policy change can occur because of learning. According to Bennett and Howlett (1992:285), two common types of policy learning can occur. There are the incremental type of policy learning and the trial-and-error process of policy innovation. The first type of learning only alters in the face of new social concerns and a solution is reached by reasoning through established policies. In the second type of learning, the actions of policy-makers are more uncertain. Past lessons are studied and then inform contemporary choices (Bennett & Howlett 1992:286). The nature of a policy problem can determine the kind of learning that takes place. Poorly defined policy problems create little opportunity for study and learning. Policy learning for the most part occurs when it is about the techniques of implementation. The core values of policy are not subject to so much change because of policy learning. Figure 1 depicts three types of learning identified and their relationship to policy change.

The term ‘policy learning’ can present different complex processes of learning. Figure 1 shows Bennett and Howlett’s (1992:289) proposition regarding different kinds of policy learning. In fact, real policy can also be a combination of the different kinds of learning. It may be impossible to observe policy learning without policy change. Therefore, we may only know that learning has taken place because policy change is taking place. What is learned is what is remembered, but this should always be seen in a particular context of political interest and power (Bennett and Howlett 1992:291).

Figure 1 Three types of learning and policy change

Learning type	Who learns	Learns what	To what effect
Government learning	State officials	Process-related	Organizational change
Lesson-drawing	Policy networks	Instruments	Programme change
Social learning	Policy communities	Ideas	Paradigm shift

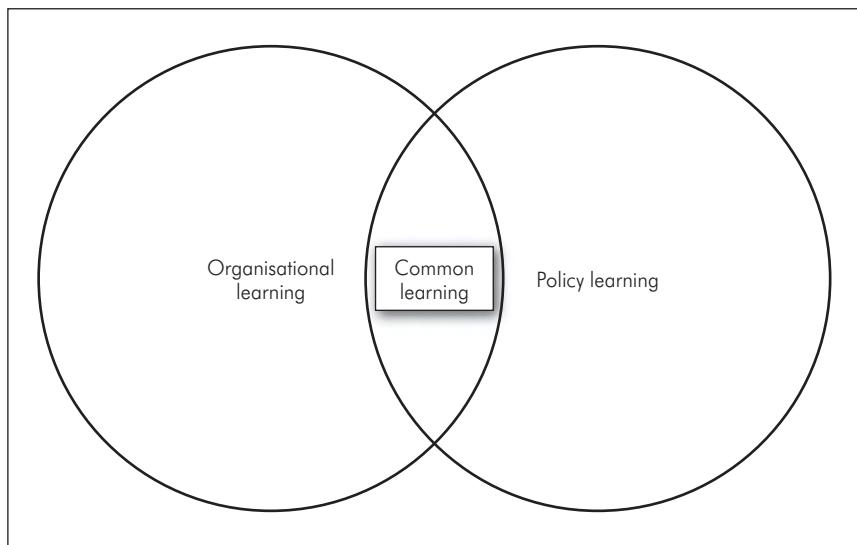
Source: Bennett and Howlett (1992:289)

Organisational learning and policy learning

Organisational learning and policy learning are related, which suggests that the literature on organisational learning is also relevant to policy learning. All the experiences built up over time create recurring opportunities for individuals involved in policy learning to learn. In any organisation where individuals are pursuing a common goal, policy learning is also possible. Individuals in organisations are capable of learning from committing errors. Figure 2 indicates the commonalities between organisational learning and policy learning.

Thus far, empirical research on institutions has failed to develop a usable model of institutional arrangements that either promote or inhibit policy learning. Interestingly, studies on organisational learning tend to focus on

Figure 2 Overlap between organisational learning and policy learning

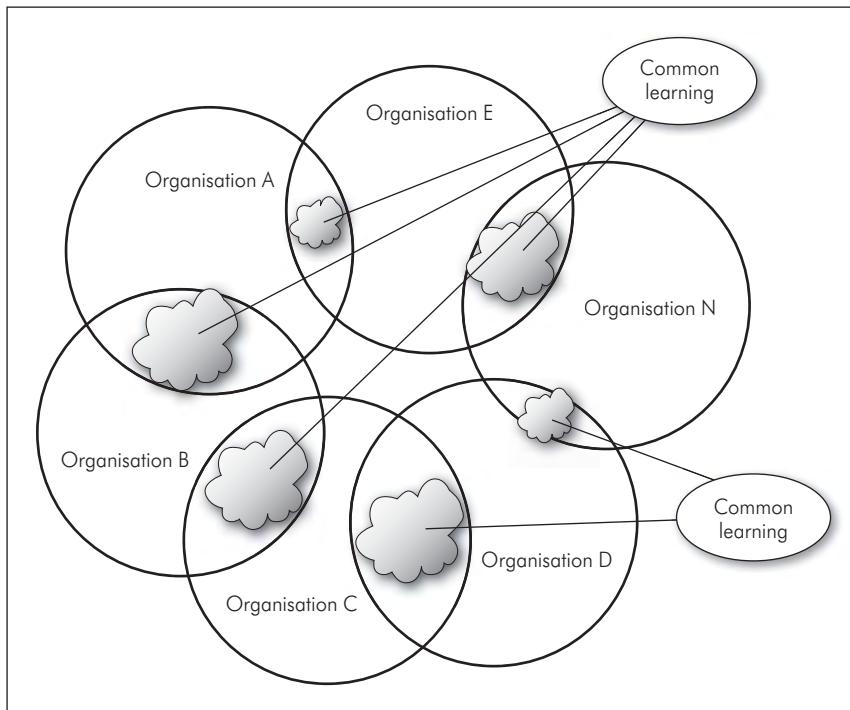


Source: Adapted from Busenberg (2001:175)

institutional arrangements that serve to promote (or constrain) organisational learning (Busenberg 2001:175). Organisational learning can be promoted through organisational structures (learning mechanisms) and values and customs (a learning culture) that support the learning process. According to Busenberg (2001:176), the literature on policy learning also identifies policy networks, the impact of political events and policy change, and the evolution of policy over time as important factors in the process. Policy networks therefore refer to a collection of organisations and actions across organisations. It is critical to note that policy learning normally evolves over a period of a decade or more (Busenberg 2001:716). In Figure 3, the common learning possibilities in policy networks are depicted.

Policy learning is limited by contextual boundaries. The policy literature suggests a number of variables, such as the characteristics of the issue in question, the distribution of political authority, the natural, economic, and technical resources available to support policy actions, the institutional structures of governments active in the domain, and the value structures

Figure 3 Policy networks and policy learning



Source: Adapted from Busenberg (2001:176)

of the cultures active in the domain (Busenberg 2001:177). Policy impacts (learning opportunities for policy learning) are therefore shaped by institutional arrangements and by contextual variables that can change over time. A shift can occur, for example, when governments change and the changeover also involves new policy proposals. The changes initiated by the new South African government that was elected during 2009 are a clear example of this.

Policy innovation as a driver for learning

Policy innovation is a separate field of study and research. Over the last few decades, policy innovation research has expanded considerably. An important driver for policy innovation is policy learning. In this section, the emphasis is therefore on the role of policy learning in policy innovation and change. According to Meytelka and Smith (2002:1468), policy theory and policy are co-evolving. This is a process of interactive learning.

In the current challenging economic climate, learning is often seen as a response to a more or less critical problem. In this particular context, learning requires time and consists of reappraisals and modifications in an evolutionary process. We need to know what real policy knowledge is in order to be able to achieve policy learning and policy innovation. Our knowledge about optimal public policies for highly successful societies is very limited. One needs to accept that optimal policies for most of today's problems have not yet been found.

If policy innovation is regarded as the first application of new policies, then policy learning can be reduced to a process of mere trial-and-error. If the same policy is tried out in different countries simultaneously then mutual learning takes place. By the same token, failed policies should be avoided (Kerber and Eckardt 2007:229). The ability to exploit external knowledge is a critical component of policy innovation. One can argue that the ability to evaluate and use outside knowledge is largely a function of the level of prior related knowledge (Cohen and Levinthal 1990:128). If innovation is limited, the question arises how much can one learn from the experiences of others.

Learning from experiences

It is possible that lessons learnt from the experiences of others have led to a host of new policies and regulations around the world. People often learn from failed experiments, but these failures may be offset by successes in other countries. These kinds of learning mainly involve social learning. The results can be observed in policy outcomes, but it remains difficult to test real policy learning empirically (Meseguer 2005:69). The challenge of empirical testing of

policy learning has been partly ascribed to the difficulty in making the concept of learning operational. In the literature on policy learning, all sorts of notions for learning are suggested, but Bennett and Howlett (1992:288) claim that learning is over-theorised and under-applied. However, this criticism does not take make learning as a phenomenon any less intriguing in any discussion on policy change.

Learning in every country is a voluntary act. Learning implies a change in beliefs in the light of the experiences of others (Meseguer 2005:72). In the final instance, politicians should be persuaded by the experiences of others. Governments faced with the risk of making new policy decisions may find it relatively simple and inexpensive to gain new information by observing the results of particular policies elsewhere.

The question always remains whether one can really learn from the lessons learnt in other countries. Nevertheless, it seems that it is easier to draw lessons from similar policies between countries than to learn from a comparison of different policies in the same country. If a lesson is positive, a policy that works can be transferred with suitable adaptations. If a lesson is negative, observers can learn what to avoid from noting the mistakes of others (Rose 1991:4). Drawing lessons from others can save time and effort. Policies are judged in relation to past performance and in anticipation of their future consequences. Borrowing from other policies should not be done blindly, or even condemned blindly. The success of a policy is, after all, affected by its particular context and the possible generic attributes of the policy in question (Rose 1991:4). In this regard, it is useful to remember that organisations such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank regularly deal with the issues of 152 nations around the globe, and they make available information on this experience in the form of advice (Rose 1991:5).

Lessons are always drawn, consciously or unconsciously, from our own past or from the experience of our predecessors in a job. Everyone involved with public policy can unconsciously draw lessons across time and space. Drawing lessons is more than an evaluation of a programme in its context; it is also applying judgement about doing the same thing elsewhere. Lessons constitute what is learned (Rose 1991:7). Interestingly, the policy literature focuses more on how policymakers learn than on the lessons drawn from learning themselves. Applying judgement on the transferability of a particular policy from one place to another is a special feature of drawing lessons from elsewhere. Drawing lessons from the experiences of another government should not be regarded as innovation (which refers to a completely novel programme). Lessons drawn from the past or from other countries should be treated with a great deal of circumspection. Analogies should not assume that the problems facing policymakers are recurrent (Rose 1991:9).

The ongoing search for lessons to learn should not be a matter of idle curiosity for policymakers – they should remember the maxim ‘If it ain’t broke, don’t fix it’. In their life span, most programmes tend to reach a point where dissatisfaction disrupts routine. Ignoring the problem is normally the first reaction in dealing with dissatisfaction, but dissatisfaction emphasises what not to do, so that soon the *status quo* is no longer an option (Rose 1991:10). This dissatisfaction then becomes an impetus for searching for satisfaction across time and space: the quest for lessons to learn from elsewhere begins. The decision about whether or not to draw on a particular lesson learnt elsewhere always has two different features: Is it practical? Is it desirable? The issue of desirability is the domain of the elected officials; the determination of what is possible is the primary concern of career officials and experts (Rose 1991:24).

The challenge of government to learn from its own experiences

If it is indeed possible to learn from the experiences of others, in this age of rapid societal change, governments too should treasure the possibility of life-long policy learning. It is high time that even governments set aside time for learning, or else it may become a case of ‘the more we know, the less we use’ (Leicester 2007:173).

We as citizens of a global society live in conditions of unprecedented and boundless complexity, rapid change and interconnectedness. Recent phenomena such as global warming and the global economic meltdown are only two examples of such global issues. In this ever-changing world, we are at times strangers in our own land. The imperative for learning is therefore obvious. This also applies to policy learning and service delivery. Global changes affect local societal problems in ways that are messy and difficult to define. The problematic circumstances of uncertainty pose real challenges for policy learning and policy-makers. This may perhaps be the reason for the tendency to opt for social engineering rather than societal learning.

Policy has a life of its own and depends on societal changes that necessitate policy changes, and therefore make policy-making an unstructured process. Policy learning should therefore be a continuous process. Perhaps it is time to start identifying the enabling conditions for learning amongst policy-makers in government (Leicester 2007:178). The admission of uncertainty in today’s world is an invitation to policy learning.

Reflection is an essential part of policy learning. At the moment, there is a constant demand for service delivery, increasing the pressure on all the role players. Under such conditions, one wonders if there is any time to reflect. Thus, the high demand for service delivery could constrain policy learning. In this regard, Leicester (2007:179) refers to performance anxiety within government as

a barrier to learning: we normally do not learn well when we are under stress or afraid. Interestingly, policy implementation and service delivery are both linear processes. By contrast, policy learning is cyclical and iterative. The linear model moves from implementation to service delivery, but then one also needs time for reflection (Leicester 2007:180).

Major reforms are often unpopular. Hence, large-scale reforms are extremely difficult, if not impossible. Nevertheless, they still occur. The question is then where learning opportunity arise. It seems that in major reforms, the learning could result from reflection after the implementation of the reform, when the outcomes of the reform process become clear (Hemerijck and Visser *et al.*, 2003:2).

Evidence, evaluation and expertise in the policy process

It is imperative that governments should regard policy-making and policy implementation as a continuous process, and not as a series of one-off initiatives. The use of evidence and research need to be improved to create a better understanding of societal problems. The use of pilot schemes to test innovations should be an important part of policy learning and policy innovation in the future. All policies and programmes should be clearly specified and evaluated. Lessons about success or failure should be acted upon (Bullock, Mountford & Stanley 2001:49).

In South Africa, there is a Government-wide Monitoring and Evaluation System (GWM&ES) intended to establish a uniform system of monitoring and evaluation across the spheres of government, as well as the voluntary sectors. This system could be seen as an imperative for policy learning that will yield improvements in future public policy outcomes. Although the monitoring and evaluation started out as individual performance management, there is now a conscious effort to subject policies and programmes to strict monitoring and evaluation (Cloete 2009:298). The GWM&ES in South Africa is an emerging system and therefore currently holds the potential of being both an imperative and a myth in policy learning. The myth lies in the belief that the current GWM&ES will ensure policy learning and improved policies in the future. Nevertheless, the power of such a myth could provide the momentum for instituting a fully developed monitoring and evaluation system.

The role of myth

The notions the learning society and policy learning have no current empirical validity. One can, for reasons already mentioned in this article, doubt that policy learning can be practically developed as a construct in the foreseeable future. The question is whether this myth still has practical value.

A functional perspective (Hughes & Tight 1995:301) of the learning society myth would argue that its purpose is to maintain a false consciousness of learning. This view suggests that opportunities are available for individuals and policy-makers for development. The myth therefore blames powerless members of the community for their (failure) to get on (Hughes & Tight 1995:301). This kind of myth extends its life across generations. The role of the learning society myth is to provide a convenient rationale for the current and future policies of different power groups within society. The myth as such has little or no impact on the nature, content or implementation of policies. Changed policies often give the impression to outsiders that things are improving. The power of a myth should not be underestimated. It has power because many in society believe that the myth is achievable, and they also see it as an answer to challenging economic and social problems.

CONCLUSION

Policy learning is still a somehow vague concept, but learning remains an imperative for successful outcomes. The unwillingness of implementers sometimes to acknowledge failures can easily reduce learning to a myth.

There has been an impressive increase in intelligent discussion of issues in policy learning since the topic was first raised in the late 1950s and 1960s. Useful integration of the wealth of theories and models of policy learning with the practice has yet to be achieved. Service delivery can indeed benefit from policy learning, but it is still an open question whether policy learning has made any substantial contribution towards successful outcomes. Academics simply do not have the time to codify government's experience and therefore create the possibility for learning. Academics have too many other responsibilities to even consider such a codifying exercise. Practitioners are fully occupied with the implementation of programmes. The key would then be to assist government institutions with their training in order to build their own intelligence and databases. Data for the purposes of policy learning will also need a repository and a structure for policy intelligence needs to be developed.

On average, the training and induction of new political office bearers takes about two years. If there is no institution containing the executive branch responsible for policy learning, performance will fall short on capacity – Plato's age-old concern about who can be trusted to have good judgement on important issues is still valid.

The challenge of overload applies to researchers and practitioners alike. Researchers do not have the capacity to keep track of policy learning. Practitioners face a growing bureaucracy or government overload. In the end,

it seems that, often, all they are concerned with is merely surviving. Ideology continues to play a significant role in policy decisions.

The development of a professional diagnostic capability for social problems will probably increase the ability for policy learning. Improved service delivery is, in part, a function of both increasingly accurate factual knowledge and the usefulness of increased intelligence and sophistication. In order to de-mystify the whole policy learning concept, further research in a combination of different social science disciplines is needed to explore and generate more incisive questions (and answers) on the role of cognition, framing, crises, learning cycles, international pressure and models of best practice for modern states. Ideally governments should learn ahead about what might lead to policy failure. Learning ahead requires resources, experiments and foresight. These conditions are rarely met by governments. Learning from best practices is a viable option, but the absence of experience means that such vicarious learning often remains shallow and merely suggests quick fix solutions.

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Theory and practice of deliberative participation in policy analysis

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ABSTRACT

The inclusion of a post-positivist thinking to policy making is a response to criticism raised against the limitations positivists impose on the policy making process. Policy-making and analysis are mainly seen as activities driven by empiricist ideals, quantitative facts, technocrats and experts while citizens' (deliberative) views are excluded or marginalised. Participatory (or deliberative) public policy analysis is a supporting approach presented by post-positivists to embrace democratic ideals through a better informed public policy process that includes normative and evaluative knowledge through mainly qualitative processes. This approach supports the notion of multiple methods of inquiry in the contexts of argumentation, judgment and public debate.

In defining policy analysis, post-positivists have opened an opportunity for deliberative approaches. This provides an opportunity specifically to further enhance the policy process through participatory evaluation. In this article a logical qualitative inquiry accompanied by a theoretical analysis by way of a literature analysis was employed as the preferred strategy to determine the questions that are most significant to the topic, context and reliability of the research.

INTRODUCTION

This article analyses trends, issues and perspectives proposed to improve the democratic nature of policy analysis. These trends and perspectives relate to the shared responsibility for accountability. Moreover, the process includes the use of various information sources to verify and test constructions and opportunities for participants, such as citizens and other role players.

In order to be relevant to the mainstream deliberative policy analysis discourse, politicians, policy makers and the research community face pressing questions, such as: How do participatory or deliberative approaches fit into the policy cycle as part of a triangulation process? Can public reasoning and interactive decision-making be developed through participatory policy analysis in order to promote deliberative democracy? Can participatory methods be used in policy analysis – both in terms of *ex ante* and *post facto* analysis?

Of less general political interest are questions concerning the methodological advancement of deliberative policy analysis, such as: Does the post-positivist discourse offer an approach to policy analysis, as well as a better understanding or description of it than positivists offer to multi-dimensional policy issues? Also, what are the limitations of empirical approaches in relation to the requirements for research in a dynamic policy environment?

In the spirit of these questions, this article offers critical re-interpretations of some of the features of the main theoretical and philosophical frameworks of public policy analysis. Its purpose is to determine how participatory or deliberative approaches fit into the policy cycle as part of the triangulation of deliberative theory as a more recent mechanism for policy analysis. This is done against the background of traditional rationalist models.

It is crucial to reflect on the characteristics of the traditional rationalist models in order to understand the methodological advancement towards the deliberative approach to policy. This article reviews the limitations of using only empirical approaches in relation to the research requirements in a dynamic policy environment. Moreover, it goes on to contextualise the models in the field of policy studies.

The rationale for this article is based on the founding principles of democracy, as well as citizens' role in the policy cycle. The article does not aim to explain the principles of democracy, such as popular consultation, majority rule, sovereignty, political equality, universal participation or government feedback on, and responsiveness to, public opinion. Rather, it attempts to develop public reasoning and interactive decision-making. Notably, this bears relation to the main approaches impacting engagement between citizen and the generic policy cycle. While developing interactive decision-making, the democratic principles of accountability, transparency, participation and human rights are strengthened within the policy cycle.

The article also focuses on the potential of participatory methods that can be used in policy analysis – both in terms of *ex ante* and *post facto* analysis. To clarify the discourse, it is important to describe and understand what policy analysis entails, how the main theoretical and philosophical frameworks approach policy analysis and how participatory or deliberative approaches fit into the policy cycle as part of a triangulation process. The article by no means implies that post-positivists reject traditional approaches but rather supports the inclusion of deliberative discourse as an enhancing factor to existing traditional research practices. The article does not reflect on the detail of the post-positivist methodology but offers a point of departure for a sophisticated understanding and further research to expand deliberative approaches.

There are various concepts used in the article and will be dealt with sequentially in view of building an understanding of the direction to include the use of post-positivist approaches and specifically participatory discourse in mainstream research. However, it is critical that the following definitions are clarified in advance to assist the reader to understand the context of the argument. The length of the article does not allow for an extensive discussion and therefore only touches on the concepts broadly. Positivism is a presupposition that informs largely empirical science studies (Yanow 2003). Post-positivism (broadly) is a school of thought that shares the use of “language”, builds constructions from existing realities and largely focuses on qualitative aspects (Gottweis 2003). Post-positivism is designed to accommodate the multidimensional complexity of social reality. Moreover, it emphasises social constructions of theory and qualitative discovery (Fischer 2003a:209 and 211) Interpretative policy analysis refers to a repositioning/focus on human interpretation and social realities at the core of the analyses. This requires a practical understanding of the local conditions (local knowledge). This key aspect highlights subjective-experimental knowledge and directly links to participatory democracy (Yanow 2003:236 and 245) and the core principles of democracy.

DEMOCRACY, ACCOUNTABILITY AND THE POLICY CYCLE: THE CHALLENGES OF PARTICIPATORY PUBLIC POLICY MAKING

The core principles of democracy include transparency, accountability, equity, access, participation and human rights – all of which come into play in government’s policy-making processes.

Generally, there are two ways of viewing democracy. The issue of participation is critical to the distinction. Notably, the approaches have varied implications for understanding the abovementioned foundations of democracy. The one

view, the so-called public ballot perspective, sees democracy through the lens of representivity. Within this paradigm, citizens identify their representative through regular, free and fair elections (Sen 2004:1-2). The second perspective, known as the public reasoning perspective, attempts from within what is feasible to move to a situation of direct representation and emphasises citizens' participation. Here, participatory reasoning could be seen in public decision-making processes (Sen 2004:1).

The fundamentals of democracy should have a broader focus than electoral processes (Sen 2004:1-2). The public reasoning perspective is relevant and hones in on the discussion on deliberative policy approaches in democratic settings. In view of the argument for interactive decision-making processes (here specifically reflecting on citizen participation in policy making), the discussion turns towards the theory of public policy and accountability. These concepts have to be explained for purposes of this article.

Public policy is defined as issues governed by government through regulation and has a common (public good) purpose or goal (Parson 1995:xvii). In more theoretical terms, policy is seen as the central concept to the analysis and the practice of governance (Colebatch 2002:1).

The policy cycle is a theoretical, analytical construct that helps us understand the impact, trends, development and change of policy. It maps the policy process and might provide some idea on where public participation may be accommodated later in this article. The policy cycle identifies a policy problem in a circular format. It requires policy makers to define the problem, find alternative solutions to such a problem and monitor and evaluate options to ensure the ideal solution. In the second half of the cycle, the policy makers make a selection of the possible solutions for the policy problem, the implementation of such alternatives and an evaluation of the policy choices made (May and Wildavsky 1978 & Dunn 1994:5-35). In this regard, it is important to note that for the purposes of this article the policy cycle is a visual map and not an approach to this particular research *per se*. The policy process, as alluded to by Dunn and Parsons, is very complex and in no way a set of neat steps. It is more of a multiplicity of different internal and external forces and approaches at play at any given time (Dunn 1994:5-35 & Parsons 1995:81). Against this policy making background the article sets out to explore the value of public participation in policy-making. It argues for the importance of participatory methods and approaches in modern governance in order to improve on the democracy as citizens experience it.

To take the discussion forward it is necessary to have an understanding of the role of experts in policy (closely associated with rational or empirical approaches) and the role of citizens as participants (or 'co-signatories') of a social contract (featuring in policy analysis processes that allow for or draw on lay-

participation or post-empirical/post-positivist approaches). The social contract is a fundamental part of the democratic organisation of the state. The social contract states what is required of citizens. The concept of the social contract is not new. However, it requires more attention in the context of developing democracies.

Furthermore, the article investigates the challenges of using participatory methods and the value thereof to enhance the quality of decision-making. In order to understand *ex ante* and *post facto* analysis, the aforementioned is investigated in the context of the foundations of democracy in the democratic state. The question is how best to utilise information for the longer-term policy process over and above the first round of reports that aim to resolve short-term implementation and operational challenges. Related to this, is the challenge of utilising the softer, more subjective and evaluative information within the policy making process to supplement data of a more empirical and quantitative nature.

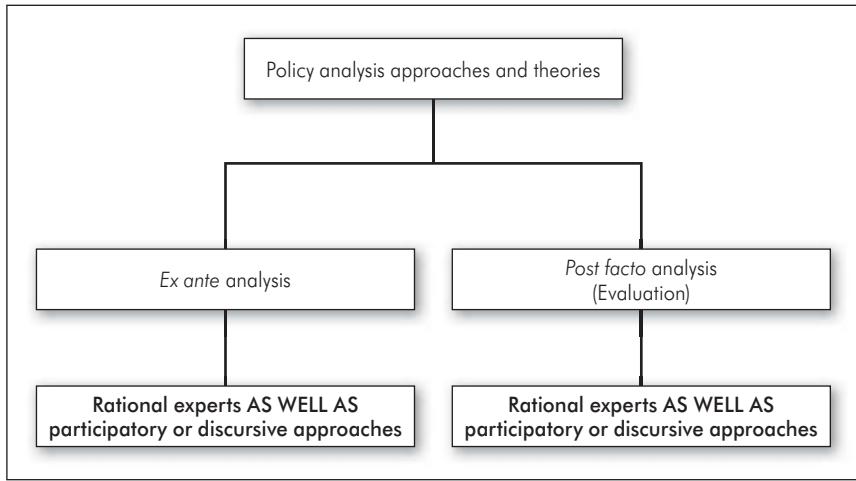
DEFINING POLICY ANALYSIS: EX ANTE AND POST FACTO ANALYSIS

Policy analysis is defined in diverse ways. The definition most appropriate for this article implies that policy analysis is an "... applied social science discipline that employs multiple methods of inquiry in contexts of argumentation and public debate, to create, critically assess, and communicate policy-relevant knowledge" (Dunn 1994:xiii).

The definition uses the term 'multiple methods of inquiry'. This can refer to stages and the multiple disciplines (including qualitative and quantitative methodologies) on which policy analysis is based (Dunn 1994:2). The quantitative methodologies mainly refer to what is collectively known as empirical or positivist approaches. The analytical stages may include the analysis of policy determination, content, monitoring and evaluation, as well as information for policy and policy advocacy (Gordon *et al.* 1977:26-35). Policy analysis is also based on triangulation, which entails a methodology of multiplism for improving knowledge of policy. Triangulation consists of multiple perspectives, methods, data sources and communication and is also known as 'critical multiplism' (Dunn 1994:29; for the idea of multiple perspectives specifically, cf. Guba and Lincoln 1989:174; Trochim 2002:2; Fischer 2003:125-130).

Multiple methods of information inquiry are descriptive, evaluative or prescriptive and may be applied before or after a policy have been implemented. Analysis is done to anticipate the outcome of a proposed policy (*ex ante*) or to evaluate the policy after it has been implemented (*ex post facto*) (Patton & Sawicki 1993:21-25).

Figure 1 Policy analysis approaches and theories



Source: Hartslef 2008

The aim of policy analysis is not only to produce facts, but also to find information about values and investigating preferred directions on policy issues. The characteristic of the information found in policy analysis is descriptive (and/or predictive), evaluative and prescriptive in nature. To obtain this information, three distinct approaches are used. This includes an empirical approach based on facts, evaluative approaches based on what a policy is worth and a normative approach that asks "What must be done?".

These policy analysis approaches (empirical, evaluative, normative) make a direct link to non-traditional forms of analysis through normative and evaluative approaches. Policy scholars belonging to a positivist orientation have resisted normative and evaluative forms and found little place for them in methodology textbooks. They are therefore, still less used in policy analysis, although this trend is changing (Dunn 1994:63). Traditionally, policy analysts tended to shy away from normative and evaluative approaches. These analysts mainly used empirical analysis due to the belief that facts and values ought to be separated and that values undermine scientific integrity.

Dunn (1994:63) elaborates on this point by saying that the belief to separate facts and values (by logical empiricists / rationalists) led to misconceptions about the methodology of policy analysis. Subsequently, prescriptions (recommendations) for through policy advocacy are seen as mere emotional appeals or political activism instead of as an opportunity to produce and gain access to policy-relevant information that may inform future policy (Dunn 1994:63-65).

THEORETIC FRAMEWORKS FOR POLICY ANALYSIS

In view of the broad definition of policy analysis presented above, the following sections contain a review of the traditional analytical and theoretical frameworks in use when approaching policy analysis. Mainstream policy analysis is generally based on empirical enquiry (Hajer & Wagenaar 2003:16; Guba & Lincoln 1989, 1994, 2004). Theorists argue among themselves about the rational nature of the policymaking process. However, there is no common approach or framework to policy analysis. Furthermore, policy analysts have been unable to fit policy analysis into a neatly packaged "Eastonian black box". Therefore, it is important to broaden our understanding and ability to deal with policy issues within a wider post-positivist context, as opposed to only focusing on traditional empirical approaches (Parsons 1995:xvii & 1-3; Fischer 2003a:209-114).

It is necessary to explain the rational empirical approach to understand the limitations and proposed shift, as well as for including post-empirical approaches and their additional potential for policy evaluation and analysis.

The logical empirical approach

The definition of logical empiricism is fairly simple, as empirical approaches are based on facts gathered through carefully-selected stages. Logical empiricism is also called positivism or scientific empiricism (Fischer 2003:1-25). Theorists of the 19th and 20th centuries were cynical about metaphysics and facts, which could not be verified (www.cc.columbia.edu/cu/cup/). This school of thought was well established with philosophers, physicists and mathematicians, such as Friedrich Weismann, Phillip Frank and Kurt Gödel (www.britannica.com). It was believed that most scientific experiments were based on the understanding that everything is measurable and controllable. This means that the empiricist only believes that data can be obtained through physical, scientific inquiry. Facts were seen as superior tools of knowledge. As a result, evaluative analysis was disregarded as possible methodological tools, as it was generally deemed to be inferior to those methodological tools associated with empiricism.

Rationalism

Rationality is derived from two contexts. In the first instance, the theory developed through economic theories (which are empirical in their orientation). Secondly, bureaucratic rationality developed through sociology. In order to understand the full impact of the deliberative approaches, it is important to look at the different rationalist theorists, who were directly linked to the changing debate in public policy making (Parsons 1995:271-272).

Rationality: Herbert Simon

Rationality is also termed instrumental reasoning. It is defined as a view of recognising scientific inquiry as the only means of creating *bona fide* knowledge (Dunn 1994:59). Rationalism is characteristically linear in its logic. Defined by Herbert Simon (1957:36-69), it is the process of policy making and the action needed to reach a specific policy goal. Simon strictly focuses on a means-to-an-end approach. Rational choice is a choice between the best alternatives, which at the end will lead to attaining the pre-intended goal. Simon explains that the decision-maker would be able to make such a choice due to the comprehensive analysis (evaluation) of alternatives and systematically weighing up difficulties associated with these alternatives. Such a choice is expert-driven and assumes that researchers and policy makers have access to current information. Rationalists believe that knowledge is neutral and technocratic (Jones 2002:269-284 & Parsons 1995:277).

Simon distinguished between programmed and non-programmed decisions. Non-programmed decisions are those that require solutions for new difficulties – the discovery of new solutions on a trial-and-error basis. There are no set rules as in the case of a programmed routine decision-making process. In Simon's later work, he changed his view somewhat and argued that the improved use of technology, the strengthening of public knowledge and the improved knowledge on political institutions had the potential to strengthen rational decision-making. He calls this approach 'bounded rationality' (Parsons 1995:282 & Hill 1997:99).

Bounded rationality highlights limitations to rationality. Within the context of limitations, Simon acknowledges that human knowledge is constrained or bounded (such as by objectivity or subjectivity). Simon had doubts about the impact of a strengthened public knowledge base. He did not consider that an increased public knowledge base could make a difference in decision-making. Simon saw technology as an opportunity and he viewed the human factor as a risk – rather than an element for potential growth. Moreover, he argued that bounded rationality, used together with technology, might in actual fact provide an advantage to any organisation if used correctly (Parsons 1995:280).

Rationalist theory is subject to criticism, most of which is based on the fact that external factors, as well as human emotions influence decision makers and that, in reality, most policy processes are not as simple as Simon perceives them to be (Hill 1997:99-101). In fact, in value-laden democratic settings the processes are very complex, due to the involvement of various policy role players.

Critique of rational processes

Rationality has become the object of much critique over time. The main lines of this critique, as found in the literature, are as follows:

- Rationality is not flexible. Nor does it accommodate softer issues within a policy-making environment. The policy-making environment contains a multitude of socio-political policy problems that require an integrated policy approach. The policy-making environment is highly politicised and politicians are pushing for specific policy agendas. Furthermore, investigations of an empirical nature cannot always clarify the evaluative issues at play in the policy environment (Hill 1997:99-107; Stone 2001:5; & Parsons 1995:278-281).
- There is a “historical impairment” on the part of decision-makers, which includes barriers of superstition, peer pressure, media propaganda and intimidation. Also, there is a tendency to comply with the *status quo* and different alternatives are not explored (Lindblom 1990:69).
- Other limitations to rationality identified in the literature are: individual habits (such as managerial style, attention span and human limitations); values and cultural perceptions (such as race, gender, freedom, dignity, religion and language); knowledge and information (availability and accessibility); comparing alternatives; capacity to do proper research (for example, under-qualified or wrongly placed individuals do the actual research); identifying the correct decision (late detection or snowballing projects with a lack of qualified individuals); organisational failure to pursue certain courses of action (co-ordination difficulties and dictatorship); organisational environment and the pressures arising internally and externally; clear organisational goals (no clear goals for public participation); and no clear communication about organisational constraints (Stone 2001:5; Parsons 1995:277; & Simon 1957).

Incrementalism

Charles Lindblom's incrementalist theory offers an objective insight into the dynamic reality of the policy-making environment in which options are weighted and reviewed if the need arises. It follows on the work done by Simon, with some distinctive criticism and small changes to Simon's theory. However, one particular argument Lindblom put forward was that technology cannot substitute policy analysis done by policy analysts, and that technology can only enhance policy-making. There is no correct way of making policy. It is a process that requires input from various role players and policy makers. This is especially the case in a democratic setting (Hill 1997:27; & Parsons 1995:280).

Incrementalism is similar to what Karl Popper's philosophical framework described as the piecemeal engineering model. Popper indicates that there were limitations to knowledge and human ability (humans are not objective but subjective beings). In a liberal society governance is based on understanding these limitations and finding solutions beyond the boundaries (such as human

limitations and access to information) through incrementalism (Parsons 1995:49).

Juma & Clark (1995:124) state that "... *the concept of policy as a social experiment is rooted in the application of evolutionary analogies to cumulative social change*". In other words, it is a process in which a hypothesis is tested against reality in an experimental manner in the same way as a scientific enquiry.

However, this theory does not reflect the effort of systematically analysing all alternatives, as proposed by Simon, and then coming up with the single best. Instead, intended goals are reached through the element of evaluation or the reconsideration of previous decisions and the policy change that follows such evaluation.

Critique of the rational/empirical policy-making environment

It was mostly Karl Popper who in his book *Logik der Forschung* 1934 (English: *The logic of scientific discovery*) expressed criticism on logical-empiricism. As Popper did not essentially agree with the theory, he posed critical questions, such as that the metaphysical cannot be meaningless, but could become falsifiable or un-falsifiable in another more advanced century. He indirectly opened the window for scientists such as W V O Quine and Thomas Kuhn. Their works proposed that there is more than one way of providing a high-quality scientific explanation for a study outside the traditional boundaries of scientific research (cf. Fischer 2003:118-119 & www.britannica.com).

Generally, the prerequisite for qualifying any process as rational or empirical is questionable and most probably impossible – especially considering the unpredictability of the policy-making environment. Unpredictability remains a risk to governance – even in a modern dynamic policy environment with the best technological advancements that is affected by different technological advancements. Lindblom's theory was based on a stable and uncomplicated environment with a single united belief system (Hill 1997:105).

Policies of a technical nature are not likely to be transformed and adjusted incrementally without having a long-lasting impact on the country concerned (such as the privatisation of public services or financial policies). Other less complicated policies (such as a policy providing water to those living in urban areas) are changed more easily in this manner. Incrementalism paved the way for alternatives to develop due to the possibilities of various ways of creating alternatives to policy problems, by solving strategic problems with smaller adjustments. Lindblom changed his view about the theory several times. This was done to accommodate the difficulty of attaining correct information in an ever-changing political environment (cf. Hill 1997:106; Fischer 2003; & Gregory 1989).

Pessimistic findings on policy are at times ignored. This is due to the far-reaching investments and resources already made and political crisis situations or failures (scandals or tragedies) that arise before a major re-evaluation of policy change or termination takes shape (Stone 2001:6).

In conclusion, it is clear that rationalists mainly accept policy analysis as an empirical process (a linear step-by-step approach) that involves experts and technocrats. Values within the policy cycle are not fully-grasped. And, if values are taken into account, they are the values of the policy maker. Interpretation of values and situations within society is not always measurable in a purely scientific manner. Simon highlights the importance of using technology. However, he does not take human cognitive abilities into account. Individuals are not objective and uninfluenced when capturing or analysing data during the *ex ante* and *post facto* analysis. In addition external and internal factors both affect the analytical process.

Incrementalism (the piecemeal approach) did acknowledge that knowledge of society and institutions is inadequate and that small adjustments provide the best alternative for policy. Bearing in mind that small steps have an advantage for analysis (in the policy cycle), the research explores possible alternatives to a traditional analysis approach (and more specifically monitoring and evaluation). Building on the conclusions of the rational/empirical approach, the research explores what post-empiricists further contribute to analysis.

Positivism fails by simply being out of touch with citizens due to the divergence (gap) between theory and practice (reality). Policy makers and analysts are to a large extent office bound. Positivism supports a hierarchy of politicians making decisions without considering the realistic impact and the non-accessibility of accurate information. Politicians cannot be sure of policy-making due to the pace of social degradation and an unstable economic environment. Local knowledge is also largely disregarded (Hajer & Wagenaar 2003:19; Yanow 2003:228-235).

The thinking regarding policy analytical processes did not end with rationality and incrementalism. It went on to mirror developments in the epistemology that would move beyond such schools of thinking. The next part of the article review will engage with these more recent schools of thinking.

Post-empiricism

As noted before, the fact that policy analysts get entangled with issues such as rationalism, empiricism and discursive frameworks when investigating policy alternatives, points to the question of whether post-positivism provides an altered approach to policy analysis – especially in relation to the evaluative and normative approaches. Secondly, by allowing citizen participation and

enhancing local knowledge as a critical enhancing methodological practice in the social sciences.

Defining post-empiricism can be “nebulous”. But, like the definition for public policy, there is no standard definition for post-empiricism (also called post-positivism by Fischer) (Fischer 2003:125 & Fischer 2003a:211). However, the theory does acknowledge that “reality” (recognising reality as a “social construction and the focus would be on the nature of the situation and the discursive processes that shape it”) exists. Part of this understanding lends itself to objective analysis, but that there is more to it than reality only (Fischer 2003:128). The post empiricist frameworks do not focus on statistical and rigorous rules based research design but rather “involve the exercise of a multi-methodological range of intellectual criteria, both qualitative and quantitative.”(Fischer 2003a:219)

The most common post-positivist philosophy is critical realism. Positivists are realists. However, the difference between critical realism (post-positivism) and realism (positivism/empiricism) is that critical realists accept that observations are imperfect and theory is revisable. Critical realists acknowledge that, in order to understand reality, scientists need to explore multiple measures and observations – including the subjective. (Trochim 2002:3 & Dunn 1994:63-65). Trochim states that post-positivists are constructivists (individuals constructing a view of what is real through experiences) and that beliefs are fallible due to diverse experiences, background and cultures (Trochim 2002:2, Guba & Lincoln 1989:43, Fischer 2003:125-130, Dunn 1994:10-11 and 29 on critical mutiplism).

Constructivism implies that knowledge is a construction or collective of various interpretations of information (Morcol 2001:383). Guba and Lincoln argue that constructivist methodology is a qualitative approach proposed as an alternative (enhancing) to the dominant quantitative evaluation approach. However, the authors argue that evaluators may use post-positivist approaches to broaden their understanding of softer issues, such as “fourth generation evaluation”.

Social-construction, as well as interpretative-qualitative approaches may assist in terms of heuristic discovery and an enlightened understanding of reality. Fischer and Trochim provide arguments for post-empiricism that allows policy makers into a dimension where the policy-making cycle becomes less “fussy” or abstract as the researcher deals with day-to-day issues at a grassroots level. It would make sense to gather information from different points, to establish at a later stage whether that policy is reaching its intended outcome (cf. Fischer 2003:125-130). This holds true for both *ex ante* and *post facto* analysis (Dunn 1994:63-65; Patton & Sawicki 1993:21-25). Fischer states that the discursive policy analyst must have an understanding of socio-economic realities and the intended goal of a specific policy in order to add value to policy-making and politics.

Policy-makers face challenges that pose limitations to traditional rational policy making and that facilitates opportunities for post-empiricists to come to the fore:

- The new spaces of politics that entail a bottom-up approach. Within this paradigm citizens participate. Thus, interpretive analysis becomes more important as different dimensions destabilise politics (cf. Fischer 2003:50-140).
- Politics and policy-making under conditions of uncertainty imply that society is becoming more complex and unpredictable (cf. Hager & Wagenaar 2003).
- The increased importance of differences in the understanding of politics, is due to the fact that societies are becoming culturally complex and also due to language differences (cf. Stone 2001).
- Acting upon an awareness of interdependence – due to differences as indicated above – society faces various complexities. Evidentially, there is a need for communities to work together to solve difficulties. Community deliberation therefore creates an environment that is important for understanding reality and for generating possible solutions to problems (cf. Fischer 2003; Hager & Wagenaar 2003; & Frederickson 1982).
- Policy-making and the dynamics of trust and identity: The contemporary political setting challenges the idea that political parties always provide the ideal support structures for specific interests. Therefore, individual citizens need a place to voice their concerns, which may differ from those of the political party (Hager & Wagenaar 2003:8-16).

It is clear that there are various limitations to traditional evaluation methods. These challenges may arise due to developments in information communication technology, increasing social and humanitarian policy needs, financial constraints, as well as the general changes democratic states face, including security, migration, information availability and human resources / expert knowledge. Policymakers should value, embrace and take on board norms and values, rather than seeing them as a risk to be neutralised and methodologically contained. Post-empiricists (policy analysts) must call upon agents of social and policy change to help interpret the local political environment to ensure effective policy-making.

Citizens, local knowledge and post-empiricism

A critical element to post-empiricism is the search to understand day-to-day politics. This requires a deeper understanding of social and cultural factors, rather than facts. Such socio-cultural issues play a decisive role in citizens' assessments of different views (Fischer 2003:129).

Policy-making cannot take place in isolation, since various socio-cultural issues influence the process. Within an institutional or government setting, relationships take account of ideas. These external influences are critical and are seen in the meta-theoretical influence of language, as described by Habermas (1984) in his critical theory approach and Foucault's post-structural theory of discursive power. This means that discourse is based on the awareness of how language is used, understood, perceived, listened to and analysed and more importantly, the institutions from where information emanates (Fischer 2003:31, 46-47; & Goodin 2003:61).

In more recent years, citizens' renewed awareness of their policy environment has called for some form of direct representation due to the disjuncture between government and citizens. Most individuals believe that government officials are self-serving and that citizens and their needs are not considered. Therefore, Coleman (2005:3-10) refers to an individualistic, consumerist culture that has eradicated a traditional sense of community. This, in turn, erodes confidence, trust and electoral participation. He explains that citizens in mature democracies tend to participate continuously in a range of matters (Mackinnon *et al.* 2003; & Coleman 2005:3-5).

Contrary to Coleman's statement, participation is not sustainable, continuous or integrated into policy-making. This especially comes into play when considering the type of environment a particular democracy is functioning in and how serious the particular government is about participation. The level at which citizens want to engage is different from what governments are used to. Note, for example, the call emanating from participants at the International Conference on Engaging Citizens, held in Australia in 2005 under the aegis of the UN, for democracies to re-evaluate participatory programmes as citizens disengage at a rapid pace. The message is clear: Citizens want to be listened to and *heard*. For this, adequate participation programmes are needed (Guthrie 2005; Khan 2005; Sobhan 2005; Ratnayake 2005; Fraser-Moleketi 2005; & Bertucci 2005).

Due to the renewed call for local participatory programmes, examples of programmes are explored. The Canadian Policy Research Networks (CPRN), Goar (2003) reports in the *Toronto Star* that ordinary Canadian citizens are capable of participating in making policy decisions through dialogue. Canadians in actual fact welcome this approach, as it allows them to develop a better understanding of the roles of government and citizens. Citizens want to be better informed. Moreover, they are willing to contribute to ideas that will benefit the collective citizenry. Thus, Canadians could set goals and review a workable social contract to which they themselves contributed. Local knowledge is found to be valuable in creating and understanding social needs (cf. Hartslef 2008:101-127).

Yanow (2003:231) supports the idea that local knowledge is important to interpretive/constructivist policy-making. She states that “*...metaphoric reasoning is common in policy practices, as well, serving both as models of prior conceptualisations of the issues and as models for subsequent action ...*” Yanow emphasises that metaphoric processes facilitate access to local knowledge of policy. This local knowledge is accessed through observation, participation, conversational interviewing and reading local reports or letters. She explains that the normative cultural metaphors imply that:

- policy-relevant learning is an interactive process, it is ongoing, and it is mediated coaching;
- policy-relevant learning is seen as a process of enhancing existing policy but also to change it into effective policy, not just to change policy; and
- communities are resourceful and eager to share their information (Yanow 2003:233).

The experience of public participation across the board seems positive. None of the theorists indicate that the process of engagement is without challenges. However, all agree that the value of the information gathered is indisputable.

Observations on the participatory patterns of poor communities in Belgium are more or less the same as that of Yanow (Claeys et al. 2001:125). It is clear that poor communities find it difficult to engage government structures due to the fact that public servants do not respect or value lay-knowledge. Generally, empirical methods require complicated, costly and timely surveys to establish reasons for specific failures or actions. Researchers and other experts further alienate or intimidate locals with their knowledge or attitudes. Such professionals generally misinterpret or see little value in views portrayed by uneducated citizens. For this reason, the empirical methods of positivism fail to capture and access socio-cultural realities (Fischer 2003:129).

Fischer (2003:1-129) explains that the social sciences depend on the data and knowledge of reality. This data can only be accessed by social actors such as citizens who would interpret and communicate reality as they believe it to be. Raw data is freely available from communities. Post-empiricists support local knowledge and participation and offer “*an interpretative model of practical discourse geared to the normative context of social action*”, as well as putting “*empirical research within a framework of normative concerns*” (Fischer 2003:136).

Social policy becomes a reality through participatory methods – even though it is value-driven and it creates a benchmark against which government can measure performance. This benchmarking can take place through *ex ante* and *post facto* policy analysis. In view of the realities discussed above, it would be important to review deliberative approaches in more detail.

Deliberative approaches: monitoring and evaluation through ex ante and post facto analysis

Deliberative democracy refers to the legitimate lawmaking that originates from public deliberation by citizens (Bohman & Rehg 1997:x). This refers to the act of participation and the inclusion of the citizen's "voice" to strengthen democracy. Deliberative theories, on the other hand, capture the importance of the post-modern discourse. It deals with that part of policy making where practice and theory meet on a level that adds value to policy-making normatively as well as empirically (Fischer 2003:50-149). In other words, deliberation by citizens adds value to the policy-making process by providing feedback, learning and sharing responsibility (Guba & Lincoln 1989).

Clark (1995:127) argues that deliberative theories also give rise to the concept of a learning organisation in which language and communication is seen as a way of experimenting with the citizen's views on certain policy issues. In Immanuel Kant's (1975) terminology it brings about the "the public use of reason". Most importantly, the question is to what extent deliberative democracy "enriches" democratic practice and whether or not it overcomes the important practical obstacles about reasoning and empirical requirements of science.

Bohman and Regh (1997:x) ask "*whether citizens with a variety of individual interests can also come to affirm a common good*". As in any other theory there are advantages and disadvantages associated with deliberative theories. This is due to the fact that claims and concerns citizens raise are normative and evaluative in nature. Deliberative theorists argue against the economic and pluralist assumptions of competing interests and individualism, as it erodes a sense of community (Bohman & Regh 1997:38-50; & Coleman 2005). Generally, elitist and rational theories downgrade public participation to voting, and see decision-making as an elitist practice.

Deliberative theorists argue for direct democracy and town hall meetings. Hence, there are some small steps by developed and developing nations to open this debate. In the US, former president George W Bush held American Town Hall meetings to inform the general public on issues of the day (White House 2001). Similarly, during the Obama presidential campaign, electronic citizen participation escalated to a level that has never been seen in the US.

It is therefore important to "as far as possible, involve those who are directly concerned with any given policy, the actors whose livelihoods are likely to be affected and at the same time whose intimate knowledge of the system under review has an important informative role to play" (Juma & Clark 1995:128). There is growing evidence that participatory efforts in policy-making ensure better understanding and ownership by the general public, as they strengthen the role of citizens in democratic settings (Butcher & Mullard 1993:134).

The strongest bond between deliberative theorists is the fact that the theory goes beyond self-interest. Moreover, it is based on bargaining in general or “construction building”, as Guba and Lincoln also refer to it, which reflects clearly on democratic governance. This differs radically different from elitist theories that see decision-making as a top-down activity. Deliberative theorists require inclusive bottom-up policy making approaches.

The different approaches and practical value of the work on deliberative democracy are divided between those contributing at a highly theoretical level and those concentrating on practical application. Regarding the ideal deliberative democracy, the processes, cultural differences, political equality, learning through empowerment and related topics, as in the work of John Elster (1998:1-55) and Guba and Lincoln (1989:1-6), were all instructive and proved to be useful for the purposes of this study. Hajer (2004:15-25); Bohman and Rehg (1997:23-39); Tsjitske Akkerman (2004); Frank Fischer (2003:1-120, 1993:47); Gaventa and Goetz (2001:1-6); Goetz and Jenkins (2001:14-28); Fredrickson (1982:501-508); and John Dryzek (2000:1-65), were also useful as some of the more influential theorists in this field of study.

CONCLUSION

The theoretical landscape of policy-making is changing from a situation where the typical rationalist models, informed by economic thinking and empiricism, enjoyed a near monopoly on how policy is made (Fischer 2003). This post-empirical shift is in response to criticism against the empiricists during the past three decades. This criticism included arguments that normative and valuative realities are not adequately accommodated in the rationalist models (cf. Dryzek 2000; Juma & Clark 1995:125).

The theoretical works of Guba and Lincoln (1989), Butcher and Mullard (1993) and Goetz and Jenkins (2001) specifically enhance the inclusion of more qualitative approaches in policy-making and democracy. Deliberative approaches, such as public participation, create an opportunity to integrate the individual into the realm of a participatory democracy more effectively and to strengthen an interactive decision-making environment.

Policy analysis can be based on triangulation that consists of various data sources and multiple perspectives, ensuring corroboration of data. Normative and valuative data adds value to factual and statistical information sets. There is a growing need to enhance and strengthen the social contract between governments and its citizenry. The ever-changing social and political environments in which governments govern require participatory citizens to ensure “real-time” information and successful democratic existence.

This article focused on democracy in relation to accountability and participation. This is due to the fact that these principles were linked to the importance of the public reasoning perspective and interactive decision-making, which includes policy-making. A constructivist approach to empirical knowledge, together with normative and evaluative analysis, can be included in policy-making to develop heuristic discovery. The different constructions, including lay-knowledge provides enough information, which, with the help of appropriately trained evaluators, can be used for accountability and possible policy adjustment. Thus, the importance, role and development of the "empowered" citizen now become critical factors in participatory democracy. Citizens can be empowered and helped to understand their role in society through participatory programmes. Butcher and Mullard, as well as Goetz and Jenkins, helped do this by developing a shared responsibility model with various positive spin-offs.

Community democracy, as proposed by Butcher and Mullard, may enhance accountability and policy improvement. Another challenging but achievable goal is to create an environment that instils and develops professional analysis for interpreting lay-knowledge and capacitating citizens to contribute to the process.

NOTES

- 1 This article is based on the MA degree dissertation of one of the co-authors, O Hartsief, which was successfully completed under the supervision of Mrs H Van Dyk-Robertson and Prof C J Auriacombe as joint promoters at the University of Johannesburg.

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Utilization-focused evaluation as a tool in the development of a participative democratic society

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ABSTRACT

The quantitative vs. qualitative paradigm debate in evaluation research is not only prominent and persistent but also characterised by enormous diversity. This has resulted in a great deal of controversy amongst scholars regarding the concept "programme evaluation". Simplifying the current classification of evaluation theories and methods seems one possible way of clarifying conceptualisation in the field. However, a mere reclassification will not provide us with the tool to develop programmes and practices so sorely needed in the public administration field. It is therefore necessary to develop a classification system that could meet the needs of the elitist participative and deliberative democracy as identified by Hanberger (2006). More specifically the question remains whether current evaluation methods leaning strongly on quantitative research methods is sufficient to meet the needs of the participative democracy promulgated by the World Summit (Patton 2007:427). This article discusses an alternative evaluation method geared towards the enhancement of a participatory democracy as a possible tool to enhance citizen participation in governance.

This article firstly presents an overview of the development of evaluation in the social science field and then looks at some recent attempts to classify evaluation approaches. Following this, the evaluation needs of a democratic society are addressed with special reference to the participative democracy paradigm. Lastly, attention is paid to the notion

of citizen participation and utilisation-focused evaluation (UFE) as a tool to enhance a participatory democracy.

INTRODUCTION

Evaluative thinking in human affairs is as old as mankind itself. One ancient example of evaluative thinking is the experimental comparison of how the kosher eating habits of young Daniel and his friends measured up against the eating habits of the youth of Babylon (Patton 2008). Although evaluation methods have been used for ages, it was not until the end of the 1950s that evaluation as method became more formal and systematic. Social research then became part of the evaluation processes aimed to assess the workings of government with the common goal of improving society. As Carole Weiss (1977) observed, evaluation was expected to bring order to the untidy world of government. In this early period, the emphasis fell on: a) the evaluation of educational innovations (e.g., the effectiveness of new curricula in schools); b) linking evaluation with resource allocation (e.g., through a planning, programming and budgeting system) and c) the evaluation of anti-poverty programmes (e.g., the Great Society experiments of the 1960s). This was all part of the War on Poverty. However, 30 years down the road, evaluation studies reveal little improvement in service delivery despite the billions of dollars spent (Patton 2008). The result is that public skepticism grew to such an extent that it was widely believed that “nothing works”. In an effort to counteract failed programmes, citizens demanded accountable intervention programmes and the resultant movement led the way for performance monitoring and more rigorous evaluation of service delivery programmes (Rossi, Lipsey and Freeman 2004).

The above developments outlined the development of the main evaluation traditions continuing today and included qualitative research as well as quantitative studies. It is important to note that evaluation research only attained the minimum necessary level of measurement, sampling and statistical sophistication during the sixties. As the method of evaluation has grown worldwide, it became increasingly professionalised, and quantified. In an effort to make evaluation research more rigorous and accountable the criteria judging the validity, representativeness, reliability and objectivity used by traditional research were adopted by researchers in the evaluation field (Patton 2008). By the late 1970s however it became apparent that greater methodological rigour was not necessarily the answer to the problems faced by governments.

Because of this realisation, standards for evaluation were drawn up to ensure that the evaluation: a) serves the needs of the intended users b) is feasible, c) is conducted ethically and d) conveys accurate information on the programme assessed. In the new millennium the interest in evaluation surged worldwide and comprehensive guidelines for conducting such research have been developed. Global evaluation agencies made it possible to share information on a much wider scale thus increasing our international understanding of factors needed for effectiveness (Patton 2008).

The quantitative vs. qualitative paradigm debate in evaluation research has been both prominent and persistent (Patton 2008). Currently evaluators are still leaning strongly on quantitative research methods (Patton 2007:427). Patton (1997:64), undoubtedly one of the most prominent evaluators around and well known for his ***utilisation-focused evaluation***, makes the following observations about the field of evaluation: “*You don't get very far in studying evaluation before realizing that the field is characterized by enormous diversity. From large-scale, long-term, international comparative designs costing millions of dollars to small, short evaluations of a single component in a local agency, the variety is vast. Contrasts include internal versus external evaluation; outcomes versus process evaluation; experimental designs versus case studies; mandated accountability systems versus voluntary management efforts; academic studies versus informal action research by program staff; and published, evaluation reports versus oral briefings and discussions where no written report is ever generated. Then there are combinations and permutations of these contrasting approaches* (emphasis added)”.

ATTEMPTS TO CLASSIFY EVALUATION METHODS

Various attempts have been made to classify evaluation methods. Although these attempts were aimed at simplifying the confusing array of evaluation methods, they tend to confuse our understanding of the evaluation field further. The diversity of the evaluation field (see Frisbie 1986) is illustrated by the following table adapted and condensed from House (1978) and Stufflebeam and Webster (1980) (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Evaluation_approaches#endnote_Frisbie).

Each approach is classified into four attributes namely: main considerations, purpose, strengths and weaknesses. Considerations refer to the most important issues practitioners need to take into consideration when planning and executing a study, Purpose represents the desired outcomes for a study, while strengths and weaknesses represent attributes that should be considered when deciding whether to use the approach for a particular study. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Evaluation_approaches#endnote_Frisbie).

Table 1 Summary of approaches for conducting evaluations

Approach	Main considerations	Purpose	Attribute	Key strengths	Key weaknesses
Experimental research	Causal relationships	Determine causal relationships between variables.	Strongest paradigm for determining causal relationships.	Requires controlled setting, limits range of evidence, focuses primarily on results.	
Testing programs	Individual differences	Compare test scores of individuals & groups to selected norms.	Produces valid & reliable evidence in many performance areas. Very familiar to public.	Data usually only on testing performance, overemphasises test-taking skills, can be poor sample of what is taught or expected.	
Objectives-based	Objectives	Relates outcomes to objectives.	Common sense appeal widely used, uses behavioural objectives & testing technologies.	Leads to terminal evidence often too narrow to provide basis for judging the value of a program.	
Content analysis	Content of a communication	Describe & draw conclusion about a communication.	Allows for unobtrusive analysis of large volumes of unstructured, symbolic materials.	Sample may be unrepresentative yet overwhelming in volume. Analysis design often overly simplistic for question.	
Accountability	Performance expectations	Provide constituents with an accurate accounting of results.	Popular with constituents. Aimed at improving quality of products and services.	Creates unrest between practitioners & consumers. Politics often forces premature studies.	

Table 1 continued from previous page

Approach Objectivist, true evaluation	Main considerations	Purpose	Attribute		Key weaknesses
			Key strengths		
Decision-oriented	Decisions	Provide a knowledge & value base for making & defending decisions.	Encourages use of evaluation to plan & implement needed programs. Helps justify decisions about plans & actions.	Necessary collaboration between evaluator & decision-maker provides opportunity to bias results.	
Policy studies	Broad issues	Identify and assess potential costs & benefits of competing policies.	Provide general direction for broadly focused actions.	Often corrupted or subverted by politically motivated actions of participants.	
Consumer-oriented	Generalised needs & values, effects	Judge the relative merits of alternative goods & services.	Independent appraisal to protect practitioners & consumers from shoddy products & services. High public credibility.	Might not help practitioners do a better job. Requires credible & competent evaluators.	

Table 1 continued from previous page

Approach Subjectivist true evaluation	Attribute	Approach Objectivist, elite, quasi-evaluation	Attribute	Approach Objectivist, elite, quasi-evaluation
Connoisseur	Critical guideposts	Critically describe, appraise & illuminate an object.	Exploits highly developed expertise on subject of interest. Can inspire others to more insightful efforts.	Dependent on small number of experts, making evaluation susceptible to subjectivity, bias and corruption.
Adversary	"Hot" issues	Present the pro & cons of an issue.	Ensures balances presentations of represented perspectives.	Can discourage co-operation, heighten animosities.
Client-centred	Specific concerns & issues		Foster understanding of activities & how they are valued in a given setting & from a variety of perspectives.	Practitioners are helped to conduct their own evaluation. Low external credibility, susceptible to bias in favour of participants.

Source: Adapted and condensed primarily from House (1978) and Stufflebeam and Webster (1980)

A more recent simplified classification was developed by Worthen, Sanders, and Fitzpatrick in their book entitled, *Program Evaluation: Alternative Approaches and Practical Guidelines* (1997). The main approaches presented are helpful for program improvement purposes (<http://www.wkkf.org/Default.aspx?tabid=90&CID=281&ItemID=2810010&NID=2820010&LanguageID=0>) and entail:

- **Objectives-oriented approaches.** Here the focus is on making clear the goals and objectives and measuring how the project has done in reaching them. This might be the approach to choose if measuring outcomes is a major purpose of your evaluation.
- **Management-oriented approaches.** Here the purpose is to identify and provide the information needed by project directors. This type of approach is helpful if a major purpose of your evaluation is program development.
- **Consumer-oriented approaches.** Here the goal is to provide information for use by consumers of products or services. This type of approach can be used both to improve products or services and to help users choose among different services.
- **Expertise-oriented approaches.** Here the judgment of experts is the main source of information. These approaches can provide a simple way to evaluate something that is complex if the stakeholders are satisfied with expert opinion.
- **Adversary-oriented approaches.** Here the arguments for and against an action or proposal are laid out, as in a trial. These approaches can help if determining whether or not to continue a project is a purpose.
- **Participant-oriented approaches.** Program participants and stakeholders are the key sources of both questions and the information to answer the questions.

While all typologies of evaluation are important to help us understand evaluation better, the typology generally acknowledged by evaluation practitioners distinguishes between the *conventional* and *alternative* evaluation paradigms are particularly useful (Schurink 1999). Although simplified and not as elaborate as some classifications of evaluation methods, this typology brings order in the current chaos of evaluation typology madness and helps the researcher to at least gain a better understanding of what evaluation entails (see **Table 2**).

It is clear from the above that evaluation research is many things to many people. Patton (2008:31-32) states: *"All this ferment means that evaluation has become a many-splendored thing – a rich tapestry of models, methods, issues, approaches, variations, definitions jargon, concepts, theories and practices. And therein lays the rub. How does one sort through the many competing and contradictory messages about how to conduct evaluations?"*

Table 2 Comparison of the conventional and alternative paradigms

Conventional paradigm	Alternative paradigm
Ontology Realist: (a) a single, extrinsic, objective social reality or thing that has an inherent meaning, (b) an external reality that exists <i>out there</i> , independent of human consciousness, and (c) a reality that operates according to pre-existing natural laws and in cause-effect fashion.	Ontology Relativistic: (a) multiple social realities or phenomena that (a) do not exist external to human consciousness but are consciously and actively constructed by individuals (i.e. in trying to make sense of their everyday worlds and the people they interact with).
Epistemology Dualist/objectivist: a researcher should (a) exteriorise social reality/the particular phenomenon studied, (b) remains detached and distant from it, and (c) conduct value-free and apolitical research.	Epistemology Monistic, subjectivist: researchers should (a) be receptive to and accepting of their own perceptions of reality or the world of those people they are studying, (b) through empathetic understanding or <i>Verstehen</i> , discover and interpret their subjects' social worlds because this is the only reality, and (c) cannot conduct research free of social and political values and hence should describe the research participants' values and make their own values explicit.
Methodology Social reality, i.e. the particular phenomenon, is (a) defined and (b) categorized meaningfully to facilitate (c) easy operationalisation of the concepts to be studied by (d) using the methods of the natural sciences. More particularly, with the aid of social surveys, quasi experiments and/or analysis of official data, quantitative or <i>hard</i> data are generated to measure the assumed causal relationship between a dependent variable such as rape and one or more independent variables such as broken homes, media violence, age and educational level.	Methodology Social reality is studied (a) without consciously utilising preconceived ideas or hypotheses (b) by researchers who strive to grasp and describe the world of their subjects, (c) producing an account of reality that is not more objectively true than the accounts of those being studied and at best represents a reflective or retrospective account of some specific social situation, and (d) utilising unstructured methods such as participant observation, unstructured interviews and/or personal documents in order to obtain qualitative material/ <i>soft</i> data which elucidate the wealth of people's subjective life worlds and how they create reality in interaction with other people.

Source: Dugan (1996:286)

Given the diversity and complexity of contemporary evaluation, it is hardly surprising that this field of study has many unresolved issues relating to important aspects such as conceptualisation, methodology, validity, ethics, participation, empowerment, value judgement, social justice, advocacy, policy and intervention (Fetterman 2004). These issues are interrelated and need to be considered carefully before undertaking an evaluation project. In this article

we attempt to address some of these issues by simplifying current classification systems further according to the needs of democratic societies.

The remainder of the article is structured as follows: Firstly, we discuss three broad democratic evaluation orientations based on three main democracy theories and evaluation theory as identified by Hanberger (2006). Secondly, based on this we attempt to integrate these democratic orientations with the typology presented by Guba and Lincoln (www.evaluate-europe.net/projects/eval3/.../Gubba-Lincoln.doc). Finally, we offer guidelines for a typology of monitoring an evaluation methods we believe are suited to address the needs of democratic societies.

A CLASSIFICATION OF DEMOCRACY MODELS AND TYPE OF EVALUATION NEEDED

In the age of the audit society where ordinary citizens hold government accountable for their decisions, evaluations have become an integrated part of information management systems. In this regard, Strathern (2000) refers to the concept of an "audit culture". A number of authors already discussed the possible contribution of evaluation towards the development of a more democratic society (see Chelimsky 2006; Greene 2006; House and Howe 1999; MacDonald 1976 and 1978; McTaggart 1991; Ryan 2004). It is today widely accepted among scholars that evaluation has some part to play in modern society. However, in light of the changing nature of the question arises whether current evaluation methods mostly relying on quantitative data could still be regarded as sufficient to guide the development of policy-making and programme development. Differently stated, can evaluation paradigms currently used by public administrations meet the keystone challenge of building a partnership between government and civil society to achieve the goals set by the World Summit? Are we not trying to open the new doors supposedly leading to a democratic society with a set of ancient keys from a previous era?

This turns out to be a difficult question to answer since the answer largely depends on the context in which the democracy is embedded (Hanberger 2006) and by implication, the particular democracy model followed by a government. Hanberger (2006) points out that there are basically three models of democracy each requiring a different type of evaluation approach. The three evaluation models are: Elitist Democracy (EDE), Participative Democracy (PDE) and Deliberative Democracy (DDE). As is clear from **Table 3**, these notions of democracy differ as to whether democracy is made for, by, or with people.

In an elitist democracy, evaluation mainly serves a rational feedback function with the emphasis on accountability of decision-makers, operating within a

Table 3 Characteristics of democratic evaluation orientations

Democratic orientation	Intended use/ function	Evaluation focus	Inclusion	Dialogue	Deliberation	Evaluators roles
EDE: For the people	Elite learning rational feedback and outcomes programme accountability	intended outputs goal achievement	Policy and programme makers	Not important	Not important	Expert
PDE: By the people	Self-learning self-determination empowerment	people's own needs goal development steps forward	Programme implementers self-governed Citizens/ clients	Very important	Important	Advocate Facilitator Coach
DDE: With the people	Collective learning justification public debate	Stakeholders criteria authentic discourse intended and unintended outcomes	All legitimate stakeholders	Very important	Very important	Mediator Counselor

Source: Adopted from Hanberger (2006)

clear mandate given by the majority of citizens. Evaluation in a participative democracy mostly fulfill an empowerment and self-determination function while the function of evaluation in a deliberative democracy, in the words of Hanberger (2006:24), is mostly used to *justify decisions and to attain conclusions that are binding, i.e. to serve the function of justification* (Gutmann and Thompson 2004). *This function is most associated with deliberative democracy and thus with promoting legitimacy to collective action when many actors and institutions are involved.*

DDE is constructed on the principles of free reasoning, general accessibility and on justifying and legitimatising public decisions, policies/programmes and action. Only in DDE and PDE are citizens given a role in public policy and evaluation.

As indicated in **Table 3**, the responsibility of evaluators differs in relationship to the three models. The expected role for the EDE evaluator is that of an expert who has to provide the public with information in a top down fashion. The PDE evaluator adopts the role of advocate, facilitator and coach in order to enable self-learning empowerment, self-governance and participation. Here the focus is on developing the involved citizens' own needs and goals. The main role of the DDE evaluator is to act as a mediator and counselor with a special emphasis on the development of mutually respectful processes and striving to build consensus through argumentation.

The many classifications of evaluations into different approaches and models, (see, for example, Stufflebeam and Shinkfield 2007) make it difficult to identify the evaluation methods that will best suit the task of addressing the problems of a democratic society. However, this task could be made easier if the three Democratic Evaluation Orientations identified by Hanberger (2006) would be used as a point of departure in the evaluation process. It is clear from **Table 3** that people in different democratic orientations construe knowledge, truth, and relevance in markedly different ways and that they therefore need different types of evaluation methods to be used by public administrators. From this perspective, the evaluator needs to take a specific approach when planning and conducting an evaluation.

TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM MEETING THE NEEDS OF A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Our attempts to address the identified weaknesses by means of the proposed development of an alternative classification system should be seen in the light of the needs of a democratic society. The suggested typology makes extensive use of the building blocks identified by Gubba and Lincoln (www.evaluate-europe.net/projects/eval3/.../Gubba-Lincoln.doc). The focus of our proposed typology

is the concepts 'logic', 'ontology'¹, 'epistemology'² 'axiology'³ 'methodology and causal linkages. We will firstly look at the different evaluation approaches from a philosophical point of view. More specifically the ontology and epistemology of the different approaches will be highlighted (see **Table 4**). The follow-up table (**Table 5**) will present the suggested typology within the parameters of methodology, axiology and causal linkages.

As is clear from the preceding two tables, the philosophical/theoretical approaches to evaluation range from a positivistic, deductive perspective on the one side to a post-modern inductive and constructivist paradigm on the other side. These two opposites are classified into two main paradigms namely, the quantitative versus the qualitative paradigm. In the middle of these two extremes lies a third approach that is both deductive and inductive namely the pragmatic paradigm. Following from this evaluation research studies may either adopt a quantitative, a qualitative or a mixed-methods research approach. This means that the research will be either be: (i) deductive (drawing on existing abstract theories in scholarly disciplines to develop models explaining the relationship between programme treatments and outcomes), (ii) inductive (delineating and elucidating concrete perceptions and/or theories held by programme staff and stakeholders regarding what the programme does to produce its desired outcomes), or (iii) user-focused (helping intended users to articulate their operating theory). According to Patton (2008) blending paradigms boils down to making use of a paradigm of choices. He believes that in this way the unhealthy competition between the two paradigms can be solved by blending both quantitative and qualitative methods into one paradigm.

The ontological viewpoints of logical positivists rests on a naive realistic belief in an objective, external reality while constructivists believe that there is no real world or truth out there but only a narrative truth implying that reality can only be known by those who experience it personally. Pragmatists on the other hand believe that an external reality exists that can be discovered by means of a systematic, interactive methodological approach.

Quantitative evaluation approaches normally take the form of experimental designs while qualitative research makes use of methods associated with interpretivism including analytic induction and grounded theory. The pragmatist perspective on the other hand uses both quantitative and qualitative methods (a mixed or integrated methodological approach). An analysis of the above tables shows that a combination of qualitative as well as quantitative evaluation paradigms can enhance our ability to do evaluation research. More specifically it could help governments to develop participatory management programmes and practices.

When the role of theory in the different evaluation approaches are looked at, it is clear that some are value-driven while others are value-free. More specifically,

Table 4 Different evaluation approaches from a philosophical point of view

	Logical Positivism (Objectivism; Empiricism)	Pragmatism	Constructivism (Interpretive; Naturalism)
Logic	Deductive (arguing from the general to the particular; emphasis on a prior hypotheses (or theory).	Deductive & Inductive	Inductive (arguing from the particular to the general
Ontology (nature of reality)	Naïve realism--objective, external reality. There is a single reality. Things in the world can be known directly.	Choose explanations that best produce desired outcomes. Accept external reality. There is one independent of the human mind Reality is interpreted, and negotiated, consensual.	Subjective point of view. Ontological relativism--multiple social realities, products of human intellects, exist and may change as those who constructed them change. There are only multiple constructed realities. The real world could be discovered by means of a systematic, interactive methodological approach Reality is internal; truth depends on the knower's frame of reference.
Epistemology (relationship of the knower to the known)	Objective point of view. Knower and known are dualism, or independent. Learning is transferring what exists in reality to what is known by the learner.	Both objective and subjective points of view.	Subjective point of view. Knower and known are inseparable.
Examples of the approach	Experimental design, Quasi-experimental design	Utilisation focused evaluation	Forth generation evaluation of Gobi and Lincoln

Table 5 Different methods and values of evaluation approaches

	Logical Positivism (Objectivism; Empiricism)	Pragmatism	Constructivism (Interpretivism; Naturalism)
Methods	Quantitative Experimental research design Focus on controlled settings and internal validity.	Quantitative & Qualitative (mixed methods or mixed methodology). Quantitative and qualitative methods are compatible. The research question is more important than both the method and paradigm underlying the method.	Qualitative Naturalistic, emergent research Focus on natural settings and external validity. The researcher provides insights into the behaviour expressed and the meanings and interpretations that participants give to their life worlds. Use of first-person accounts, documents, and auto-ethnographies
Axiology (role of values in inquiry)	Inquiry is value-free.	Values play a large role in interpreting results. Values and human action and interaction precede the search for description, theory, explanation, and narrative.	Inquiry is value-bound.
Causal linkages	Real causes temporally precedent to or simultaneous with effects.	There may be causal relationships, but we will never be able to pin them down. Theories or causal propositions can't be proven.	All entities simultaneously shaping each other. It is impossible to distinguish causes from effects.

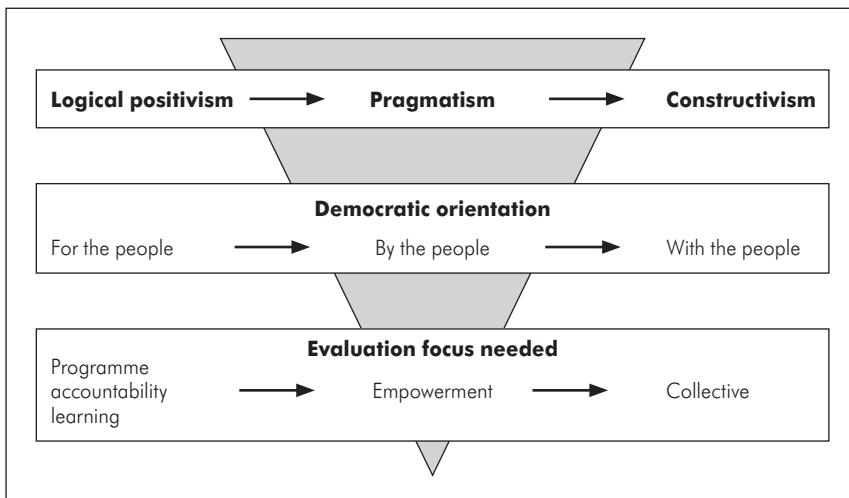
positivist research will be value-free while constructivist research will be value-bound. Values will also play a large role in the pragmatist approach.

A comparison between the evaluation needs of the different democratic orientations as identified by Hanberger (2006) with the three most important evaluation approaches presented in **Figure 1** clearly shows a relationship between the two. This relationship mainly lies in the way the philosophical evaluation approaches (positivism, pragmatism and constructivism) are able to address the needs of evolving democratic orientations (See Figure 1).

As is clear from **Figure 1**, elitist democracy mainly needs a rational feedback with the emphasis on accountability and good governance. Therefore, this evaluation need will best be served by a logical positivistic approach. In contrast, participative democracy mostly needs an evaluation process fostering empowerment and self-determination. This need is best filled by a pragmatic approach such as the utilisation-focused evaluation of Patton (2008). On the other hand, the evaluation needs of a deliberative democracy will best be fulfilled by using an evaluation approach fostering free reasoning and the participation of all stakeholders in ongoing discussions such as the fourth generation evaluation method of Guba and Lincoln (1989).

To operate well, different models of democracy need different supportive tools. One such tool is evaluation. Generally, the need for evaluation grows when new governance models are introduced. This is especially true in transitional societies, such as South Africa, where new public management

Figure 1 Relationship between the needs of democratic societies with different orientations and different evaluation paradigms



models or multi-level governance models are developed to replace the old and where a fragile democracy needs to be strengthened. As Hanberger (2006:24) explains, accountability and effectiveness have become the key words in public administration. Governments are therefore expected to render effective services and to be accountable to their citizens. This is even more evident in transitional societies where rapid changes take place and where the political and administrative roles are unclear. Therefore, (a) *democratic function of evaluation is to help increase effectiveness and rationality in public policy and democratic governance* (Hanberger 2006:23).

Citizen participation is high on the agenda. Democratic governance demands the participation of citizens in government structures. The *participatory theory of democracy* assumes that people's participation fosters democracy. Therefore, participation is the most important quality of a democracy (Hanberger 2006). Evaluation can also serve as tool to turn around the feeling of declining trust in modern governments (Hanberger 2006). In this way, evaluation can be used to (re)create trust and legitimacy especially in transitional societies. Accordingly, a function of evaluation could be legitimising - those in power, developing programmes and policies, and implementing a model for the development of democracy. The democratic functions of evaluations can also prevail in other ways. As Hanberger (2006:24) states: *evaluations can and should have an enlightenment function or a learning function in democratic governance*.

In line with resolutions taken by the World Summit, ordinary people are called upon to hold government accountable and to influence governance and service delivery (Walker and Tompson 2008). It is therefore now more necessary than ever before to take a critical look at the current way evaluation research is implemented in a participatory democratic setup. It is clear from **Figure 1** that positivist evaluation approaches providing a rational feedback to citizens cannot meet the needs of a democratic society based on citizen participation (Hanberger 2001).

When citizens are given an active role in public policy-making and are expected to contribute to the development and implementation of a policy or programme, a participatory or deliberative democracy is promoted (Hanberger 2001). This participatory role clearly demands evaluation methods that are designed and used in policy processes where stakeholders, including citizens, are given a partnership role and responsibility. A democratic function of evaluation is therefore to help increase effectiveness and rationality in public policy and democratic governance (Hanberger 2006). Evaluation could thus become a democratising force with evaluators advocating on behalf of disempowered groups (Mouton 2007:502).

The notions of participatory and discursive democracy can be helpful in influencing the purpose and direction of evaluation in contemporary societies,

and in illuminating the democratic implications of evaluations (Hanberger 2001). Differently stated using evaluation in support of democracy demands a pragmatic, participatory evaluation approach that includes both qualitative and quantitative methods. One of the most well-known and respected pragmatic approaches is the Utilisation-Focused Evaluation model of Patton (2008). We will take a closer look at this approach and investigate the possible contribution it could make to the development of a participatory democracy.

UTILISATION-FOCUSED EVALUATION AS EVALUATION APPROACH SUITED TO THE NEEDS OF A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

In 1978, Michael Patton (1986) developed a relatively comprehensive approach to programme assessment that provides an overall framework within which the individuals involved can proceed to develop an evaluation design with built-in utilisation appropriate to the unique circumstances they encounter. This approach has been quite successful and several of its ideas have been tested and applied in evaluation projects not only in the United States but throughout the world. In short, UFE has come to be accepted widely.

According to Patton (1997), utilisation-focused evaluation starts off with the premise that evaluation initiatives should be judged by their level of utility and actual use. Therefore, in facilitating and designing the process, an evaluator should carefully consider, from the outset to the conclusion, how every activity that is undertaken will affect the utilisation of the initiative by real people or stakeholders in the real world. Rather than acting as a distant, independent judge, the evaluator facilitates judgement and decision-making by intended users of the evaluation. The evaluator decides whose values will direct the evaluation by interacting closely with the identified intended users of the evaluation results who are interested and have the responsibility of applying these results.

It should be clear that UFE is not only highly **personal** but is also **situational**. The evaluator needs to develop a working relationship with intended users in order to assist them in deciding what kind of evaluation is appropriate to their situation and will thus address their needs optimally. In order to undertake this task, evaluators must apply negotiation skills. They need to provide a menu of evaluation initiatives within the framework of established evaluation standards and principles.

Patton (1997) believes that UFE should not promote any particular evaluation content, model, method, theory or use. In his view, this approach rather represents a process through which the evaluator should assist primary intended users to select the most appropriate content, methodology and use for their situation.

Therefore, UFE is not a formal model of how to conduct evaluations. Rather, it is an approach, an orientation and a set of options. The active-reactive-adaptive evaluators choose from among these options as they work with decision-makers and information-users throughout the evaluation. There is no formula guaranteeing success in this approach — indeed, the criteria for success are variable. Utilisation means different things to different people in different settings and is an issue subject to **negotiation** between evaluators and intended users.

Because people seldom know exactly what evaluation entails, the evaluator needs to work with primary intended users and often also with donors and decision-makers who requested the evaluation in the first place, in developing a shared definition of evaluation and mutual understanding of what the envisaged evaluation will entail.

From the above exposition, it transpires that UFE rests on two fundamental requirements: Firstly, the intended evaluation users must be identified and organised — real, visible, specific and caring human beings, and not ephemeral, general and abstract audiences, organisations or agencies. Secondly, evaluators must work actively, reactively and adaptively with these specific stakeholders to realise all other decisions about the evaluation — decisions about focus, design, methods, analysis, interpretation and dissemination.

The following two **underpinnings** of the utilisation-focused evaluation, as listed by Patton (1986), need to be highlighted:

- There are **multiple and varied interests around any evaluation**. The process of identifying and organising stakeholders for participation in an evaluation process should be done in a way that is sensitive to and respectful of these varied interests. At the same time, it must be recognised that resource, time and staff limitations will make it impossible for any single evaluation to answer everyone's questions or to give full attention to **all possible issues**. It goes without saying that some process is required to narrow the range of possible issues so as to focus a particular evaluation initiative. In UFE, narrowing the list of potential stakeholders to a specific group of primary intended users achieves such focus. Stakeholders representing various constituencies should come together **at the beginning of the evaluation** to decide whose issues and questions will be given priority in the evaluation in order to maximise the utility of the evaluation.
- Evaluators committed to enhancing utilisation have a **responsibility to train stakeholders in evaluation processes and the use of information**.

As Greene (1994) correctly points out, Patton (1990) offers a highly interpretivist framework for his utilisation-focused evaluation process and at the same time promotes conventional measurement validity and reliability as key dimensions of qualitative data. Patton's (1990) model reflects a **pragmatic** stance: "For

Patton, the selection, design, and implementation of evaluation methods should be flexibly based on practical need and situational responsiveness, rather than on the consonance of a set of methods with any particular philosophical paradigm. And so, "objectivist" and "subjectivist" methods can be used together unproblematically" (Greene 1994:537).

The process of UFE

The major steps taken during a utilisation-focused evaluation, as set out by Patton (1997), are the following:

- **Identify the intended users of the evaluation.** The users are brought together in some way to work with the evaluator and to share ideas in making decisions about the proposed evaluation.
- **The evaluator and the intended users focus the evaluation.** This involves reviewing critical issues and considering the relative importance of focusing on attainment of goals, programme implementation and/or the programme's theory of action. The evaluator works with intended users in deciding what major questions are useful in addressing the particular evaluation situation. Attention is also given to political and ethical considerations. Following an active-reactive-adaptive and situation-responsive style, the evaluator assists intended users to answer questions such as: **Given expected uses, is the evaluation worth doing? To what extent and in what ways are intended users committed to intended use?**
- **Choosing an appropriate design.** Evaluators have a variety of options to choose from: qualitative and quantitative data, naturalistic, experimental and quasi-experimental designs, purposeful and probabilistic sampling, greater and lesser emphasis on generalisations and alternative ways of dealing with validity and reliability. In particular, the discussion at this point will include attention to issues of methodological appropriateness, credibility of the data, clarity, accuracy, balance, practicality, propriety and cost. The overriding concern, as in all parts of the process, is **utility**. Will results obtained from these methods be useful — and will they actually be used?
- **Interpreting findings, making judgements and generating recommendations.** Once data have been collected and organised for analysis, the fourth part of the evaluation begins: the intended users are actively and directly involved in interpreting findings, making judgements based on the data and generating recommendations. Specific strategies are also formalised in light of the actual findings and the evaluator facilitates by following through on actual use.
- **Dissemination of the evaluation report.** This final part of UFE entails the making of decisions about the dissemination of the evaluation report. These

decisions need not comply with commitments made during the planning for intended use.

In conclusion, two points are to be noted. Firstly, UFE is essentially a circular and iterative process that points to where intended users are identified and evaluation questions focused. Applying UFE is considerably more complex and requires considerably more creativity and flexibility than suggested by the basic logic of the process. Secondly, there is no clear distinction between the five steps, particularly between focusing evaluation questions and taking decisions with regard to methodological matters.

The premises of UFE

In summarising UFE, Patton (1997:382-383) identifies 14 fundamental premises of the process. These premises are:

- Commitment to intended use by intended users as the driving force in an evaluation.
- Ongoing and continuous strategising about evaluation use from the very beginning of the evaluation initiative.
- The personal factor contributes significantly to evaluation use. Evaluations should be user-oriented, that is, aimed at the interests and information needs of identifiable, active audiences.
- Careful and thoughtful stakeholder analysis should inform the identification of primary intended users while the varied and multiple interests that surround any evaluation should also be taken into consideration.
- Evaluations need to be focused in some way and focusing on intended use by intended users is the most useful way.
- Focusing on intended use requires making deliberate and thoughtful choices regarding the use of the evaluation initiative.
- Standard approaches do not work because a particular evaluation initiative can only be judged in the context of a specific programme and the interests of intended users.
- Intended users' commitment to use can be nurtured and enhanced by actively involving them in making significant decisions about the evaluation.
- High-quality participation is the goal, not high-quantity participation.
- High-quality involvement of intended users will result in high-quality, useful evaluations. Methodological rigour is not sacrificed when non-scientists take part in methodological decisions needed for evaluation initiatives. Non-scientists need to be assisted in order for them to choose appropriate methods.
- Evaluators have a rightful stake in an evaluation in that their credibility and integrity are always at risk. Therefore they need to be active in providing

intended users with their best judgements regarding appropriate evaluation focus and methods; reactive in paying attention to others' concerns and adaptive in finding ways to design evaluations that incorporate diverse interests while meeting standards of professional evaluation.

- Evaluators committed to enhancing use have a responsibility to train users in evaluation processes and the use of information.
- While reporting and disseminating, evaluation data may facilitate evaluation use; they should not be confused with evaluation uses.
- Financial and time costs should be made explicit so that utilisation follow-through is not neglected for lack of resources.

When one considers using UFE, one must be prepared to (a) work closely with stakeholders, (b) give up the control an evaluator normally has over the evaluation, and (c) realise that there is no guarantee that UFE will be successful.

In concluding the discussion of UFE, it is important to remember that, in this approach, the emphasis in the selection, design and implementation of evaluation methods is on **flexibility**. As Greene (1994:537) states, "...flexibility [is] based on practical need and situational responsiveness, rather than on the consonance of a set of methods with any particular philosophical paradigm. And so, "objectivist" and "subjectivist" methods can be used together unproblematically. This **practical pragmatic** stand is strongly supported by other applied social inquirers..., as well as by arguments from a position of **philosophical pragmatism**."

It is clear from the preceding discussion on the above steps that Utilisation Focussed Evaluation could be used as a tool to help develop a participatory democracy. A participatory or deliberative democracy is the outcome where citizens have an active role in public policy-making and where opportunities are created for them to contribute to the development and implementation of a policy or programme (Hanberger 2001). This participatory role clearly demands evaluation methods that are designed and used in policy processes where stakeholders, including citizens are empowered to take the responsibility to make their own decisions. It is therefore essential that public administrators as well as evaluators take note of this approach. More specifically, this evaluation approach has the potential to help governments to develop the much needed participatory management programmes and practices.

CONCLUSION

Programme evaluation is a relatively recent applied research activity. It developed from different scholarly disciplines. Policy sciences and social research methodology traditions had the most direct impacts on the development of

this field. Due to the complexity of evaluation studies in practice, these type of studies do not take "one" single approach to evaluation. Past attempts to classify the different approaches to evaluation have not succeeded in accurately identifying the nature and most appropriate clustering of competing approaches. Such classification is necessary to enable evaluators to understand the different approaches to evaluation and also how they relate to, overlap or differ from one another. Moreover a typology of monitoring and evaluation approaches is needed to be used as a tool to enhance the development of a democratic society.

Because the emphasis of a democratic society is currently placed on citizen participation, it was argued that a participatory evaluation approach could best suit the needs of a democratic society. It is clear from the literature that positivist evaluation approaches cannot meet the needs of a democratic society based on citizen participation (Hanberger 2001). An evaluation approach that can increase effectiveness and rationality in public policy and democratic governance is needed (Hanberger 2006).

As is to be expected from an evolving field, there are many unresolved issues and controversies relating to such important aspects as conceptualisation, methodology, validity, ethics, participation, empowerment, value judgement, social justice, advocacy, policy and intervention (Schurink 1999). By setting out guidelines for the development of a typology for the monitoring and evaluation approaches best suited to a democratic society, it is hoped that this article can empower evaluation researchers to be better able to address some of these issues in a constructive manner. It would also be important to further investigate the use of evaluation in a participatory democratic setup.

NOTES

- 1 How we see reality.
- 2 Epistemology, that is, how the researcher thinks social phenomena should be studied.
- 3 Role of values in inquiry.

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The role of ICTs in reducing administrative corruption in the South African public sector

Connecting the ‘silos’¹

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ABSTRACT

The advent of information and communication technologies (ICTs) has signalled both promise and peril to the anti-corruption movement. ICTs can contribute to controlling corruption by taking away employees' discretion, thereby reducing opportunities for arbitrary decisions and actions. ICTs also enhance transparency by enabling the public to monitor work processes of government employees. However, ICTs can also empower information experts to engage more effectively in corrupt activities, resulting in an intergenerational shift in corruption.

The application of ICTs, including e-procurement, in the South African public sector is still in its initial stage. Thus it is not part of the mainstream anti-corruption strategy. The various public sector initiatives to develop management information systems are mostly disconnected and operate in isolation. Some of the limitations in the e-government approach to fight corruption in South Africa include a serious lack of new information systems and of interoperability and coordination. The article recommends that South African public service departments have to phase out both technical and human legacy systems and concludes by developing a systematic ICT-based anti-corruption model.

INTRODUCTION

“Sunlight is the best disinfectant” (Kaufmann undated)

“Electric light is the most efficient policeman” (Brandeis cited in United Nations 2003:305).

“The glare of the Internet is expected to create disincentives for corruption and bring pressure to reduce corruption” (Vinod 1999).

Regardless of the origin, motive or magnitude of corruption, a widely accepted definition of this scourge in society is “the misuse of entrusted power for private gain” (Transparency International undated; see also Eigen, 1998:83). A monopoly on resources and wide, unchecked discretions in decision-making with little accountability, transparency and integrity of people in power, frequently leads to corruption (UNDP Source Book on Accountability, Transparency and Integrity, cited in United Nations Development Program 2004:3). Hence, to counter corruption, it will be very important to act on these variables, depending on the circumstances. This article focuses on transparency and managerial control, facilitated by ICTs as preferred anti-corruption strategies.

Secrecy provided the main cover for corruption during the pre-1994 apartheid era in South Africa. The post-apartheid government’s lack of transparency and inadequate control mechanisms, which create a sense of a relatively risk-free situation, however, has aggravated this situation. It has opened new avenues for corruption in various forms, including wastage in the form of ghosting and other fraudulent activities (Camerer 2001:52-53). Lodge concluded that, between 1994 and 1998, billions of rands were paid out to ghost employees, ‘deceased’ grant beneficiaries and double claimants. During this period petrol reimbursements to the government vehicle drivers were also alarming (2002:133-139).

Transparency and accountability are core values in any anti-corruption system. To be held accountable, most management actions should be open to public monitoring and easily traceable for public scrutiny. ICTs are the latest instruments that have entered as important variables into the anti-corruption equation, with promising results. Traditional mechanisms of corruption control cannot cope with the magnitude and speed of 21st century public sector managerial needs. For example, in SASSA, about R60 billion has to be paid out per annum to about 12 million beneficiaries. Moreover, the Department of Home Affairs (here-after ‘Home Affairs’) is responsible for the inventory and demographic dynamics (from birth to death) of the entire South African population of about 50 million residents. Thus, physical monitoring and investigation for irregularities is difficult. Similarly, according to the 2006/07

annual report of the South African Revenue Service (2007:6-7), the number of assessments processed each year has increased steeply from 4.5 million in 1995/96 to 15.2 million in 2007. Moreover, import and export transactions have trebled beyond the capacity of traditional ways of processing. This complicated managerial nightmare, coupled with new plans for implementing and administering social security tax and wage subsidy, makes it difficult for current manual paper-based processes to curb corruption.

Asia and the Pacific regions have already introduced ICTs and the internet to limit discretion in decision-making processes – especially in corruption-prone sectors (Asian Development Bank 2004). Bailey (2000) argues that the application of computer technology and appropriate financial management systems enhance the detection of financial abuse. This, in turn, warns potential wrongdoers against involvement in corrupt activities. ICTs are also instrumental in improving public sector accounting and integrated financial management systems, thereby enhancing transparency and accountability. Schick (2002:52-53) advocates an integrated financial management system (IFMS). This creates a single, complete and uniform information system that could support more effective and transparent management of public institutions (see also Shim & Eom 2008:299).

Similarly, Leipold (2007:1-2) notes that e-procurement gives greater access to competition, integration and automation. Moreover it provides easier access to real-time and historic management and audit information. This allows for the early detection of fraudulent activities, as well as greater transparency and accountability. There are positive results from e-procurement processes in some developing nations: Mexico is becoming exemplary in its efforts to curb corruption, by automating procurement processes (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2008:115); Brazil's savings go as high as 20% in government procurement (Shim & Eom 2008: 303); Chile has made its procurement system more efficient and transparent by implementing comprehensive procurement reform through ICTs (Centre for Democracy and Technology undated:4-6), while citizens in Peru can track how government funds are spent through a website called Public Window (Shim & Eom 2008:305).

On the other hand, despite all the promises and capabilities of ICTs to counter-corruption and promote good governance, there are counterarguments and practical experiences that point to ICTs actually shifting corruption from one group of society to another. The Regional and Sustainable Development Department concludes that "...while ICT eliminates many opportunities for corruption for those who do not understand the new technology fully, it opens up new corruption vistas for those who understand the new systems well enough to manipulate them. In a sense, ICTs permit an intergenerational shift in corruption and rent-seeking" (2003:3).

ICTs can therefore empower information experts for misconduct. Advanced computer and communications technologies facilitate opportunities for organised crime (Minnaar 1999). Notably, no organisation is immune against cyber corruption that uses the internet and/or intranet (George 2004).

However, it is clear that arguments in favour of ICT applications outweigh those against the use of ICTs as a strategy to reduce corruption in the information society. Therefore, there is an increased global trend towards e-governance. In this article, a panoptic vision will be summarised to fight corruption. This is done by highlighting the prominence of managerial transparency and control through ICTs as key enablers of governance with integrity (see also Heeks 1998:1). The panoptic vision emphasises comprehensive observation, surveillance and monitoring. This includes accounting, auditing and layers of oversight to control corruption (Anecharico & Jacobs 1996:18). Continuous monitoring of assets, income, liabilities and lifestyles of public decision makers and public service authorities, enhances the prevention of corruption (Pope 2000:101-102; see also Bailey 2000). If communication is easier and faster, corrupt officials could be disempowered from monopolising information. Hence, they should have no reason to delay services. The timeous and fast communication capabilities of ICTs also galvanise a critical mass of stakeholders to challenge corrupt officials and / or institutions.

ICT APPLICATIONS FOR IMPROVED PUBLIC SECTOR TRANSPARENCY AND CONTROL

To enhance efficiency and transparency, the South African government has put in place the *Electronic Communications and Transactions Act* (2002) and the *Promotion of Access to Information Act* (2000) (South African Government Information 2002). These Acts create the environment for e-government (the use of ICTs for improved transactions and interactions) that could make a positive contribution in the fight against corruption, by sharing information and streamlining processes in public service delivery. The main objective of the South African e-government policy, drafted by the Department of Public Service and Administration in 2001, is increased productivity, lowered costs, and increased citizen convenience that indicate a strong focus on improving service delivery (Department of Public Service and Administration 2001:4-5). However, there is no explicit reference to corruption in this policy or to how ICTs will be used to address corruption.

All provinces have taken up the e-government initiative to encourage electronic communication and have developed their own portals, with the Western Cape and Gauteng taking the lead. According to South Africa. info

reporter (2004), the government has launched phase one of its 'people first' internet gateway. The e-government gateway - www.gov.za – offers visitors two main routes: The information portal – www.info.gov.za – and the services portal – www.services.gov.za. Together, they provide comprehensive governmental information, including information about public sector projects and tenders. Though South Africa is lagging behind countries such as Brazil, Mexico and Portugal in terms of e-government readiness, the country is making progress and is currently in the process of rolling out an expanding offer of e-government services (Clarkson & Mogaki 2005). In terms of strong online presence, the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs also identified South Africa as an e-government leader in Sub-Saharan Africa (2008:26).

In the area of e-government, Home Affairs identified some catalytic projects, namely the Track-and Trace project, Citizen Relations Portal and the National Identification System (HANIS). The Track and Trace project is to enable citizens to make enquiries and receive feedback about the status of their application for identity documents or passports via short message service (SMS) (Department of Public Service and Administration 2007:11). HANIS involves an automated fingerprint identification system to ensure improved and quicker service delivery. In early 2007, the digitisation of approximately 30 million fingerprint records was already completed (Department of Home Affairs 2007:20; 69). These projects are well under way and are believed to alleviate long queues, clarify the status of ID applications and generally allow for better accountability to citizens. However, there are still concerns about the still-prevailing paper-based record management. Notably, it affects service delivery and creates an opportunity for corruption (Department of Home Affairs 2007:4; 14; 67).

According to a survey the Open Democracy Advice Centre conducted, requests for information in South Africa receive bad responses from government. This jeopardises the public's right to access to information (Camerer 2004). Government departments are not easily accessible to obtain information and this is a dangerous situation that may breed a culture of secrecy (Gumede, cited in Arenstein 2004). The Global Integrity Group expressed concern about the lack of implementation of the *Promotion of Access to Information Act* (PAIA), poor record keeping and extensive delays that impaired the transparency and accountability required from people in authority (2004). It is very difficult to monitor government departments externally, as they generally prefer to keep their disciplinary procedures secret and anonymous – even in the case of quite serious offences. Government departments seldom welcome civil society initiatives to counter public corruption (Lodge 2002:140).

Trusler (2003:505-506) concluded that the South African e-government initiative was not progressing as planned at that time. This was mainly due of a

lack of coordination between government departments that partially results from the e-government policy requiring the individual departments to come up with their own strategies and projects. For example, the Institute for e-Government (2007) noted that municipalities in the South African province of Gauteng (one of the two leading provinces in terms of e-government) were still in the very early stages of e-government development. Internet usage in South Africa is still generally low. Only 10.75% of the population accesses the internet, and the percentage of broadband users is insignificant (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2008:195).

On the information management systems front, the South African government has already implemented a number of transversal projects that help control the financial, personnel and supply chain management systems (CSIR 2006:7-8). The National Treasury for national and provincial departments currently maintain four major systems in the South African public service. This includes the Personnel and Salary Administration System (PERSAL), the Basic Accounting System (BAS), the Financial Management System (FMS), and the Logistical Information System (LOGIS) (Western Cape Provincial Treasury 2003:83).

Although there are some other software solutions that function as subsystems in some national and provincial departments, they are managed as separate stand-alone 'silos' and not as a single integrated systems unit. This is one of the big problems in the South African ICT systems environment (Western Cape Provincial Treasury 2003:83). Some of the main limitations include inaccuracy, non-interoperability and lack of contemporaneousness as shown in *Table 1*. For example, BAS does not have features like budgetary control, commitment and

Table 1 Some limitations of the major South African financial system ICTs

ICTs	Limitations
FMS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cash-based accounting. Developed in 1973 and is outdated.
PERSAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Developed in an <i>ad hoc</i> fashion and not as a human resources (HR) strategy. Incomplete and inaccurate HR data. Does not cater for Generally Recognised Accounting Practice (GRAP).
BAS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not a full-fledged accrual accounting system. Does not cater for GRAP. Somewhat outdated, developed in 1992.
LOGIS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not a financial budget control system; no BAR coding functioning; no BAS interface. Not regarded as user friendly. Difficult to comprehend and to operate (was developed in 1998).

Source: Extracted from Western Cape Provincial Treasury 2003

asset management and needs to be supplemented by other systems (Auditor-General 2007: 2), though it is used by a number of departments for monitoring and reporting on their budgets (National Treasury 2000:35).

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this article is to explore the role and status of the application of ICTs to counter administrative corruption in selected public sector institutions. A qualitative approach is followed. Documentary evidence was assessed, and knowledgeable individuals (experts) who are or were involved in computer-based anti-corruption efforts were interviewed.

The main units of study for this investigation were Home Affairs, the South African Revenue Service (SARS), the South African Security Agency (SASSA), and City Power at municipal level (Johannesburg). These cases were selected because they are major institutional players in the anti-corruption programmes of government, or evidence of significant incidences of corruption exist in their operational activities. For purposes of triangulation and to gain an overview of the general picture, a number of managers with explicit anti-corruption mandates in the Department of Public Service and Administration, the Public Service Commission, the National Treasury, the Financial Intelligence Centre, the State Information Technology Agency (SITA), the Special Investigating Unit (SIU), and Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) were identified through a variant of purposive sampling supplemented by snowball sampling.

A total of 15 general and senior public managers with anti-corruption mandates in the above-mentioned institutions participated in the project were identified. Given the sensitive nature of the topic of study, accessibility to information was sometimes problematical. Consequently, the obtained data was limited in depth and scope.

EMPIRICAL FINDINGS ON THE CURRENT USE OF ICTS IN REDUCING CORRUPTION

The following subsections will explore and summarise findings about the status and shortcomings of some selected aspects of ICTs to enhance control and create openness and thereby minimise susceptibility to corruption in public administration. The focus is on the current status of some of the electronic-based bureaucratic control mechanisms, e-procurement, interconnectivity and interoperability of systems.

Electronic managerial control mechanisms

PERSAL is an electronic payroll system to control personnel salaries. It is a system of first entry for personnel expenditure and has checks and balance features that require authorisation before payment takes place. Its check and balance capability depends on reconciliation with the FMS (Financial Management System). The respondents identified the following limitations of PERSAL:

- Though PERSAL has limited tracking facilities, the system was not dependable. It is an outdated three-decades-old mainframe system.
- Auditors use PERSAL *inter alia* for *ad hoc* fraud detection checks to find out whether unauthorised payments were made. These security and fraud prevention features are very weak and ineffective.
- SARS has customised, internally-developed software that run on PERSAL, to control transport systems, bank details, revenue, income, and tax returns. However, these internal systems are stand-alone and not integrated. They provide numerous loopholes for corruption and inefficiency.

Respondents noted plans to replace PERSAL with IFMS (the Integrated Financial Management System). IFMS is a National Treasury initiative but has not been implemented yet. It is a seven-year project. According to the respondents, is progressing according to plan. The IFMS will require authorisation at different levels. This will make it difficult to change someone's salary fraudulently. However, due to current defects, public service departments rely more on the auditor-general's reports to identify financial irregularities, instead of on PERSAL.

For improved efficiency, SASSA outsources its grants and pensions payment function, to enable other service providers to pay out on its behalf. It has a verification system called SOCPEN (Social Security Pension System) to track and trace payments. It tracks expected payment, type of grant, payment history, personnel information (such as the beneficiary's ID). It also has a Beneficiary Maintenance Unit (BMU) which functions as a data-cleansing system. Despite these efforts the agency is not free from ghost beneficiaries, due to Home Affairs' issuing of fraudulent certificates and identity documents.

The lack of an appropriate, comprehensive and integrated application of ICTs (such as the haphazard use of biometrics), has paved the way to producing fictitious birth and marriage certificates and multiple entries of a single individual into their systems. To address problems of corruption and inefficiency in this regard, Home Affairs introduced a system called 'Who am I online'. This single citizen-centric application enabled the use of biometrics in all transactions for all officials and applicants. It was piloted in Durban and expanded to all its regional offices in 2008. As a result, some corrupt Home Affairs officials in

Durban were suspended from their jobs. However, many respondents cited resistance to use new technologies to control corruption as one of the main obstructions to change.

The problem of corruption does not arise in large national departments only. It also affects local institutions. For example: despite its small number of employees (about 2000), City Power still frequently pays people who are not entitled to such payment. This is partly attributed to the absence of appropriate ICTs to control the HR-finance interface. City Power uses software called Risk Manager that links HR with its financial system. However, this software package does not tell the HR or finance department who is on leave without permission. Consequently, people on improper leave for as long as 4-5 months are found to still receive payment because the system does not identify such illegal transactions.

Some of the ICTs City Power uses are also not fully-effective to control the illegal use of electric power. There is also a high risk area in the billing system. Some contractors who read electric meters for City Power record figures that show lower electricity usage than the actual consumption. They then share the difference in payment with clients, because the systems concerned do not detect the discrepancies between actual usage and readings contractors record. In addition, the lack of appropriate technologies led tenants of hijacked buildings (in terms of power usage) to make payments for power use into the bank accounts of the hijackers. However, the City Power's systems fail to track these illegal transactions. Through illegal electric connections alone, City Power is losing about 4 to 6% of its total annual revenue.

City Power also does not capitalise sufficiently on ICTs already available in the country. This includes ESKOM's prepaid meter systems, as well as technology that can track faulty electricity consumption readings and illegal electric power connections. Substantial amounts of electricity are therefore lost to criminals through illegal connections and hijacking, which can be easily and efficiently detected by ICTs already available in the country. Moreover, government departments do not use fleet tracking systems that incorporate GPSs to control their vehicle usage (an area seriously abused).

E-procurement

E-procurement is one of the central components of public sector reform programmes to minimise corruption. However, in South Africa this feature is almost absent, leaving public departments vulnerable to abuse.

Although there are some ICT solutions for procurement at national, provincial, and some local levels, e-procurement is in an emerging phase in the South African public sector. Most of the procurement is monitored and

processed manually. Invitations for bids that are posted on the internet are purely informational and not interactive. Moreover, there is no universal public-access system for the public to monitor the objectivity of decisions made about the awarding of bids. There is no centralised public e-procurement, and the public does not have an online mechanism to monitor procurement processes.

Government departments are supposed to buy ICTs through SITA, to enhance transparency, efficiency, interoperability of systems and economies of scale. However, despite SITA being given this statutory mandate, many national departments procure their information systems still through other channels. According to the interviews conducted at SITA, it only gets R3 billion worth of procurement from the total annual procurement of R11 billion. In 2001 the Department of Public Service and Administration (2001: 6) indicated that "...government's economic muscle is fragmented, and leads to unnecessary exploitation by some IT vendors". It is a concern that this problem is persisting and that it is seriously contributing to a lack of interoperability of ICTs and increasing susceptibility to corruption.

As a means of controlling procurement processes the National Treasury tries to prohibit suppliers from doing business with members of the public sector that appear on their corruption records. Departments looking for big suppliers and contractors are further legally required to contact the National Treasury for clearance. This is done to confirm that the would-be suppliers are not blacklisted. However, the system that blocks corrupt individuals and businesses from doing business with public departments is not functioning well because of a lack of appropriate skills, poor coordination among institutions and insufficient data capturing.

Interconnectivity and interoperability of systems

Some of the surveyed institutions have recorded instances of substantial amounts of money being lost in fraudulent transactions through the mere lack of online cooperation and information sharing among public departments. This happens, for example, when SASSA's regional offices load new beneficiaries into the central system incorrectly. At the entry stage, it is not possible to validate the claimants' entitlement to benefits because they do not have an online interface with Home Affairs at provincial level. Consequently, unqualified people (that could have been detected by crosschecking in the Home Affairs database), enter the system.

Similarly, despite the fact that public departments are interdependent with regard to required information, survey findings indicate that their electronic systems are not 'talking' to each other. Though there are efforts to use

information technologies to fight corruption, they are not well-integrated into the stakeholder ecosystem (anti-corruption industry). SASSA, for example, may need information from Home Affairs to identify whether a beneficiary is a South African citizen, and is still alive; from the Department of Health to determine whether someone qualifies for a disability grant; from the Government Employees Pension Fund (GEPF) to verify if someone is really a pensioner; from the Department of Labour to verify employment status (to verify if the applicant is unemployed). The GEPF, in turn, requires data from Home Affairs for ID and death verifications, and from SASSA for controlling double benefit claims. Many departments require data from SARS to confirm tax compliance of individuals and businesses; or from National Intelligence Unit (NIA) to check corrupt or criminal records of individuals (for example for screening purposes during employment processes).

Similarly, City Power believes that it needs to integrate its information systems with ESKOM, and security and disaster management, among others. However, despite these fundamental information needs to take appropriate decisions, mutual interdependent information sharing is not significantly used to combat inefficiency and wastage of resources. Though some of these departments have systems interfaces, these connections are insufficient to deal with the number and complexity of problems that public service departments face.

The Financial Intelligence Centre also receives and analyses suspicious financial transactions by extracting information from various departments' databases. However, they do not have integrated systems with the respective departments, denying them real-time information. In today's fast moving world, such a delay means creating opportunities for corrupt transactions to escape unidentified. As a remedy to this, the Financial Intelligence Centre is developing a software package that enables it to get the data it requires from its stakeholders in real-time. It is proprietary software that will be customised to its needs and this is expected to improve data integration with the South African Police Service and the Department of Justice.

The absence of real-time authentication mechanisms for companies' tax also allows corrupt businessmen to obtain contracts in the public sector, despite being prohibited by National Treasury regulations because of their non-compliance with the required tax prescriptions. However, after obtaining a tax clearance certificate, some companies default on their tax commitments, but still present the 'clearance certificate' within the year of issuance (SARS normally issues a one-year certificate). This increases the risk that National Treasury approves the award of the contract, assuming that they are compliant with their tax obligations. The problem is that National Treasury does not have any mechanism to check the company's tax liability status itself in real-time. Consequently, companies with low tax compliance records find their way into

getting contracts in the public sector. Online sharing of information between the institutions concerned could solve this situation.

Home Affairs' electronic network systems in are not well integrated. Its provincial offices frequently work in isolation. This leaves the department vulnerable to many abuses, such as unaccountable financial transactions, multiple entries of one person into their system and duplication of work. As a result of this electronic isolation and fragmentation, the Home Affairs' database still contains many ghost citizens and fraudulent marriage, birth and death certificates. Apart from the weaknesses that arise from its internal working processes, SASSA also faces many double benefit claimants. This is a weakness partially inherited from Home Affairs, as a result of the issuance of fraudulent certificates and identity documents.

Cyber crime is also very serious and pervasive. It constantly manifests in new forms that require constant surveillance and system upgrading. Recently, as was indicated during the interviews, SITA paid a fictitious company R14 million through Information technology (IT) fraud in a single transaction.

Most departmental information systems used to control corruption are not fed from the same national source. Notably, public service departments do not have sufficient common centralised databases that enable them to fully cooperate and synchronise their activities in the anti-corruption drive. This lack of integration means that efforts are dispersed, economies-of-scale is not achieved, corruption-preventing mechanisms are undermined and crosschecking features are thwarted. To make up for some of these shortcomings, The CSIR developed an open-source software package called the Corruption Management Information System (CMIS) for the Department of Public Service and Administration. The software is expected to bring all the required information together. It is designed to integrate the activities of various institutions, such as the police and anti-corruption agencies. However, this system has not been activated yet because of considerations like a lack of skills. Unless the development of ICTs and human capacity go hand-in-hand, the installation of modern software will only be 'white elephant' projects. Moreover, given the short life span of electronic systems the risk that they might fast become outdated is high. The Corruption Management Information System (CMIS) mentioned above is currently faces such a risk.

Decentralisation is an important ingredient of a complex system's development. However, the anti-corruption effort will fail if the anti-corruption agents are not interconnected and interact with the entire system (in SASSA's case, for example, regional authorities do not have a systems interface with Home Affairs). Borrowing from complexity theory, Wheatley (1999:158; 164), states that the '...world of electronic networks and connectivity that we depend upon mirrors the images from quantum physics that describe our interconnectedness

at the cosmic scale.... Nothing exists independent of its relationships, whether looking at subatomic particles or human affairs."

RECOMMENDATIONS

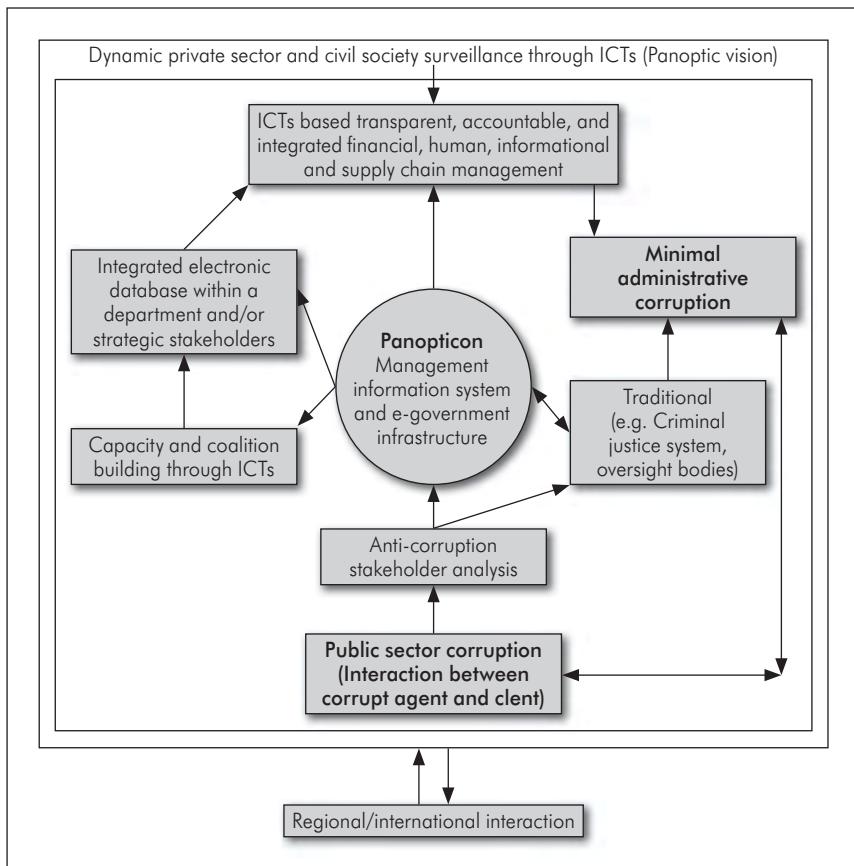
Against the background of the above assessment, the following recommendations can be made:

- Successive updates of Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index (1995 to 2008) indicate that the perception of corruption in South Africa has been deteriorating since 1995 (Transparency International undated). This perception has to be turned around through a dedicated programme of action by the South African government – if it is committed to reducing corruption in this country.
- South African public service departments should phase out legacy systems (in the technical, human and the organisational sense). Outdated systems like PERSAL and other HR management systems should be comprehensively assessed for their compatibility with modern ICTs. Incompatible items should be replaced with more appropriate technologies. These legacy systems cause bottlenecks in the drive towards an ICT-based anti-corruption system. "Rather than adding new systems on top of outmoded legacy systems, e-government planners should develop systems that work together and across departments" (Center for Democracy and Technology undated: 19).
- ICT projects that take a long time to become operational may become outdated in the process. The South African IFMS is a seven-year project. Moreover, the Corruption Management Information System (CMIS) is still not operational because of a lack of required skills. When the government plans to modernise ICTs, it must retrain and upskill people as well, because e-government shakes up people's roles, and the way jobs are done is changed. The advent of technology may be disruptive to old corrupt relationships but supportive to collaboration among new anti-corruption forces. However, technology-based systems that are devoid of human skill and integrity are not antidotes to corruption.
- Procurement is one of the main corruption-prone areas of government functions. Hence, it requires substantial public oversight over the internet and state-of-the-art ICT systems to monitor processes that range from tendering to delivery. Moreover, the institution's internal systems must also be effective to control cyber crime.
- Home Affairs must be one of the users of state-of-the-art ICTs. Evidentially, it is responsible for the inventory and demographic dynamics (from cradle to grave) of the South African population, and for controlling the increasing

influx of immigrants and human trafficking. In this case, the full application of biometrics and an integrated ICTs system is crucial for the department and the country. An organisation that intends to close the opportunities of corruption, but lags behind in terms of acquisition, design and implementation of the right technology is diminishing its adaptability and emergence in its ecosystem.

- Corruption can be addressed only in a systemic way. Hence, the development of an anti-corruption system is pivotal. Bhatnagar (2003:26) concludes that "...(f)or anti-corruption efforts to be effective, reformers must look beyond individual instances of corrupt behaviour and target the structural factors that allow corruption to develop".

Figure 1 Anti-corruption model



Source: The authors

The following ICT-based anti-corruption system is proposed. It comprises various elements that reinforce one another as shown in Figure 1.

Though the model emphasises an ICT-based anti-corruption system, it does not rule out traditional supplementary mechanisms. In fact, the two systems are complementary, as indicated by the double arrow. In the digital era one cannot compartmentalise the two mechanisms. Thus, there should be a blend of both traditional and ICT-based anti-corruption systems to ensure optimal efficacy. For example, the criminal justice system is expected to rely increasingly on electronic support systems where ICTs increasingly permeate all of its activities. On the other hand, in the case of any deviation, an efficient and effective criminal justice system is called on to intervene and filter out corrupt behaviour and rectify the functioning of the system. The safeguard against deviation is also strengthened through capacity (professionalism and integrity at all levels of society) and coalition building. A poorly-skilled manpower is susceptible to delays and inefficiency, which are incentives to bribery. Delay-ridden procedures, for instance, represent incitement to corruption in Home Affairs, which affects the issue of identification documents and visas (Lodge, 2002:134).

Corrupt agents also self-organise and adapt to new developments in the anti-corruption system. Also, they continuously emerge with new tactics to counter every effort against them. The struggle against corruption is therefore perpetuated. The two situations, the initial and final states of corruption, are also linked. The fight against corruption is not a one-time stroke but a dynamic process of constant struggle that is characterised by stories of successes and failures. Change may not always only be in the direction indicated by the arrows in the figure; there always is a possibility of nonlinearity. Once an improved level of corruption is achieved, it does not remain stagnant. As disequilibrium is constant, it may deteriorate to a lower level or revert to the previous level.

CONCLUSION

The role of ICTs in creating transparency is well documented. ICTs are instrumental in improving the public sector accounting and integrated financial management systems, thereby enhancing transparency and accountability. However, some South African public service departments are not easily accessible for information. Moreover, procurement procedures are not online for public surveillance. This is a dangerous situation that may breed a culture of secrecy and corruption. The application of ICTs is still in its initial stage and not in the mainstream of the anti-corruption strategy. Among others, a skills deficiency in ICTs and resistance to change are still hampering information systems from

becoming fully functional – even after they were acquired. Moreover, some of the management information systems in public service departments are not state of the art. Old transversal systems like PERSAL cannot cope with the demands of the time. In addition, a lack of implementation (due to resistance and a shortage of know-how) occurs in cases where there is appropriate technology. If ICTs are not state of the art and comprehensive, corrupt individuals and groups are always on the alert and quick to exploit the loopholes of managerial control and public oversight.

The South African information system is fragmented and has interoperability problems. In some instances, information systems do not communicate with each other and their operational procedures differ. This is despite the acknowledgement by the Department of Public Service and Administration that management information systems must be integrated to link human and financial resources so as to minimise acts of corruption. The persistence of 'ghosting', double and false claims for reimbursement or benefits in the public sector mainly result from the absence of a centralised electronic database or a lack of interoperability of ICTs and a shortage of skills to apply available ICTs. These issues indicate that e-government has a long way to go before it can completely join up government departments.

As a result of the above-mentioned shortcomings, vulnerability to corruption is high in South African public service departments and has been worsening over the last decade. The South African government should make a turn around these perceptions by connecting the isolated silos of anti-corruption programmes for improved efficiency and effectiveness.

NOTES

- 1 This article is based on the first author's PhD dissertation titled: **Anti-corruption Strategies in the South African Public Sector: Perspectives on the Contributions of Complexity Thinking and ICTs**, completed in 2009 at the University of Stellenbosch, under the supervision of the second author.

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Research support for masters students

The answer to improving methodological quality and increase outputs?

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ABSTRACT

Over the last two decades there has been a debate around the quality of research within Public Administration. The majority of research in this area is on debating the general quality and academic articles and not per se Masters research outputs.

The purpose of this article is to firstly describe the research support approach adopted by the School of Public Management and Planning (SOPMP) in order to improve the methodological quality of research outputs at the Masters level. Secondly, to provide the reader with a profile of the SOPMP's research outputs at the Masters level for the period 2002 to 2007 and lastly to assess whether the new approach to research support contributed positively to the increase in the number of Masters' research outputs for the same period.

The research design selected for this empirical study is secondary data analysis. The data was obtained from two sources: the research output reports of the SOPMP, as submitted to the University and reflected in the National Research Foundation's (NRF's) NEXUS database, the University of Stellenbosch (US) central electronic administrative system and the SOPMP's internal student records.

The main findings of this study indicate that research support is not the only contributing factor to the increased output during the period 2002 to 2007. It is, however, seen as an important contributing factor along with certain other programme and content changes that occurred during the period under investigation.

INTRODUCTION

Over the last two decades there has been a debate around the quality of research within Public Administration. The majority of authors focus their attention on debating the general quality and analysing academic articles and not per se Masters research outputs.

In the only South African study done on thesis and dissertation research outputs, Wessels (2008) demonstrated that Stellenbosch University dominated the public administration research outputs, for the period of 2000 to 2005, with a peak in research outputs during 2001 as reflected on the NRF database. This led the researcher to question the reasons for this occurrence. From 2001 onwards, the SOPMP adopted a new approach to research support with a stronger focus on methodological training. According to Schroeder, Oleary, Jones and Poocharoen (2004:92) good methodological training is one of the aspects listed as a determinant for being a successful scholar in public administration.

The purpose of this article is to firstly describe the research support approach adopted by the SOPMP in order to improve the methodological quality of research outputs at the Masters level. Secondly, to provide the reader with a profile of the SOPMP's research outputs at the Masters level for the period 2002 to 2007 and lastly to assess whether the new approach to research support contributed positively to the increase in the number of Masters research outputs for the same period.

BACKGROUND

In South Africa, public management scholars have done some research on various issues around research quality and Wessels (2005) highlights the challenges of knowledge production by South African academics without addressing the issue of methodological quality.

In a recent research study conducted by Wessels (2008:99), he indicates that the two themes emerging from the international debate around Public Administration research, that is "the research issues and their relevance to the needs of the practice of Public Administration" and that of methodological quality is also reflected in the South African debate. The question around the methodological quality of Master's and Doctorate research outputs (that is theses and dissertations in Public Administration and Management) is, however, not addressed by any researcher. Wessels therefore highlights the fact that there is a gap in the literature but does not make any value judgments or suggestions.

His concern around the lack of methodological quality is also reflected by the other South African scholars, like Cameron and McLaverty (2008:85-87).

Although their research focused on analysing the content of peer reviewed journal articles, they found that the majority of articles (70% of articles produced from 1994 - 2006) can be classified as "desktop"¹. In some of these articles no method or approach was even evident. Amongst the remaining 30% there is a further preference towards the use of qualitative (20%) rather than quantitative (10%) methods. Wessels (2008: 118) argues "additional research is necessary to provide a South African profile of the research methods used by masters and doctoral researchers in Public Administration".

During the 1990s there was a debate predominantly in the American literature around methodological training and the quality of public administration outputs as reflected in the work of Kraemer and Perry (1989), Stallings and Ferris (1989), Waught and Budney (1994), Wright, Manigault and Black, (2004), Box (1992) and Adams and White (1994). But in more recent years, research on this topic declined.

The early 1990s debate centred on the general quality and applicability, analysing academic articles and PhD dissertations and not Masters research outputs. This article will investigate the methodological quality of research outputs by drawing from the international research that has been written on the methodological quality of research outputs.

METHODOLOGICAL QUALITY

A discipline is often assessed on the quality of the research outputs and Public Administration has often been often criticised for the lack of methodological rigour and the tendency to focus only on qualitative research designs and methodologies.

The debate starts with the work of Perry and Kraemer (1986) who analysed the methodological trends of research published in the journal Public Administration Review (PAR) (1975-1984). This research was followed up by Stalings and Ferris (1988) who reviewed the research published from the inception of the journal (1940-1984).

Perry and Kraemer (1986:222-224) concluded that research should be institutionalised and that this could be done through creating a greater link between formal research units and public administration programmes, and that specific methodological improvements should be made in the following areas: the use of meta-analysis, refinement of the case study design and qualitative methodologies, the use of advanced quantitative methodologies.

Stalings and Ferris (1988) concluded amongst other things that "what the field of Public Administration needs is a strategy for coupling important questions with the techniques for answering them".

According to Adams and White (1994:566), methodological rigour seems to be linked to quality. In their research they looked at dissertation abstracts for public administration, criminology, management, planning, social work and woman's studies published in the 1992 edition of Dissertation Abstracts International (DAI). Out of the dissertation abstracts they analysed public administration students valued the use of mainstream social science research methods, which are grounded in positivism less than the other disciplines. This philosophical approach is based on strict scientific methods, which rely on the gathering of new knowledge through empirical and measurable evidence, and often makes use of hypothesis testing. This philosophical approach was first coined by the August Comte¹, often seen as the first modern sociologist (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:21).

McCurdy and Clearly (1984) and subsequently Adams and White (1994) found that case study research has always been a preferred design approach in public administration research. The majority of dissertations analysed by Adams and White (1994:565) were "practice" research dissertations. Practice research dissertations can be seen as written by practitioners about a practical situation in their work environment or the implementation of a programme or policy whereby they were involved. These dissertations are often seen as descriptive and a-theoretical in nature. Adams and White (1994:571, 573) found that these types of dissertations often make use of a case study design (138 dissertation, 69%).

A case study can be defined as "an intensive investigation of a single unit. This unit can vary from individual people, families, communities, social groups, organisations and institutions, events and countries". (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:640). Case study research has often been labelled as having no scientific value and only in the last two decades did this perception change and did this design become "scientifically respectable" (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:280). In many instances this stigma still sticks and it is fuelled by the fact that many studies applying this design are not grounded in theory.

Adams and White (1994:566-568) made use of the following indicators to measure the quality of dissertations:

- the existence of a conceptual or theoretical framework;
- obvious flaws in the research (too small sample size, inappropriate research design, errors in logic, inappropriate statistics to name a few);
- relevance of the findings to theory;
- practical relevance of the research within the setting and beyond;
- importance of the topic; and
- overall indicator of quality, which was based on a combination of the criteria.

On every indicator they found that the practice based dissertations in public administration was low quality (Adams and White, 1994:572). Of those

dissertations (69%) that used case study as a design, 47% had no theoretical framework, 39% had obvious flaws in their research, 28% possible flaws, 50% had no theoretical relevance and only 10% had practical relevance within the setting and only 5% beyond. One had a topic that was considered very important, while 38% of the case studies were seen as of below average to no importance. Just more than half (52%) were rated as being of poor and very poor quality and only 185 were rated as of being of good or outstanding quality (Adams and White, 1994:573).

Adams and White (1994) sees practice research as being neither basic nor applied research and nor does it seem to follow the prescriptions of mainstream social sciences. They conclude their research by saying that "rather than calling for more rigour (construed as more conformity with the techniques and trappings of mainstream social science research), perhaps those in the public administration field would be better advised to examine whether double standards exist for practice research dissertations and for foreign focus dissertations" (Adams and White, 1994:575).

In a follow up study done by Cleary (2000), he found that there has been an improvement in the quality of dissertation research outputs and a slight move away from using single case studies and descriptive research.

Bailey (1992) argues in favour of the case study design and further proposes that criteria should be developed to "ensure scientific rigour in any research methodology that is appropriate for the study of public administration". This argument is supported by Houston and Delevant (1990:680) and Cleary (2000) as cited by Schroeder, Oleary, Jones and Poocharoen (2004:93). These standards might help to address the issues raised by Adams and White (1994).

Wessels (2004) used the criteria set by the above mentioned authors in analysing the quality of research outputs and adapted it for the South African context to analyse the true scientific spirit of published articles. Wessels (2004:11) found that the majority of articles had a descriptive purpose² and made use of a research design³ based on existing data (mainly textual data). Therefore, there is a lack of empirical research based on primary data. The research, however, does not go into further detail around research design classification or methodologies.

The research on journal articles submitted to the PAR by Box (1992:66) further supports the notion that public administration research focuses more on practice orientated rather than theory building or trend analysing research. This problem was first identified by Perry and Kraemer (1986:219) and also highlighted by Houston and Delevant (1990:678).

Streib and Roch (2005:45) summarise the debate by concluding that "at their core, most of the methods' critiques share a common thread with those made about theory: that public administration research uses bad science. Research is

developed without a regard for theory and then it is undertaken without using rigorous empirical methods. The resulting products draw only questionable conclusions and contribute little to the knowledge base of public administration and to the development of better theories."

Perry and Kraemer (1986:224) argue that it is important to not only give attention to the techniques but to how students acquire these techniques. They argue that a support system needs to be developed. Bailey (1992:53) raises the concern that many methodology courses taken by students are stand-alone courses or electives and not integrated with the substantive or theory courses of the discipline. This concern is shared by Adams and White (1994:573) who argue that it leads to "mindless empiricism". Students tend to see these courses as not being an integral part of the curriculum and therefore not as important. As a result, Bailey (1992:53) argues that students "do not develop a critical eye when examining the basic literature of the field or organisation that they encounter".

In a subsequent study of leading American faculties of Public Administration around the institutional requirements for academic research, Kreamer and Perry (1998:10) found that the top ranking schools are more likely to have a research orientated PhD programme, provide research support to faculty, have an organised research unit and generate additional funding for research.

In a research study carried out by Cleary (1990) that analysed the content of public administration programmes, it was found that research methods or quantitative analysis courses were seen as core requirements for such programmes. He, however, did not analyse the content of these courses but it seems to be skewed towards quantitative methodologies. Desai (2008:642) analysed the syllabus of methods courses from Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management (APPAM) schools and found that methods courses are generally equated to statistics courses. Desai (2008:646) further found that courses on qualitative methods seem to be rare. Fitzpatrick in Desai (2008: 646) "argues for an outcomes-based approach to teaching research methods and lists the following goals for research methods courses:

- Public administrators will seek existing and/or new research to inform their decisions.
- Public administrators will use research as an important guide to their actions and decisions.
- Public administrators will be able to effectively consume (understand and critique) the research they receive.
- Public administrators will develop a critical "habit of mind" as illustrated by suspension of judgment, alertness to differing or conflicting information, and a desire to explore alternatives in many decision-making settings.
- Public administrators will be able to use logic models, hypothesis testing, concept mapping and other techniques to separate relevant from irrelevant

information, identify questionable assumptions, test linkages and ultimately build better programs".

Fitzpatrick in Desai (2008:647) lists another three goals for teaching statistics:

- Students will feel confident and comfortable in manipulating data.
- Given a table in a report or results from a computer analysis, students will be able to interpret the statistics presented and discuss their implications.
- Given a hypothesis or research question that lends itself to quantitative data collection and description of collection methods, students will be able to recommend the appropriate statistical tests to answer the questions.

Desai (2008:647) is not convinced that all of these goals can be achieved and highlights the fact that not all faculties are comfortable with data manipulation and statistical analysis.

He (Desai 2008:650) further debates the idea that we should approach the teaching of occasional users of statistical techniques differently to the way we train statisticians. "The consensus appears to be that focus should be on data and on statistical reasoning rather than on the presentation of as many methods as possible."

Desai (2008: 663-664) argues that "the purpose of methodological training is to teach us to make cogent and credible arguments that have a basis in evidence. The purpose of analysis and synthesis is to gain insight about things that matter. Context determines what matters. Importance is not a methodological concept, it has a theoretical or practical basis."

He also suggests that the following should be taught in methods courses:

- Teach our students to learn in groups and through personal experience.
- Relegate all computation to computers.
- Teach reasoning rather than techniques.
- Teach more and better use of data display and graphics.
- Get rid of probability theory but teach its applications to conditional.
- Probability and common misconceptions.
- Do away with significance tests.
- Use simulation to explore potential scenarios.
- Increase the role of collaborative learning.
- Use individual presentations of a portfolio of work representing their progress.
- Learning during the class to assess what the students have learned (Desai 2008:664).

Based on the Schroeder, Oleary, Jones and Poocharoen (2004:103) analysis of top academics in the United States, they provide certain lessons for designing

PhD programmes, which can also be applied to Masters Programmes. They propose that students be given “broad exposure to research topics, research methods, journals and scholars inside and outside faculty. Ensure that students have a significant opportunity to engage in journal-article critique sessions in their courses and require that rigorous research methods be demonstrated in course work and papers”.

It is clear from the literature study that within the South African context there is a need for further research on the methodological quality of research outputs. Based on the above mentioned discussion, the researcher would like to support the notion that research methodology training should form a core part of any Masters programmes curriculum and should focus on qualitative and quantitative designs and methodologies.

Benchmarking research practices

Benchmarking in education is important and can be used for improving processes as, well as instructional models by examining what other schools and departments have done and by adapting their techniques and approaches. The contribution of this research will enable academics within the field of Public Administration and related disciplines to start benchmarking their own performance. According to O'Dell (1994) as cited by Shahaliizadeh, Amirjamshidi and Shahalizadeh (2009:107), benchmarking is defined as “the process of identifying, understanding, and adapting outstanding practices and processes from organisations anywhere in the world to help other organisations to improve performances”.

Benchmarking can be applied for more than just performance improvement but also ensuring a competitive advantage, knowledge sharing and regulation. Jackson (1998) as cited by Shaw and Green (2002:116) defines benchmarking as “a process to facilitate the systematic comparison and evaluation of practice, process and performance to aid improvement and self regulation”. Benchmarking can therefore play an important role in creating regulating standards.

Garlick and Pryor (2004) as cited by Meek and van der Lee (2005:3) characterise benchmarking “in the university situation [as using] terms like collaboration, organisation learning, inclusiveness, reflection, review, leadership and improvement. This way is about connecting relevant stakeholders both within and outside the institution in such a way that leads to knowledge exchange about why, what, where and how improvement might occur. Benchmarking, however, can not be successful if we do not clearly identify the performance indicators against which it will be measured. This researcher will therefore be a first attempt to look at research support as an indicator of improved performance in thesis research outputs at Masters level.

Research design and methodology

The research design selected for this empirical study is secondary data analysis. This design saves cost and money because of the use of existing data. However, the biggest limitation of this design is that one is not able to control for data collection errors.

The data for this study was obtained from three sources. The first source is the research output reports of the SOPMP as submitted to the University and reflected in the National Research Foundation's NEXUS database. The second is the University of Stellenbosch's central electronic administrative system, while the third source is the SOPMP internal student records. The raw data was recoded and captured through the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) programme. The data was then used to draw a profile of the SOPMP's research outputs at the Masters level for the period 2002-2007.

The main purpose of choosing this design is to test whether the SOPMP's new approach to research support contributed to a positive increase in the number of masters' research outputs for the period 2002-2007 and to provide a descriptive profile of the graduates for the same period.

BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AROUND THE DELIVERY MODE OF THE MASTERS PROGRAMME AT THE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC MANAGEMENT AND PLANNING (SOPMP)

In order to get a better understanding of the research component of the Masters programme at the SOPMP, it is important to provide the readers with a brief overview of its evolution.

At the onset of the Masters in Public Administration (MPA) programme in 1966, students were required to complete a full research thesis in their final year of the three year programme. During 1995 the mini thesis was introduced in the third year as an alternative option. Over the years there have been a number of changes in the delivery⁴ mode of the programme further impacting on the research outputs. The following major changes occurred during the period under investigation and possibly contributed to the subsequent changes in research outputs.

In 2001 the SOPMP became part of an experiment by the university to deliver courses by means of distance education. As a result the MPA programme was delivered in the three separate modes of part-time, intensive block and distance education from 2001 - 2003. During 2003 the programme was redesigned in content and delivery mode by combining electronic self-study material,

interactive telematic satellite transmission sessions, intensive one-week contact sessions and WebCT.

This new approach of interactive telematic education is a combination of satellite, mobile technology and web-based interactive learning system. "Interactive telematic education (iTE) as an interactive-learning system strives to transform the conventional higher education situation into a world-class ICT-supported learning environment that blurs the customary divides between real and virtual educational opportunities. iTS-supported study therefore forms a vital component of the postgraduate delivery strategy of many departments of the University" (University of Stellenbosch, 2009).

WebCT is a web-based e-learning system integrating tools, such as discussion boards, mail systems, calendars, live chats and Turnitin, along with content including documents and web pages.

Turnitin is a programme designed to do originality checking. This allows instructors "to check students' work for improper citation or potential plagiarism by comparing it against continuously updated databases. Every Originality Report provides instructors with the opportunity to teach their students proper citation methods, as well as to safeguard their students' academic integrity" (Turnitin 2009).

These changes came into effect in 2004. The nature of the programme changed from being a three-year Masters in Public Administration (MPA) with an Advanced diploma, Honours and Masters as building blocks, to a two-year programme consisting out of a Honours and Masters in Public Administration programme. The Masters programme provides for two options, one being a full-research Masters with a 100% thesis (120 credits) and the second a structured course work Masters with a 50% thesis (60 credits) option.

Concurrent to these delivery mode changes there have been substantive programme changes. This article will only focus on the changes around methodological training and the research support approach.

THE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC MANAGEMENT AND PLANNING (SOPMP) RESEARCH TRAINING AND SUPPORT APPROACH

Since 2001 the SOPMP adopted a new approach to research support. It first started in 2001 with mainly guidance on proposal and academic writing style, and evolved into a three-pronged approach to research support. Due to the changing nature of the programme, it has been adapted over the years and has now functioned in its current format since 2005.

The current format of the research component of the programme is as follows:

Students start their Honours year with an *Orientation to Research and Academic Writing* course. The learning outcomes of this course are to create awareness of the nature of academic research and writing; to enable students to develop a successful research paper/assignment; understand the logic and structure of writing an assignment or paper; to introduce students to basic concepts in research; and to teach them basic research skills in terms of literature searches, writing and referencing.

Towards the end of the Honours year, students are required to complete a *Capstone* module. The purpose of a capstone module is to provide the opportunity for participants to earn credits by integrating and applying the knowledge and skills acquired from each of the other modules so as to extract the best possible benefit from the programme in a particular career setting. The US Year Book states that the output of the module may be an internship report, comparative study report after an international visit, work-related case study or any other format determined in conjunction with the Director. The SOPMP decided to adapt the assignment to take to the format of a substantive⁵ research proposal/research report. The reason for this change was the higher education policy developments, which emphasised that Honours programmes should contain a substantial research element and that special attention should be given to integrate the various modules in a programme. This module guides students in writing a research proposal/report and provides them with a minimum of two rounds of detailed feedback on their proposals/reports. Students are then encouraged to take this forward into their Masters year.

During the Masters' year, students attend a four-day course in *Applied Research Methodology and Academic Writing*, which is supplemented by further telematic sessions. The four-day course mainly focuses on the research process, from research problem statement to design and methodology and finally to data analysis, interpretation and presentation. There is no predisposition towards either the quantitative or qualitative designs or methodologies, and both are equally covered in this module. The course is integrated within the theoretical focus areas of the discipline by discussion sessions held during the contact week, chaired by academics that specialise within each respective area. This helps students in refining the research problem and identifying an appropriate theoretical field for their literature review.

At the end of the Masters contact week, a one-day research colloquium is scheduled where students are required to present their research proposal to a panel of academics and practitioners. The panels are divided into the four broad thematic focus areas within the programme or alternatively the main themes that emerged from the proposals. The proposals are scrutinised and reviewed based on a pre-designed proposal evaluation checklist and feedback sheet to try and standardise the assessment upon which students receive

another round of feedback. Based on the presentation students are advised as to whether the proposal is acceptable in its current format or should be reworked and resubmitted. The feedback sheet provides four options: approved as is, may proceed with supervisor (to be allocated), proposal approved, refine in consultation with supervisor (to be allocated), revise proposal as indicated and resubmit (no allocation) and proposal not approved (no allocation).

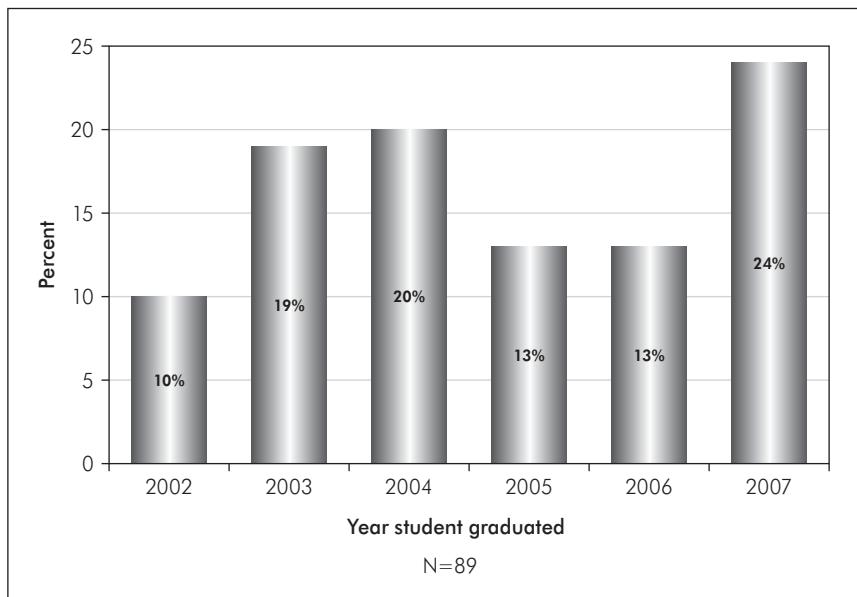
PROFILE OF THE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC MANAGEMENT AND PLANNINGS (SOPMP) MASTERS RESEARCH OUTPUTS FOR THE PERIOD 2002 - 2007

The internal benchmark for this study is the six year period from 1996-2001 where the SOPMP had 13 Masters research outputs of which four was in 1996, one in 1997 and 1998, no outputs in 1999, five in 2000 and two in 2001.

During the six year period from 2002-2007, the SOPMP had 89 Masters research outputs of which 9 was in 2002, 17 in 2003, 18 in 2004, 12 in 2005, 12 in 2006 and 21 in 2007 (Figure 1).

The outputs must, however, be considered within the intake for the period under investigation in order to interpret the increase in outputs.

Figure 1 Research outputs for the period 2002-2007



Profile of student enrolment at the School of Public Management and Planning (SOPMP) for the period 2002 - 2007

For the period 2002-2007, 281 students registered for a Masters⁶ programme at the SOPMP, of which 32% graduated with a research output⁷ (Figure 2).

The greatest part of this period was characterised with a steady increase in enrolments, except for a 3% drop in enrolments in 2004 and a 4% drop in 2007.

Looking at the enrolment figures per programme we see from 2004 a steady increase of 2% per year in students enrolled for the full research thesis option (100% thesis), with a 2% drop in 2007. The structured course work and research option (50% thesis) shows a peak in enrolments during 2003 and a 4% drop in 2004 and a gradual decline since 2005 (Figure 3).

The demographic statistics are not critically important within the context of this research study but they have provided us with interesting information around the nature of the SOPMP students and therefore set the context within which we should evaluate the findings. Due to the nature of the secondary data and time constraints, I was not able to draw a full demographic profile of the enrolled students and do therefore not have comparable statistics for each variable.

Figure 2 Students enrolled per year

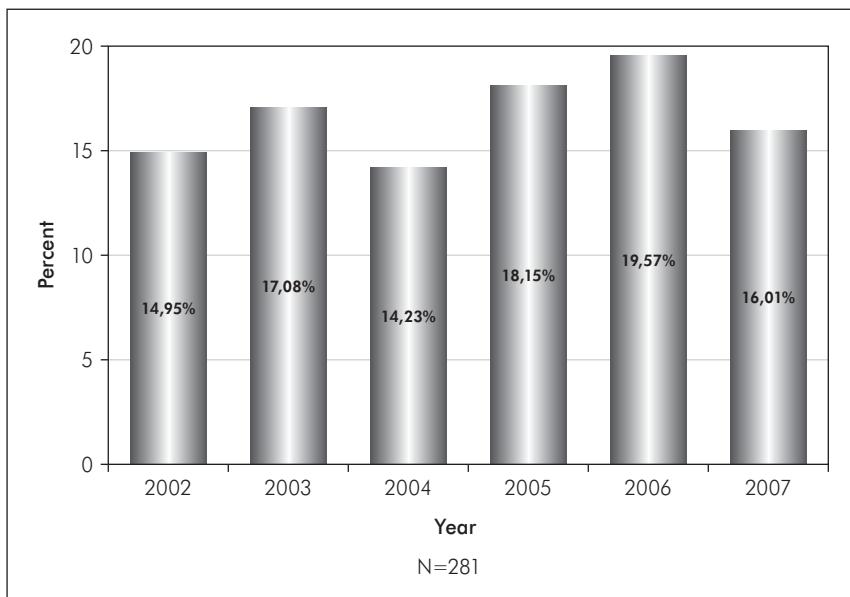


Figure 3 Enrolments per thesis option for the period 2002-2007

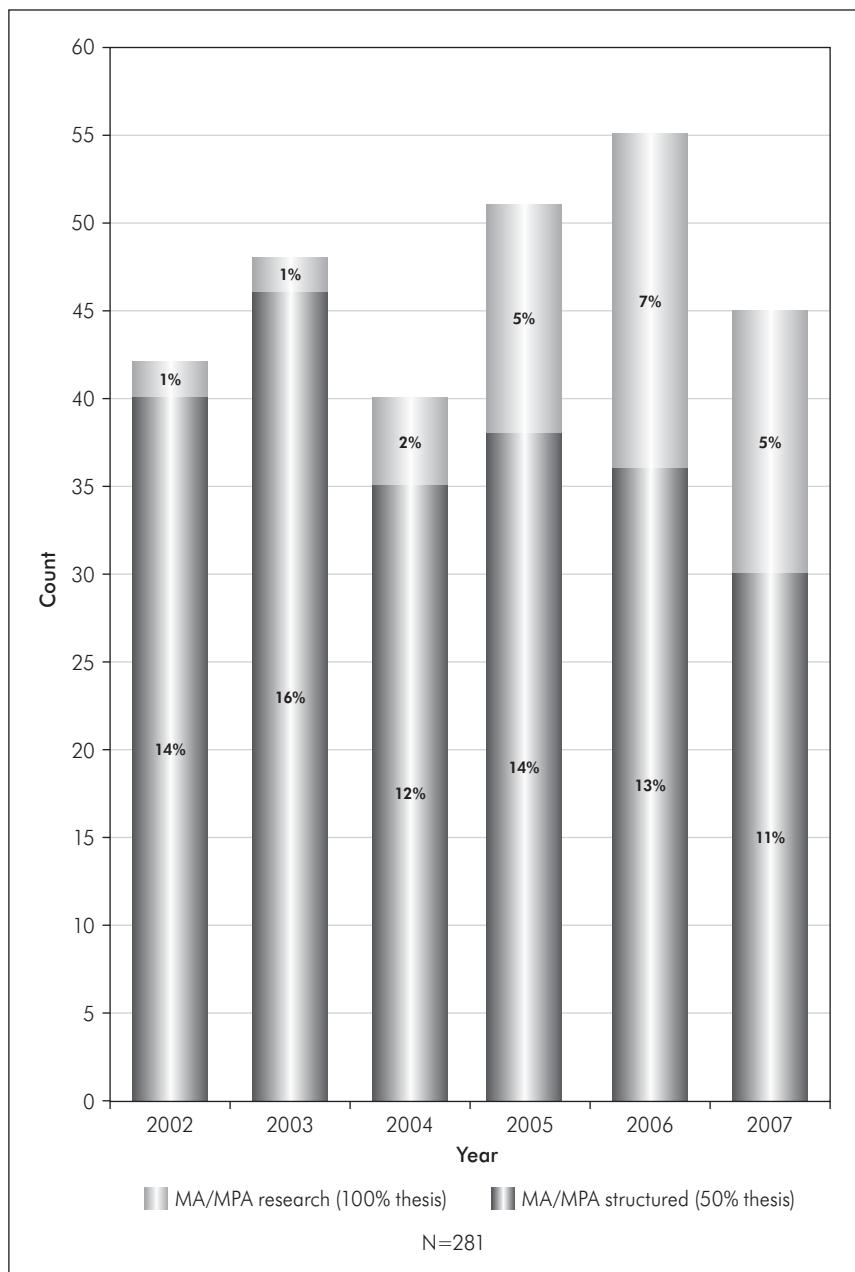
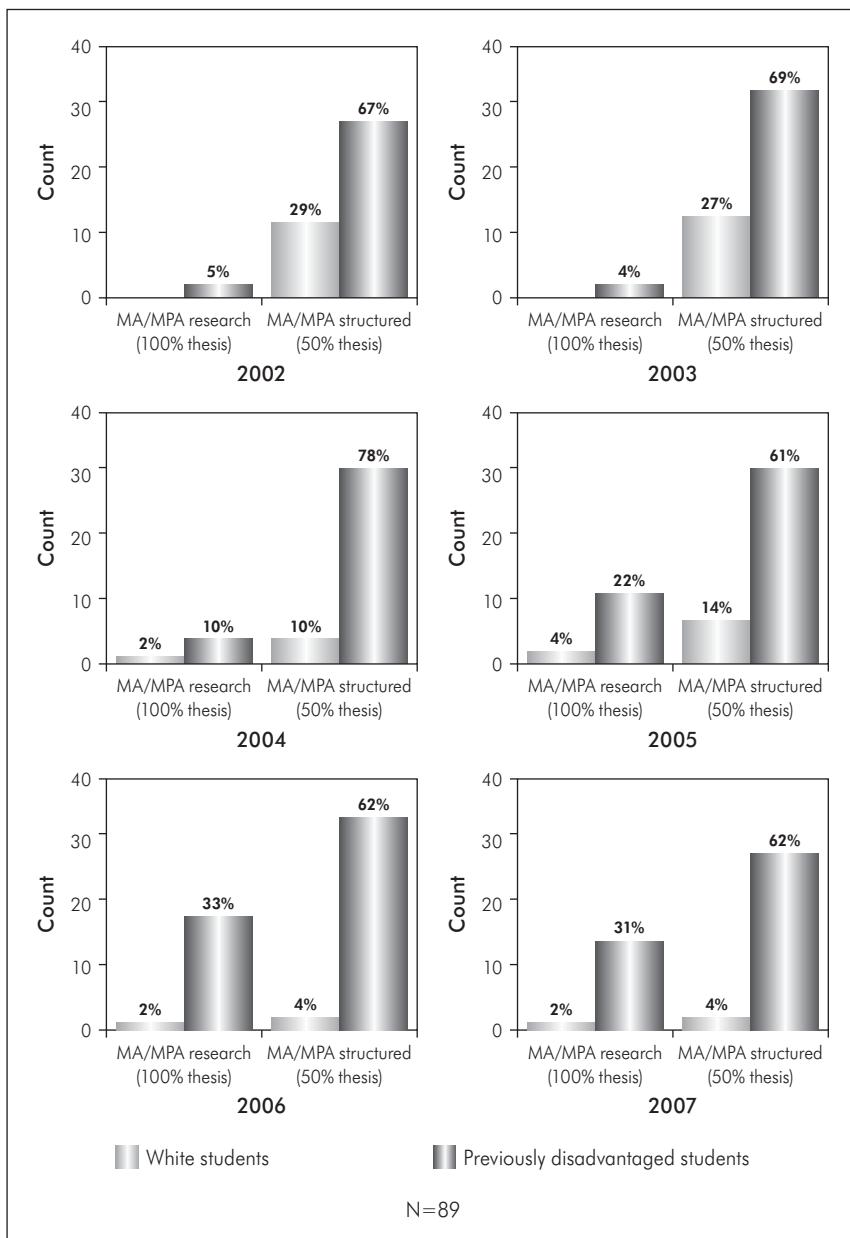


Figure 4 Distribution of student per program and racial classification for the period 2002-2007



The majority (84%) of students are classified as PDI⁸ students, with only a small white minority (16%). The racial distribution of students for both the structured and unstructured Masters programmes for the period 2002 to 2007 can be seen in Figure 4.

The majority (80%) of students enrolled for the structured coursework Masters option with a 60-credit thesis (50% thesis), compared to only 20% who enrolled for the full 120-credit research thesis (100% thesis).

Profile of the School of Public Management and Planning (SOPMP) Masters graduates for the period 2002-2007

The profile of the SOPMP graduates during the period 2002-2007 is as follows. The overwhelming number of students was male (74%) compared to only 26% females (Table 1). The racial composition of the graduates was fairly evenly distributed amongst black (37%), coloured (33%) and white (29%) students (Table 2).

The majority of the graduates (70%) were registered for the MPA structured course work (50% thesis) option, 10% for the MPA research (100% thesis) option, 15% for the MA/Comm (50% thesis) option and 6% for the MA/Comm research (100% thesis) option (Figure 5). Just more than half of the graduates obtained a final mark of between 65 and 74% for their degree (Figure 6).

Table 1 Gender

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Male	66	74,2	74,2
Female	23	25,8	100,0
Total	89	100,0	

Table 2 Race

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
White	26	29,2	29,2
Black	33	37,1	66,3
Coloured	29	32,6	98,9
Indian	1	1,1	100,0
Total	89	100,0	

Figure 5 Programme students enrolled for

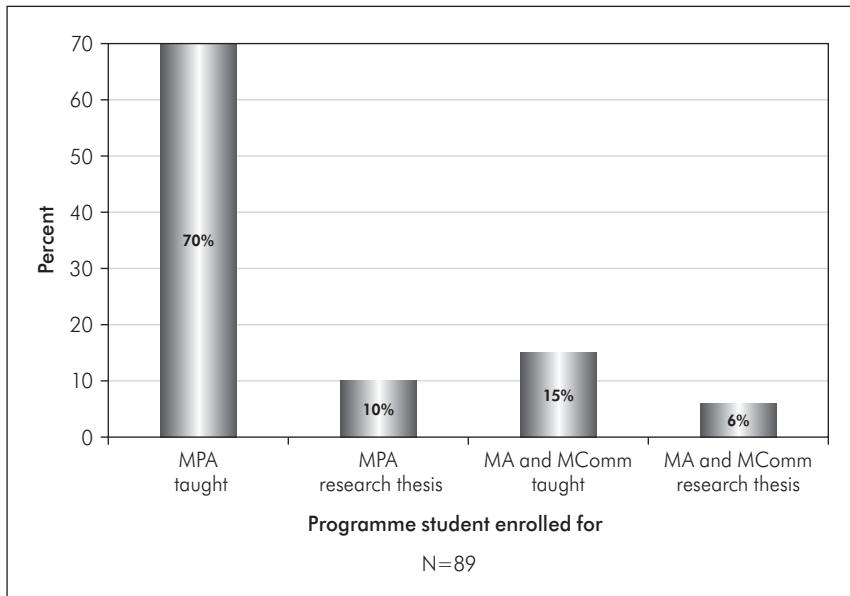


Figure 6 Final degree mark

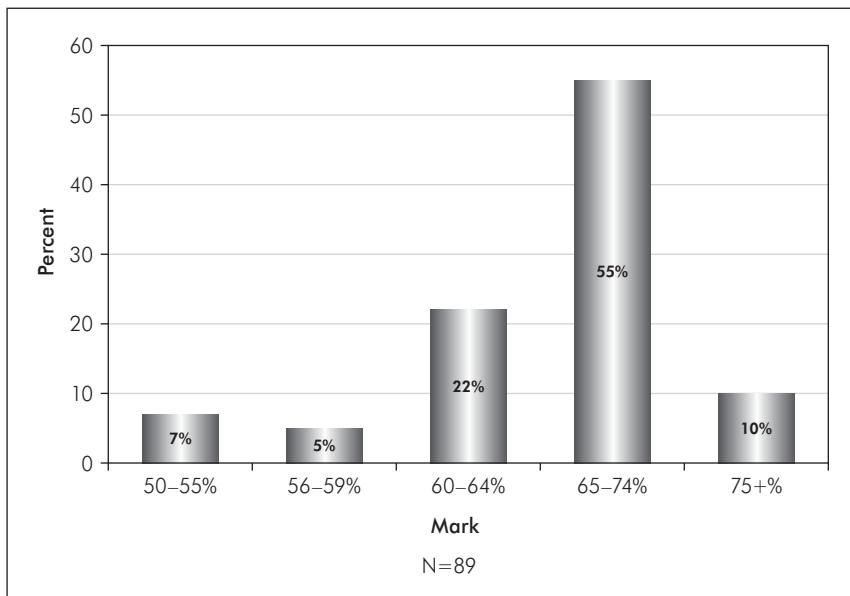
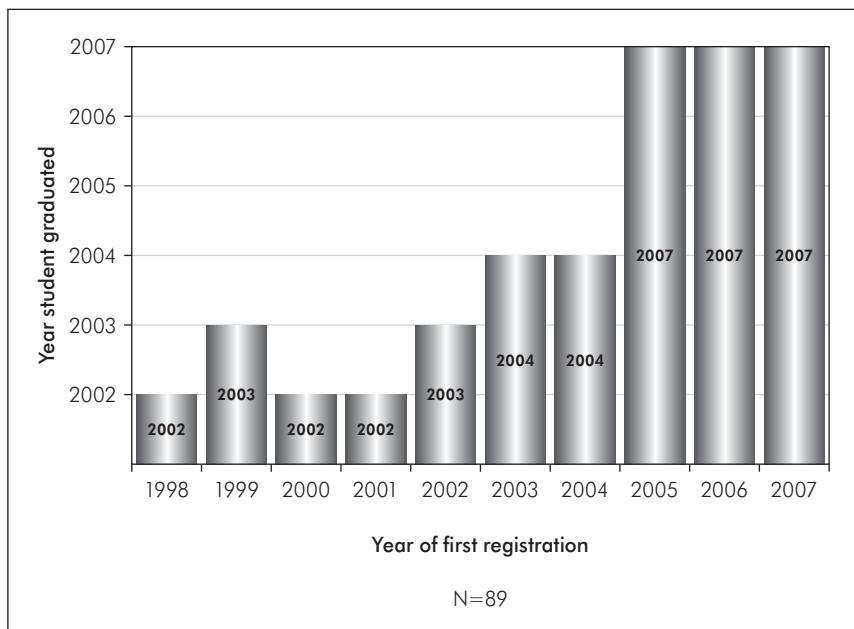


Figure 7 The time it took students to complete their Masters



The percentage of graduates over the period 2002-2007 is fairly equally distributed with a peak in 2004 and 2007. This is in direct contrast to the lower intake percentage of students for the same period (Figure 1). There is a steady climb in outputs over the years with a sudden drop in outputs during 2005 and 2006.

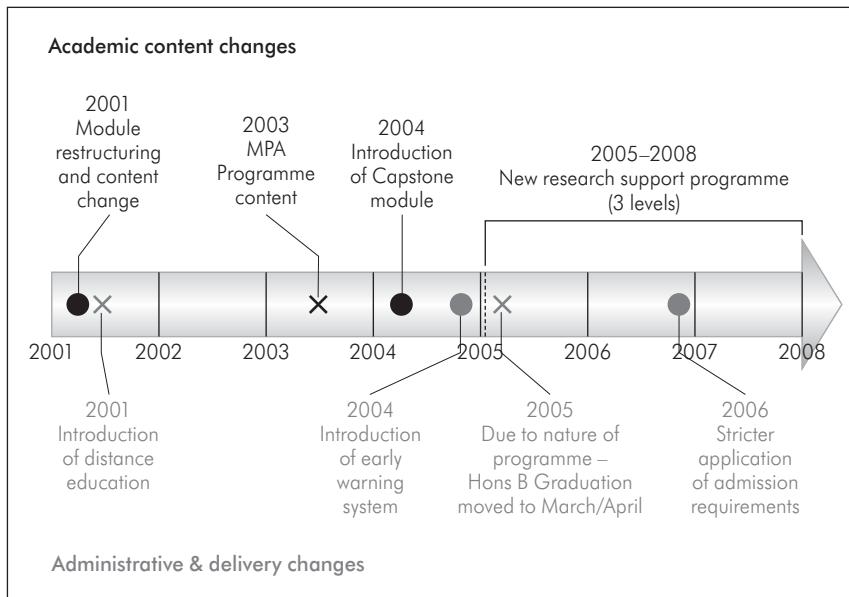
Another important variable is the time students take to complete their Masters year. In Figure 7 we can see that on average the majority of students took two years to complete their Masters. All students enrolled before 2000 took three or more years to complete their Masters.

DISCUSSION

Based on the above research data it is clear that there has been an increase in the SOPMP Masters research outputs for the period 2002-2007.

Statistically it cannot be proven that the research support is the only contributing factor to the increased output. It can, however, be seen as an important factor along with the following programme and content changes that occurred.

Diagram 1 Critical process changes affecting research outputs



The following changes in the research-support approach showed corresponding peaks in the research outputs (Diagram 1).

The peak in the number of graduates in 2004 and 2007 can be attributed to mainly three factors: an early warning system that was introduced to get students out of the system that are no longer producing a subsidy, secondly the new programme changes were implemented in 2004; and thirdly the stricter admissions policy that was applied at the end of 2006. The fact that there were less students registered in 2004 and 2007 respectively decreased the student/supervisor ratio for those years, which could have led to more attention being provided to students individually and therefore the observed higher outputs for the two years.

The drop in outputs during 2005/06 can be attributed to the substantive programme changes in 2004/05. Honours students could only graduate in March/April of the following year, which led to the late start of the structured taught Masters programme in March. Therefore students attended the methodology course only in June and this left them with only six months to complete their thesis. It was found that this was not enough time for students to complete their research and since 2006 the programme was restructured in order to provide the students with more time to complete their research. The students now attend the methodology course during March, which provides

them with an additional three months to complete their research. Introducing the Capstone module during the Honours year further contributed to students being able to start their research earlier and has enabled more students to complete it within one year.

The increase in the amount of students that registered for the full-research thesis can be directly attributed to the increased support available to full-time research students, compared to the fairly independent research project that was excepted of students opting for this option prior to 2001.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The purpose of this research and article was to initiate the debate around the influence of methodological training on research outputs and how best to integrate methodological training into postgraduate programmes. It further contributes to internal benchmarking against the SOPMP's own practices, which leads to improved performance.

It is proposed that future research be undertaken to investigate in more depth the quality of the methodological training that students in Public Administration receive by means of a comparative analysis of the curriculum and throughput statistics of the different schools and departments of public administration and management within South Africa. This will lead to benchmarking research practices in Public Administration.

NOTES

- 1 For more information on Comte see: Mill, John Stuart. August Comte and Positivism. web-books.com http://www.web-books.com/Classics/Nonfiction/Philosophy/Mill_Comte/Home.htm.
- 2 See Babbie and Mouton (2001:79-84) for a detailed description of the different purposes of social research.
- 3 See Mouton (2001:143-180) for a research design map.
- 4 Please refer to the following paper for a detailed description of the changes in the delivery mode: Muller and Uys (2004) Adapt or Die: Societal Transformation and Programme Innovation in South Africa" NASPAA 2004 Annual Conference, 21 - 24 October 2004, Indianapolis, USA.
- 5 The minimum length for this proposal/report is 6 000 words.
- 6 MPA/ MA/ MComm/ MAdmin.
- 7 This excludes students who graduated during this period who completed a 25% research assignment, for it is not counted as a research output by the Department of Education.
- 8 Previously disadvantaged individuals.

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A case study of the use of qualitative and quantitative methodological approaches in Public Administration research

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ABSTRACT

It could be argued that researchers working within the South African Public Administration research community often neglect to establish a 'critical distance' between themselves and their research object. This becomes apparent when the research designs of researchers are perused. Many research projects are empirical in nature and aim to provide answers to problems that are found within the 'real world' of the public service. Research designs are often ill conceived, including the consideration of the research problem, the unit of analysis (and the units of observation), the appropriate methodological paradigm, as well as the methods for data collection and analysis. When we agree that researchers should pursue the greatest measure of validity in their research findings – the epistemological imperative – reflecting on the most appropriate methodological paradigm is a *sine qua non*.

In this article, the author considers the main attributes of a research design within the empirical domain of the subject Public Administration, including the quantitative methodological and qualitative methodological paradigms, units of analysis and observation, and data collection methods. This is done by reflecting on his experiences when formulating his own research design, and implementing his research objectives while engaging in fieldwork. These experiences emanate from his work on ethics management in the Department of Correctional Services.

INTRODUCTION

Often, researchers do not give adequate consideration to the conceptualisation process that precedes the implementation of a research project. This process is closely associated with the expectation that researchers must pursue the epistemic imperative, pursuing the most valid findings to contribute to scientific knowledge. Within this context, researchers should ask themselves what the most appropriate methodological approach to their research objects should be. Without this reflective activity, the subject of Public Administration would not benefit from critical research endeavours.

In this article, the author reflects on the conceptualisation of the research problem, the research design and the choice of the most appropriate research methods during the study of ethics policies and practices in the public service. From the outset of any social science study, the researcher considers the choice of working within either the qualitative or quantitative methodological paradigm, or both. In taking this decision, the researcher is informed by his/her own assumptions of human nature, as well as the nature of the object of study. The attributes of both these methodological paradigms will be discussed.

Even though this study is conducted within the quantitative methodological paradigm, it will be argued that data collection methods from both methodological paradigms may be used. The data collection methods used in this study will be discussed, including personal and group interviews, observations, visits to the head office and management areas of the Department of Correctional Services, document analysis, as well as the survey method.

The survey method is used, both within the quantitative and qualitative methodological paradigms, and requires the researcher to undertake various sequential steps. This section will be followed by a description of the conceptualisation process, which includes the design of the questionnaire, identification of indicators, formulation of questionnaire items and pre-testing the questionnaire. This process is followed by determining the research sample, a description of the fieldwork experiences and the response rate achieved.

EMPIRICAL STUDIES IN ETHICS MANAGEMENT

In Menzel's view (2005:16-46,) empirical research into government and administrative ethics has only recently shown substantial growth. Before 1990, empirical research was neglected in favour of greater research emphasis on its counterpart – ethics theory. Menzel's review of empirical research into ethics, with particular emphasis on articles published between 1999 and 2003, enabled him to establish five different study areas:

- Ethical decision-making and moral development;
- Ethics laws and regulatory agencies;
- Organisational performance and ethics;
- Ethics management experiences and strategies; and
- Community, culture, and the ethical environment.

However, in Gilman's view (in Mavuso & Balia 1999:96-97), empirical research into ethics management in the public service is at best anecdotal and impressionistic. Literature in the study field is theoretically vague and provides little indication of how these programmes work on a policy and administrative level.

Except for the numerous government publications on the compliance with ethics policies in the South African public administration, very little, if any, empirical research has been published in South Africa. Only Bauer's (1999) attempt at comparing unethical conduct of the public administration under the pre-1994 and post-1994 South African governments comes to mind. She mainly used government reports and policies to substantiate her arguments. Other local publications, including that of Kroukamp (2006) and Mafunisa (2006), seem to rely mostly on secondary data without attempting to make use of qualitative research methods such as individual interviews, group interviews and personal observations.

THE EPISTEMIC IMPERATIVE: SELECTING THE MOST APPROPRIATE RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

In his evaluation of research in Public Administration, Wessels (1999:361-415) argues that researchers often do not carefully consider the context of their research when deciding on appropriate research methods. Furthermore, these researchers do not satisfy the epistemic imperative of scientific knowledge. Arriving at the most valid findings possible to contribute to scientific knowledge, should be the overriding criteria when researchers decide on the most appropriate methodological paradigm, or as he calls it, macro research methods (see also Hill & Hupe 2009:9-11). These methodological paradigms are differentiated at the level of meta-theory and social inquiry between the positivistic and the interpretivist epistemological approach to the research object (Hill & Hupe 2009:10, 38-40). These broad categories reflect the basic assumptions upon which the qualitative and quantitative methodological paradigms are based. With these imperatives in mind, this researcher considered the various methodological paradigms most applicable to the object of study.

In the following sections, the research design is carefully explained.

Research Question

At the outset of this study, the continuing reports of cases of unethical conduct in the Department of Correctional Services were identified as a research problem to investigate. Emanating from this problem, the following research question was formulated: "Is the Public Service Anti-Corruption Strategy effective?" Two concepts need to be defined: evaluation and effectiveness.

In Cloete, Wissink and de Coning (2006:246-247), policy evaluation is defined as '*the process of finding out about a public policy in action, the means being employed and the objectives being served*', and '*evaluation determines the value or effectiveness of an activity for the purpose of decision-making*'. The *Encyclopaedia of Evaluation* (Mathison 2005:139) defines evaluation as an applied inquiry process for collecting and synthesising evidence that culminates in conclusions about the state of affairs, value, merit, worth, significance, or quality of a program, product, person, policy, proposal, or plan. To Hill and Hupe (2009:11-12), policy evaluation is a normative judgement based on a comparison between what was expected and what was actually delivered. Evaluation refers to a process where public policy is examined and the people who deliver it may be appraised, audited, valued and controlled.

The *Concise Oxford Dictionary* defines the concept effective as '*having a definite or desired effect*', and '*existing in fact, rather than officially or theoretically*'. *Wikipedia* defines effectiveness '*getting the right things done*'. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, the researcher aims to determine whether the ethics policies have had the desired effect on the ethics practices and behaviour of Departmental employees. Alternatively, it could be asked whether employee malfeasance increased, stabilised or decreased after the introduction of ethics policies. The latter question seems rather superficial and could be answered by simply perusing departmental data – as will be discussed below. The former question requires a greater depth of investigation in the processes of ethics policy implementation. It is the former question that will guide this study.

Units of Analysis and Observation

The unit of analysis or the object of study – the Public Service Anti-Corruption Strategy – is a policy intervention and is found in real life, and therefore, this study is empirical in nature. Empirical questions are answered with new data or by analysing existing data (Mouton 2008:49-58, Babbie & Mouton 2007:72-79, Wessels & Pauw 1999:368-372). For the purpose of this study, a distinction should be made between the unit of analysis and the unit of observation (Babbie & Mouton 2007:174-175, see also Wessels & Pauw 1999:374-375). The study

question aims at determining whether the PSACS (this refers to a collection of ethics policies at departmental level) is effective in reducing malfeasance. To arrive at an answer to this question, the researcher could identify various units of observation. Wessels refers to these units of observation as sources of data, and categorises them into two types: human behaviour and characteristics, and products of human behaviour and characteristics.

These units of observation could include documentary evidence. These are the so-called products of human behaviour such as reports on the number of disciplinary hearings on misconduct, reports on the frequency of different types of misconduct or the outcome of financial audits contained in the Auditor-General reports over an extended period of time, say between 2002/3 and 2007/8. In the annual reports of the Department of Correctional Service, the number of disciplinary hearings has increased from 1589 finalised during the 2002/3 financial year, to 2722 finalised during the 2007/8 financial year. An improved system of recording the type of misconduct was initiated in the 2007/8 financial years. In this categorisation, sexual harassment is distinguished from theft, bribery, fraud or corruption. In this financial year, 424 disciplinary hearings dealt exclusively with theft, bribery, fraud, corruption, or any combination thereof as misconduct. These figures could also prove useful in evaluating the effectiveness of ethics policies.

It could then be argued that since 2002, the Department has demonstrated an increased commitment to implementing ethics policies. The number of disciplinary cases has increased by 71% to 2722 disciplinary hearings in 2008. However, one should be careful in making findings from these figures alone. In many cases, misconduct goes undetected. As corruption and fraud is illegal in most societies, it occurs as a *covert activity*. Perpetrators try to hide their intentions to extort money, gifts or receive special treatment. Citizens bribe public officials to gain an unjust advantage over other citizens, or when a competitive tender is to be selected for the provision of public services, over other competing companies. Naturally, when such malfeasance is exposed, both the bribed and the bribe payer place their personal long term interest at risk. Public officials risk their upward career prospects, and private contractors risk their business reputations and future contractual dealings with the public service. The state is prohibited from considering a tender submitted by individuals appearing on a Register for Convicted Corrupt Offenders. Additionally, criminal prosecution possibly resulting in a conviction accompanied by a criminal record and a fine serves as a further deterrent (*Prevention and Combating of Corrupt Activities Act, 2004* (Act 12 of 2004), sections 26 and 28). No incentive exists for the bribed or the briber to report misconduct.

The Office of the Auditor-General regularly performs performance audits on public institutions. Performance audits evaluate a department's management

measures to determine if resources have been procured economically and if finances have been spent effectively and efficiently. When performance audits point to weaknesses of a department's management control measures, the likelihood of corruption or fraud being committed increases. It is at this point that forensic investigations could be undertaken to determine the existence of criminal activity in a department. Furthermore, when audit reports identify cases of fraud or corruption in a department, such information must be included in a department's annual report that is submitted with the audited financial statements and the audit report to the relevant legislature (Interview 2007: Specialised Audit Services, Office of the Auditor-General). For example, in the Annual Report for the 2004/5 financial year for the Department, the Auditor-General reports on its performance audit carried out in respect of the Department's fleet vehicle management, as well as its forensic investigation into excessive medical claims by members and service providers of the Department.

An alternative unit of observation, the so-called human behaviour and characteristics, has been identified. The perceptions and experiences of employees of the Department in respect of the ethics policies of the Department serve as a valuable source of data. For example, do employees perceive these policies to be clearly communicated? Do their supervisors enforce these policies? And, do employees believe that the ethics policies made a substantial difference to the values, practices and behaviour within the Department? Each of these units of observation provides data to varying degrees of accuracy that would point to the effectiveness of ethics policies.

This researcher decided to survey employee perspectives, which means that departmental employees are the units of observation. It is argued that if employees believe the ethics policies to be congruent with their personal values, and if they expected these policies to be applied with the necessary sanctions and rewards, and that supervisors would enforce these policies, the policies would consequently be effective in reaching the objectives for which they were drafted. Data on the Department's employee attitudes, perceptions and behaviour in respect of the ethics policies and practices had to be collected.

Such data has to be collected and this author has decided to leave the comfort of his office to enter the 'field of study'. Fieldwork requires the researcher to identify data sources and data collection methods. Amongst the data collection methods, one would find personal observation in the natural field setting, personal and group face-to-face interviewing, documentary sources such as official memoranda, strategic plans, annual reports and administering a survey in the form of a questionnaire (Mouton 2008:98-110; 158-159). Whereas experiments and surveys in the form of questionnaires belong to the quantitative methodological paradigm, individual interviewing, in-depth individual interviewing, focus group interviews, observation and

participant observation belong to the qualitative methodological paradigm (Babbie & Mouton 2007:269-300). In addition to quantitative and qualitative methodological paradigms, a third, the participatory action paradigm exists (Wessels & Pauw 1999:392-395). This paradigm was evaluated, but considered to be inappropriate for this study, as this researcher did not intend to collaborate with the study object. For the purpose of this article, the participatory action paradigm will not be discussed.

When a researcher aims to answer a specific research question, a decision has to be made which methods to use, considering the limitations of each of these methods. Often the compatibility of using both qualitative and quantitative methods is questioned. However, social scientists sometimes find it desirable to make use of methods from both methodological paradigms to improve the quality of their research (Mouton 2006:35-40).

At this point it seems necessary to explain the basic attributes of the qualitative and quantitative methodological paradigms. These methodological paradigms are at a high level of complexity as they represent, not merely collections of research methods and techniques, but also include assumptions and values regarding their use under specific circumstances. When selecting a particular paradigm, the researcher is influenced by *inter alia* his education, perceptions of the disciplinary traditions and developments, nature of the research objective, as well as his assumptions on the nature of science and human beings (Mouton 2006:36-37, Mouton 1983:125-129).

QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGICAL PARADIGM

At the outset of this study, the researcher was confronted with some difficulties to overcome. The researcher set out to determine the effectiveness of ethics policies – the unit of analysis – on the behaviour, perceptions and practices of the employees of the Department – the unit of observation. In order to arrive at an answer to this initial question, this researcher decided to start the fieldwork from a qualitative research paradigm. After all, the qualitative methodologies are particularly relevant in explorative studies (Mouton 1983:129). Following this paradigm with its research methodologies would enable this researcher to get an insider perspective. The qualitative researcher studies human action in its natural setting through the eyes of the actor being the subject of the study. Within this paradigm, a deliberate attempt is made by the researcher to understand the actions, decisions, behaviour, practices, and rituals of the subject of study. In contrast with the quantitative researcher who uses somewhat artificial settings of experiments and surveys, the qualitative researcher describes the phenomenon in detail and tries to understand human behaviour within the

appropriate context. When conducting qualitative research, the researcher uses an inductive approach, in other words, the researcher begins within the natural setting, describing events, developing hypotheses and eventually ends with a theory (Babbie & Mouton 2007:269).

Methods by which data is collected within the qualitative research design includes basic individual interviewing, depth individual interviews, focus group interviews, observation and participant observation, and the use of personal documents (Babbie & Mouton 2007:288-303). Field observation often provides data that surveys are unable to provide for example, when this researcher observed the light-hearted response by a suspended public official when approached by a colleague at the departmental premises.

As this researcher was not familiar with the activities in the Department, individual interviews seemed the most appropriate research method to explore the context of the Department and its activities. It was decided that interviewees would be engaged in a conversation where no set questions, arranged in a specific order, would be asked. In this context, the respondent would be doing most of the talking and the researcher would apply good listening skills, probing the respondent with questions (Babbie & Mouton 2007:290).

Of course, the next step would be to identify appropriate respondents to interview. With regard to sampling in the qualitative research design, three matters seemed appropriate to consider: enculturation, current involvement and adequate time (Babbie & Mouton 2007:288). In this regard, the work of the researcher was simplified as a Departmental guide was assigned to the researcher. The Departmental guide made proposals in respect of who should be contacted in the different Management Areas. In most cases, if not all, the researcher was requested to make contact with the Co-ordinator: Corporate Services. The Co-ordinator: Corporate Services was based in the Area Commissioner's Office and was in a position to identify respondents with whom interviews should be conducted. In many cases, this individual made appointments with the relevant respondents. At more than one occasion, a room full of members waiting to be interviewed or surveyed awaited this researcher. The Department was very accommodative during the entire research process.

As a first step in the research process, an application was submitted to the Department of Correctional Services in October 2006. This application included sections on the aim of the research and research problem, nature of the investigation, sample size, management areas to be visited, value of the research to the Department, as well as a draft questionnaire. In March 2007, a letter of approval for research in the Department was received and the Director: Departmental Investigations Unit was appointed as the departmental guide for the researcher. In the research proposal to the Department, approval for access to the following management areas was requested: Pretoria, Johannesburg,

Durban-Westville, Pollsmoor, and Malmesbury Management Areas, including two correctional centres that were Public-Private-Partnership initiatives.

During 2007, field visits were undertaken to the Pollsmoor and Malmesbury Management areas where a number of group and individual interviews were conducted. The Malmesbury Management Area was visited during April where three group interviews were conducted with staff members from Medium A Prison as well as members of the Area Commissioner's Office. At the Pollsmoor Management Area, one group interview was conducted with staff members at the Medium A prison, as well as an individual interview with the Head of Prison. Three individual interviews were conducted at the Area Commissioner's Office. Common themes that emanated from these interviews formed the basis of questionnaire items in the survey.

During 2007, an individual interview was conducted with the Director: Departmental Investigations Unit based at the Head Office in Pretoria. This was followed up with an individual interview in 2008 with the Director: Code Enforcement, also based at the Head Office in Pretoria. Both these directorates play a central role in the investigation of ethics compliance and disciplinary processes, as well as the enforcement of sanctions for malfeasance. All the individual and group interviews were conducted with open-ended questions, giving interviewees adequate time to respond. With this approach, the researcher could gather important data and insight including information on the basic operations of the Department, employee's knowledge and perceptions of the Department's capacity to manage ethics. These interviews also provided the researcher with an understanding of the possible variables that could have an influence on the Department's ethics policies and its implementation. With these insights, the researcher could progress to the next stage of formulating questionnaire items and designing the overall layout of the questionnaire which is part of the survey.

Management reform has had a determining influence on activities in the public service. In terms of the management reform initiatives, a greater emphasis is placed on outputs and outcomes, rather than inputs and internal control. In the context of the decentralisation of authority, public service managers are awarded a greater measure of discretionary authority. However, if this devolution of authority is not accompanied by appropriate checks and balances, greater opportunities for corruption and fraud are created. The public services in developing states, in many instances, do not have the required skills and capacity to deal with this newfound managerial freedom. The financial-, performance- and forensic audits that the Office of the Auditor-General undertakes, and the resultant audit reports, serve as a reliable indicator of the extent to which opportunities for malfeasance exist. In 2007, this researcher conducted an individual interview with the Manager: Special Audit Services

in the Auditor-General's Office. This unit mainly does performance audits, and when evidence exists of malfeasance, follows it up with (forensic) investigations. Many cases of fraud and corruption have been investigated, and when adequate evidence exists, were handed over to the South African Police Services.

In addition to the above mentioned interviews, various other sources of data were identified. These would include official departmental documents such as *Resolution 1 of 2006*, a departmental memorandum on the number or disciplinary cases postponed and finalised during the month of March 2007. Various personal observations were made during these field visits, especially between formal interviews and meetings, which would not have become evident during the individual and group interviews. Much of such data is meaningful as it portrays something about the staff member's perceptions, behaviour and attitudes that would not have been detected using quantitative research methodologies such as surveys. These visits were used as an opportunity to observe events and actions as they occur without any interference or intervention. In fact, most qualitative researchers aim to blend in and become participant observers of the events they investigate (Babbie & Mouton 2007:270-274).

Data emanating from the interviews above could be triangulated with other sources of data. Triangulation is one of the best ways to enhance validity and reliability in qualitative research. Qualitative researchers are particularly subjected to personal biases and deficiencies that flow from single methodologies. Triangulation refers to combining different methods and investigators in a single study. We can also triangulate by paradigm, methodology, methods and researchers (Babbie & Mouton 2007:275-276, Shipman 1995:113-115).

Triangulation enhances the credibility of qualitative research: ensuring compatibility between the constructed reality of respondents and the attributes assigned to them by the researcher. It enables us to strive to be objective and do justice to our object of study. To elicit various and divergent constructions of reality within the context of a study, triangulation means to collect information about different events and relationships from different points of view. This means asking different questions, seeking different sources and using different methods (Babbie & Mouton 2007:277, Mouton 1983:130). For example, in two interviews the respondents referred to the inability of the employees to implement, what they perceived as good Departmental policies. These views are supported by findings from the Jali Commission, which investigated cases of corruption, fraud and maladministration in the Department.

In the context of this study, data collection methods within the qualitative methodological approach have some limitations. Contrary to the quantitative approach, the qualitative researcher is not concerned with the generalisation of research results to a wider study population. Thus, the data gathered and the conclusions drawn are applicable only to the case with which the researcher is

concerned. These findings are not applicable to other contexts (Babbie & Mouton 2007:277). For example, research findings emanating from a management area based in a rural area, would not be general to a management area in an urban area. As this researcher intended to arrive at findings which would be valid for the entire Department, it was believed that the survey method would be most appropriate data collection method.

Another attribute of the qualitative research methods are that they are often very time consuming and expensive (UN Toolkit 2003:74-75). Given the intention of the researcher to arrive at research results for the entire Department, it was believed that individual and group interviews in all the identified management areas would have taken considerably longer than the survey method in the quantitative tradition. Furthermore, during group interviews respondents are often not at liberty to frankly discuss their views amongst their colleagues. These limitations lead the researcher to consider the quantitative methodological research paradigm, and its data collection methods.

QUANTITATIVE METHODOLOGICAL PARADIGM

Wessels (in Wessels & Pauw 1999:386-389) describes the quantitative methodological paradigm as 'mainstream' social research most often used in the social sciences. In the quantitative methodological paradigm, it is assumed that the social science researcher engages in a similar fashion with his research object as colleagues in the natural sciences. Similar decisions are taken in respect of conceptualisation, operationalisation, data collection and analysis. The qualitative researcher rejects this assumption and is of the view that quantitative methodologies are not compatible with the social sciences (Mouton 1983:125, Webb & Auriaccombe 2006:588-602).

Within the quantitative methodological paradigm, the researcher aims to analyse variables and the relationship between them in isolation from the context or setting, with the ultimate aim to arrive at general statements. Whereas the qualitative researcher wants to observe the natural settings of the research object, the quantitative researcher emphasises control and makes use of artificial settings such as experiments and surveys. The quantitative researcher endeavours to find empirical regularities of laws of human behaviour with the view of generalising their results (from a sample) to larger populations or even other settings. Furthermore, quantitative researchers aim to measure and quantify phenomenon and concepts, whereas the qualitative researcher attempts to understand a phenomenon from the inside (Babbie & Mouton 2007:270-273, Mouton 1983:128).

With correctional centres based in 53 management areas distributed among six regions, each administered with its own regional commissioner, it seemed appropriate to make use of a survey. This required the researcher to develop a questionnaire that would be administered to a sample of respondents that would be representative of the study population (Babbie & Mouton 2007:230-233). While the survey method has the advantage to describe a large population, it comes with certain advantages and disadvantages. Questionnaires feature strong on reliability and weak on validity. All respondents are asked to answer the same set of questionnaire items, thus the measuring instrument would most likely produce the same findings if the survey were repeated. However, questionnaires are artificial measurement instruments as respondents provide approximate answers to sometimes hypothetical situations. The researcher makes findings on the responses that might not be accurate in all instances. Validity is thus compromised (Babbie & Mouton 2007:262-264).

Conceptualisation process and questionnaire design

Drafting the questionnaire started with a conceptualisation process during which specific indicators were identified. These indicators serve to indicate the presence or absence of the concepts we intend studying (Babbie & Mouton 2007:108-117). In terms of the *Encyclopaedia of Evaluation* indicators are used to operationalise a variable in an evaluation exercise. Indicators are descriptions of what can be empirically observed that will signal the occurrence of an aspect under study (Mathison 2005:199).

The implementation of public policy significantly depends on a measure of commitment from institutional management to achieve policy objectives, the existence of adequate capacity to implement the programmes, a favourable bureaucratic context, appropriate communication within the institution, clients and coalitions in support of policy objectives, and the existence of unambiguous policy content. The presence of these variables is a *sine qua non* for the successful implementation of policy (Cloete, Wissink & de Coning 2006:194-203, cf. Warwick 1982, Brynard 2005:649-664). In the initial draft questionnaire, items were formulated that would enable the researcher to assign attributes to the above variables or indicators. For example, questionnaire items asked respondents whether they believed that senior management was committed to integrity and honesty. Another questionnaire item would ask respondents whether sanctions were applied when malfeasance was detected. If respondents responded positively to both items, it would indicate that a measure of commitment exists to prevent malfeasance within the institution. It was reasoned that the effectiveness of ethics policies within the Department of Correctional Services is contingent on the positive presence of the above indicators.

Collaboration with colleagues from the European Group of Public Administration's working group on Ethics and Integrity of Governance since 2007, provided this researcher with a wealth of academic work in the field of ethics and integrity in the public service. The publications of Kaptein (2008), Lasthuizen (2008), Akaah (1992), Van Tankeren (2007) and Kolthoff (2008), in particular their interest in measuring ethical conduct in institutions, represented an established collection of academic publications that this researcher could further use in this study. Earlier academic work by Victor and Cullen (1987, 1988), and Trevino, Butterfield and McCabe (1998) provided for an interesting insight into ethical culture and ethical climate in institutions.

It is in particular the work of Kaptein (2008) in which he attempts to develop a measure for the ethical culture of private sector organisations that proved useful for this study. He identified eight virtues of ethical culture including transparency, discussability, feasibility, supportability, congruence of values of supervisors, congruence of values of management, clarity and sanctions. These indicators provided for a similar conceptual framework as the indicators of commitment, content, context, capacity, communication, and clients and coalitions identified earlier. Both frameworks describe those aspects that are a *sine qua non* in the successful implementation of public policies. However, Kaptein's indicators appear to be a more refined measure for the purposes of this study as it focuses explicitly on measuring the ethical culture within institutions.

To Kaptein (2008:3) the ethical context of an institution is determined by two variables: its ethical climate and ethical culture dimensions. Whereas the ethical climate dimension of an institution determines what employee conduct qualifies to be ethical, the ethical culture dimension refers to those aspects that may stimulate ethical conduct among employees. This causal relationship between public policy output and outcomes as dependent variables and norms and values as independent variables is substantiated by the work of Hill and Hupe (2009:18-41) in their study on public policy implementation. To them, this causal relationship is best illustrated by the garbage can model in which the policy process is not necessarily sequential. Both ethical climate and culture dimensions have a significant influence on the effectiveness of ethics management strategies. A brief description of the difference between these two dimensions seems appropriate.

Victor & Cullen's (1987:51-71, 1988:101-125) identified five different climate types of institutions including: caring, law and code, rules, instrumental, and independence. These climate types are determined by two factors in an institution: the ethical criteria for decision-making, and the locus of analysis used for organisational decision-making. Whereas the ethical criteria include principle, benevolence, and egoism, the locus of analysis includes the individual, local and cosmopolitan. Employees who are 'caring' may be less concerned

with following rules and principles in decision-making. Similarly, employees may be more concerned with complying their own interests and those of their consumers, than with broader societal concerns – the locus of analysis. These dimensions Victor and Cullen conclude, lead to distinct ethical climates in institutions, and thus considerations of the appropriate ethics management strategies. For example, when employees strictly follow an institution's rules, the ethical climate will be one of 'rules'. Conversely, when employees are motivated by a concern for others, an ethical climate of 'caring' would be dominant. The ethical climate refers to the perceptions of employees in respect of their institution's practices and procedures. The significance of ethical climate appears when an institution decides to introduce a code of conduct in an attempt to control unethical conduct. The introduction of codes of conduct may not be as effective in an ethical climate of caring, warmth and support, as it would be in a climate of rules and professionalism. Therefore, an ethics management strategy must be tailored to an institution's ethical climate to enhance its effectiveness.

Trevino, Butterfield and McCabe (1998:447-476) clarify the conceptual muddiness that seems to exit when a distinction is made between ethical climate and ethical culture. To them these dimensions are closely related. Ethical climate is associated with attitudes, tells people what the organisational values are and influences decision-making and behaviour indirectly. Ethical culture, on the other hand, influences behaviour more directly and is observed in an institution's formal and informal control systems, including its rules, reward system and norms.

Whereas a study on the ethical climate within the Department of Correctional Services would no doubt prove useful in respect of ethics management strategies, this study is concerned with the ethical culture dimension – that dimension that stimulates ethical conduct. In this respect, Kaptein (2008:24) similarly suggests that a causal relationship between ethics management strategies and the virtues of ethical culture exist. Not only do the virtues of ethical culture influence ethical and unethical conduct, but also, different ethics management strategies influence ethical cultural virtues in different ways. For example, the introduction of codes of conduct may have a greater influence on the virtue of clarity than on the virtue of discussability.

Kaptein's (2008:5-10) virtues of ethical culture provide a useful conceptual framework for this study and the development of questionnaire items. A brief description of these virtues follows. The organisational virtue of clarity refers to the normative expectations regarding the conduct of employees. In the event that employees are not given concrete, comprehensive and understandable guidelines that direct their behaviour, the risk of unethical conduct increases. Vague or unclear moral expectations leave employees to act under their own discretion, providing scope for excuses and rationalisations.

Even when institutions establish clear normative expectations in codes of conduct, management behaviour as a source of moral guidance could contradict these normative expectations. When management behaviour is inconsistent with the normative values of integrity and ethics, subordinates perceive moral ambiguity. Managers should visibly act in accordance with the normative values of the institution. A distinction should be made between this virtue of congruence of managers, and the virtue of congruence of supervisors. Whereas supervisors refer to the direct managers of respondents, managers refer to all managerial levels higher than that of the supervisor.

The organisational virtue of feasibility is another useful indicator for the purposes of this study. Kaptein hypothesises that when employees do not have adequate time, budgets, equipment, information and authority to execute their responsibilities, the risk of unethical conduct increases. When excessively high targets are set for employees, the risk of malfeasance tends to increase. The virtue of supportability refers to the extent that employees are motivated and satisfied. Dissatisfied and unmotivated employees are more likely to behave unethically. Employees that feel that they are treated poorly will attempt to balance the scales of justice by deliberately damaging the institution.

The organisational virtue of transparency refers to the extent to which managers are able to observe unethical conduct and its consequences for its employees, and *vice versa*. It also refers to the extent to which employees can observe unethical conduct and its consequences among themselves. High levels of transparency not only expose unethical conduct, but also act as a deterrent due to the perceived probability of getting caught. The organisational virtue of discussability refers to the extent to which employees can raise and discuss ethical issues. If employees are expected to report perceived transgressions, they should perceive their working environments as a secure place where moral issues can be raised and discussed.

The organisational virtue of sanctionability refers to the extent to which employees perceive that unethical conduct will go unpunished, thus perceptions of impunity. Simultaneously, if employees perceive that they will not be rewarded for ethical conduct, they will be less willing to act ethically. Therefore, the virtue of sanctionability refers to both the extent to which employees are rewarded and sanctioned for their ethical behaviour.

These eight virtues were used as indicators in the questionnaire that was distributed among respondents during the fieldwork. It was earlier argued that a causal relationship between the ethics policies and practices, and the organisational culture exists, more specifically virtues of ethical culture. This researcher proposes that the effectiveness of the ethics policies of the Department of Correctional Services is contingent upon the presence of these virtues. For example, the introduction of a whistle blowing line will not be effective unless

it is coupled with the virtues of discussability and sanctions. Unless employees are willing to report malfeasance through a whistle blowing mechanism, and expect the perpetrators to be punished, this new ethics management strategy would be limited in its effectiveness.

The significance of the above indicators (or organisational virtues) of discussability, transparency, sanctions, congruence of supervisors and managers, clarity, feasibility, supportability are supported by a number of other research findings. In empirical research by Liddle, Svensson and Wood (2009: 364-379), they identify the importance of stakeholders' engagement in drafting a code of ethics, commitment by board members and senior managers to ethical concerns, and the importance of communicating ethics policies to both internal and external stakeholders, to establishing an ethical culture. These issues have much in common with the virtues of clarity, congruence of supervisors and managers, discussability, clients and coalitions, and supportability (see also Frederickson & Ghere 2005:25-31).

In pursuit of an ethical organisational culture, Rossouw *et al.* (2008:130-141) refers to the establishment of a rule-based approach or a value-based approach to managing ethics. A value-based approach comprises an integrity strategy, communicating moral expectations with employees, visible punishing offenders, ethics training, and appraising ethics performance of employees by making it a stand-alone key performance area. An integrity strategy depends much on senior officials to demonstrate their commitment to their own conduct. Similarly, the virtues of clarity, congruence, discussability, sanctions, transparency are reflected in their work. Furthermore, within the context of management reform and greater decision-making authority given to public officials, Rossouw *et al.*'s (2008:134-135) reference to aspirational and directional codes has application. Aspirational codes are less binding than directional codes, and provide greater decision-making discretion for officials. Of course, contingent on the ethical culture in a specific institution, these codes serve different purposes.

Menzel (2005:27) in turn refers to resource scarcity and overwhelming workload demands as determinants of ethical conduct within institutions. It is argued that greater workload and resource scarcity creates an environment for cheating to occur, similar to Kaptein's virtue of feasibility. Holtshauzen (2009:234-246) defines organisational trust as a pre-requisite for whistle-blowing to be effective in public institutions. If employees do not experience a measure of trust and support amongst their colleagues, they would be less likely to blow the whistle – the indicator of supportability.

It was decided to make use of existing questionnaires for this study. The questionnaires of Kaptein proved extremely useful, but also those of Akaah (1992), Van Tankeren (2007), Kotlhoff (2007), and Lasthuizen (2008). Standard questionnaire items were adapted to fit the working environment of the

Department of Correctional Services and could be viewed in sections C, D and E of the attached questionnaire.

The section on the biographical information of respondents (section G) required new development. In particular, the post levels, post titles, and places of work needed to be defined. The Department of Correctional Services' unique organisational structure needed attention. For this reason, a meeting with the Department's work study officers was held in Pretoria to clarify the organisational structure of the Department. The Department consists at the highest level of regions, below that management areas, and lastly divisions within the management areas. The post titles of the Department did not adequately reflect their job functions, so it was decided to omit these post titles. The respondents' division would satisfy the requirements for the purpose of this research project.

In addition to the eight indicators discussed above, it was decided to include two additional indicators: clients and coalitions, and management reform. Questionnaire items were developed for these indicators. There was reason to believe that unions played a significant role in the activities of the Department. The Jali Commission found that union involvement has a detrimental effect on the activities of the Department, including its appointment processes. Consequently, it was decided to investigate what the role of labour unions is in respect of ethics management strategies.

Management reform comprised the second additional indicator. Management reform embraces trends on *inter alia* the decentralisation of control over resources, outputs and outcomes, the use of performance management and key performance areas for individual public officials, the increased use of auditing practices, greater role of the market and the contracting out of services, and a greater focus on results and outcome rather than input and compliance (Van der Walt *et al.* 2002:142, Kolthoff 2007:132-134). It is in particular the absence of internal control measures that increases the opportunities for malfeasance (Heath 1999:53-54). The Auditor-General's reports have identified the lack of internal control and have attributed it *inter alia* to the shortage of qualified and experienced employees.

Management reform has been widely criticised by many scholars for its affect on corruption and malfeasance. Some criticise management reform for the blunt implementation of management reform in developing states, in particular considering their lack of capacity. Others point to the growing evidence of corruption due to moving many traditional public sector functions to the private sector, and appointing individuals to public office who are inclined to act and think like business people. Management reform is sometimes simply criticised for its rhetorical nature, bringing about little, if any, improvements in the provision of public services (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2004, Frederickson 1997:157-182, Hughes 2003:218-235).

It was decided to include two sections at the beginning of the questionnaire. Section A attempts to determine the personal motives and opinions of respondents. In many publications it is argued that personal financial problems, specifically poor remuneration levels contribute to malfeasance (Stapenhurst & Langseth 1997:320-321, Rose-Ackerman 1999:72, Clapper 1999:387-388, cf. Kuye *et al.* 2002:192-214 & World Bank 2000). The section on personal motives assessed whether this could indeed be a contributory factor. The phenomenon of cultural relativism was the objective of the section on personal opinions. This phenomenon proposes that segments within society, because of cultural values, view some forms of corruption and fraud as acceptable. This researcher wanted to establish whether grounds for such assumptions exist (see Kurer 2005:235-236).

Section B focuses on the observations, experiences and perceptions of employees of unethical conduct within their immediate working environment. Initially it was thought that respondents would not honestly answer questionnaire items on malfeasance. This would certainly, it was thought, expose their corrupt and fraudulent dealings. However, questionnaire items are formulated in such a fashion that respondents are asked to provide their answers based on 'their immediate working environment'. Of course, the respondents were also told that the questionnaire was anonymous. This alleviated the fear that respondents would not answer items honestly. Data from this section would serve as an indicator of the level of perceived malfeasance in the Department. This baseline information could be compared with culmination data if the same survey is repeated in the next five years.

In Section F, the researcher attempted to determine to what extent employees of the Department is knowledgeable of its disciplinary code. This section should be read in conjunction with the indicators of clarity (section D), transparency and sanctions (section C). If the data confirms that respondents are knowledgeable of the penalties for malfeasance, they would be less likely to engage in such conduct.

This questionnaire could also be used as an index. Indexes are composite measures of indicators and could be used as a data analysis device. An index is used to rank-order units of analysis. For example, effectiveness of ethics policies of more than one department could be measured in terms of the above-mentioned indicators. The attributes of each indicator are determined by the responses of respondents to various questionnaire items. An index is then constructed through the simple accumulation of scores assigned to individual attributes. A further refinement of this index could lead to the establishment of a scale. Whereas indexes measure a number of indicators without taking into consideration their relative weight in relation to the variable under study, scales recognises this feature. The researcher might believe that a particular indicator should carry a greater weight than other indicators in the scale (Babbie

& Mouton 2007:136-139). For the purpose of this study, neither of these data analysis devices will be elaborated on.

In finalising the questionnaire design, a number of considerations were considered. As the questionnaire was adapted from existing questionnaires, many of the items were simply adapted to the study population. Nevertheless, care was taken to ensure that additional items would comply with the criterion of face validity, thus items must on face value relate with the indicator that is being measured. For example, the questionnaire item '*When you report misconduct, it will always be investigated*' should on face value represent the indicator of sanctions (see section C5). Of course, developing a measurement instrument to collect data on the unit of analysis is an ongoing process and would need continual refinement to provide for a greater measure of validity (Babbie & Mouton 2007:139).

Pre-testing the questionnaire

To detect and avoid errors in the questionnaire before the start of the fieldwork, it was decided to administer it beforehand to a pre-selected group of individuals. The questionnaire was pre-tested in December 2008 among six employees within the Directorate: Code Enforcement based at the Department's head office. No changes to the questionnaire were deemed necessary.

Sampling

Social science researchers are often confronted with a study population too large to observe. It therefore becomes necessary to identify a sample for research purposes. If all members of the study population were identical, in terms of their behaviour, expectations and attitudes, it would be unnecessary to undertake a carefully constructed sampling procedure. In such a case any sample would be sufficient as any group of respondents would be representative of the total population.

Of course, this is not the case, as no study population is entirely homogeneous. It was therefore necessary to attempt to sample management areas that were representative of the study population, and thus share the same attributes, or even share the same variations. When this is done, the researcher can make observations and generalise from the sample to the study population.

Researchers are often subject to conscious and unconscious bias when selecting a sample. During planning for fieldwork, one is often confronted with the limitations of time and money, and could easily be lured into identifying a sample that would take as little resources possible to observe. This bias would

result in a sample that is not representative of the study population and would ultimately distort the research findings. Both non-probability and probability sampling methods were used in this research study (Babbie & Mouton 2007:164-203). Probability sampling refers to identifying a sample of respondents that will be representative of the population from which it is selected when all members of the population have an equal chance of being selected. Conversely, non-probability sampling refers to a method by which the researcher identifies a sample based on his knowledge of the elements and attributes of the study population.

The study population was identified as those employees working at the 48 Management Areas located in the six regions of the Department. Included in the study population were the employees working at the Regional Commissioner's Office based in each of the six regions which are the Eastern Cape-, Free State and Northern Cape-, Gauteng-, Kwa Zulu Natal-, Mpumalanga, North West and Limpopo-, and Western Cape regions.

Considering the purpose and limitations of this study, it was decided to use the purposive sampling method (see Babbie & Mouton 2007:166-167). Only two of the six regions were selected: one located primarily in urban areas, and another located primarily in rural areas. The Gauteng region was selected as it was close to the place of work of the researcher and represented management areas located in an urban area. The Mpumalanga, North West and Limpopo region was selected as it was also relatively close to the researcher's place of work and represented management areas in rural areas. Both regions contained eight management areas each. The Gauteng region consists of the Boksburg, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Leeuwkop, Baviaanspoort, Krugersdorp, Zonderwater, and Modderbee Management Areas. The Mpumalanga, North West and Limpopo region consists of Barberton, Bethal, Thohoyandou, Witbank, Rooigrond, Rustenburg, Polokwane, Klerksdorp Management Areas.

The sixteen management areas were identified as the sampling frame. The names of each of the sixteen management areas were recorded on separate cards. As all management areas have the same organisational structure, and therefore the same general attributes, the simple random sampling method was used (see Babbie & Mouton 2007:189-190). Only six management areas were identified – three from each region. The sample consisted of the following management areas: Leeuwkop-, Baviaanspoort-, and Boksburg Management areas (Gauteng Region), and Barberton-, Bethal-, and Thohoyandou Management Areas (Mpumalanga, North West and Limpopo Region).

The Leeuwkop Management Area, sampled for the purpose of this study, was also subject to investigation by the Jali Commission of Inquiry in 2002 (Jali Commission of Inquiry 2002:74-75). Findings by the Jali Commission will be compared with findings from this survey.

Fieldwork

As this sample was different from those management areas listed in the research application, an additional written request was made to add the six sampled management areas. After approval was obtained, the Department sent a fax to the Area Commissioners of the relevant Management Areas. Various options for administering the questionnaire were considered. The questionnaire could have been distributed with standard mail, a telephone interview, use of the e-mail, or in person. Considering the attributes of the unit of observation, it was believed that a questionnaire posted, either in standard format or by e-mail, would not provide a significant feedback. The Department of Correctional Services is by nature a 'closed' institution considering their purpose. It was decided that the researcher should personally visit the management areas. The advantages were numerous. This would substantially increase the response rate and provide the researcher with an 'insider perspective', much in the same fashion as qualitative studies. This researcher recorded many personal conversations, facial impressions, and general attitudes during his time 'in prison'. This would not have been the case if the survey were conducted by mail. Of course, this method of administering the questionnaire was time consuming and physically taxing – moving from one unit in the prison to another. This, however, would be the only method by which reliable data would be obtained.

This correspondence was followed up by a fax and/or a telephone call from the researcher to confirm a suitable date and time for the visit to the management areas. In most cases, the contact person was the Area Co-ordinator: Corporate Services. On arrival at the various Management Areas, the researcher was met by the Area-Coordinator: Corporate Services. At this point, the research purposes were explained and a member of the Department was assigned to escort the researcher through the different sections and units within the prison. It was soon realised that the response rate on the questionnaire would depend on the active involvement of the researcher in the data collection process. The copies of the questionnaire could not be dropped off at a central point and be collected at a later stage. Members of the Department were in some cases reluctant to complete the questionnaire. They were under the impression that the survey was conducted on instruction from the head office. This was particularly evident at the Barberton Management Area, which seems to harbour negative feelings toward the Department's top management in Pretoria. Others believed that the research was conducted with the intent to apply the Occupation Specific Dispensation – a contentious matter in the Department aimed at increasing the salaries of officials. Nonetheless, the researcher was obligated to explain the research to every unit member in every section of the correctional centre, and within all the correctional centres inside the management area.

Another obstacle appeared during the fieldwork. Officials were in the process of completing their *Performance Management Booklets* for the purpose of the Department's performance evaluation process. In some instances, officials were reluctant to complete the questionnaires, as they had to complete the Booklets. However, a conversation with the human resource practitioner at the Piet Retief Correctional Centre – within the Bethal Management Area, justified the personal visits to the management areas, rather than by mail. The performance evaluation exercise was superficial as all the officials at the correctional centre scored top ratings. This remark places the entire performance management system of the Department in doubt. Such a system is required to be an efficient tool available for supervisors to administer a system of rewards and discipline, particularly in respect of ethics management.

The field work started on 23 March 2009 and ended on 7 May 2009, a period of more or less six and a half weeks. During this period, the researcher travelled to more than twenty different correctional centres located in the six sampled management areas within 3 provinces of South Africa. Furthermore, it took between two to four hours to administer the questionnaire to those officials on duty - depending on the size of the correctional centre.

Response rate

A total of 818 respondents completed the ethics management questionnaire (see the sections of the questionnaire in Tables 1.1 – 1.7). As a total of 4163 public officials work in the sample, this translates to a response rate of 19,64%. A total of 24200 offenders are incarcerated in the six management areas set out as follows: Baviaanspoort, 2113; Boksburg, 4804; Leeuwkop, 5066; Barberton, 4181; Bethal, 2602; and Thohoyandou, 5434.

Table 1.1 Personal motives and personal opinions

A:	The following section deals with your personal views and opinions. Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each statement. Please circle the number that best reflects your choice.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
PERSONAL MOTIVES						
1.	You believe you are adequately remunerated for your employment	1	2	3	4	5
2.	You engage in additional forms of work after hours to ensure a decent standard of living	1	2	3	4	5
3.	Your remuneration compares favourably to that earned by other people with similar experience and skills	1	2	3	4	5
PERSONAL OPINIONS						
4.	You perceive corruption to be a problem in the Department of Correctional Services	1	2	3	4	5
5.	Nepotism (appointing of family and friends) is acceptable in my culture and should be allowed in certain cases	1	2	3	4	5
6.	Accepting bribes in exchange for a favour should be permitted	1	2	3	4	5
7.	Fraud is unacceptable and should be punished by the department	1	2	3	4	5
8.	Using the work telephone during office hours for private purposes is unacceptable and should be punished	1	2	3	4	5
9.	It is acceptable to assist offenders to obtain illegal substances	1	2	3	4	5

Table 1.2 Offenders' role in corruption, external service providers' role, general corruption

<p>B:</p> <p>Your own observations, experiences and perceptions of unethical conduct in your immediate working environment.</p> <p>Please <u>circle</u> the number that best reflects your choice.</p>
OFFENDERS' ROLE IN CORRUPTION
1. You have observed <i>an offender</i> offer a bribe to a colleague in exchange for a favour
2. You have observed a colleague extort money from <i>an offender</i>
3. You often observe offenders with illegal substances in the correctional centre
4. You have been offered a bribe by <i>an offender</i> in exchange for a personal favour
EXTERNAL SERVICE PROVIDERS' ROLE IN CORRUPTION
5. You have been offered a bribe by <i>an external service provider</i> in exchange for a personal favour
6. You have observed <i>an external service provider</i> offer a bribe to a colleague in exchange for a favour
7. You have observed a colleague extort money from <i>an external service provider</i>
GENERAL CORRUPTION
8. You have observed fraud, for example submission of false expense claims for reimbursement.
9. You have observed nepotism, such as the appointment of family/ friends to posts within the department

Table 1.3 Observations, experiences and perceptions of the organisational culture: Sanctions, transparency, discussability

C: Your own observations, experiences and perceptions of the organizational culture in your immediate working environment. Please circle the number that best reflects your choice.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
SANCTIONS					
1. Misconduct will always be punished after an internal disciplinary inquiry	1	2	3	4	5
2. Your manager will also be disciplined if he/ she behaves unethically	1	2	3	4	5
3. Employees who act with honesty and integrity stand a better chance of receiving a positive performance appraisal	1	2	3	4	5
4. Employees who are guilty of misconduct are not punished harshly enough	1	2	3	4	5
5. When you report misconduct it will always be investigated	1	2	3	4	5
6. Your supervisor often acknowledges you for ethical conduct (honesty, integrity, reliability, and so on)	1	2	3	4	5
7. In your immediate working environment, you are held accountable for your actions	1	2	3	4	5
8. Colleagues who act unethically often get away without being punished	1	2	3	4	5
9. Only people with integrity are considered for promotion	1	2	3	4	5
10. Your supervisor is often unwilling to discipline misconduct	1	2	3	4	5
TRANSPARENCY					
11. When a colleague acts unethically, you or another colleague will find out about it	1	2	3	4	5
12. When my manager acts unethically, the institution will find out about it	1	2	3	4	5
13. When a colleague acts unethically, my supervisor will find out about it	1	2	3	4	5
14. There is adequate awareness of the potential effect of unethical conduct	1	2	3	4	5

C: Your own observations, experiences and perceptions of the organizational culture in your immediate working environment. Please circle the number that best reflects your choice.						
		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
15.	Management is aware of the type of unethical conduct that occurs	1	2	3	4	5
16.	Adequate checks are carried out to detect unethical conduct	1	2	3	4	5
DISCUSSABILITY						
17.	When you report misconduct, you will be protected from victimisation	1	2	3	4	5
18.	You supervisor encourages you to report misconduct	1	2	3	4	5
19.	You are afraid to report corruption to the authorities	1	2	3	4	5
20.	You will report your supervisor if he/she engages in misconduct	1	2	3	4	5
21.	You will report your colleague if he/she engages in misconduct	1	2	3	4	5
22.	In your immediate working environment, corruption and bribery is not always reported to the authorities	1	2	3	4	5
23.	You would rather report unethical conduct to the anonymous National Anti-Corruption Hotline	1	2	3	4	5
24.	You would rather report misconduct to the Departmental Investigating Unit at Head Office	1	2	3	4	5
25.	You would rather report misconduct to the investigating officer based at your correctional centre/ management area	1	2	3	4	5
26.	You would rather report misconduct to your supervisor	1	2	3	4	5
27.	In your working environment, there is adequate scope to discuss unethical conduct	1	2	3	4	5
28.	You would rather report misconduct to an external institution like the Special Investigating Unit	1	2	3	4	5
29.	In your immediate working environment, personal opinions are expressed freely	1	2	3	4	5

Table 1.4 Observations, experiences and perceptions of the organisational culture: Feasibility, congruence of supervisors, congruence of senior managers, clarity

D: Your own observations, experiences and perceptions of the organizational culture in your immediate working environment. Please circle the number that best reflects your choice.		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
FEASIBILITY						
1.	You have adequate time to execute your responsibilities properly	1	2	3	4	5
2.	You have adequate resources to carry out your responsibilities properly	1	2	3	4	5
3.	Work pressure forces you to do things you normally would not do	1	2	3	4	5
4.	You have adequate authority to carry out your duties responsibly	1	2	3	4	5
CONGRUENCE OF SUPERVISORS						
5.	Your supervisor is committed to acting ethically and with integrity	1	2	3	4	5
6.	Your supervisor often communicates the importance of ethical conduct	1	2	3	4	5
7.	Your supervisor would never approve or support unethical conduct	1	2	3	4	5
8.	Your supervisor is honest and reliable	1	2	3	4	5
CONGRUENCE OF SENIOR MANAGERS						
9.	The senior management of the Department sets a good example in terms of ethical conduct	1	2	3	4	5
10.	The conduct of senior management always reflects the principles of honesty and integrity as contained in the Code of Conduct	1	2	3	4	5
11.	The senior management always communicates the importance of ethical conduct	1	2	3	4	5
12.	The senior management would never allow unethical conduct	1	2	3	4	5

D: Your own observations, experiences and perceptions of the organizational culture in your immediate working environment. Please circle the number that best reflects your choice.		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	
13.	The senior management would never be guilty of corruption, fraud or nepotism	1	2	3	4	5	64
CLARITY							
14.	The Department makes it sufficiently clear to you how you should conduct yourself towards offenders	1	2	3	4	5	65
15.	The Department makes it sufficiently clear how you should behave while on duty (e.g. not to operate a money lending scheme, not to sleep, not to breach security measures)	1	2	3	4	5	66
16.	You know what is expected in terms of the Department's code of conduct	1	2	3	4	5	67
17.	The Department makes it sufficiently clear what conduct constitutes fraud, corruption and/or theft	1	2	3	4	5	68
18.	The Department makes it sufficiently clear how you should apply for normal leave and sick leave and the conditions attached thereto	1	2	3	4	5	69
19.	The Department makes it sufficiently clear what penalties will be imposed for various forms of unethical conduct	1	2	3	4	5	70
20.	The Department makes it sufficiently clear when, how and to whom you should report cases of misconduct	1	2	3	4	5	71
21.	The Department makes it sufficiently clear what conduct constitutes nepotism	1	2	3	4	5	72
22.	The Department makes it sufficiently clear how you should conduct yourself towards external service providers	1	2	3	4	5	73
23.	The Department has made it sufficiently clear what the Vetting policy stipulates	1	2	3	4	5	74
24.	The Department has made it sufficiently clear what the Disclosure of Financial Interest, as contained in the Public Service Regulations of 2001, requires	1	2	3	4	5	75

Table 1.5 Observations, experiences and perceptions of the organisational culture: Supportability, clients and coalitions, management reform

E: Your own observations, experiences and perceptions of the organisational culture in your immediate working environment. Please circle the number that best reflects your choice.		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
SUPPORTABILITY						
1.	Everyone is committed to the values and norms of the Department	1	2	3	4	5
2.	An atmosphere of respect and mutual trust exists	1	2	3	4	5
3.	Everyone has the best interests of the Department at heart	1	2	3	4	5
4.	Mutual trust exists between the employees and management	1	2	3	4	5
5.	You are treated fairly	1	2	3	4	5
6.	Work is distributed equally	1	2	3	4	5
7.	You enjoy your work	1	2	3	4	5
CLIENTS & COALITIONS						
8.	Your union often encourages you to conduct yourselves with integrity and to act ethically	1	2	3	4	5
9.	Your union often reminds you of your obligations in terms of Resolution 1 of 2006	1	2	3	4	5
10.	Your union encourages you to report fraud and corruption to the authorities	1	2	3	4	5
11.	Union leaders are always honest and act with integrity	1	2	3	4	5
12.	Unions would never cover up members' unethical conduct	1	2	3	4	5
13.	Unions often oppose disciplinary action against their members	1	2	3	4	5
14.	Your union has greater influence over decision making than your line manager	1	2	3	4	5

E: Your own observations, experiences and perceptions of the organisational culture in your immediate working environment. Please circle the number that best reflects your choice.		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	
MANAGEMENT REFORM							
15.	There are adequate controls to ensure that you comply with Departmental policies and procedures	1	2	3	4	5	90
16.	Senior management often emphasises the importance of complying with Departmental policies and procedures	1	2	3	4	5	91
17.	My supervisor is more concerned with treating offenders with dignity and respect, than with compliance with policies and procedures	1	2	3	4	5	92
18.	The major responsibility of employees in this Department is to control costs	1	2	3	4	5	93
19.	My supervisor gives me freedom to make my own day to day operational decisions, without getting his/her approval first	1	2	3	4	5	94
20.	My supervisor compares my performance with key performance indicators at least every six months	1	2	3	4	5	95
21.	I have been given a growing measure of decision making authority when making financial decisions	1	2	3	4	5	96
22.	My supervisor regularly checks my work performance	1	2	3	4	5	97
23.	Senior management often does not comply with Departmental policies and procedures	1	2	3	4	5	98
24.	My supervisor often emphasises the importance of complying with Departmental policies and procedures	1	2	3	4	5	99
25.	You have been given a growing measure of decision making authority when making human resource decisions	1	2	3	4	5	100

Table 1.6 Department's disciplinary code

F: THE FOLLOWING SECTION DEALS WITH THE DEPARTMENT'S DISCIPLINARY CODE Please circle the number that best reflects your choice.		YES	NO	Don't know	
1.	A final writing warning is valid for three months	1	2	3	101
2.	You may be demoted if you are found guilty for misconduct	1	2	3	102
3.	A final writing warning must be kept on your personal file until you resign/ retire	1	2	3	103
4.	You may be dismissed if you are absent from work for a period of more than 30 days without permission or notifying the Department	1	2	3	104

Table 1.7 Biographic information

G: BIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Please state your

1. Age					
18 or younger	1	36 – 45	4	66 – 75	7
19 – 25	2	45 – 55	5	75 or older	8
26 – 35	3	55 – 65	6		9

2. Race	
White	1
Black	2
Indian	3
Coloured	4
Asian	5
Other	6
Please specify	

105

106

3. Gender				
Male	1		Female	2
				107

4. Highest Qualification				
No formal schooling	1	Grade 9 / Standard 7 / Form II	4	Grade 12 / Standard 10 / Form V
Primary school	2	Grade 10 / Standard 8 / Form III	5	Post-matric technical qualification
Grade 8 / Standard 6 / Form I	3	Grade 11 / Standard 9 / Form IV	6	Degree / Diploma

5. Years of service in the Department of Correctional services	
Years	Months

109-112

6. Post Level		
	Level	Coding
COLII	5	1
COLI	6	2
COI	7	3
SCO	8	4
AD	9-10	5
DD	11-12	6
D	13	7
DC	14	8
CDC	15	9
C	16	10

Other: Please specify

7. In WHICH DIVISION are you currently employed?	
Correctional Centre: Operational Support	1
Correctional Centre: Corrections	2
Correctional Centre: Staff Support	3
Area Coordinator: Finance: Financial and Management Accounting	4
Area Coordinator: Finance: Supply Chain Management	5
Area Coordinator: Corporate Services	6
Area Coordinator: Development and Care	7
Area Coordinator: Corrections	8
Community Corrections	9
Correctional Supervision and Parole Board	10
Regional Coordinator: Finance	11
Regional Coordinator: Corporate Services	12
Regional Coordinator: Development and Care	13
Regional Coordinator: Corrections	14
Head Office: Finance	15
Head Office: Corporate Services	16
Head Office: Corrections	17
Head Office: Development and Care	18
Head Office: Central Services	19
Head Office: Operations Management and Support	20

Other: Please specify

8. Please indicate WHERE you are currently employed	
A Correctional Centre	1
Community Corrections	2
An Area Commissioner's Office	3
A Regional Commissioner's Office	4
The Head Office in Pretoria	5

Other: Please specify

9. Region		118
Eastern Cape	1	
Western Cape	2	
Northern Cape & Free State	3	
Gauteng	4	
Limpopo, Mpumalanga & North West	5	
KwaZulu-Natal	6	
Head Office	7	

10. Are you a member of a union?		119
Yes	1	No

11. Management Area		120-121
Allandale Management Area	1	Malmesbury Management Area
Barberton Management Area	2	Middeldrift Management Area
Baviaanspoort Management Area	3	Modderbee Management Area
Bethal Management Area	4	Ncome(Kandaspunt) Management Area
Boksburg Management Area	5	Oudtshoorn Management Area
Brandvlei Management Area	6	Pietermaritzburg Management Area
Colesberg Management Area	7	Pollsmoor Management Area
Cradock Management Area	8	Polokwane Management Area
Drakenstein Management Area	9	Pretoria Management Area
Durban Management Area	10	Rooigrond Management Area

11. Management Area			
East London Management Area	11	Rustenburg Management Area	39
Empangeni Management Area	12	Sada Management Area	40
Glencoe Management Area	13	St Albans Management Area	41
Goedemoed Management Area	14	Thohoyandou Management Area	42
Goodwood Management Area	15	Umtata Management Area	43
Groenpunt Management Area	16	Upington Management Area	44
Grootvlei Management Area	17	Voorberg Management Area	45
Head Office (Pretoria)	18	Waterval Management Area	46
Helderstroom Management Area	19	Witbank Management Area	47
Johannesburg Management Area	20	Worcester Management Area	48
Kimberley Management Area	21	Zonderwater Management Area	49
Kirkwood Management Area	22	Regional Commissioner: Eastern Cape	50
Klerksdorp Management Area	23	Regional Commissioner: Free State & Northern Cape	51
Kokstad Management Area	24	Regional Commissioner: Gauteng	52
Kroonstad Management Area	25	Regional Commissioner: KwaZulu-Natal	53
Krugersdorp Management Area	26	Regional Commissioner: Mpumalanga/ North West/ Limpopo	54
Leeuwkop Management Area	27	Regional Commissioner: Western Cape	55
Lusikisiki Management Area	28		

CONCLUSION

Data collection methods in the qualitative methodological paradigm enabled the researcher to gain insider knowledge of the study objective. At the beginning of the research process, the researcher was unfamiliar with the object of study. These research methods proved useful in an effort to explore the context of the Department, its internal structure and role players. Interviews, observation and documentary evidence were used as data collection methods.

However, the main thrust of the research design is found within the quantitative methodological paradigm. A questionnaire was designed for the purpose of the survey. It was argued that the effectiveness of ethics management policies and practices is contingent on the existence of an ethical culture within the Department. This conceptualisation process required the identification of indicators for measuring ethical culture, which include the sanctions, congruence of values of managers and supervisors, discussability, transparency, clarity, feasibility and supportability. The data collected with this questionnaire would indicate the extent to which the department promotes an ethical culture and stimulates ethical behaviour.

By identifying a sample and administering a survey to this sample, the researcher was enabled to make observations and generalisations in respect of the study population. For this study, a sample of six management areas within 2 regions of the Department was identified which included Leeuwkop-, Boksburg-, Baviaanspoort-, Bethal-, Barberton, and Thohoyandou Management Areas. The questionnaire was personally administered by this researcher with visits to the above mentioned management areas. A total of 818 completed questionnaires were submitted translating to a response rate of 19,64%.

In this article, the conceptualisation of the research design and its implementation is described. This article will hopefully serve as a guideline to other researchers in pursuing their research interests. As the length of this article was limited, the research findings will be interpreted in a follow-up publication.

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A framework for work integrated learning in Public Administration and Management departments

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to investigate the process of work-integrated learning in the Department of Public Administration and Management at Unisa for benchmarking implementation at other 'comprehensive' higher education institutions in South Africa. This needs to take into consideration the different conditions of two former distance education institutions, a former technikon and a traditional university that merged and consequently became known as a comprehensive university.

In this research, an exploratory single case strategy was employed. The focus of the exploration is on the implementation of the principles of adult learning theories, such as constructivist learning, learning style flexibility, co-operative learning and self-regulated learning. Furthermore, it includes an investigation of the different roles of the lecturer; the design and development of effective work -integrated learning programmes; the implementation of such programmes by means of facilitating learning and assessing students' mastering of outcomes. Qualitative data collection was done through text analysis – specifically the process chronological thematic portfolios submitted by the students as part of their summative assessment. To gain primary data, some interviews were carried out, making use of semi-structured questions. Apart from these data collection methods, other related published literature, official documents and web-based documents were studied to explore the work-integrated learning execution procedure, research method and report organisation.

The acquired knowledge has been partly adapted and adopted by the Department of Public Administration at Unisa. The main implication of this case study is the need to explore how other Public Administration departments at South African universities can efficiently and effectively adapt and adopt such knowledge for work-integrated learning. This study represents a knowledge gap and offers practical assistance to Public Administration departments to leverage lecturer's skills and expertise together with their students and consequently to maintain and enhance their work integrated capability.

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH PROCESS

South Africa is faced with a major problem of unemployment, especially among the youth and there is a need to alleviate the high levels of unemployment among young graduates. The South African public sector has the perception that Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) do not prepare students adequately for the world of work. Learning takes place in a variety of forms. Lecturers must understand that they have to fulfil a number of roles so as to assist students in achieving their full potential.

Furthermore, the higher education sector in South Africa has gone through a merger process; in some cases former technikons merged with other technikons (such as Tshwane University of Technology) and in other instances traditional universities merged with technikons to become known as comprehensive universities (e.g. the University of South Africa which now includes the former Technikon Southern Africa, Vudec and the University of South Africa). All three of these Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) focused on distance learning. In addition to the aforementioned challenges in equipping students for the work environment, a range of government programmes, such as the internship programme and HEIs were implemented by incorporating work-integrated learning in core programmes.

The question that needs to be answered for the purposes of this article is whether a teaching and learning framework such as the one that is implemented by the Department of Public Administration and Management (PAM) at the University of South Africa can successfully facilitate the entire learning process and whether Unisa's model for work-integrated learning can serve as a benchmark for other PAM departments in South Africa. The Department of Public Administration and Management, as the research setting

for this article, is situated within the College of Economic and Management Sciences and both the department and the college are guided by Unisa policies and guidelines. This exploratory embedded single case was theoretically underpinned on the knowledge gained by studying primarily reports on the outcome of a literature study that aims to explore the extent to which the current teaching and learning framework promotes effective outcomes-based learning.

Based on an exploratory approach, this article addresses the research questions and provides recommendations relating to the existing framework, the roles of the lecturer as well as the importance of curriculum development and assessment.

An explorative investigation is an approach typical of researchers when examining a new interest or when the subject of the study is a fairly new or persistent phenomenon. Exploratory studies are most likely done to:

- satisfy the researcher's desire to understand the subject under study better;
- test the viability of undertaking a more comprehensive study;
- develop methods that could be used in subsequent studies;
- clarify central concepts and constructs of a study;
- establish priorities for future research and
- develop new hypotheses about an existing phenomenon (Babbie & Mouton 2001:79-80).

Sellitz *et al.* in Babbie and Mouton (2001:80) accentuate three methods for conducting exploratory research:

- a review of pertinent literature and other related social science;
- a survey of people that have had practical exposure to the problem under study and
- an examination of "insight-stimulating" examples.

Exploratory studies aim to lead to a better understanding and insight rather than the collection of detailed and replicable data. Exploratory studies regularly use in-depth interviews, the analysis of case studies and informants.

Mouton, Auriaccombe and Lutabingwa (2006:580) state that the aim of *qualitative data* is not to provide generalisations about the specified population but to uncover new ideas from or hidden feelings/beliefs of respondents. Qualitative data collection is usually done with small numbers of respondents using unstructured interviews. The methods can include focus groups, one-on-one in-depth interviews and observational methods.

By drawing on theories in literature that relate to work-integrated learning and the learning process, the research objectives are aimed at providing the following:

- An exploration of the scope of work-integrated learning and the learning process through an overview of relevant policies and literature in order to describe relevant concepts.
- An exploration of conceptual knowledge of the variables influencing the work-integrated learning module through the application of a literature study of the concepts and theories of learning styles, adult learning theories and assessment practice so as to describe the process currently applied by the Department of Public Administration and Management.
- A consideration of the insights that the body of knowledge on work-integrated learning, learning styles and adult learning theories and the role of the lecturer in the process reveal. This is done with a view to making proposals and identifying potential further steps that have to be taken for the successful implementation of the work-integrated learning framework within an open distance learning environment.

THE IMPORTANCE OF A WORK INTEGRATED LEARNING FRAMEWORK

The Higher Education Qualifications Framework (2007) states the following: *“Some qualifications will be designed to incorporate periods of required work that integrate classroom study. Where work integrated learning is a structured part of a qualification the volume of learning allocated to WIL should be appropriate to the purpose of the qualification and to the cognitive demands of the learning outcome and assessment criteria contained in the appropriate level descriptors”.*

The *Criteria for institutional audits* (CHE 2004a), as well as the *Criteria for programme accreditation* (CHE2004b), also contain criteria regarding work-based learning. Both of these documents relate to the application of theory in a valid work-based context where competencies are developed and the skills acquired will make students more employable. Learning should thus be outcomes based with a specific focus on making students more employable. In terms of accreditation, the university programmes must include the promotion of the student's understanding of the occupation – in this case being a public administrator. Students will have to master specific skills related to the occupation and therefore work-based learning consequently, forms an essential part of the curriculum. The Unisa work integrated learning has been formulated against the above background.

Outcomes-based learning can be broadly defined as the achievement of an outcome as an end result of the mastering of processes, knowledge and skills

(Olivier 1998:55) and places the focus on the learner. The National Qualifications Framework (NQF) has compiled specific requirements that relate to curriculum development in outcomes-based education (OBE). These requirements include (adapted from Erasmus, Loedolff, Mda & Nel 2006:158):

- analysing student needs
- determining the learning programme
- deciding what the learning outcomes must be
- selecting the learning content in support of the achievement of the learning outcomes
- deciding on the methods of facilitating learning, the learning activities and related tasks, and the technology that can be used for learning to take place
- deciding on the assessment opportunities as aligned with the learning outcomes
- evaluating the effectiveness of the programme.

The learning process involves "how people understand, learn and remember and what the implications are of these processes for the mediation of learning" (Nieman & Monyai 2007:72). Learning can be described as the result of application and experience and it can bring about changes as students might learn to perform tasks that they could not previously do. Through the learning process, students will acquire new knowledge, skills and attitudes. Students need to be actively participating in constructing and reconstructing their knowledge; this also calls for reflection and interpretation of the various experiences (Nieman & Monyai 2007:72–75) during the work integrated learning process.

The Higher Education Quality Committee (HEQC) (2004a:26) defines work-based learning as the following: "*A component of a learning programme that focuses on the applications of theory in an authentic, work-based context. It addresses specific competences identified for the acquisition of a qualification which relate to the development of skills that will make the learner employable and will assist in developing his/her personal skills. Employer and professional bodies are involved in the assessment of experiential learning, together with academic staff*".

With regard to vocational and professional programmes, the document proposes that work-based learning should form an integral part of such qualifications wherever possible, and provides a number of quality indicators relating specifically to work-based learning (Van Rensburg 2008:1). Work integrated learning is an umbrella term that is used to incorporate experiential learning or strategies for facilitating learning such as internships, work-based learning and professional practice. The relevant academic departments are ultimately responsible for the work integrated learning components within the respective departments. Student support is provided on a regional level as Unisa

is focused on Open Distance Learning. Open distance learning can be defined as a multidimensional concept aimed at (ODL Research Task Team 2009:5):

- *"bridging the time, bridging the geographical, economic, social and educational and communication distance between a student and the institution, students and academics, students and courseware and student and peers.*
- *the focus of ODL is therefore one of removing barriers to access learning, flexibility of learning provision, student centeredness, supporting student and construction learning programmes with the expectation that students can succeed."*

The Unisa work integrated learning policy (2005:1) defines work integrated learning programmes as programmes:

- focusing on the application of theory in authentic, work-based contexts
- addressing specific competencies identified for the acquisition of a qualification
- enabling the developmental skills that will make the student employable and provide a real context in which the theoretical, practical, interpersonal and reflexive competencies of Unisa's students are developed in an integrated way
- used at Unisa to include experiential education/teaching strategies such as clinical training/practice, internship, professional practice, experiential training/learning, supervised learning/practice and work-based learning.

The focus of the policy is to create a framework for effective work integrated learning practices within Unisa, such as work preparedness and life skills, where work integrated learning forms part of the curriculum as is the case in the work integrated learning module, 'Public Management Practice (PMP301P)' – an offering in the National Diploma in Public Management. The work integrated learning policy also makes provision for implementation procedures such as placement opportunities, liability insurance, mentoring and learning contracting, monitoring and assessment of work integrated learning and record keeping. A section in the policy focuses on the rationale and costing implications. On average, 280 students in the Department need to undergo the Public Management Practice module each semester. As work integrated learning is a compulsory module in the National Diploma in Public Management, students are placed in the public sector, private sector and the not-for-profit sector. Three out of ten students are unemployed and the Department and the Unisa work integrated learning sections assist them in finding suitable placements.

Historically, work integrated learning was not part of the curriculum of the so-called academic research universities. It was primarily found in the curricula

of the former technikons. This changed with the changes in the educational landscape that resulted from the merger process. The lecturers involved in the module are from the former technikon and the lecturers from the former academic university are hesitant to become involved – the reason might be the fact that, historically, established activities of an academic university focused on research, teaching and learning. Community engagement was seen as an add-on instead of an integral core of university programmes.

Community engagement can be defined as: “*... initiatives and processes through which the expertise of the institution in the areas of teaching and research are applied to address issues relevant to its community. Community engagement typically finds expression in a variety of forms, ranging from informal and relatively unstructured activities to formal and structured academic programmes (work integrated learning) addressed at particular community needs (service-learning programmes) and some projects might be conducive towards the creation of a better environment for community engagement and others might be directly related to teaching, learning and research*” (HEQC 2004a).

Curricular community engagement (CCE) is defined by the Policy of Community Engagement of the Faculty of Education at the University of Pretoria (2006) as “teaching, learning, and scholarship, which engage academic staff, students and the community (service sectors) in mutually beneficial and respectful collaboration. Their interactions address community identified goals or needs, deepen students’ civic and academic learning, enhance the well-being of the community, and enrich the scholarship of the institution.” The different types of CCE include academic service learning, work integrated learning, experiential learning, community-based education, internships, community outreach, community service and clinical practicals.

In terms of the conceptual framework, work integrated learning primarily benefits the students, as they are placed in the so-called world of work and have opportunities to collaborate and develop. Students are prepared for work integrated learning by means of cooperative education, as they are essentially placed within industry and, in the specific department’s case, students are primarily placed (or already employed) within the public sector. As students will be public servants once they are employed, and therefore in the service of the community, it might be advisable to incorporate aspects of service learning into the Public Management Practice module. The categories of community engagement are not, after all, mutually exclusive and can be combined to create a fully employable student who is not only aware of his or her social responsibility, but also actively engaged in communities (Bender, Daniels, Lazarus, Naude & Sattar 2006).

An important aspect that needs to receive attention in the current work integrated learning module (eg if students participate in an internship) is the lack

of purposeful civic learning and more opportunities should be given to students for structured reflection. A more combined approach would enhance academic learning, purposeful civic learning, and meaningful service *with* the community (not just *to* the community) (Bender *et al.* 2006) and this should lead to civic development and a better integrated citizen.

THE DESIGN AND DEVELOPMENT OF A WORK INTEGRATED LEARNING PROGRAMME

As stated previously, all activities in the department are guided by Unisa policies. Neither the college nor the department has separate policies to guide community engagement, curricular community engagement or work integrated learning. The process commences when students receive a logbook, a guide for employers and mentors, and a tutorial letter outlining the various salient points. Students are required to complete a compulsory assignment in order to obtain a year mark. This is a formative assignment consisting out of multiple-choice questions based on the Unisa Experiential Learning Framework. The examination mark will comprise the logbook, a report and a competency certificate from the employer and the evaluation of this documentation, as well as a process chronological thematic portfolio. This portfolio is a complete, illustrated report on all activities and the entire learning experience. It is a chronological record on a specific theme and is systematic and purposeful and provides evidence of what the student has learnt during the experiential period. The importance of the portfolio lies in the fact that all learning should be assessed and the portfolio is the most important document for assessment purposes. It must be a complete and formal report on the entire learning experience.

The work integrated learning module is a subject and students therefore pay the full subject fee, as this is a credit-bearing module and can therefore be classified as "curriculum related community engagement". As Unisa has a global footprint, students are allowed to participate in work integrated learning outside the different university geographical borders and are serviced by the regional offices. Unisa policy stipulates the academic staff responsible for work integrated learning, as well as the responsibility of the Directorate of Tutorial Services, Discussion Classes and Work Integrated Learning in helping to place students for their Public Management Practice module.

There is a booklet, "Guide for employers and mentors", which elaborates on the rights and responsibilities of employers, as well as the specific responsibilities, rights and responsibilities of students. This booklet also makes provision for "Responsibilities of TSA learners that are undergoing experiential learning". The guide for employers and mentors includes a competency profile that focuses on

the learning objectives determined by the curriculum. The guide further makes provision for guidelines that mentors can use. Unfortunately the contact details provided in the guide (as well as the other guides) are out of date and are being revised in totality to also incorporate the findings of this article.

The onsite supervisor must complete the logbook. They must also evaluate the outcomes and learning objectives (with the explanations) that have been identified. Some of these supervisors seem to have difficulty completing the logbook and this should perhaps be included in the mentorship programme briefing. In the logbook, provision is made for concluding remarks focusing on a general evaluation of student proficiency. Aspects that must be evaluated include practical ability, willingness to learn new procedures, initiative, people skills, neatness and experience. Finally, at the end of the work integrated learning process the employer must complete a certificate of competence. The assignment, logbook, report, certificate of competence and the portfolio are used to assess the student for a final mark. The portfolios are assessed by means of a rubric which is sent to students in a tutorial letter (Holtzhausen 2008:227).

There are specific departmental coordinators who work on the administrative processes involved, as well as various administrative departments within Unisa, such as the assignment and examinations section, to which portfolios are submitted. It should be mentioned that some of the HEIs have a cooperative education section that takes care of the entire work integrated learning process—from placement to assessment. It is recommended that departmental and regional coordinators visit the student at the place of learning and monitor the student's progress; however, owing to financial, geographical, workload and time constraints this is seldom done.

Students who do not receive relevant exposure can fail this subject, but provision is being made to allow students to qualify for a second opportunity; however, if a student has not submitted a portfolio, a second opportunity will not be granted. Students who do not find placement pose a problem. Some of the South African HEIs allow these students to submit a comprehensive assignment although this defies the whole purpose of work integrated learning (Holtzhausen 2008:228).

In July 2005, a taskforce on Standards of Excellence for Public Administration Education and Training was tasked with finding mutually acceptable standards and criteria for assessing an institution's progress towards achieving the Standards of Excellence. The taskforce comprised various international role players including the United Nations. The final report was presented in May 2008 and aspects in the report relating to work integrated learning include the following (International Association of Schools and Institutes of Administration 2008):

- Combining scholarship, practice and community service as public administration is an applied science and therefore needs to integrate theory

and practice. This will include a programme that will draw on the knowledge and understanding generated by research and practical experience. The inclusion of academic staff and students with their communities (and other stakeholders) is fundamental to research, education, training, service and technical assistance activities. This allows for a diversity of participation and ideas. Excellent programmes will be characterised by intellectual and participatory inclusiveness.

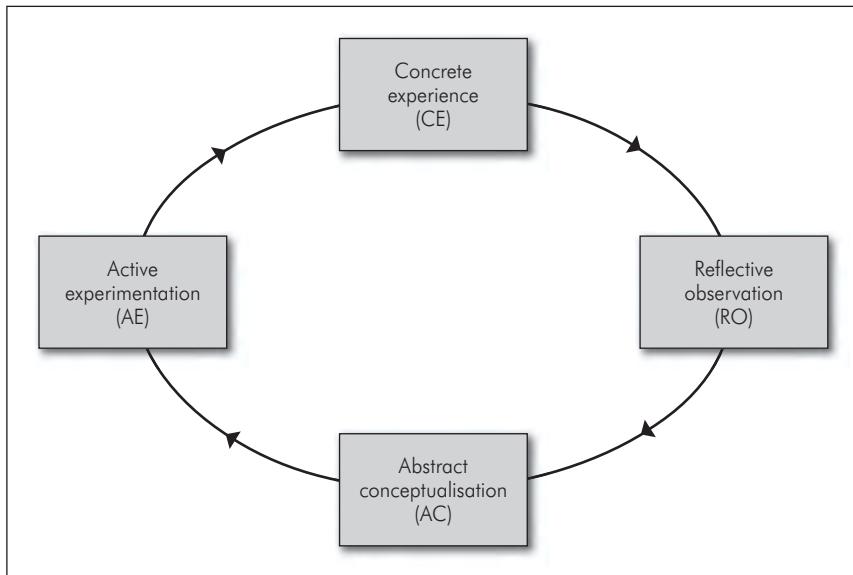
- A curriculum that is purposeful and responsive will lead to students being strong public administrators making contributions to the public service. This will require that curriculum in Public Administration have coherent missions, that the academic staff are responsive and that the students are involved and want to make a difference.
- Public service commitment, which calls for all university activities (teaching, research and other service activities) to always advance the interests of the public and democracy.
- Advocacy of public interest values by, for example, the creation of a participatory, responsive, committed and accountable culture, by making use of pedagogy and practical examples.
- Funding and workload should be structured in such a manner that staff members have ample opportunity to be involved in research, education, training, service and technical assistance activities.

In terms of the suggested programme content, the International Association of Schools and Institutes of Administration (2008) states that degree-granting programmes should be structured in such a manner that they will ensure that some sort of structured experience in the public sector or not-for-profit sector will be included. Public-sector ethos makes provision for civic engagement (unfortunately it is not elaborated on to determine if it can specifically relate to work integrated learning). When designing and implementing work-integrated modules, it is important to make provision for outcomes-based principles as well as for various learning styles.

LEARNING STYLES

Various learning style theories are well documented and cited in the literature (Kolb 1984; Herrmann 1995; Vermunt 1995; Sternberg & Grigorenko 2001). For the purpose of this article, the work integrated learning framework is evaluated against the background of Kolb's (1984) and Herrmann's (1995) learning style theory and Gardner's theory on multiple intelligences (MIs) (Gardner 1993).

Figure 1 Kolb's experiential learning cycle



Source: Adapted from Kolb & Fry 1975.

The Department of Public Administration and Management follows the learning cycle as proposed by Kolb, which consists of four stages, namely *experience*, *reflection*, *conceptualising* and *action*. This learning cycle is used throughout the entire work integrated learning experience. Students are prepared for this experience from their first year by means of, for example, case studies. It is, however, advisable for all lecturers involved in the work integrated learning programme under investigation to incorporate the different learning styles as developed by Kolb (1984), which link to the experiential learning cycle.

Kolb (1984) defines a learning style as "... the dimensions of perceptions, input, organisation, processing and understanding". This definition provides a broad explanation on the way the learning process takes place. The four different types of learning style, as they relate to the different phases of the learning cycle, are

- activists: concrete experience (CE)
- reflectors: reflective observations (RO)
- theorists: abstract conceptualisation (AC)
- pragmatists: active experimentation (AE)

According to Du Toit (2008), CE refers to learning from feeling. Students who prefer this style learn from a specific experience, relate well to others and are

sensitive to various needs, feelings and diversity. RO is learning by watching and listening. This type of learner carefully observes before making judgements and views issues from different perspectives. Learning by thinking refers to AC. Learners systematically analyse and plan ideas. They act on an intellectual understanding of the problem. AE is learning by doing and if learners prefer this learning style, they have the ability to get things done. These learners are risk-takers and influence people and events through action. It should be kept in mind that the challenges different situations bring, based on the nature of the task at hand, could lead to the use of different learning styles and/or MIs. A variety in the nature of assignments will facilitate the development of flexibility in learning styles and intelligences.

Learners have dominant ways in which they assimilate and disseminate information. This is influenced by a number of factors. One of these factors relates to the MI theory as developed by Gardner (1993) who argues that intelligence consists of a variety of separate and independent systems which interact with one another within each individual. Each intelligence consists of various characteristics (Erasmus *et al.* 2006:113) as depicted in the following table:

The different intelligences can be linked to learning styles, as suggested by Du Toit (2008). Learners will make use of different styles in different situations, but will predominantly favour one (or two) styles. It is also possible that learners

Table 1 Gardner's multiple intelligence system

Intelligence	Learning characteristics
Linguistic	Thinks in words; likes reading, writing, speaking, listening
Logical-mathematical	Likes reasoning, organising and interpreting data, mathematics and science problem solving
Spatial	Thinks in images, drawing and observing, mind-mapping, puzzles, graphics
Musical/rhythmic	Thinks in tunes, likes music and dance
Bodily-kinaesthetic	Thinks through sensations, likes sports, drama, movement and physical activity
Interpersonal	Thinks best with others, group activities, interactive, people-centred activities
Intrapersonal	Thinks best alone, individual, self-paced

Source: Erasmus *et al.* 2006

can use a combination of styles to compile a portfolio for example. Lecturers need to incorporate the different intelligences to allow learners to also develop in areas that they would not predominantly use. This will help learners to develop MIs.

Whole brain learning (Herrmann 1995) suggests that learning takes place best when the whole brain is involved in learning. Roger Sperry's research in the 1950s established that the brain has two hemispheres. The implication is that learners learn with the more dominant side. Whether a learner is right-brain dominant (holistic/global, spatially-orientated, artistic and creative) or left-brain dominant (rational, logical, structured and organised) it is advisable to stimulate both sides to increase the ability to reach one's full potential (Erasmus *et al.* 2006).

As an assessor one needs to be aware of the fact that students have different learning and thinking styles. One's assessment practice needs to make provision for these differences. One also needs to realise that each assessor has an own preferred style, which will have an influence on his/her assessment practice, as well as other responsibilities such as facilitating learning and curriculum design. It is therefore imperative to make use of assessment practices that are objective and make provision for different styles.

The current framework primarily makes provision for the factual and logical learning style (Herrmann), theorist learning style (Kolb) and verbal/linguistic, logical/mathematical intelligence (Gardner), as students are required to complete a set of multiple-choice questions based on the Unisa experiential learning policy (as theory). To some extent an intrapersonal learning style (Herrmann) and intelligence (Gardner), and reflector learning style (Kolb) are accommodated since a logbook and a portfolio are submitted. The step-by-step way of completing the logbook also accommodates the sequential learning style (Herrmann) – based on an analysis of 74 portfolios and logbooks. Only one of the students submitted a DVD as part of the portfolio which is evidence of visual learning (Herrmann).

The portfolio is based on set learning outcomes and forms the summative assessment. It is suggested that students be challenged to make use of other learning styles and intelligences as well when compiling their portfolios. It can be done by, for example, a video recording of their own practice or simulations, drawings to illustrate what they are doing, mind maps that can assist them in acquiring critical thinking skills. It is also proposed that students use myUnisa (web based) and the blog created for Public Management Practice to promote group discussions and therefore also accommodate students who prefer the interpersonal learning style. It should also be kept in mind that various adult learning theories also apply to work integrated learning as is discussed in the next section.

Adult learning theories

Various adult learning theories exist. For the purpose of this article, self-regulated learning, constructivism and cooperative learning are discussed within the work integrated learning framework. Adults need to take responsibility for their own lives and the decisions that they make. They also need to know the reason for having to learn something before they make the effort to learn (Jacobson & Harris 2005:412). Merriam and Brockett (1997) support this notion as they state that it is important for the planning and development of educational programmes to know why adults choose to participate in programmes and to be aware of the possible barriers they may have to overcome in order to participate.

Constructivist development theory is built on the work of Piaget, but extends Piaget's work into adulthood and beyond the cognitive focus. Constructivist development theory deals with the manner in which a person constructs and interprets an experience – the meaning a person makes of an experience. *Constructivism* organises the way people make sense of themselves and others and the way these regulative principles are constructed and re-constructed (Nicolaides & Yorks 2008:53). Constructivist theory relates directly to work integrated learning as students are required to reflect on learning content and construct their own understanding which is reflected in the portfolio. It was, however, found when the portfolios were assessed that students had not fully comprehended what was meant by "reflection".

One of the primary goals of HEIs is to foster independent, *self-regulated* thinkers who will become specialists in their chosen field. Self-regulated learning can be defined as "... multi-component, iterative, self-steering processes that target's one's own cognitions, feelings, and actions, as well as features of the environment for modulation in the service of one's own goals (Boekaerts & Cascallar 2006:199). It is therefore clear that the work integrated learning module under discussion should be designed in such a manner that students are allowed the freedom to achieve their own goals according to carefully designed guidelines which can be found in clearly defined learning outcomes and assessment criteria.

According to Kennet (1996:177) *cooperative learning* can be defined as situations where students work together in groups of two or more, where they share and clarify ideas. The idea is that students can make sense of what is happening by talking and clarifying what they understand from each other. There is even evidence that students can engage in higher-order thinking skills which includes application, analysis, synthesis and evaluation. Within the current work integrated learning framework there has not been any opportunity for cooperative learning among students to date. The principles of cooperative learning need to be incorporated into the framework through, for example,

the discussion board on *myUnisa* and the Public Management Practice blog (available at www.publicmanagementpractice.blogspot.com).

Curriculum design and assessment practice

A curriculum is a plan for the process of learning and teaching and can be seen as a process for determining learning outcomes and the learning content of the work integrated learning module and the way in which students will be exposed to the learning content (the what). It also makes provision for assessment criteria as well as the methods of facilitating learning and technology that will be used (the how).

An integral part of OBE is outcomes-based assessment (OBA). Assessment can be defined as "... a process of collecting, synthesising and interpreting information to assist teachers [lecturers], parents and other stakeholders in making decisions about the progress of learners" (Department of Education 2005:5). OBE and therefore OBA are guided by various sections of legislation. OBE is characterised by four principles and these principles should be perceived in a holistic manner. Spady defines four principles of OBE, namely designing

Table 2 Outcomes-based assessment principles in classroom practice

OBA principle	Definition
Design down	When planning assessment lecturers should <ul style="list-style-type: none">• identify the relevant learning outcomes and assessment standards• identify the skills, knowledge and values that need to be assessed• choose an appropriate assessment strategy• plan steps for differentiation to accommodate learners at different levels
Clarity of focus	Lecturers should ensure that students understand <ul style="list-style-type: none">• the criteria against which they will be assessed• the substantiation of learning they are expected to demonstrate
High expectations	Lecturers should be instrumental in assisting students reach their full potential. Progress of individual students should be measured against previous performance and not against other students.
Expanded opportunities	Lecturers should create an environment in which students will have various opportunities to demonstrate their abilities and reach their full potential. Students should be made aware of the fact that they are competing against themselves and not other students. The idea of non-competition will impact on the management of the class by <ul style="list-style-type: none">• taking into account various learning styles and MLs• presenting and enriching the curriculum in diverse ways

Source: Department of Education 2002

down, clarity of focus, high expectations and expanded opportunities (Vandeyar & Killen 2003), as summarised in the following table:

The four key principles of OBE refer to the design of an ideal environment in which students can achieve their full potential in the work integrated learning module. Lecturers are instrumental in this process by, for example, designing various learning tasks that would provide students with opportunities to showcase their abilities as in the portfolio. As a lecturer, one needs to ask: "What are the characteristics of the citizen I want to help develop to contribute to the future of South Africa – what should this person be able to do and know?" Assessment activities will then be designed in accordance with, for example, but not exclusively, these characteristics in mind as they are in line with OBE principles of assessment.

According to Vandeyar and Killen (2003:124) the relationship between the principles of OBE and the principles of assessment are:

- Procedures for assessment should focus clearly on the specified outcomes so that valid inferences can be deducted from learning.
- Assessment procedures must be reliable and efforts should be made to minimise measurement errors and create opportunities for students to demonstrate their understanding at fitting times and in ways that will lead to consistent results.
- Fairness is an important principle as it allows for students to illustrate their capabilities without being influenced by, for example, poor language capabilities.
- Assessment should be reflective of the knowledge and skills that are most important for students to master.
- Assessment should discriminate between students who achieve high standards and those who do not. It should challenge the students to the limits of their understanding and ability to implement knowledge.
- Assessment tasks need to be valid and meaningful, support opportunities for students to learn and should make provision for students to illustrate their individuality.

As an assessor it is important to have clarity on what one wants students to learn and how it should be learned, and then structure learning opportunities accordingly. Assessment must therefore focus on assessing whether they have learnt.

Good assessment practice requires that certain questions need to be answered:

- What is assessment? Assessment can be broadly defined as the assimilation and interpretation of evidence about a student's level of skill and/or knowledge in relation to a set of predetermined standards.

- Why do we need to assess? We need to assess for growth, development and support.
- When do we assess? Assessment is a continuous process and should take place when growth, development and support have been established through the learning experience. The compulsory multiple-choice questions constitute formative assessment and the portfolio forms the summative assessment.
- Who assesses? All the stakeholders, including peers, should be involved in the assessment process. It should, however, be noted that, in terms of protocol, formal assessments will only be done by the lecturers involved in the specific module.
- How do we assess? We assess by incorporating a variety of methods, tools and techniques. The portfolio is assessed by means of a rubric and students can be asked to also assess their own performance by using the rubric.

Assessment should be a natural and positive activity in the daily routine of lecturers. It is important to communicate clear guidelines to students regarding expectations, requirements and assessment methods (Maree & Louw 2007). Assessment should always reflect the learning that has taken place. The next section of this article focuses on the various roles that lecturers fulfil.

THE ROLES OF THE LECTURER

Lecturers have to fulfil a variety of roles (South Africa 1999). One of the roles is that of learning mediator, which means that learning should be facilitated in a manner that is sensitive to the diversity of students. Unisa, for example, has students from all over the world with different backgrounds, religions and beliefs and lecturers should therefore create learning environments that accommodate different students. When lecturers communicate with students, respect should be shown for diversity. Lecturers must be knowledgeable about the different ways of facilitating learning and strategies for learning and how these can be used best to promote effective learning.

Another role is that of a learning area/subject/discipline/phase specialist, which calls for lecturers to be well versed in the skills, values, procedures, methods and knowledge relating to the subject field. As a learning mediator, lecturers are required to display a sound knowledge of the subject content and the various strategies, resources and principles appropriate for the context – which in this case is work integrated learning.

Part of the mentoring role is to develop and empower students so that they can reach their full potential and develop skills and capabilities. It is therefore imperative for lecturers to be in close contact with industry through, for

example, advisory committee meetings to determine what skills are needed. This will enable the lecturers to fulfil yet another role, namely that of interpreter and designer of learning programmes and materials, which calls for the design of original programmes that can address a variety of needs. Lecturers should use the best-suited textual and visual resources for learning. As in the case at Unisa, there are the textual documents as well as online sources available that feature audio, video and text.

It is important to give students feedback, as lecturers also have an assessment role, which is an essential part of the learning process. Lecturers need to understand the purposes, methods and effects of assessment. Both formative and summative assessments must be designed in such a manner that they are useful for assessing the level of learning and meeting the requirements of accredited bodies. It is also important to record the results and keep diagnostic records of assessment. These results will also help the lecturer to improve learning programmes as students might, for example, experience difficulty in understanding certain aspects. In order to improve learning, adaptations can be made. It is also imperative that assessment measures whether or not set learning outcomes have been achieved (Du Toit, 2008:2–3).

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this article, an exploration of relevant literature showed that the current framework for work integrated learning at the Department of Public Administration and Management at Unisa is mostly in line with the requirements of the learning process.

It is vital that students should not only be prepared for the world of work, but also be moulded into responsible citizens who understand that they have a social responsibility. A paradigm shift is needed in the Unisa Department of Public Administration and Management in order to shift the emphasis to a more outcomes-based approach instead of traditional teaching and learning. The challenge is greater at an institution such as Unisa which follows an open distance learning approach. In terms of this approach, it is hoped that lecturers will become more accessible to students; however, in reality there are a number of “distances” between the lecturers and students that cannot be ignored, such as geographical and communication distances. It is difficult to assess a student’s competency levels fully, as there is no face-to-face contact apart from the two scheduled contact sessions each year and these do not take place in the workplace. For the work integrated learning framework to be able to achieve its objectives, the assessment criteria need to be communicated clearly to students. An in-depth explanation must be given of what is expected by means

of reflexive activities and thoughts. It might also be advisable to offer a video conference at the beginning of each semester to give students an opportunity to interact face to face with the lecturer. This would strengthen the mentoring role of the lecturer and could put into motion a process of collaborative learning as students will interact not only with the lecturer, but also with one another and this would hopefully lead to more interaction via *myUnisa*.

Furthermore, all academic staff need to become involved in the Public Management Practice module, as they will bring their unique skills and capabilities to the module. Common ground needs to be established within the Department as there is a definite division in thinking between the former technikon and university lecturers on work integrated learning and specifically community engagement (as well as curricular community engagement). These are foreign concepts to most of the academic staff of PAM departments at South African universities and it is therefore imperative that a common understanding be created and established. This would also lead to an improved curriculum across modules as lecturers would be sensitive to the various aspects relating to curricular community engagement and teaching and would most likely incorporate these aspects into their modules. When modules are designed, it should be kept in mind that the students have different learning styles and these should guide assessment activities for example.

It is suggested that electronic learning tools be incorporated into the electronic version of the Public Management Practice module on *myUnisa*. Tools that can be used are, for example, a discussion board, frequently asked questions and podcasts to assist students in understanding what is expected of them. At a later stage, a wiki could be created to establish a collaborative space for students and lecturers. The module will have to incorporate a more integrated curriculum model approach. A further suggestion is that the various adult learning theories should be incorporated when the module is designed as one of the aims of learning is to create self-regulated, motivated and reflexive students.

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Understanding and avoiding aggressive citizen outcries

The case of the recent outbreaks of violent public service delivery protests in South Africa

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ABSTRACT

This contribution is concerned with explaining several puzzles surrounding the recent public service delivery protests (PSDP), particularly the impulsiveness and level of violence enacted, observations that suggest that the reasons for the PSDP may not only be related to public service delivery failures but may be linked to largely unrelated issues, and why so many young male citizen-consumers were found in the group of protesters that turned to violence. In the course of the paper it is shown that insights from the recently emerging field of cognitive evolutionary economics are of particular explanatory value for resolving these puzzles. One of the major findings is that economic welfare decreasing characteristics of public service delivery may have only triggered the PSDP while their underlying causes are rather found in a) the procedural aspects of public service delivery, b) habitualised violence, helplessness, and other-accountability, c) the constant obstruction of moral and meaning concerns, d) the relative dominance of entitlement concerns and consumerism, as well as d) traumatic past experiences (especially those in early childhood) together with e) a profound lack of capabilities. It is concluded that improving PSD characteristics alone cannot be a panacea but must be complemented by broader, especially educational and social, policy measures.

INTRODUCTION

Peaceful public service delivery protests, aimed at raising public and political awareness towards insufficient and low quality public service (delivery) characteristics are neither an illegitimate economic-political means of voicing citizen-customer dissatisfaction nor are they a new phenomenon or research topic. Past theoretical contributions in the field of Political Economics and Managerial Economics directed at explaining collective action in general and (citizen) consumer boycotts in particular predominantly identify public service delivery characteristics that decrease economic welfare (such as higher prices or lower quantity and quality of public services) together with the expected effectiveness of consumer boycotts (as increasing function of the anticipated participation of other individuals) as primary motivational determinants (Lindenmeier and Tscheulin 2008).

The type of public service delivery protests that have erupted across South Africa since the beginning of the year, however, with municipalities in Gauteng (Thokoza), Johannesburg (Diepsloot, Soweto), Mpumalanga (Siyathemba in Balfour) and the Western Cape (Khayelitsha, Delft) being the primary focus of citizen-consumer boycotts and an anticipated protest rate for 2009 that may by far exceed those of the last two years (Letsoalo and Mataboge 2009), do not seem to fall into this category of peaceful demonstrations and can therefore not be explained properly by the aforementioned research. This is so, because, apart from the sheer and unusually high incidents of protests, what is particularly astonishing is the (rather impulsive) outbreak of high levels of violence and aggression during the protests, as summarised by the Anger Barometer (Rawoot and Botes 2009), which reports not only destructions of public functional buildings such as clinics, libraries or hostels or the burning of tires, cars and buses but also personal attacks by protesters and the police, even leading to deaths (Keepile 2009). In addition to that, although the (peaceful) PSDPs found initial support from individuals coming from different segments of the protesting communities, including housewives and retired community members, it is only a limited set of individuals out of the overall group of protesters whose involvement in the outbreak of violence seems to be particularly high. This group has been reported to be predominantly comprised of young and unemployed male individuals. (Gower 2009; Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty 2009b).

But these are not the only characteristics of the recent public service delivery protests that remain puzzling from the point of view of the standard explanations of PSDs reviewed briefly before. A further rather astonishing PSDP characteristic of the recent public service delivery protests is that communities with even worse public service delivery failures and greater poverty (such as municipalities in the

Eastern Cape) were less stricken by violent PSDPs than the municipal hot spots named above. Thus, the possibility exists that the recent and violent protests may not only or even not primarily be motivated by detrimental public service characteristics as such, especially if the latter are narrowly defined in terms of the price and the (lack of) quantity and quality of public services delivered. On the contrary, they may rather be related to other, possibly even largely unrelated factors, such as, for example, high unemployment levels (Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty 2009c).

To sum up, the aforementioned characteristics of the recent PSDP, e.g. its violence, major participants and location, call for alternative explanations other than the ones outlined before. In the following, we will therefore employ a newly emerging theoretical framework (Cognitive Evolutionary Economics) that is more likely capable of explaining the aforementioned PSD puzzles, at least in parts. After briefly discussing the major theoretical tenants of this approach and its relevance for explaining intensely aggressive (violent) and impulsive "motivations to oppose or attack" in general, we are going to apply it to the outbreak of violent PSDPs in the South African context by means of a desk top analysis of secondary data in the form of recent newspaper articles and related policy papers. Although this does not constitute a proper substitute for a detailed empirical analysis it will allow us to derive at first (though still highly preliminary) findings. This will culminate in a summary of major tentative motivational determinants that may explain (at least parts) of the recent Southern African PSDP. As we will show, the identified causes may not only be related to detrimental public service delivery characteristics as such but also procedural aspects and seemingly unrelated (past) events. In the light of these results, we will finally critically discuss and also go beyond several government efforts directed at improving PSD and avoiding a new outbreak of moral outrage in relation to public service delivery failures.

COGNITIVE EVOLUTIONARY ECONOMICS: ANIMAL SPIRITS MATTER

In essence, cognitive evolutionary economics is a recently emerging¹ theoretical approach that integrates insights not only from different economic sub-disciplines² but also from psychology and anthropology. One, if not the major deviation of cognitive evolutionary economics from the standard political and managerial economic approaches is that it explicitly takes the role of what Keynes has termed "animal spirits"³ into account, that is, evolutionary and cognitive (neuro-) psychological principles (Loewenstein and O'Donoghue 2004; Shermer 2008). The focus of cognitive evolutionary analysis is on understanding

the ultimate evolutionary (why?) and proximate (how?) behavioural functioning of (neuro-) cognitive mechanisms, processes and dynamics. Put differently, it explores the workings of the human mind and brain as evolved decision-making devices or motivational and, thus, behavioural governance systems (Camerer, Loewenstein and Prelec 2005; Shermer 2008). A core tenant of cognitive evolutionary economics is the conceptualisation of affects (emotions) as animal spirits and the explicit analysis of (especially immediate) affects as endogenous and exogenous variables, especially their critical relevance for influencing (even determining) behavioural motivation in systematic and predictable ways (Ariely 2008; Frijda 2007).

Whereas expected affects are understood as “cold cognitions” or beliefs in the form of anticipations of emotions that may occur as a result of and in relation to the outcomes of different action alternatives and which are not experienced at the moment of choice and may or may not materialise after the decision has been made and the outcome is realised *de facto*⁴, immediate affects (or hot cognitions), in turn, are those that are experienced *de facto* (though not necessarily in a conscious manner) at the moment of choice or prior to action. Immediate affects can be sub-divided further into one of the following: a) integral affects and/or b) incidental affects. They differ in so far as integral affects are experienced due to the imagination of expected affects or recalling of related memorised affects (and are therefore directly related to the choice characteristics as such) whereas incidental affects, for example enduring moods, are elicited by factors that may be completely and objectively unrelated to the choice at hand (Scott and Loewenstein 2007). In the following chapter, we provide a brief overview of the research on the (direct) motivational functioning of affects which will be followed by a discussion of immediate affects as endogenous variable.

Direct Motivational Influences of Immediate Affects on Human Behaviour

As the incorporation of expected affects as explanatory variable of political economic behaviour is largely compatible with the standard approaches⁵, this analysis only considers the motivational functioning of immediate affects.⁶ In addition to this, we further narrow down the motivational analysis of immediate affects by focusing only on direct motivational effects as these are related to a high affect intensity. This is done because our research aims at explaining highly aggressive or violent behaviours, that is, as we will show in the following, motivations of and determined by high immediate affect intensity.

When referring to direct affective motivational influences immediate affects are thought to determine the characteristics of actions taken. In these

cases, immediate affects primarily⁷ exert an unintentional or rather impulsive motivational influence on actions performed. Put differently, immediate affects may induce actions without employing any deliberate forms of information processing, representing a more reflexive than reflective mode of decision-making or behaviour. This direct motivational influence of immediate affects becomes possible because immediate affects generally carry with them a so called "action tendency" with each specific type of immediate affects being intrinsically (evolutionary) linked to a specific action tendency. To illustrate this, it has been shown, for example, that anger carries with it the urge to attack or to injure a person, whereas fear is rather related to the motivation to escape from an object or situation. It is furthermore assumed that these inherited action tendencies serve an evolved evolutionary function through their functioning as coordinating or orchestrating devices (Cosmides and Tooby 2000) by "selecting" the most adaptive behavioural goal or motivational type in a given situation (Rolls 2005). As a consequence, in situations where immediate affects exert a direct impulsive influence on behaviour, the valence (type) and intensity of affect determine both the behavioural goal or direction (the type of motivation) as well as the behavioural effort employed (Seo, Feldman Barrett and Bartunek 2004).

Research has shown that this direct motivational type of behavioural influence of immediate affects is more likely a) in case of (critically) high levels of affect intensity (Van Winden 2006; Loewenstein and O'Donoghue 2007) and/or c) when the internal affect regulation capacity (e.g. the capability to re-appraise a situation or suppress an affective response) is situationally and/or dispositionally restricted (Metcalfe and Mischel 1999); aspects that we are going to discuss in more detail in the following paragraphs.

Within the neuro-economic literature on self-control it has been shown that a person's ability to regulate immediate affects internally depends primarily on the amount of what has been called "**willpower strength**" available in a given situation, which is assumed to be a function of working memory. As a person's working memory is generally of limited supply and can be situationally decreased, we suggest with reference to Loewenstein and O'Donoghue (2007) that **willpower strength is best conceptualised as a limited and depletable resource**. From an evolutionary adaptive perspective, the evolution of **limitations to freely and deliberately influence and regulate immediate affects** is of critical importance, because if we had the ability to regulate our immediate affects and related action tendencies at will at any point in time, the evolutionary adaptive functioning of immediate affects (which allows individuals to react in a fast and frugal manner, and especially so in reaction to life-threatening situations that are critical for survival) would be severely hampered (Shermer 2008).

One mechanism that leads to a reduced strength of willpower and therefore a limited immediate affect regulation capacity in a given situation is to put an

individual under “**cognitive load**”, that is, letting him/her perform (even simple) choice or memory tasks beforehand that may be even completely unrelated to the decision or behaviour at hand (Baumeister and Vohs 2003; Dewitte *et al.* 2005). Hence, using willpower in one situation tends to decrease the remaining willpower left for use in subsequent situations (Cutler and Glaeser 2005).

Further factors that negatively impact on the functioning of willpower strength and therefore an individual’s self-regulatory capacity is **high and long-lasting levels of acute and/or chronic stress** (Panksepp 1998). An overview of the major stressors that have been identified in the literature on vulnerability, organisational management and work performance, categorised by the level at and respective domain of life within which they typically appear, are shown in figure 1.⁸

To sum up, if an individual has recently exerted willpower in t-n, for instance by (repeatedly) suppressing (especially highly intense) impulsive-affective responses, by being put under severe cognitive load and/or if the individual is facing other forms of acute and chronic stress, his/her remaining willpower strength in a given situation may not be sufficient to exert effective self-control in t+1 so that impulsive-affective behaviours become more likely. This effect is likely to become exacerbated the higher the level of prior depletion has been (Ozdenoren *et al.* 2006).

An individual’s dispositional determinants of affect regulation capacity are in turn weakened critically (Loewenstein and O’Donoghue 2004) if individuals exhibit impulse regulation disorders (for example due to chronic brain lesions or dysfunctions) or if individuals possess highly aggressive affective personality traits. These trait affects may be either inherited or acquired (learned) in the form of habits (by frequent over-exposure to a stimulus) and/or traumata (induced by highly aversive and affective types of reinforcement learning, especially during early childhood when the rational/reasoning part of the brain is not yet fully developed) (Metcalfe and Mischel 1999). In addition to this, trait affects can exert both a) a rather broad or emotion-unspecific influence but are more often b) affect-specific. Angry (anxious) individuals, for example, have a predisposition to rely more directly on anger (fear) to inform actions (Loewenstein and Lerner 2003). Last but not least, a person’s dispositional capacity to regulate specific types of affects has been shown to vary not only with an individual’s gender but also in relation to his/her developmental stage (age), that is, the developmental stage of the rational brain, the prefrontal cortex (PFC). In early childhood (when the PFC is not yet fully developed) and in late years (when the functionality of the PFC becomes weakened due to reduced neural plasticity), one’s ability to regulate affective impulses is therefore rather weak. (Panksepp 1998).

A further set of factors that determine an individual’s willpower strength are **pharmacological influences**, including drug (ab)use and certain types of temporary diseases or illnesses etc. Aversive pharmacological influences on all

Figure 1 Categorised overview of stressors. Own compilation based on

Domains, Categories and Levels of Stressors	Specific Stressors
Macro-level Stressors (Public Sphere)	Political and judicial institutions: political instability, national insecurity, war & conflict-ridden society, high levels of corruption, lack of rule of law etc.) Economic institutions: (Extremely high or extremely low levels of government regulation, economic and financial system instability, high levels of unemployment etc.) Social institutions (Low levels of social capital, low levels of social security, high crime levels etc.)
Meso-level Stressors (intra- or inter-organisational, occupational and contracting spheres)	Organisational institutions: strong organisational culture, role conflict and role ambiguity, high levels of bureaucracy and red tape, high levels of financial or personnel responsibility, highly volatile work patterns, low compensation/effort ratio, high levels of competition, job insecurity, career concerns, mobbing, organisational change etc.) Task, problem or transaction characteristics: amount of tasks/transactions to be performed, complexity and difficulty, lack of precedence, non-programmed, non-recurring, non-routine decisions requiring unique approaches; (idiosyncratic), ambiguity, high importance, significant impact, uncertainty/risk, time pressures, external expectations from superiors or inferiors, perceived lack of control/ability to perform the task
(Inter)-Personal Micro-level Stressors (Personal and Family Life Spheres)	Forms of Vulnerability: bad residential/housing conditions, highly pressuring individual life style, high levels of personal responsibilities, economic and financial problems (poverty), health problems etc. Relationship problems: Social and family role conflicts, social group conflicts
Intra-personal Micro-level Stressors	Personality traits & Substantial Preferences: high self-expectations, perfectionism, negative attitudes, lack of self-esteem Negative moods: particularly in the form of ongoing anxiety, fear and frustration
Ubiquitous, non-specific stressors	Noise disturbance, excessive light, lack of sleep, technological and knowledge changes, exposure to natural and human disasters, acute emotional stress in the form of high-intensity emotions both negative and positive

those brain regions that are involved in contributing to an individual's willpower strength or that lead to increased cognitive arousal are of particular importance for detrimental influences on strength of willpower.

Finally, **natural environmental factors**, including climate, nutrition and weather conditions **and the sensory qualia of stimuli** (possibly together with their evolutionary preparedness), such as pain, noise, odour etc., can impact adversely on willpower strength. Several studies confirm that constant exposure to certain forms of environmental pollution (including noise, excessive light, or air pollution) or a hot and very humid climate can lead to increased stress levels and related lower levels of willpower (Schell and Denham 2003; Panksepp 1998). Similarly, a persistent finding in studies is that sensory enrichment (as in case of high levels of positive sensory experiences during early childhood through paternal and maternal care) is likely to increase the number and size of neural interconnections thereby increasing the growth of both cortical regions and therefore stress resistance (Panksepp 1998). Thus, individuals that have been separated from their mother/father during early childhood and therefore lack sufficient sensory experiences are more likely to have lower stress-resistance and similarly lower overall willpower strength.

To be able to apply the aforementioned cognitive evolutionary insights to the explanation of the outbreak of violent public service delivery protests in South Africa, it is indispensable that we also understand what determines the specific type and intensity of affect elicited in a given situation, especially the type of immediate affect that is intrinsically linked and leads to "aggressive attack or move against" motivation, that is violent behaviour; an aspect we are turning to in the following.

Explanations of Immediate Affects and Motivations to "Aggressively Oppose or Attack"

Cognitive evolutionary approaches, which are heavily influenced by recent insights from affective neuropsychology, converge on the idea inspired by the computational or systems theory that affects (as a specific type of animal spirits) are best to be conceptualised as "emergent phenomena" or "the outcome of distributed cognitive neuropsychological processes or loops (Feldman Barrett, Ochsner and Gross 2005). It is furthermore assumed that each of these loops is specialised in processing a particular cognitive appraisal dimension. Hence, the kind and intensity of immediate affects elicited in a given situation are assumed to be the outcome of the juxtaposition of the different appraisal dimensions in a partly simultaneous, partly sequential manner⁹ (Sander, Grandjean and Scherer 2005). The major types of cognitive appraisal dimensions that have been identified are a) motive relevance, b) saliency appraisal, c) agency appraisal,

and d) appraisal of coping potential (Vernekohl 2009; Sander, Grandjean and Scherer 2005; Ortony, Clore and Collins 1988).

The specific kind of affect that has been identified in the theoretical and empirical literature to be most likely related to the performance of aggressive and violent actions or rather the elicitation of the motivation to attack or injure a person/object, is fury (Anderson and Huesman 2003; Berkowitz and Harmon-Jones 2004).¹⁰ It is noteworthy to point out that this is also the kind of affect that has been repeatedly reported to matter by observers and participants of the recent PSDPs alike. (Keepile 2009).

To start with and following Sander, Grandjean and Scherer (2005) fury is more likely elicited if motive relevance is appraised negatively, that is if negative reinforcement contingencies prevail (Rolls 2005), particularly so if the perceived stimulus features (the objects, actions or events that define a given situation) imply an obstruction or inhibition of a person's motives (desires, wishes, goals or substantial preferences¹¹) (Witt 2005 & 2001; Bernard et al 2005).¹² An overview of evolved universal motives that are assumed to be of critical relevance to all human beings are shown in figure 2.¹³

Whereas the motive relevance appraisal is more related to specifying the type of affects, we suggest that the computation of the "**saliency**" of a stimulus is mainly related to affect intensity. Hence, the intensity of fury is higher, if the situation implies highly salient stimuli. The saliency is high if **changes** (in relation to a reference point such as the status quo or expectations) occur as such, but particularly if these changes are very **sudden, unfamiliar, and unexpected** (Frijda 2006). In addition to this, saliency correlates positively with the magnitude of reinforcement contingencies (Oppenheimer et al. 2005; Loewenstein and O'Donoghue 2007) and their **relative importance** with evolved motives being relatively more important than acquired ones due to the evolutionary critical role they play for adaptive fitness (Damasio 2006). The same is true for **spatially proximate or temporally pressuring stimuli which** are more salient than past, future or imagined reinforcers (Liberman and Trope 1998; Oppenheimer et al. 2005). Finally, the **strength of a corresponding and accompanying drive state** experienced in a given situation (such as hunger, thirst etc.) correlates positively with saliency (La Bar et al. 2001).

In addition to this, fury is more likely to be elicited and highly intense, if **causality is appraised as positive and intentionality as aversive (agency appraisal)**, that is if the motive incongruent event is assessed as being caused intentionally by a (group of) person(s) other than the appraising individual (other accountability) with the purpose to do harm (Berkowitz and Harmon-Jones 2004).

Last but not least, **the higher the perceived general and personal difficulty of coping** with the motive incongruent stimuli, the more intense fury becomes.

Figure 2 Overview of inherited and evolutionary significant motive domains: Source, Bernard et al. 2005, p. 170-171, modified

Motive domain	Description	Motive
Self-Protection & Survival		
Curiosity	Creativity	Being curious; novel ideas; being creative
	Flexibility, openness, & excitement	Taking risks; flexibility; being unique; being able to fantasise; being passionate; being innovative; exploring; (having) different experiences; (having an) exciting life; being spontaneous
Safety	Stability & safety	(Having an) easy life; feeling safe; being conventional; (having) stability; (overcoming) life's limitations; overcoming failure; being private
Play	Entertainment	Hobbies; being carefree; being playful
Health	Physical health	Looking fit; (having good) nutrition; exercising; physical fitness; physical ability
Mating		
	Sex	Feeling meshed; attracting (others) sexually; (having an) erotic relationship; (having) sexual experiences; being in love; (having) romantic experiences; (having) mature romantic (experiences)
Appearance	Physical appearance	Looking distinguished; looking young; being good-looking; (being) fashion(able)
Material	Finances	Descendants; (paying) bills; (having) money; buying things
Mental	Intellect & education	(Having) intellectual conversations; thinking intellectually; being intelligent; (having) educational degree(s); (having an) education
	Aesthetics	(Appreciating) world beauty; learning art; (appreciating) arts
Physical	Physical health	Looking fit; (having good) nutrition; exercising; physical fitness; physical ability

Figure 2 continued from previous

Motive domain	Description	Motive
Relationship maintenance & parental care Affection	Marriage	(Having a) good marriage; (having a) close spouse
	Family	Providing (for a) family; (being a) good parent; (having) close children; (having a) stable family life; (receiving) help from family; living close to family; feeling close to family; taking care of family
	Friendship	Sharing feelings; having friends; being affectionate
	Receiving from others	(Being or feeling) cared for; (having a) mentor; (having) others to rely on; (receiving) support from others
Coalition formation		
Altruism	Social awareness	(Giving to) charity; (making a) contribution; (giving to a good) cause; seeking equality; seeking justice; seeking fairness
	Defence versus rejection	Avoiding rejection; defence versus criticism
	Positive social qualities	Being respected; (having) others' trust; being honest
	Ethics & idealism	(Being) ethical; (having) firm values; pursuing ideas
Memetic	Teaching & helping others	
	Setting examples; helping others; teaching (others); (having) control of (the) environment	
	Religion	Achieving salvation; (having or respecting) religious traditions; pleasing God; (having) religious faith
	Higher meaning	Finding higher meaning
Meaning	Personal growth	
	(Having) mental health; (having) peace of mind; (having) self-esteem; (being) content with myself; knowing myself; (having) wisdom; (having a) mature understanding	

This is not only the case if the perceived likelihood that motive incongruent stimuli that can be effectively influenced by any natural agent are low but also if the **capabilities** (physical strength, attractiveness, knowledge, skills, access) of the appraising individual to exert control in some form, be it to cope with the emotional consequences of actions taken in relation to internal or external social norms (other or role expectations) or to recruit others to exert control are (perceived to be) weak.¹⁴ (Frijda 2006; Grandjean, Sander, and Scherer 2005).

Thus, taking all the aforementioned insights on affects as endogenous and exogenous variables into account, we are now able to hypothesize that the impulse of citizen-consumers to engage in violent behaviour is more likely:

- In situations, which are characterised by
 - Spatially proximate, temporally pressuring and unexpected reinforcement contingencies that lead to the obstruction of large numbers of evolutionary critically (evolved) motives and are accompanied by corresponding drive states
 - The appraisal of motive incongruent stimuli as being intentionally caused by someone else with the purpose to harm
 - Very limited (perceived) situational personal coping capabilities
 - Low situational willpower strength, e.g. acute stress
 - The performance of effective aggressive affect influence strategies enacted by credible leaders/role models
- By (groups or types of) individuals who
 - Are of male gender and in an early developmental state (youth)
 - Habitually behave in a violent, impulsive and disrespectful manner induced by experience of persistent and/or highly intense aggressive events either in the recent past and/or in early childhood
 - Possess low dispositional willpower strength due to chronic stress, chronic abuse of drugs, especially those that increase aggression and decrease self-control (tobacco, alcohol)
 - Possess low dispositional coping capabilities (e.g. learned helplessness, lack of skills, knowledge and self-worth). Most of these are in turn determined strongly by factors
- In contexts
 - With weak institutional environments, characterised by low social capital (lack of trust, confidence, supportive social networks) and/or an institutional vacuum, especially in terms of an ineffective enforcement of social norms that are related to respect and decency and a lack or inappropriate types of enforcement of formal institutions (laws, policies) culminating in a dominance of rule of man over rule of law
 - High levels of persistent inequality and heterogeneity

- With an inappropriate set of basic infrastructure services, educational and economic opportunities (poverty, unemployment etc.), leading to hunger/thirst/illnesses, underdevelopment of skills and self-esteem, and income insecurities.
- With natural or artificial environments that are characterised by high levels of environmental pollution and hazardous (human and non-human) waste.

After having derived a set of hypotheses that explain and predict the motivational tendency of an individual to act in an impulsive aggressive manner, we are able to explain why, that is in relation to what kind of events, actions and object characteristics the recent public service delivery protests in South Africa turned violent as well as why they were primarily initiated by a certain group of individuals and in specific contexts.

VIOLENT PUBLIC SERVICE DELIVERY PROTESTS IN SOUTH AFRICA TRIGGERED BY FURY

Without intending to perform a thorough empirical analysis, a rough desk top analysis of recent newspaper articles, policy papers and reports dealing with the situational, dispositional and contextual characteristics of the circumstances, actors involved and areas in which violent PSDP broke out suggests that the set of factors that (in combination) are hypothesised to explain the violent PSDP in terms of direct motivational influences of fury all seem to have been present. As the specific features of dispositional factors strongly depend on environmental factors, we are discussing the dispositional and contextual features together.

Aversive Situational Characteristics in Service Areas Prone to Protest

To begin with, failures in the characteristics of public services delivered in the affected areas are not only pervasive but also substantial, comprising nearly all types of essential or basic public services such as water and sanitation, electricity and shelter (Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty 2009b & 2009c). What is specific about these kinds of public services is that they are critical for the fulfillment of survival motives, hence the evolutionary most relevant concerns. Another important aspect is that basic public services are also related to a range of other primary motives. This can be illustrated well with respect to the provision of drinking water. Not only is the provision of adequate amounts, access to, reasonable prices and quality of water and sanitation critical for survival but also

for other health issues, which in turn form the basis of a person's rudimentary capabilities, especially education (you cannot teach a thirsty child). Apart from this, water has been declared to be a human right or entitlement, which is why a certain amount of free water per annum has been enshrined in the South African constitution. Thus, failure to provide the guaranteed amount and quality of water is therefore likely to obstruct moral concerns, especially fairness. But substantive fairness concerns also become violated if there are visibly large inequalities in public service delivery between neighbouring settlement areas. Apart from this, water has symbolic and cultural meanings and uses that, if inhibited, may lead to frustration in relation to concerns in the meaning domain. In addition to this, not only the characteristics of the public services provided but also the process of public service delivery as such may play a role in explaining the occurrence of violence in municipalities prone to protests. A delivery process that is characterised by clientilism, corruption, a lack of appropriate managerial and technological capacities of local government personnel as well as a lack of communication between (local) government officials and citizen-consumers (Nkosi 2009) is likely to obstruct procedural, especially informational fairness motives. To sum up, failures in the characteristics of public services provided and the process of public service delivery are likely to lead to substantial levels of frustration (Vernekohl 2009).

It is also likely that the situational vividness of the different facets of PSD failures has been relatively high at the times of PSDP outbreaks, for example due to the relatively recent elections which were based on electoral campaigns (of nearly all parties) that primarily centred around promises to reduce public service delivery failures substantially. At least in case of the Western Cape protests it cannot be excluded that public service delivery failures may have also been relatively salient, not only because of rumors that the recently developed Social Transformation Programme (STP), which was set up to tackle some of the most critical sources of public delivery failure effectively and in a sustainable manner (Department of the Premier 2009), may become abolished due to changes of provincial government, but also because of the high incidences of heavy rainfalls prevalent then that lead to the flooding of service areas, thereby increasing vividness of detrimental public service characteristics once more. In other municipalities rumors of relocation (Nkosi 2009) may have been another source of situational vividness of public service delivery failures at the advent of outbreaks of violent PSDPs.

In addition to this, there are also indications that the appraisal of other factors, especially government accountability and aversive intentionality may have been relatively high prior to the outbreak of PSDPs turning violent. It may be worth mentioning the case of Tembisa where PSDP only turned violent after formal and peaceful efforts to voice the citizen-consumer concerns had been ignored

completely by the mayor, thereby also contributing to the appraisal of highly difficult coping potential (Keepile 2009). Furthermore, the lack of responsiveness of government officials at higher levels within the political hierarchy expressed by their explicit refusal to visit the sites prone to protest as frequently requested by citizen-consumers may rather contribute to aversive intentionality appraisals. (Roussow 2009). Last but not least and highly relevant in explaining the outbreak of violence during the PSDPs is the use of police force in the form of rubber bullets (or even more dangerous weapons) (Rawoot and Botes 2009), which also contributes to acute and high levels of stress. This also implies that the use of violent means of police force is not only relatively ineffective in pacing down or de-escalating the outbreak of violence in PSDPs but may even have a counterproductive effect. Finally and at least in some areas, it cannot be excluded that the PSDPs were spurred intentionally by the application of effective and aggressive types of affect influence strategies performed by sufficiently credible or threatening leaders and/or role models, who may have been motivated by hidden strategic political agendas (Nkosi 2009).

Detrimental Contextual Characteristics in Service Areas Prone to Protests

A brief look at the communities prone to protest in which the PSDPs turned violent show characteristics that are highly consistent with the type of contextual factors hypothesised to lead to all high chronic stress levels, habitualised violence, and underdevelopment of coping capabilities, such as:

- High prevalence of drug abuse, especially alcohol and tick
- Gangsterism and other forms of criminal activity (lack of rule of law, relative dominance of rule of man)
- Low levels of social capital and high levels of mistrust between individuals (especially in relation to groups of "outsiders", e.g. non-South Africans)
- Lack of appropriate means to raise citizen and consumer "voice" effectively and lack of confidence in government institutions due to inadequate levels of multi-sectoral community mobilisation to ensure participatory governance i.e. lack of proactive engagement with government for improved service delivery and local socio-economic development (Department of the Premier 2009)
- Lack of social norms that reward decency or respect and predominance of social norms that reward (unlimited) consumerism (Olivier 2009)
- High levels of (especially youth) poverty and unemployment (Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty 2009b & 2009c, Gower 2009)
- High levels of inequality and heterogeneity (between the townships and other residential areas as well as within the townships)

- Lack of sufficient economic base for sustainable economic activity and related high levels of capability inequality (especially in terms of relative income, market and employment opportunities but also in terms of levels and appropriateness of education, knowledge, skills) (Department of the Premier 2009; Gower 2009)
- Poor sanitary and environmental quality

Dispositional Characteristics of the Actors Involved: The Relevance of Past Traumatic Experiences

In addition to this, it is noteworthy to point out the non-negligible role that certain past events in the form of traumatic experiences may have played in the recent violent PSDPs. Please note that a trauma can be defined as “*(...) an initial, paralyzing condition of (affective) shock, followed (or accompanied) by a kind of blind ‘repetition’ or re-living of the event. (...) Trauma, (...), therefore forces one to search, via language and imagination, for meaning in something experienced as senseless.*” (Olivier 2009:1). Hence it is likely that certain traumata became primed by situational cues during PSDPs due to their chronically high and easy accessibility in the collective South African mind.

In the South African history and context, at least three collective traumata that have been imposed on and experienced by especially black South Africans can be identified. “*First (...) apartheid, (...) something that was manifested in a symbolic framework of its own, no matter how morally deplorable it may have been*” (Olivier 2009:1). How this may influence the tendency to behave aggressively, has been outlined well by Ndebele (2009:20) who points out that “*discovering and unmasking acts of racism and then assailing them*” is a legacy of the Apartheid system that has become habitualised by especially black South Africans, and with it the appraisal of aversive other accountability of individuals with different racial characteristics. This may then not only explain why anger is more likely to be elicited but also why Xenophobic tendencies were also often part and parcel of the more violent PSDPs (Underhill 2009).

“*Then, in 1994, South Africans had to face another ‘trauma’ in the sense of an inescapable transition to a radically different socio-political (...) framework, in the guise of a democratic constitution. (...). Here the present priority accorded to the economic sphere plays a crucial role. With the embrace of global, neoliberal economic principles in South Africa, those people who possess the fewest economically marketable skills are also the most vulnerable*” (Olivier 2009:1). Ndebele acknowledges that “*(...) some of the elements of the negotiated settlement that led to the historic elections of 1994 served to subvert the higher order mission. Redistribution was given priority over creation and invention. (...) millions of (...)*

South Africans were demobilized by social grants and truth commission reparations, some aspects of which are difficult not to see as material rewards for surviving the horrors of apartheid. This may have engendered an unintended expectation that the world will yield its rewards to me without an attendant obligation on my part to be engaged in changing my relationship with the world under the steam of my own leadership” (Ndebele 2009:20). Put differently, there seems to be an anger-infusing combination of materialism and consumerism coupled with a profound lack of marketable skills and self-responsibility.

Last but not least, black South Africans may be (either individually or collectively) traumatised by the “dormitory enclaves of township life (...). (...) Although we have built millions of new houses, we did not build communities.” (Ndebele 2009:21). This specific kind of trauma is likely to be brought about by the following features: a lack of nurture and love during early childhood (due to a loss of parents, the lack of adequately skilled and emotionally stable parents as well as male role models), the premature loss of close relatives and friends (due to violent crime and/or AIDS) as well as the overexposure to painful physical touch (due to, amongst others drug induced, abusive parents and otherwise close individuals) (Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty 2009b). It is possible that this type of trauma is at least equally important for violence to occur in case of PSDP, as it is likely to lead to a) an underdevelopment of empathy, b) aggressive affective traits, and/or c) reduced self-esteem and self-worth (and with it coping capabilities).

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS TO PREVENT OUTBREAKS OF VIOLENT PUBLIC SERVICE DELIVERY PROTESTS IN FUTURE

To sum up and conclude, the major (though still preliminary) insights gained by the cognitive evolutionary economic analysis conducted above are twofold. First of all, it may not only be the characteristics of the public services themselves (what is delivered) that matter, but also the process of public service delivery (how it is delivered and communicated) and the type (credibility and reputation of) actors involved (by whom it is delivered). Thus, in order to avoid the outbreak of violent PSDPs in future, it may be essential for government to improve not only the economic characteristics (quality, price, quantity) of public services provided but to try to ensure that these are more equitably distributed and that (pre-electoral or otherwise politically strategic) promises that are hard to keep should rather be avoided as they can easily backfire. In addition to this, possibly more attention needs to be given to improve the process of and the identity and qualification of actors involved in public service delivery in terms of increased procedural and informational fairness, reduced corruption

and clientilism and enhanced technical, managerial and communicative skills of public sector personnel. Among others, this could be achieved by establishing skill- and purpose-oriented candidate selection mechanisms for future public service employees, by investing in personnel development and by setting up both output and input-related performance incentives that are not too narrowly focused on material economic rewards alone but that also harness the employees' intrinsic motivations (such as being respected by the community, making a difference, being helpful/of use etc.); an aspect that is even more useful in financially constraint public service sectors. In view of the aforementioned, the president visiting the locations prone to PSDP (thereby signaling responsiveness and concern at highest government level) as well as the establishment of both the Cooperative Governance Ministry and the direct line to the presidency in case of PSD failures may be steps in the right direction.

Another possibly important and more counterintuitive insight of the analysis is that factors and incidents that are more or less completely unrelated to the public service delivery domain and that may even result from the past may exert a non-negligible influence on both whether PSDPs occur and in what form. Put differently, the preliminary results seem to indicate that all a) inter-temporal spillover effects (incidental affects that originate in the recent or distant past), b) inter-sectoral spillover effects (resulting from incidental affects that have been triggered by other reforms, policies or other events occurring more or less in parallel with PSD characteristics, and c) inter-personal spillover effects (incidental affects based on empathy) may elicit the motivation to engage in (violent) PSDPs. From this follows that it is indispensable to work towards sustainably reducing or eliminating all those contextual and dispositional variables that facilitate the formation and consolidation of habitual violence, inequality, chronic stress and those traumata that negatively impact on both citizens' subjective and objective internal capabilities, especially self-esteem/self-worth and individual initiative and leadership.

Apart from policies related to crime prevention, policy areas that are critically important for these kinds of impacts to develop and that may therefore require increased immediate and sustained attention by policy makers are a) educational policies, b) social (security) policies and c) employment policies, as these policies are likely to unfold not only positive economic welfare consequences (increased levels and security of income) but also psychological effects. This necessitates, however, that government does not only allocate sufficient amounts of the budget to these sectors but also that these policies are explicitly set up with the very objective to avoid treating beneficiaries as passive recipients of primarily material government favours. Good examples for such policies in the social policy domain are the basic income grant (Le Roux 2002) and the introduction of a fair and efficient overall health insurance that also includes the informal sector. In so far as industrial, employment, and educational policies

are concerned, it is advisable to commit to whole-community and life skill education, lifelong learning, vocational training, and in particular to establish “*the end of affirmative action, a short-term measure that should never have been allowed to assume the status of a strategic objective. (Instead) (t)he development of all should have been the strategic guide*” (Ndebele 2009:21).

In the light of all the aforementioned we would like to point out the Social Transformation Programme (STP) that was introduced in the Western Cape Province in 2007 and that has been set up explicitly with the **objective** not only to **improve local government public service delivery** but also to **enable and sustain social capital** in the form of both **citizen-consumer confidence in local government and trust** within communities. The STP rests primarily on the following pillars (STP 2009):

- The provision of **Public Service Jamborees** that enable improved and integrative provision of public services and foster direct contacts and communication not only between local government and citizens but also between different local government departments involved in public service delivery. As these Jamborees are mostly performed over weekends and always in close vicinity to the communities, it may be perceived as a credible signal of local government concern for and commitment to citizens.
- Fostering the **setup of multi-sectoral partnerships by establishing, among others, intermediary community structures and intergovernmental forums** that may lead to an institutionalised and effective channel which allows citizens to raise their “voice” and become heard effectively by all the relevant local government departments.
- Organising a **Social Transformation Colloquium (STC)** on a monthly basis where actors from (local) government, implementation agencies (NGOs and community organisations) as well as academic experts come together to discuss pressuring problems and/or recent developments and innovations within the realm of social transformation. It is noteworthy to point out that the STCs are generally characterised by a respectful and collegial atmosphere that provides an adequate frame for PSD innovations to occur, because it fosters not only the exchange of information and concerns but it also creates an affectively positive environment, which has been shown to be a critical precondition for creative thinking and substantial cognitive processing styles to be applied (Forgas 2000).

As the STP has the potential not only to tackle drawbacks in the characteristics and process of local PSD but may also contribute substantially to solidarity, community, and civility building, it is recommended that this programme be not only sustained and improved but also enlarged by the new Western Province government and that it is also used as a role model for other provinces.

CONCLUSION

This research was undertaken in the context of the recent outbreaks of violent PSDPs in South Africa and applied a relatively new theoretical approach: Cognitive Evolutionary Economics. It highlighted that it is very likely that violent PSDPs were not only motivated by detrimental economic welfare implications (material concerns) brought about by public service delivery failures but also by the influence of the latter on the obstruction of other evolved motives, especially those related to fairness, meaning, and survival. In addition to this, the research furthermore indicated that the supply of violent PSDPs may be to a large extent triggered by aversive past and often still ongoing (traumatic) events and experiences that may even fall outside the domain of public service delivery as such. Based on this, we came up with two types of recommendations directed at avoiding the outbreak of violent PSDPs in future. First of all, it is not only indispensable to improve the quality of public service delivery but also of those policies that imply the possibility to reduce chronic stress (poverty, crime, etc.) and increase the (coping) capabilities of citizens (e.g. self-esteem, skills and individual initiative) such as educational, social and unemployment policies. Finally, we concluded that paying attention to the inner features of public policies alone is not sufficient to reduce the demand and supply of violent PSDPs sustainably but that it is also the procedural and outer features of public policies, e.g. their inter-temporal stability (reliability), coherence, flexibility, fairness, and quality in terms of policy making and communication skills, that matter (Spiller *et al.* 2003).

NOTES

- 1 Such as, for example, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* by Adam Smith (1759); *The Sensory Order: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Theoretical Psychology* by Friedrich von Hayek (1952) or *The Limitations of Marginal Utility* by Thorstein Veblen (1909).
- 2 Cognitive evolutionary economics has been set up to integrate all behavioural economics, evolutionary economics and neuro-economics (Camerer, Loewenstein and Prelec 2005).
- 3 Animal spirits is a term originally proposed by Keynes and refers to the Latin word *spiritus animalis* with *animalis* referring to "of the mind" or "animating" (Akerlof and Spiller 2009).
- 4 As an example of anticipated affects, consider the presently imagined though not presently felt future disappointment or regret caused by contemplating the possible future scenario of having made an investment at a price that is higher than its future price.
- 5 This is so because anticipated affects can be conceptualised sustainably as being compatible with the expected utility concept if utility is defined as being based on and informed by the prediction of outcome related future affects and if any possible influences of immediate affects

on decision-making are ignored. For a more detailed explanation please refer to Loewenstein and Lerner (2003)

- 6 Please note that the narrows denoted a, e and f describe the behavioural influences exerted by expected affects.
- 7 Apart from the direct motivational effects of immediate affects discussed within this paper, there is an alternative direct route, the so-called "affects-as-information heuristic". But as this direct affect only occurs in case of low to intermediate levels affect intensity, it is also not taken into account. For more information please refer to Ortony *et al.* 1998.
- 8 Please note that the different stressors are not necessarily mutually exclusive but may determine acute and chronic stress in a rather combined or juxtaposed manner. This is specifically so with respect to the (enduring) influence of stable institutional factors on mood (incidental affect) creation and the formation of substantial preferences (personality traits or learned motives).
- 9 In addition it is important to note that different cognitive appraisal dimensions contribute to both the valence of affect as well as its intensity or level of arousal albeit in different proportions. However, the relevance appraisal seems to be an indispensable component for eliciting a certain type of affect (Berkowitz and Harmon-Jones 2004) and generally seems to precede the other appraisal dimensions (Grandjean *et al.* 2005).
- 10 Apart from anger, extreme fear may also lead to defend motivations in the form of action tendencies that spur the urge to attack or injure individuals or objects. Due to reasons of space and because fear and anger share most of the appraisal processes, we only focus on anger in this analysis.
- 11 Although desires, goals and wishes or concerns are not identical and may vary in terms of how they are acquired (e.g. learned or inherited) as well as how they are stored in and recalled from memory, for the purposes of this paper they are sufficiently similar to subsume them under the heading of "needs". For a more differentiated view please refer to Damasio 2006.
- 12 Please note that this implies that cognitive evolutionary economics broadens the concept of utility by no longer narrowly defining it in terms of consumption utility that is purely determined by economic welfare considerations (e.g. price, quantity and quality of a good/services provided/bought), but by referring to the broader concept of utility as (psychological) wellbeing (often alternatively referred to as happiness as a background feeling) (Damasio 2006). Roughly speaking, wellbeing is assumed to be a function of the (non-)fulfillment not only of (selfish) survival and material status (economic welfare) concerns but may also be influenced by the (non-)fulfillment of immaterial status, social and moral concerns.
- 13 Other than inherited needs, acquired needs/motives are to be understood as cognitive structures (also called knowledge structures, cognitive representations, schemes or scripts); According to Damasio (2006), these acquired motives or cognitive structures are represented and stored as topographical images in the memory systems of the brain. Furthermore, it is assumed that the formation of these acquired motives is brought about by learning with different kinds of acquired motives/needs being distinguishable and stored differently in memory, based on different kinds of learning, e.g. habitual (motor) learning (based on frequency and overexposure to stimulus), Pavlovian learning, conditioning, observational learning (including imitation and empathy) as well as, possibly, insight (logical reasoning) (Vernekohl 2009), with the latter type of learning

all being mediated by affects albeit to different extents. Please note that acquired needs are therefore largely derivations of inherited motives (Rolls 2005).

- 14 Please note that the assessment of coping potential, as well as those of the other appraisal dimensions, is not restricted to consciously and deliberately evoked cognitive structures (believes) but occurs at different levels of the hierarchy of the brain, that is, it may be also or only performed based on the physical state of the organism (e.g. the available energy) or body schemata (including the unconscious recalling of habitualised motor responses, e.g. skills). (Grandjean, Sander and Scherer 2005, Vernekohl 2009).

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Mainstreaming municipal performance management for efficient and effective service delivery

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ABSTRACT

Improving municipal performance depends upon local government reforms in South Africa. Local government introduced municipal performance management systems as part of the new public management paradigm, adopted in attempts to find more effective and efficient methods of delivering municipal services in South African municipalities. However, the recent wave of service delivery protests across the country suggests that municipalities have not performed efficiently and effectively, nor have they been responsive and accountable to the community they serve. Municipal performance management systems are required to be established for *inter alia* locally determined service delivery programmes on constitutionally mandated subjects, invariably underpinned by national policy directives, and the management of nationally and provincially mandated programmes. This dual role makes it rather difficult to conceptualise municipal performance in terms of outcomes: what should one consider when conceptualising municipal performance management?

The article reviews literature on performance management with the scope to improve our understanding and practice of the design and implementation of performance management systems in municipalities, within the constitutional spheres of government. Some theoretical and practitioner issues are also identified for further research. The paper argues that mainstreaming performance management in the multi-level model of government could enhance efficient service delivery and public trust.

INTRODUCTION

The transformation of local government in South Africa is premised on democratising and improving municipal performance. Government performance exists, wherever there is government or not, but measuring and managing government performance, unlike in the private sector, tends to be complicated by the influence of multiple factors. Performance in municipalities is what one would call outcomes. Output in municipalities does not straightforwardly lead to outcome, and outcomes being sought are themselves often vague. The municipality in the cooperative spheres of government means that other spheres of government and a variety of government agencies will influence virtually all the municipal service delivery outcomes. An integrated performance management system, with measurement processes for the various factors that influence municipal service delivery, is what is needed to carefully measure, collect and report on service delivery performance.

Based on analysis of literature on performance management, the article is intended to add to our understanding of the design and implementation of performance management systems in South African municipalities as the constitutional local sphere of government.

To do this, the article *firstly* conceptualises performance and performance management in contemporary South African municipalities. *Secondly*, it analyses municipal performance management, its processes and components, and the monitoring and evaluation of municipal performance. The article argues that mainstreaming performance management could lead to understanding the linkages between policy and delivery outcomes, and improve the understanding, practice and implementation of municipal performance management systems.

MUNICIPAL PERFORMANCE AND PERFORMANCE MANAGEMENT

Performance management is one of the instrumental management tools required by local government legislation and forms an important part of new public management system, adopted to restructure municipal government and administration in South Africa. Performance denotes a progress towards goal achievement, and performance management is intended to build on municipalities' capabilities to be more responsive, effective and sensitive to the demands of their constituents, also being efficient in utilising the limited available resources to address those demands (Putman 1993:9). Understanding performance management systems of municipalities also requires recognising the contextual factors that condition the delivery of municipal services.

These factors include the complex and variable locality-specific environment, national government policy directives in the context of cooperative spheres of government, and even the global environment that impacts on local government's ability to perform.

As a concept, performance has deep roots in the emergence, nature and ultimate goal of human community. In any given community, both the political functions of providing services and the mediation of conflict through public administrative institutions are judged by how well – effectively, efficiently and how cheaply – these services are performed. Easton (1965:273) writes that as part of the evaluation of democratic regimes, most citizens, instead of bestowing "diffuse support", fall back on performance-based judgements of what democracy actually does for them. A form of evaluating outcomes of public programmes, is measured as citizen/customer satisfaction, socio-economic contribution of programmes, and the link between policies, strategic plans and goal achievement.

Unlike in the private sector, where the measurement and targets to measure successfully are often generally accepted, what constitutes performance in government is more complicated and therefore difficult to define. In their work on local government in South Asia and Africa, Crook and Manor (1998:18) use a range of indicators and measures of performance, such as output effectiveness related to policy and services, responsiveness, defined as the degree of congruence between policies, outputs and popular preferences, and processes, which refer to transparency and fairness of local officials to describe performance. Added to this definitional difficulty, the centrality of government performance in public management introduces the notion of public productivity, *albeit* in the broadest sense. The productive public sector organisation is regarded as having the capability to perform and convert this capability into results, output and outcomes (Dubnick 2005:393). With these the measurement and management of government performance gained, it added momentum especially with the adoption of new public management (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2004:87).

It is a statutory requirement, according to the *Local Government: Municipal Systems Act, 2000* (Act 32 of 2000), that municipalities must establish performance management systems as part of the Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) to achieve service delivery objectives. Statutorily requiring the establishment of a performance management system may be necessary but not sufficient to improve performance, and to assure the public of what they are receiving for money from public programmes or government. The need is to integrate measurement for all factors that influence service delivery, and utilise measurement information in conjunction with strategic planning, budgeting, policy and programme evaluations to better manage public service delivery (Thomas 2005:2).

Performance Management

Utilising performance information to better manage, is to communicate performance information as a key strategic tool for understanding the linkages between inputs and outcomes, and proper leadership to ensure that “all noses point in the same direction” among units of government and within public institutions (Flapper, Fortuin and Stoop 1996: 29). The *Department of Provincial and Local Government* (undated: 3) broadly defines “performance management” as a strategic approach to management, which equips leaders and managers, workers and stakeholders at different levels, with a set of tools and techniques to regularly plan, continuously monitor, periodically measure and review the performance of the organisation in terms of indicators and targets for efficiency, effectiveness and impact.

As a conceptual framework, performance management provides an understanding of the processes and complexities of policy and policy implementation, especially the crucial linkages between organisational aspects such as human resources and financial management (Spangenberg 1994:xiii). Such conceptualisation means that the municipal performance cannot be isolated to specific tasks being carried out by municipalities. Issac-Henry, Painter and Barnes (in van der Waldt 2004:45) note that the concept of performance in the public sector is inherently political and that care should be taken to avoid a view that is too simplistic. Spangenberg (1994:15) also argues that performance management forms part of some larger system, driven by key political figures whose buy-in to the system is critical for its success. Performance management is thus intended to achieve synergies in the development, implementation and management processes of service delivery policies.

Questions are often raised as to whether performance relating to some aspects of service delivery is more worthy than others (*Department of Constitutional Development (DCD)*, 1999:10). Intellectual and practical challenges persist in the design and implementation of municipal performance management to achieve improved service impact and strengthen democracy. Altman (1979) notes as far back as the 1970s, that the evaluation of the development and implementation of policies are two separate processes. Rivlin (in Thomas 2005) also notes that inputs, outputs and outcomes (whether immediate or long-term) as dimensions of performance, are causally linked, but not always in ways that are well understood. In practice performance, evaluation of the municipality can focus on any of the dimensions. A report in the *Sunday Times* of October 18 indicates that many government departments were reporting to meet their minimum annual requirements, rather than ensuring a flow of information to underpin better management. That equates regulatory compliance with performance. The question to ask is whether the taxpayer is getting value-for-

money in terms of the cost of establishing municipal performance management systems?

CORE COMPONENTS OF PERFORMANCE MANAGEMENT

The primary focus of performance management hinges on developing measurable indicators to track programme performance and, ultimately, outcomes. A general understanding of performance management would include performance indicators, performance measurement and utilisation of information for better management (Thomas 2005). A discussion of the components of performance management is a theoretical discussion in Public Administration, in order to couple theory with practical application of performance management systems. Adapting to a specific environment then provides analysts and practitioners who want to improve municipal services, the opportunity for research to improve their understanding and practice of municipal performance management. The statutory and regulatory framework on local government performance management includes other dimensions like the *Batho Pele* principles (*DCD Information Series 2*, 1999:12).

Performance Measurement

Performance measurement is a pivotal component of performance management. Measurement determines all the processes, practices and improvement of performance management systems. The main thrust of performance measurement is the development of performance indicators to provide an empirical foundation to create a better understanding of management in public administration (*DCD Information Series 2*, 1999:12). Performance indicators describe what and how to measure (e.g. the number of households that receive electricity connections). Performance targets are used to identify the results to be achieved within the given timeframe (e.g. 5000 connections by the year 2010).

Historically, the political arithmetic movement, the science of administration and scientific management provided the tools for quantified assessments, propagated output and efficiency measures, and applied them to government (Hood 2000). Taylor for instance, propagated ‘incentive pay systems’, which is known today as performance-related pay.

Performance Reporting

Reporting performance information is said to have integrative potential and also plays a critical role in daily management practice as it connects municipal

institutions with each other and the municipality with its community (Ingraham, Joyce and Donahue 2003:28). Performance reporting is critical for management processes that contribute to municipal service delivery capacity. It is defined as the potential for performance, financial management, human resources management, capital management and information technology management, public private partnerships, privatisation and the controlling of agencies, and has an impact on the political oversight role of national and provincial spheres (Christensen and Laegreid 2001). Reporting is also critical for the leadership to be able to make informed decisions, to provide guidance and direction, to develop the institution's mission, vision and values, to communicate these to the members and to coordinate organisational components.

Performance reporting is a requirement for municipalities in terms of legislation. Reporting forms a basis for understanding the extent to which a municipality has accomplished its mission, goals, and objectives in the context of involvement in decision-making and establishing service goals. It would appear that some measure of headway is being made in the area of financial reporting in terms of auditing and reporting to provincial government. The function of reporting is intended to bring about accountability, transparency and responsiveness. According to Schachter (2008:322), what is needed is to understand citizens' information needs. The fundamental issue is the manner of reporting and how it is tailored to meet the needs of various stakeholders. The use of performance information is therefore not to be confined to policy advice or budget and planning processes such as the municipal IDPs.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A MUNICIPAL PERFORMANCE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

The position of local government in the modern democracy provides a broader national, political and legal environment in which municipalities operate as a key factor in the studies of local government performance. In the South African context, the constitutional cooperative spheres of government mean that outcomes of all functions of significance to local government, including policy and processes of implementation, have no real boundaries, and are influenced by a variety of government agencies (*Constitution* 1996). Roberts (2005:3) suggests that a "systems" approach of integrated performance management with appropriate outcome measures, which are easy to attain and monitor, is likely to prove effective when carried out in small communities.

The *Local Government: Municipal Systems Act*, 2000 requires that each municipal council, within a prescribed period after the start of its elected term, must adopt a single, inclusive strategic plan which:

- links, integrates and co-ordinates plans and takes into account the proposal for the development of the municipality;
- aligns the resources and capacity of the municipality with the implementation of the plan;
- forms the policy framework and general basis on which annual budgets must be based;
- complies with the provisions of the relevant sections of the Act; and
- is compatible with national and provincial development plans and planning requirements binding on the municipality in terms of legislation.

A municipality's IDP must have a performance management system that is commensurate with its resources, best suited to its circumstances, and in line with its priorities, objectives, indicators and targets contained in the IDP (*Municipal Systems Act, 2000*). Craythorne (2006:121) notes that a municipality's performance management system is, accordingly, an integral part of its IDP, and because the content of the IDP is a matter of municipal choice, so too is the content of the performance management system. Effective municipal governance therefore means performance. The extent to which the municipal government and administration satisfies the basic functions of government as viewed by the community and stakeholders, is a factor which tends to focus on municipal council's strategies identified in the IDP, and the exclusion of other policy directives which are equally critical to service delivery (Van der Waldt 2006:129).

There are also guidelines set out in the *White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery (Batho Pele)* 1997, as a set of service delivery principles described as comprising a vision for managing performance within the broader South African public sector. The *Batho Pele* principles are as follows:

Consultation

Citizens should be consulted about service levels and quality and, as far as possible, given a choice about the services offered.

Service standards

Citizens must be informed about the level and quality of services they can expect.

Access

Citizens should have equal access to the services to which they are entitled.

Courtesy

Citizens should be treated with courtesy and consideration.

Information

Citizens must receive full and accurate information about their services.

Openness and transparency

Citizens should be informed about the key aspects of service delivery that affect them, e.g. budget decisions and service plans.

Redress

Citizens are entitled to an apology, explanation and remedial action if the promised standard of service is not delivered.

Value for money

Public services should be provided economically and efficiently.

According to the *White Paper on Local Government*, 1998 these principles also serve as yardsticks for the assessment of municipal performance, and monitoring the effectiveness of development and delivery strategies adopted by different municipalities in their IDPs. They are regarded as benchmarks with which to compare similar municipalities across the country.

Performance Monitoring and Evaluation

The *White Paper on Local Government*, 1998 states that the aim of municipal performance management is to:

- assess the overall state of local government;
- monitor the effectiveness of development and delivery strategies adopted by different municipalities and ensure that scarce resources are utilised efficiently;
- provide a national set of performance indicators that municipalities may supplement;
- improve the effectiveness, efficiency and accountability of local government programmes by getting municipalities to focus on programme results.

A municipality's performance management system is required to cover and span all the activities under the control of the municipality, including the municipality as an organisation and all its employees, and all entities reporting to the municipality, as well as all service providers contracted to the municipality (*Municipal Systems Act*, 2000).

An important theoretical and practical issue in performance management is how to design a measurement system that is fit for its purpose, and that relates measurement to the choice of indicators and the uses of performance information. Performance data is the basis for monitoring and evaluation. McDavid and

Hawthorn (2006) assert that performance measurement may also be seen as an approach to evaluation. Monitoring and evaluation are interlinked activities with monitoring providing the information base used for evaluation (*DCD Information Series 2*, 1999:15). The broad emphasis is on the supply of relevant, accurate and timely information for a variety of stakeholders (Checkland Holwell 1998:85). The inherent complexity of measuring social outcome and attributing it to a particular service delivery intervention, creates challenges both for measuring municipal performance and operationalising monitoring and evaluation. Measuring, as well as monitoring and evaluating performance of a municipality on the basis of outcomes could be political, with numerous interested stakeholders, often with competing interests, in a process that requires a variety of information formats. Some measure of objectivity could be achieved by integrating performance measurement and evaluation into the annual planning, budgeting, auditing and reporting processes of the municipal performance management system, and the information gathered used for improve management.

Performance Auditing

A key element of the monitoring and evaluation process is performance auditing. This according to the *DCD Information Series* (1999:16), involves verifying that the measurement mechanisms are accurate and that proper procedures are followed to evaluate and improve performance. In many OECD countries, performance issues became a legitimate audit concern in the 19th century as result of moves to programme budgeting and new legislation which expanded the mandate of audit institution and the new public management paradigm, allowing for a variety of review mechanism for evaluation and monitoring of public service delivery (Shand and Anand 1996:58). Performance auditing is a measure of outcomes as functions of programmes, organisations and systems spanning boundaries among sectors and reports on findings (Barzelay 1996:18). In South Africa, municipalities are required to submit their performance results to be audited annually.

The requirement for constant and ongoing review of performance management systems in municipalities indicates a learning process. However, as Roberts (2005:3) argues, a government-wide performance plan can realise the goals of improving municipal service delivery.

A Broader Scope of Municipal Performance Management Systems

The description above indicates that current municipal performance management systems and performance evaluation tends to concentrate solely

on the processes, techniques and methods in municipal government and administration. A broader scope for municipal performance management systems in South Africa, encompassing the dimensions explained above, including the use of rewards and sanctions should still be built around the core components of the theory of performance management, and integrated across spheres. Service delivery protests are a societal evaluation of the quantity and quality of services and the impact on the community, which also filters through to the processes at organisational level.

Unclear performance relationships between different governmental levels or spheres is a feature of government, as sometimes each sphere of government may be perceived to specify different, and often conflicting performance objectives for public-sector agencies. The problem is that a sphere of government, like the municipality, may not control all the factors that influence outcomes in a community. For example, it is impossible and meaningless to hold the municipality accountable for the performance of the Department of Human Settlement for the provision of housing, which in terms of the Schedules 4 and 5 of the *Constitution*, 1996 lies in the jurisdiction of the national and provincial spheres.

The ongoing wave of service delivery protests about basic services to poor households and housing delivery have highlighted the need for the alignment of policy goal-directives in performance management to avoid measuring ‘wrong’ things or too many indicators. For example, what does performance relate to being measured here? Is it the capability and constraints of municipalities, the policy directives, or the actual management of the delegated function? There is currently lack of clarity in concrete terms as to the processes and procedures for evaluating performance, given the various roles and activities involved in a mandated function where implementation is to be close to the individual citizen. Given the common understanding of performance as outcomes, a municipality would seem to bear the primary responsibility for the policy, implementation and management of programmes, which are sometimes too wide for municipal powers and functions.

In some cases, municipalities rushed the establishment of performance management systems to meet national legislative requirements and this created problems of the quality of indicators, targets, data systems and measurement mechanisms to support these, and the overall challenge of embedding performance management as part of the municipal management processes (Price Waterhouse Coopers 2003:6). Such performance management systems tend to focus on the efficiency relationship between inputs, outputs and outcomes, reducing inputs or cost of input, processes and equity, value for money and performance in managing public programmes for outcomes (Van der Waldt 2006:131).

It is necessary to acknowledge the measure of progress that has been made in institutionalising performance management systems for public sector service delivery in South Africa today. There is also some measure of progress in terms of reporting on performance, both for internal management purposes and for accountability. In spite of these initial processes, demonstrating the linkages between inputs, outputs and outcomes remains a significant challenge in the area of municipal performance management, especially where national and provincial policy initiatives are involved.

The recent wave of service delivery protests suggests that there is lack of coordination of performance measurement along the lines of the multi-level spheres of government. A creative conceptualisation of municipal performance management as part of mainstream government-wide and multi-dimensional assessments is required to enhance the understanding and practise of performance management (Thomas 2005:2). Cloete (2009:295) argues that systematic monitoring and evaluation is the main tool to achieve effective evidence-based policy analysis goals on the basis of specified indicators, to determine levels of progress and achievement of policy goals and objectives.

In the context of the cooperative spheres of government, performance of municipalities as local sphere of government would lose its meaning if separated from the whole. The spheres are interdependent and interrelated, thus the evaluation of the outcome of service delivery should not be seen as an isolated product of the local sphere, but rather as a product of intergovernmental relationships.

The description above represents how a municipality's cycle and processes of performance management planning, measurement, monitoring, review and reporting must be organised and managed. The requirement for constant and ongoing review of performance management systems in municipalities indicates a learning process. According to Cloete (2009:302-3), government-wide monitoring and evaluation in South Africa is an emerging framework with insufficient clarity or minimum structures and processes for utilisation across different spheres of government. However, as Roberts (2005:3) argues, a government-wide performance plan can realise the goals of improving municipal service delivery.

MAINSTREAMING PERFORMANCE MANAGEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICAN MUNICIPALITIES

Local government reforms is premised on attempts to improve municipal service delivery and thereby citizens' quality of life. The adoption of new public management has accentuated the functional integration of the spheres of government and the role of municipalities as the sphere for the implementation

of the goals of the developmental state. Municipal communities' comprehension of municipal performance cannot therefore be delinked from the wider institutional context and the legislative environment in which municipal service delivery takes place, and within which municipalities operate. The influence of national and provincial spheres on allocation and decision-making, as well as the level of community participation in decision-making processes must be seen as an important dimension of performance, just as the actual service delivery and its outcomes on the lives of communities.

The centrality of performance in contemporary public administration and management, motivates mainstreaming of performance management for service delivery. The components and dimensions of performance management are causally linked, with performance measurement central to both the theory and practice. According to Thomas (2005:1), a comprehensive definition of performance measurement would include the regular generation, collection, analysis and reporting of a range of data related to the operation and the impact of public institutions and public programmes. Performance measurement thus exists to provide tools for quantified assessments and application to government policy, programmes and implementation. This serves to justify the representation of performance with performance information obtained through performance measurement for policy, strategic planning and management of public programmes.

The guidelines for a broader scope of municipal performance management should include the institution of a coherent and comprehensive performance measurement to track service outcomes, policy directives, management processes for efficient and effective output and efficiency measures. Measurement information will then be used for incentive pay systems or what is known today as performance related pay or performance contracts.

Another critical component that needs to be integrated to mainstream performance management is performance information reporting. Reporting and communicating measurement information is a key strategic tool to assist in understanding the linkages between policy directives and outputs and outcomes. This will also lead to "systems thinking and shared leadership" for the proper implementation and utilisation of information for better management. Processes of municipal performance management are often necessarily complex and therefore, a great deal of care should be taken to avoid unintended consequences, such as the ongoing service protests.

Performance reporting is critical for the leadership to be able to make informed decisions, provide guidance and direction, develop the institution's mission, vision and values, communicate these to the members and to coordinate organisational components. Reporting performance of programme delivery connects the municipal institutions with each other, and the municipality with

its community. Reporting is also the basis from which proper monitoring and evaluation can be exercised. Mainstreaming performance management for effective service delivery should move beyond one-size-fits-all reporting and tailor reports to meet the needs of different stakeholders.

Ideally, mainstreaming performance management would improve intergovernmental relationships, increase transparency, and bring stronger functional accountability to all the spheres of government.

CONCLUSION

Setting up performance management systems for individual municipalities, does not automatically lead to a virtuous cycle of good performance, responsiveness and accountability of municipalities to the communities they serve. This is because municipal performance is conditioned by various factors. While improving performance of service delivery is the central promise of local government reforms undertaken in South Africa, performance management is also a central facet of public management and public policy, which underpins the process. In order to improve the performance of municipalities as outcomes of public programmes, there is a need to conceptualise performance management as integrated processes from policy directive through to institutional output.

More empirical research is needed in this broad area to determine how to design a performance management system fit for its purpose, relating measurement to the indicators. Municipalities must be unambiguously held accountable for their service delivery outputs, but at the same time, proper causal linkages between policy and outcomes need to be taken into account. Mere compliance with relevant legislative requirements for financial and other regulations has a hollow ring if impact of programmes on community is negative. If the government's intended programme of monitoring and evaluation is to be successful, there is the need to look at mainstreaming integrated performance management, linking policies, defining service delivery programmes and the management of outputs and outcomes.

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Policy implementation capacity challenges

The case of Saldanha Bay Municipality

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ABSTRACT

This article argues that the responsibility for non-delivery of services cannot solely be placed at the door of local government. The assertion is made that accountability for slow delivery of services or lack thereof must be shared amongst the three spheres of government. Furthermore, delivery capacity comprise of three dimensions; institutional capacity, organisational capacity and human resources. These dimensions are inter-related and collectively contribute to policy implementation or service delivery. The article seeks to describe developmental local government, conceptualises capacity, and provides justification to use the above dimensions of delivery capacity as a working framework to determine what policy implementation capacity challenges the Saldanha Bay Municipality faces. Finally, conclusions and proposals are presented discussing why the article refutes the tendency of keeping local government solely accountable for the non-delivery of services.

INTRODUCTION

Post 1994 has seen the introduction of a new constitutionally based government system in South Africa. The system's aim was to address the inherited service delivery dysfunction and to ensure the provision of basic service delivery to all. Fifteen years later, it seems that the ideals of the constitutional planners did not materialise, yet. The national Government, the public and the media place the blame on local government for not delivering on their constitutional mandate. The national Government states, among a number of other reasons,

local government's ineptness to spend their budget appropriately and unskilled employees, as justification. The article starts off with a discussion of developmental local government, followed by a conceptualisation of capacity. Next, the article showed that policy implementation capacity is influenced by the three dimensions of institutional, organisational and human resources. The presence and application of these dimensions influences the delivery of services. Therefore, these dimensions are developed and applied as a working framework to Saldanha Bay Municipality, in order to determine what policy implementation capacity challenges the Saldanha Bay Municipality faces and how these challenges are influenced by institutional, organisational and human resources variables.

DEVELOPMENTAL LOCAL GOVERNMENT

According to the *Constitution of Republic of South Africa of 1996* local government is a distinct autonomous sphere of government nearest to the people that has been given a specific mandate. The overarching mandate is to become a developmental local government, and to facilitate service delivery based on the needs of local communities. In this regard local government is considered as the delivery arm of government (South Africa 1996).

The concept of developmental local government was first raised in the Constitution of 1996. Chapter 7 of the Constitution makes several provisions in respect of local government (South Africa 1996) Firstly; it provides the status and objects of local government. Local government, unlike the situation in pre-1994 municipalities, is now constitutionally mandated to perform a specific function. Secondly, the powers and functions of municipalities are listed in Part B of Schedule 4 and Part B of schedule 5. Section 156(1)(b) draws attention to the fact that any other matter may also be assigned to local authorities by national and provincial legislation. The Constitution in Section 156 (4) (b) highlights the fact that the assignment of functions must take into consideration the capacity of local government (South Africa 1996).

Sections 152 and 153 directly or indirectly refer to the developmental role of local government. Section 152 (1) explains what the object of local government entails. Several key areas are identified as the responsibility of local government. One of those is the obligation of local government to ensure the delivery of basic services in a sustainable manner. This section in particular has implications on how municipalities structure themselves in order to address poverty. Firstly, a sustainable delivery of basic services as opposed to a haphazard approach will contribute more effectively to poverty alleviation. Sustainability means security and the knowledge that service delivery will take place. The second

aspect is the importance of the beneficiary to be involved in the matters of local government.

Community participation and ownership according to Burger (2005:488) have long been seen as crucial for the success of community development. The newly established local government structure according to Mogale (2005:36) is meant to encourage decentralisation and enhance community participation. Raga and Taylor (2005:141) supports this view and indicate that the new local government system demands a 'culture shift' from a representative to a participatory governance style. According to Raga *et al.* this means that "*decisions will be taken with rather than for communities*".

The White Paper on Local Government (1998) emphasises that local government must be committed to working with citizens, groups and communities. The aim ultimately is to provide for a decent quality of life and to meet the social, economic and material needs of communities in a holistic way (White Paper 1998:15). Developmental local government, the White Paper (1998:42) asserts, has certain expected outcomes; namely, the provision of household infrastructure and services; the creation of livable, integrated cities, towns and rural areas; local economic development and community empowerment and redistribution. Mogale (2005) however caution and state that the challenge for developmental local government is to ensure that decentralisation is accompanied by mobilising and strengthening of civil society processes, structures, processes and institutions.

The architects of the system had an objective of remedying the inherited social and economic dysfunction and to create an enabling environment for local government to achieve the Constitutional obligation. The White Paper introduces a new concept into the local government domain, namely developmental local government. The achievement of the objectives of the White Paper is subjected to the strengthening of the delivery capacity of local government.

Mphaisha (2006:38) raises the concern that the quest is how to ensure that local government activities achieve maximum impact on poverty alleviation whilst fulfilling an enabling role and addressing entrenched socio-economic inequalities. Local government undeniably is integral to national government's plans on service delivery.

The Constitution, 1996 not only provide the constitutional mandate, but also places certain constitutional obligations on local government. These obligations entail access to adequate housing, health services, education, food, water and social security. These socio-economic obligations ought to guide local government structures. Reddy, Naidoo and Pillay (2005:44) is of the opinion that the positive impact of these obligations placed on local government resulted in the provision of basic services being constitutionalised in terms of the development mandate of local government. The resultant effect was that all

subsequent legislation promulgated emphasised the delivery of basic services. *The Municipal Systems Act, 2000* (Act 32 of 2000) explains the concept basic services "as a service needed to ensure an acceptable and reasonable quality of life and, if not provided would endanger the public health or safety".

Mbazira (2006:10) states that local government must consider the constitutional obligation of socio economic rights in "their planning and budgeting processes and dedicate the requisite financial and human resources" to give effect to that right. This view was supported in the case of *Residence of Bon Vista Mansions v Southern Metropolitan local Council [2002 (6) BCLR 625 (W)]*. Access to water is a constitutional right, amongst others, that local government is responsible for (see *National Water Act, 1998* No. 112). The provision of these rights has far reaching consequences for local government. Mubangizi and Mubangizi (2005:285) discusses this implication in their analysis of the *Residence of Bon Vista Mansions v Southern Metropolitan local Council [2002 (6) BCLR 625 (W)]*. The case concerned the disconnection of water supply on account of arrear payments. The court found that the action of the municipality was unconstitutional and deprived the people from an existing right. The case however did not prohibit credit control actions to be instituted, but rather pointed out that the deprivation of the socio – economic right is unconstitutional. This case is of particular importance for local government to assist in, structuring systems, process and policies that will give effect to their constitutional obligation of ensuring the provision of socio-economic rights.

Another important area of local government socio-economic obligation relates to the provision of housing (Ss 154 and 155(6) of the Constitution; see also Mbazira 2006). Although housing is an assigned function it does not exempt local government from their constitutional obligation to ensure the provision of basic services. Visser (2001:26) rightfully points out in his discussion of the *Government of the Republic of South Africa and others v Irene Grootboom and others 2000 (11) BCLR 1169* case that housing 'entails more than bricks and mortar'. Visser further indicates that the responsibility of local government in ensuring the right to housing is centered on the provision of land, and related services such as water, electricity, sanitation and the removal of waste.

Levy and Tapscot (2001) draw attention to the 'one size fit all' assignment of power and responsibilities. They say that this blanket devolution of power and functions to local government without considering their capacity is one of the major causes for the non delivery of services. The provision of basic services is vested in the ability of local government to formulate policies, developing appropriate implementing strategies and executing it in an efficient, economic and effective manner. The National Capacity Building Framework (NCBF)(2008) for local government recognises the capacity challenges experience at the local level. In this regard a fundamental objective set is "to ensure that municipalities

have the necessary understanding of their policy and regulatory obligations and the capabilities to discharge these obligations and responsibilities".

CONCEPTUALISING CAPACITY

While the identification of capacity issues and building capacity into local authority organisations has captured the interest of both practitioners and scholars, it is not a simple task to define capacity and capacity building. However, a few studies examining organisational capacity do suggest that key elements of the concept can be recognised. Kaplan (1999:15) defines capacity as the ability of an organisation to function as a resilient, strategic and autonomous entity. He asserts that a number of elements need to be present for any organisation to function effectively. These elements include a conceptual framework which reflects the organisation's understanding of the world; an organisational attitude that incorporates the confidence to act in a way that the organisation believes can be effective in dealing with the social and physical conditions facing the community; a clear organisational vision and strategy based on an understanding of the external environment; structure and procedures to support the implementation of the strategy; the relevant individual skills, abilities and competencies needed to deliver the services; and sufficient and appropriate material resources (Kaplan1999:12). Thus, capacity is taken to mean the ability of an organisation to perform effectively and efficiently in an ever-changing environment.

Capacity according to Wang (2003) is associated with the states ability to carry out stated objectives. Wang explains further that this in essence entails extricating necessary resources from society, shaping national identity and regulating the economy amongst other. Kaplan and Wang seem to suggest that capacity is the ability of local government to give effect to their constitutional mandate. Woods (2000:811) continue the discussion on capacity and point out that it comprises two elements namely, policy and implementation capacity. Policy capacity according to Woods entails the ability of local government to structure the decision making, coordinate it and feed informed analysis in it. Implementation capacity Woods asserts is the ability to carry out decisions and the enforcement thereof. Zafarullah and Rahman (2008) discuss the dimensions of capacity and according to them it comprises of political, institutional, technical, fiscal and administrative dimensions. These dimensions according to them may overlap and complement each other. The NCBF (2008) similarly refers to the multi-dimensional nature of capacity namely, individual, institutional and environmental. It supports Zafarullah *et al.* (2008) assertion that the dimensions are mutually inclusive and influences service delivery.

Dimensions of capacity

This section explores the inter-relationship and interdependency of the dimensions of capacity and its effect on local service delivery.

Institutional

The three spheres of government are dependent on and influence each other's operations. For local government to operate effectively it needs the support and cooperation from the other spheres of government. Lusthaus *et al.* (2002:13) argue that the formal and informal rules that govern the interrelationships constitute the institutional context. This comprises aspects such as normative structures, legal frameworks, and policies, trends and culture.

Local government capacity is directly affected by the effectiveness of the relations that exist between and among the three spheres of government. Effectiveness is understood here as the degree of co-operation, support and mutual respect that they have with each other in policy formulation and implementation. Reddy (2001:26) echoes this sentiment and states that "*co-operative government is based on a devolved system of government and the three spheres working harmoniously together are more likely to address challenges than if they were acting on their own or alternatively in competition with one another*".

The national government has an important role to play in creating an enabling institutional environment that facilitates co-operation amongst the various spheres of government. In this regard the *Intergovernmental Relations Framework Act*, 2005 (No.13 of 2005) was promulgated to promote and facilitate a co-operative relationship between different spheres of government. According to Layman (2003:10) chapter 2 of the Constitution, refers to the need for co-operative government but on the other hand it builds in a tension between national direction and locally defined preferences. The tensions that Layman refers to stem from the constitutional imperatives that the three spheres are equal in status furthermore that the spheres are autonomous, distinct and interrelated. Sections 100 and 139 of the Constitution create the confusion in bestowing monitoring and intervention powers to the provincial and national government. This creates the impression that the spheres in reality are not equal, but rather sub-ordinate to one another. Murray in Tapscott and Levy (2001:77) concur and state that "*the word sphere is intended to avoid any sense of hierarchy. Yet many aspects of the Constitution seem to imply hierarchy*".

The Constitution recognises the contradiction in terms of Section 41 which is entitled 'Principles of Co-operative Government and Intergovernmental Relations'. Section 41 intent is to lessen the tension between the spheres of government by introducing and explaining the concept of co-operative

government. It provides a framework for the three spheres to work together and reduce the ‘tension’ referred to by Layman. Particular mention needs to be made of the assistance, support and consultation required with one another on matters of common interest. Furthermore, a relationship based on trust and mutual respect is an important factor for effective co-operation.

Visser (2001:12) contends that co-operative government requires that programmes of the three spheres be aligned and be supportive of one another. Importantly, “...the choices and preferences exercised at local level must be channelled upwards and incorporated into policy”. Galvin and Habib (2003:865-866) point out that a challenge for effective co-operative government is the “centripetal tendencies” of the state. Although the constitution is promoting decentralisation, a great degree of movement towards centralisation is evident which negatively impacts on policy implementation. This adds to the confusion and tension amongst the spheres of state. In its explanation of co-operative government Section 41 of the Constitution mentions the need to be supportive of each other. Similarly section 155 refers to the need of national and provincial government “... to give support, to promote municipal capacity”. The support itself could either be in financial terms or in assisting capacity development.

Effective co-operative governance is dependent on the type of relationship that exists between district and local municipalities. This relationship is informed by the roles and responsibilities assigned to each. The *Local Government Municipal Structures Act (MSA)*, 1998 (Act 117 of 1998) provides the regulatory framework for the establishment of municipalities and the electoral systems for the election of office bearers. It clarifies the division of functions and powers between municipalities in terms of Section 156 and 229 of the Constitution. In those instances where executive authority is shared between a district and local authority a division of functions and powers must take place. In this regard Section 83(3) specifically refers to the functions and powers of district municipalities. The main purpose of a district municipality is to achieve an integrated, sustainable and equitable social and economic development in the area as a whole.

This is possible through the development of an integrated development plan for the district. Secondly, the district council is allowed the opportunity to promote bulk infrastructure development, and services for the district. Thirdly, it is the responsibility of the district municipality to develop the capacity of municipalities to perform effectively. Lastly, the responsibility resides with the district council to encourage the equitable distribution of resources between the various local authorities in its area and to ensure that appropriate levels of municipal services are delivered. The district municipality is in effect a coordinator and facilitator of socio-economic development and only in extreme

situations does it function as a direct service provider. District municipalities themselves are experiencing capacity constraints (Portfolio Committee on Provincial and Local Government 2003). The lack of capacity at a district level in turn impacts on their ability to support local municipalities. The result thereof is reflected in the slow delivery or non delivery of services

In addition, the *Municipal Structures Act*, 1998 describes the relationship between the district council and local authorities within its jurisdiction. This is the recognition of the constitutional principle of "one sovereign state" and the importance of co-operation between the various spheres of government to ensure effective service delivery. In this regard section 88 is clear that when a request for assistance is forthcoming from either category of municipality the response ought to be in the positive. Horizontal co-operation between municipalities of the same category is also encouraged and must become the norm rather than the exception.

Organisational

The *Local Government Municipal Systems Act (MSA)*, 2000 (Act 32 of 2000) creates a new local government system. It introduces the enabling principles, mechanisms and processes that provide the foundation for municipalities to become developmental in their approach. It is an enabling legislation because it allows municipalities to exercise their executive authority and perform their functions. The Act contains elements and processes of developmental local government as discussed in the White Paper, 1998. These are integrated development, participatory governance, performance management, financial management and organisational change.

Pivotal to the success of democratic local government is the principle of public accountability. Local government employees must be accountable to the elected representatives who in turn must be accountable to the community. Community participation is fundamental to developmental local government. The MSA recognises this and emphasizes the fact that an efficient local government system is dependent on community participation in the planning and implementation of development plans. Municipalities are responsible to develop appropriate systems and mechanisms to enhance community participation. Local authorities, in turn, need to assist communities to meaningfully participate in their decision-making processes.

The MSA reiterates the provisions laid down in the Constitution, 1996 and draws attention to the exercise that must take place subject to chapter five of the Municipal Structures Act. This relational establishment informs the discussion of functions and powers as explained in the Municipal Systems Act. The Act spells out the nature of the executive and legislative authority of municipalities and, in particular, the development of policies and plans for the area. To satisfy their

constitutional mandate, municipalities need to formulate policies and programs that will impact positively on socio-economic development.

The White Paper, 1998 pointed out that the planning activities of the different spheres of government historically have taken place in a non-strategic fashion. This resulted in a duplication of activities and in an unequal distribution of resources, hence the need for an integrated development plan. The Integrated Development Plan (IDP) is the principal strategic planning instrument and informs all other planning and development, and all decisions with regard to planning, management and development, in the municipality. It is binding on the municipality as a whole. The IDP is aimed at redress and development and, therefore, the obligation to involve the community in the process.

The IDP must be developmental in nature and aimed at achieving the objectives set out in the Constitution, 1996. The IDP is a five year development plan of the municipality and should be aligned to the development plans and strategies of adjacent municipalities, the province within which it is situated and the national organs of state. This ensures that development in the area and region takes place in an integrated, strategic and coherent manner. Layman (2003:23) states that in practice there is a weak or non-existent alignment of the strategic plans of the different spheres of government. The result thereof is that national resource allocation is not supportive of local preferences. This ultimately influences service delivery at a local level.

The IDP reflects the vision of municipality, the current reality and the problems seeking rectification as well as the assessment level of development. The development priorities together with the internal transformation needs require clear and comprehensive implementation strategies. The IDP according to Tshabalala and Lombard (2009:397) is the product of the community participation outcome. The IDP therefore serves as the policy framework that informs all planning, budgetary and managerial processes (Asmah-Andoh, 2009:101). Many municipality budgetary processes are not informed by the IDP, resulting in the IDP being a mere wish list (Atkinson 2002). The result thereof is that municipal service delivery efforts are not aimed at satisfying legitimate community needs.

Municipalities are at different points in complying with the legislative dictates. The major reasons concern the resource constraints and the lack of know how to implement the policy requirements.

Human resources

Borraine, Crankshaw, Engelbrecht, Gotz, Mbanga, Narsoo and Parnell (2006:271) points out in their discussion of *The State of South African Cities* that, "Most notably, the lack of skills is becoming chronic". The availability of adequate and skilled human resources at the right time to carry out the

functions of the organisation is one of the key factors in the process of ensuring that service delivery takes place. Kingsmill (in Holbeche 2005:11) states, for instance, that the way organisations manage, recruit, train and develop employees is about looking at people as a valuable business asset. This is about ensuring that they have the right skills and experience to deliver the organisation's strategy.

Hall and Goodale (1986:6) discuss human resource management as the process through which an optimal fit is achieved among employees, job, organisation and environments so that employees reach their desired level of satisfaction and performance, and the organisation meets its goals. In order to achieve the 'fit' between the organisation and people, human resource planning is important as it entails determining which skills are required at a given time, and subsequently introducing the necessary interventions. Nel et al. (2004:536) say that strategic human resource management concerns the handling and overseeing of human resource capital with an eye on the long-term needs of an organisation and acting in accordance with established policies and procedures. They conclude that the synergy between human resources management and organisational effectiveness should therefore never be under estimated.

Thus, local authorities need to use the instruments of recruitment, selection and training in order to ensure that an appropriate human resource capacity is available when required. The recruitment of staff in the public sector has evolved from a 'closed' approach to a more 'open' one. Historically, the 'open' approach was reserved for entry level placements in the organisation. Recruitment to the higher echelons was based on an internal pool of candidates. This approach was associated with the life long tenure concept. The motivation for this approach was the perception that skills could only be enhanced and developed over a long period of time.

The perceived benefit was that institutional 'know-how' and knowledge were accumulated over long periods of time. Furthermore, human resource management focuses on the development of policies aimed at retaining staff and developing an organisational culture that is conducive to individual growth and career development. In this regard human resource training should be demand-driven, and should aim at enhancing the skills needed for the organisation to function effectively within the ever-changing local environments.

There are basically two approaches to the modernisation of human resources. One is an attempt to establish a centralised and/or a uniform human resource policy for the public sector as a whole. The second approach involves the decentralisation of human resources to the different spheres of government. The approaches allow different spheres of government to formulate their own human resource policies and to determine their own staffing levels (Pollit et al.

2004). The latter approach is used in the South African context. The autonomy of local government allows them to determine and develop their own human resource policies as determined by their particular circumstances and contexts. Human resource policy instruments are used to ensure that appropriately skilled and capacitated human resources are available to perform the needed functions and to develop and retain those scarce and available skills.

Recruitment and selection in local government has undergone a paradigm shift over the past few years. The most important change has been the introduction of flexibility in the hiring and rewarding of staff. This brought an end to the policy of life-long tenure, and ushered in an era that focuses on staff performance outcomes. These then form the basis both for evaluating the performance of staff, and for ensuring accountability. Senior staff members in municipalities are appointed on a performance management contract (Municipal Systems Act, section 57). The rationale is that it provides the municipality an avenue to end the services of a non-performing manager. The approach though is only effective if the municipality has in place the necessary systems and processes to monitor the activities and functions of these managers. The recruitment of staff has also seen the introduction of a more flexible system that encourages the hiring of staff from the private sector. This directly impacts on the hitherto notion of promotion by seniority in the public sector.

The theory suggests that the dimensions of capacity, institutional, organisational and human resources do impact and influence each other. Furthermore local government's ability to deliver services, in other words its capacity, is dependent on the presence or absence of these three dimensions. These dimensions do have a knock-on effect on each other. A weakness in any of these dimensions negatively impact on policy implementation in local government. The next section is a discussion of policy implementation capacity challenges in the Saldanha Bay Municipality in order to determine, firstly, how these dimensions impact on each other in Saldanha Bay Municipality; secondly, how does the impact of these dimensions affect policy implementation in Saldanha Bay Municipality and thirdly, what are the challenges encountered by the municipality in terms of the above observations.

SALDANHA BAY MUNICIPALITY (SBM) POLICY IMPLEMENTATION CHALLENGES

In terms of the research setting, the SBM is a Category B Municipality and is situated within the West Coast District municipality. The West Coast District Municipality is a Category C Municipality and shares executive and administrative authority with five other Category B municipalities. SBM is the economic hub of

the west coast district municipality. The West Coast District Municipality is one of five district municipalities situated within the Western Cape Province. The Western Cape Province is one of nine provinces in South Africa.

Institutional capacity

Institutional capacity as indicated above concerns the working relationship between the various spheres of state. In order to facilitate a harmonious working relationship the Western Cape Provincial government has established a number of inter governmental relation committees. The *raison d'être* for the committees was to establish a forum for policy discussion to take place. This, the thinking was, would result in a synchronised policy implementation process. According to the Municipal manager (MM) this was not the case and the effectiveness was undermined by the ineffectiveness of the provincial officials (Snyders 2009). According to him many of the provincial officials that were 'supposed' to provide direction, leadership and assist in capacity building lack experience and insight into the challenges facing local government.

The intergovernmental forums were used as downward policy directive, instead of forums of equals aimed at addressing policy implementation challenges. The problematic with this approach is that the individualistic capacity constraints are ignored and a general compliance is expected. A further constraint is the overzealous application of provincial monitoring. Local government are subjected to a range of legislative reporting requirements, which absorbs much of the time of local government time. Another area of concern is assigned functions such as housing. Provincial government allocate funding for this particular function and the implementation is undertaken at local government level. Housing in itself is a contested area and the SBM do not have staff with sufficient capacity to carry out this task effectively. Members of staff need to be trained with relevant skills such as community negotiations skills, contract monitoring skills amongst other. Provincial government turns a deaf ear to this need and still expects delivery. This in itself brings about tension and does not bode well for policy implementation.

The SBM is categorised by the provincial government as a highly capacitated authority. The District municipality on the other hand is a low capacity category authority. A district municipality is constitutionally responsible to co-ordinate and provide leadership to Category B municipalities that it shares executive and administrative powers with. The district municipality low capacity status negates this and the SBM is left to its own devices on how to deliver services. Political party infighting is a major negative influence on institutional capacity. According to Snyders (2009), when the district and local government is governed by different political parties it creates tensions because district

municipality leadership initiates projects within the municipality without consulting or involving them in projects. This results in the municipality not planning for associated infra-structure developments for the project which ultimately leads to failure. The SBM is the growth node in the West Coast District Municipality but have not used this to the benefit of the region. Very little collaborative service delivery initiatives are undertaken and an attitude of self determination and survival seem to prevail. The SBM is ideally placed to enter into shared services agreements to the benefit of the region. This type of discussion must be initiated by the District Municipality but it is not forthcoming. This is indicative of their inability to provide leadership for the development of the region.

Organisational capacity

Political instability is the most important factor that influences the non-delivery of services. The SBM has been subjected to 'floor crossing' and coalition forms of government. Each time when a new political leadership comes to power new policy direction are provided. The administration then need to re-align its plans and some future planning initiative are shelved and stop. The political instability leads to administrative confusion and ultimately paralysis. Pivotal to service delivery is the municipal manager (MM). The MM must display administrative professionalism and provides administrative leadership.

Community centeredness as a constitutional requirement is another elusive concept. The SBM has attempted to involve community in its IDP but as Williams (2006) indicated it is a truncated instead of a bottom up participation. Ward power play between political parties similarly negates the effectiveness of community participation. This instability slows down the pace of service delivery because politician mobilise constituents to oppose projects. Booyse (2007:21) shares Williams' sentiment and argues that "*service recipients struggle to make their voices heard in the corridors of power...*"

The SBM is experiencing an increase in the number of bad debt which inadvertently affects the financial viability. The constitutional obligation that socio-economic rights posed for effective financial management is a highly contested unanswered terrain. The municipality is required by the *Municipal Finance Act No. 56 of 2003* to implement effective credit control. Simultaneously, the Constitution affords the right to basic services even to defaulters. The municipality's credit control efforts are restricted and as a last recourse are allowed to reduce but not disconnect the flow of water. Within this context then the challenge for the SBM is to generate sufficient revenue to deliver services. The SBM up to now has used the normal ways of generating income but lack the leadership capacity to develop long term financial plans to sustain itself.

Human resources

SBM is competing with the private sector to attract competent staff. This challenge is further complicated by political interventions in the recruitment of staff. Competent staff at times is overlooked in favour of a politically preferred candidate. The skill development of staff to enhance their effectiveness remains an ongoing challenge. In this regard SBM has put in place a skill development plan for the municipality, not necessarily for the individual.

Contract management skills is absent within the municipality. The SBM enters into various contracts with external service providers and lacks the capacity to effectively monitor those contracts. A critical area is skill retention and resignations in key positions which are negatively impacting on the municipality. Town and regional planning is one critical area which has been vacant for some time. This is a critical post in the SBM and deals with the application of land use policies to transform apartheid planning and established integrated societies in other words to 'un-divide the divided'. According to Snyders (2009), the SBM is finding it difficult to recruit an experience town planner due to the more lucrative private sector remuneration.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

Effective service delivery is dependent on the different spheres of state co-operating and providing support when needed. Successful co-operation requires equality in status instead of the current hierarchical relationship currently prevailing. The lack of capacity and experience within provincial government is a critical area that needs urgent attention. Provincial capacity constraints negate effective leadership and support to local government. It is a case of the 'blind leading the blind'.

The devolution of function and power must be accompanied with capacity building initiatives and not only monetary allocation. In the absence thereof low capacity local government structures opt to merely comply with legislative prescriptions instead of giving effect to policy. Closer co-operation amongst municipalities must be encouraged. Initiatives such as sharing of expertise amongst municipalities will address the lack of capacity. The role and functions of district municipalities must therefore be clarified to facilitate the delivery of services.

The municipal manager although politically appointed must adopt a professional ethos of political impartiality and focus on service delivery. Capacity building initiatives must be demand driven and not supply driven. Critical vacancies within the municipality must be filled an accompanied by succession planning instead of the attitude that lost skills could be easily replaced. Recruitment of critical skills has been a major challenge for local government and local government must implement recruitment strategies to address these. Financial

management is another critical area that directly impacts on service delivery. Local authorities do not seem to have a meaningful financial management strategy on how to ensure sustainable revenue flow. It is recommended that local authorities collaborate and develop an economic growth strategy to address this. It is only as a collective that local authorities will be able to master the challenges faced and deliver services in a sustainable manner.

CONCLUDING PROPOSALS

The article showed that policy implementation capacity is influenced by the three dimensions of institutional, organisational and human resources which influence the delivery of services. The article furthermore, refutes the tendency of keeping local government solely accountable for the non-delivery of services and argues that the state, including national, provincial, district and local government, are equally responsible for the non-delivery of services. Effective local government is therefore dependant on the presence or absence of the three dimensions of capacity.

The author finally proposes that:

- The one size fits all function allocation approach must be revisited and cognisance should be taken of the ability of local government to carry out the assigned function;
- Assistance offered from the national and provincial governmental level should be expanded beyond merely financial support;
- Clarity concerning roles and functions of district and local municipalities should also be addressed;
- Communities need to be capacitated to transcend the boundaries of being mere observers in the matters of local government because it is only in becoming true participants in decision making structures that the beneficiaries will be listened to and their needs addressed; and
- Resource sharing, particularly in the area of financial management and legal support amongst local authorities must be encouraged.

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Local government restructuring and transformation in South Africa with specific reference to challenges faced by Buffalo City Municipality

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ABSTRACT

Local government in South Africa has undergone a process of fundamental political restructuring and transformation since the advent of a new democratic dispensation in 1994. All apartheid structures had to be dismantled and replaced by new non-racial and democratic local structures. A key consideration was to create more viable municipalities and to ensure that some of the previously disadvantaged areas were incorporated into the well-resourced areas, so that the former could benefit in terms of development and services.

The East London and King William's Town municipalities with their respective hinterlands were amalgamated to form the new Buffalo City Municipality (BCM). The BCM's restructuring and transformation processes faced numerous challenges and prospects that were not specific to it, but were common to all municipalities nationally – *albeit* in varying degrees. The more rural municipalities were the most affected. Their

response to the challenges was not and remains inadequate. One could place all municipalities along a continuum, with the urban well-resourced municipalities at one end, and the rural poorly resourced municipalities at the other. The BCM fell somewhere towards the former extreme, although it did not escape being included in the 'Project Consolidate' list of municipalities requiring government assistance.

This article provides an overview of the local government restructuring and transformation process, with particular reference to the BCM. Some of the major structural changes that took place in local government following the 1994 elections are also reviewed and analysed within the specific context of the BCM. In addition, the article highlights the challenges the council currently face and proposals are made to address the issues highlighted.

INTRODUCTION

The local authorities established during the apartheid era was based on ethnicity and divided along racial lines. The former white local authorities were well resourced with good facilities and services and had business and industrial areas in their jurisdiction. Conversely, black (African, Indian and Coloured) local authorities were under-resourced with poor facilities. Moreover, they were unable to develop to their full potential (Cloete 1995:2; Reddy 1996:53 and Makgetla 2007:147).

Urban blacks were dissatisfied with the apartheid system, which manifested itself forcefully at the local level. They intensified the struggle for freedom, demanding a democratic local government dispensation and redistribution of resources. They refused to pay for services and forced councilors to resign. This eventually led to a total collapse of the system (Reddy 1996:54). The reformist momentum – albeit hesitant and emerging against a background of endemic civic unrest – manifested itself in the repeal of over 160 discriminatory laws between 1981 and the early 1990s (Binza in Buhlungu and Atkinson 2007:27).

The aforementioned culminated in local negotiations that resulted in the promulgation of the *Local Government Transition Act*, 1993 (Act 209 of 1993)³, which facilitated the local transformation processes (Buhlungu and Atkinson 2007:29). The Transkei, Boputhatswana, Venda and Ciskei (TBVC) states were reincorporated into South Africa (Cloete 1995:3-6). The *Interim Constitution*, 1993 (Act 200 of 1993) was also a product of the multi-party negotiation (Codesa) in Kempton Park and a framework for other pieces of legislation⁴.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT RESTRUCTURING AND TRANSFORMATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

The transformation of local government initially took place in three phases, namely, the pre-interim, interim and the final phases, (Cloete 1995:7 and Reddy 2006:58-61).

The pre-interim phase was regulated by the *Interim Constitution*, 1993 (Act 200 of 1993) and the *Local Government Transition Act*, 1993 (Act 209 of 1993). It started in February 1994 and ended in December 1995 when the Transitional Local Councils (TLCs) and Transitional Metropolitan Councils (TMC) were established following the first democratic local government elections. This phase was characterised by racial profiling and demarcation of all municipalities resulting in about 1,200 municipalities.

The interim phase commenced in December 1995, when transitional structures were established. It ended in December 2000, when democratic councils were elected based on a common voter's roll, the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act*, 1996 (Act 108 of 1996), the *Electoral Act*, 2000, and the *Local Government: Municipal Structures Act*, 1998 (Act 117 of 1998). This political transformation was completed and was the culmination of over ten years of political reform, involving a complete overhaul of the local government system (Van der Waldt 2007:150).

The *Local Government Municipal Demarcation Act*, 1998 (Act 27 of 1998) introduced the Municipal Demarcation Board that consolidated the old boundaries. As a result, the number of municipalities was reduced from 1200 to 843. The interim structures took the form of Transitional Local Councils (TLCs) and Transitional Metropolitan Councils (TMCs) for urban areas and Transitional Rural Councils (TRCs) for rural areas. There were also District Councils to perform functions assigned to them by the Acts of central government.

The final phase that commenced in 2000 was characterised by the amalgamation process. During this phase, the number of municipalities was reduced from 843 to 284 (Buhlungu and Atkinson 2007:30). This culminated in "wall-to-wall" municipalities that fell into three distinct models, namely:

- Category A: metropolitan municipalities that have exclusive municipal executive and legislative authority.
- Category B: local municipalities that share legislative and executive authority with category C.
- Category C: district municipalities that have legislative and executive authority in an area with more than one municipality (section 155 of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, 1996 (Act 108 of 1996 and *Local Government: Municipal Structures Act*, 1998).

Six metropolitan councils were established. This included Johannesburg; Tshwane; Ekurhuleni; Ethekwini; Nelson Mandela Bay and Cape Town (Van der Waldt 2007:9). BCM is a Category B municipality, constituting the Amathole District Municipality in the Eastern Cape Province. The restructuring and transformation process incorporated rural areas, hence the notion of "wall-to-wall"⁵ local government. Consequently, rural communities could benefit from services that were initially reserved for urban communities. Even though the dual challenge of local democracy and non-racism was addressed, it was accompanied by major developmental challenges, given the vast backlog of services in rural areas (Buhlungu and Atkinson 2007:31).

The consolidated municipality had to bear the brunt of expending the limited resources to ameliorate the situation in these areas. Some of the challenges that most municipalities have to grapple with include disadvantaged communities' demand for better services, as well as resource constraints (Parnell et al. 2002: 287 and Van der Waldt, 2007:160). The frequent demonstrations highlighted in the media bear ample testimony to these restrictions and the BCM is no exception to this (Atkinson 2007:58-60 and Southall 2007:13). The new local government dispensation is still undergoing a process of refinement. Notably, the resultant dynamics flowing from legislation; power struggles; socio-economic and political pressures, as well as local needs will take a long time to stabilise (Van der Waldt 2007:16). Buhlungu and Atkinson (2007:13) believe that developmental local government will certainly require a great deal of nurturing before it can reach its full potential.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT RESTRUCTURING AND TRANSFORMATION: THE BUFFALO CITY EXPERIENCE

The BCM was officially established after East London was incorporated with the Borough of King William's Town and its neighbouring areas.

East London

East London was previously the sixth largest city in the country. It focused on regional services, commerce and industry and was the seat of the municipal council. The city has a harbour at the mouth of the Buffalo River and was initially established as a supply port to the military headquarters at King William's Town (Buffalo City Municipality Annual Report 2000 – 2003:8). Prior to the transformation process, East London, including the small town of Berlin was a white municipality, with a Coloured and Indian management committee. Duncan Village was a black local authority and Beacon Bay and Gonubie were

Figure 1 Estimated East London TLC population – 1996

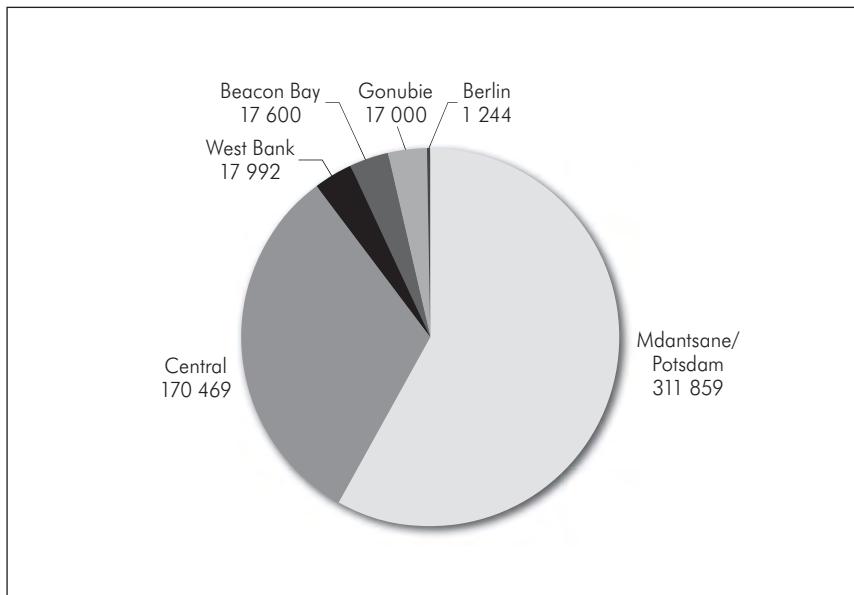
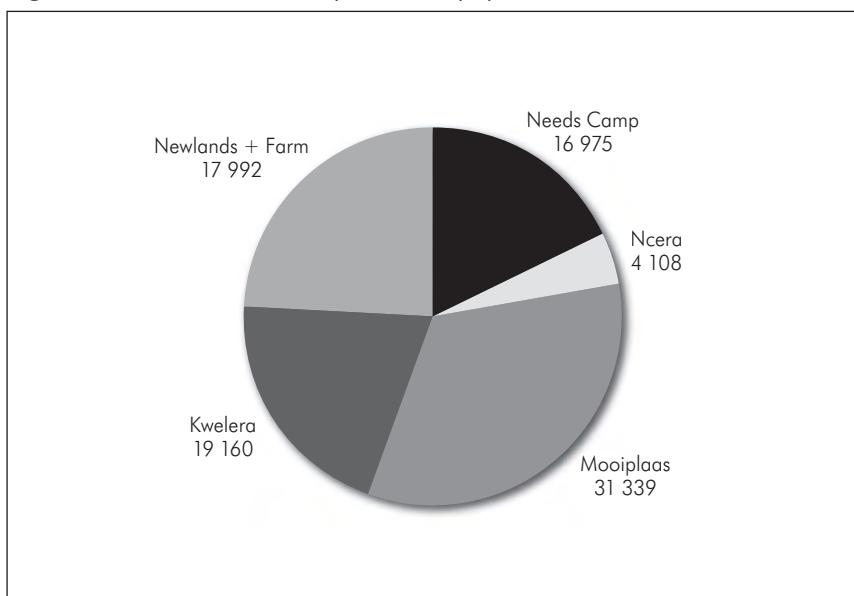


Figure 2 Estimated rural and peri-urban population 1996



separate white municipalities. Mdantsane was a R293 township under the former Ciskei government (Sam 20 June 2006). The amalgamation incorporated all the aforementioned local authorities and the East London Transitional Local Council was elected during the first democratic elections. The total residential population within the municipality was then estimated to be 536 164, distributed in urban and peri-urban areas, as depicted in *Figure 1* (East London Framework Plan 1996:14).

In addition, there were dense concentrations of rural and peri-urban settlements with a population totaling 94 230 that were situated outside the city boundary, but were functionally dependant on the urban area (See *Figure 2*). The total population was estimated at 630 394 and this meant that the municipality was under considerable pressure to meet developmental needs (East London Framework Plan 1996:15).

The surrounding peri-urban and rural areas provided people an opportunity to settle on low-cost sites compared to those in rural areas. This enabled them to engage in some agriculture and other activities to earn a living. Informal settlements mushroomed as a result of the influx of people from rural areas and farms who came to the city seeking employment. This resulted in an increased demand for services (East London Framework Plan 1996:15).

Challenges encountered by the East London Transitional Local Council

Since the then East London Transitional Council (TLC) was democratic and incorporated neighbouring municipalities, some integration challenges were bound to surface, as detailed by Mr Sam, director of planning in the then East London TLC (Interview 20 June 2006):

- Service delivery had to be stepped up to accommodate an increased population with high poverty levels. There was a vast backlog of services in townships like Mdantsane. Moreover, there was considerable pressure on resources (land, infrastructure and financials). Informal settlements caused a decline in the quality of life of the majority of inhabitants and there was a need for, *inter alia*, housing, electricity and water supply. All this increased the demand for services against a backdrop of low-income communities, high unemployment and some people living in abject poverty. People in townships did not pay municipal rates, which was the main source of revenue for the municipalities.
- Cross-subsidisation became necessary. Notably, this did not go down well with the white communities (see Woolridge 2007:468). Some ratepayers decided to withdraw their rates and preferred to pay them into a special fund, instead of having their money used to provide services to other people. At the same time, there were demands and expectations from townships.

- There were also human resource challenges. The Mdantsane township had its own local authority and employees who had to be incorporated into the East London TLC. They had different grading and salaries, with different conditions of employment (see Woolridge 2007:468-469). There was also an internal culture clash, as the affirmative action policy was a constitutional imperative.

While the East London municipality was undergoing all the transformational processes and changes, the King William's Town municipality was also experiencing similar challenges.

King William's Town

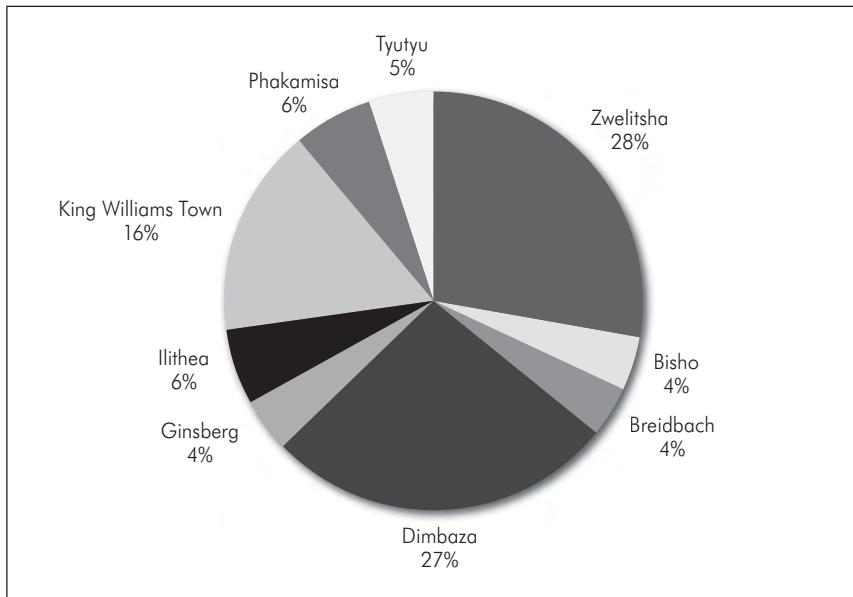
King William's Town is a product of missionary expansion into the Cape hinterland. In 1826, Reverend John Brownlee of the London Mission Society built a mission house on the eastern bank of the upper Buffalo River. As missionary work expanded, more houses were built around the mission house and the settlement was later called the Buffalo Missionary Station. The first form of organised civilian rule emerged in 1861 when King William's Town was declared a Borough by promulgation of Ordinance No1 of the British Kaffraria. This form of local government was to be the norm for the next 130 years (King William's Town Transitional Local Council 2000:3).

During the apartheid era, the Borough of King William's Town was a white local authority for whites. Coloureds were accommodated in a township called Schornville, adjacent to the Buffalo industrial area, and also at the former German Settler Village of Breidbach, about seven kilometers east of King William's Town. Their representation was through a management committee. Blacks lived in Leightonville and Ginsberg townships, controlled by the East Cape Administration Board. Most of the town's labour force was housed at the township of Zwelitsha, established in 1947 and part of Ciskei. Other black townships in Ciskei included Dimbaza, Bisho, Tyutyu, Phakamisa, Sweetwaters and Llitha, situated outside King William's Town (King William's Town Transitional Local Council 2000:4).

After the 1995 local government elections, townships that bordered on King William's Town were integrated into the city. It covered the area stretching about forty kilometers from Llitha in the east to Dimbaza in the west. In between are Ginsberg, Bisho, and Zwelitsha, Phakamisa, Sweetwaters, Breidbach, Schornville and the original town centre. Although on a smaller scale, King William's Town experienced the same challenges that East London TLC encountered. According to the 1998 census, the population estimate of King William's Town was about 150 000 (see Figure 3) (King William's Town Transitional Local Council 2000:4).

Town planning regulations and tariff structures differed from place to place as did laws relating to the environment and health. Notably, health services

Figure 3 Population estimates



were fragmented. In the R293 townships the provincial government provided services, such as clinics and environmental health. However, in King William's Town, Breidbach, Ginsberg and Schornville areas, the municipality provided these services (Smith 14 August 2006).

In the R293 townships, which included the previously disadvantaged areas, services, such as water reticulation, sewerage, electricity, roads, refuse removal and other community facilities, such as, halls, cemeteries, libraries and sports fields were either poorly maintained or non-existent. Another challenge was the inclusion of rural areas. It soon became evident that, unless provincial and national governments intervened, services in this area would collapse. The root of the problem was that a municipality with a small tax base would now have to sustain a larger area with little or no tax base. The equitable share allocation from national government was subsequently increased and the provincial government subsidised certain functions (Smith 14 August 2006).

The Transformation of BCM

Geographically, the Eastern Cape is the second largest province in South Africa and it covers approximately 13.9% of the total land area in the country. It is the third largest province in terms of population, which at present is 6.4

million people. Thus, this province constitutes 14.1% of the total population in the country. Moreover, it is viewed as one of the two poorest provinces in South Africa (wwwbuffalocity.gov.za/municipality/keydocs/idp2007/updated_analysis.pdf). There are two major urban areas, namely Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Area and Buffalo City, which is located in the eastern part of the province (Buffalo City Municipality, 2005/2006:06). East London is the primary node and King Williams Town the secondary, with several rural areas adjacent to it.

When the municipal elections were held on 5 December 2000, the transformation of the Buffalo City commenced. The two cities of East London and King William's Town were amalgamated, with their respective hinterlands servicing a population in excess of 880 000 people (Buffalo City Municipality Annual Report 2000-2003).

The Amalgamation Process

During the demarcation process, BCM was demarcated into forty-five wards, as shown in *Table 2* (Buffalo City Municipality Annual Report 2000-2003: 8).

Buffalo City has an Executive Mayoral System combined with a Ward Participatory System⁶. The executive mayor has a ten-member mayoral committee, who are in charge of portfolios. In addition, there is a Speaker and 89 elected councilors (45 ward and 44 party representatives) (Buffalo City Municipality, 2005/06:03). The African National Congress (ANC) has a strong majority with 74 councillors; the Democratic Alliance (DA) has 11 seats; the Pan African Congress (PAC) has two seats; while the United Democratic Movement (UDM) and the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP) each have one seat (wwwbuffalocity.gov.za/municipality/index.stm).

There are 45 ward committees consisting of 10 members chaired by their respective ward councillors⁷. The committees do not have any formal powers and submissions are made through the ward councilor. They are viewed as being consultative community structures. Thus, their main objective is to broaden

Table 1 Estimated percentage share of Buffalo City population

AREA	SETPLAN ESTIMATE 1999	STATISTICS SA 1996	BUFFALO CITY ESTIMATES 1999
EAST LONDON	597 774	357 193	533 164
KING WILLIAMSTOWN	174 000	99 504	174 000
RURAL	151 645	223 732	180 836
TOTAL	923 419	680 434	888 000

Table 2 Demarcation of wards

AREA	WARDS
King William's Town and surrounds.	7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,34
East London	4,5,6,22,23,25,26,27,28,29,31,32
Mdantsane Area	30,33,35,36,37,38,39,40,41,43,44,45
Rural South	1,2,21,24
Rural North	3,18,19,20,42

participation within the formal local democratic process through organising consultation, disseminating information and encouraging participation in local wards (Buffalo City Municipality, 2005/06:03). The city has achieved 80% functionality within the committees. This includes conducting regular meetings with an attendance rate of more than 80% (www.buffalocity.gov.za/news2008/feb/feb15_successes.stm).

The administration has just over 4 000 employees and is organised into the executive mayoral office, the municipal manager's office and five main directorates, namely financial; engineering; corporate; planning, as well as economic development and social services (www.buffalocity.gov.za/municipality/index.stm). Each directorate, including the city manager's office, has a set of operational divisions. As reflected in *Table 2*, three of the areas have an equal number of wards (twelve each). Rural areas, in turn, have four and five wards respectively. In total, there were 45 wards.

The amalgamation process is detailed as follows (BCM Report 2003:13-14):

Establishment: December 2000- June 2001.

The municipality was involved in various processes, such as staff integration, transference of assets, liabilities and records, establishing a new structure of governance and developing capacity to participate in a successful restructuring and transformation process.

Restructuring and transformation: July 2001- June 2002.

The new administration sought to carry out its constitutional mandate of promoting developmental local government. The process was guided by legislation, such as the *Local Government: Municipal Structures Act, 1998* (Act 117 of 1998), the *Local Government Municipal Systems Act, 2000* (Act 32 of 2000), as well as the Integrated Development Plan (IDP)⁸. The IDP process, which required community participation, was completed, where after the IDP Review was adopted in April 2002. Administrative and financial systems were

finalized, thereby enabling the municipality to deliver as expected and deal with the backlog of services.

Consolidation: July 2002-June 2003.

The main focus was to ensure that the new systems and structures function as intended. Various acts, other legislation that had a bearing on service delivery strategies, and plans had to be addressed. External partnerships with the public and private sectors had to be strengthened, as the resources available to the municipality were not sufficient and needed to be complemented by partnerships.

High performance: July 2003-June 2004.

More adaptable work programmes and initiatives were introduced to improve performance.

Towards sustainability

The emphasis was on continuous improvement. This included improving service levels, promoting quality service delivery and implementing the developmental mandate. It was necessary to form partnerships with other spheres of government and also the private sector for much-needed technical skills.

MUNICIPAL PARTNERSHIPS

The following partnerships were established with overseas municipalities:

- A twinning agreement was signed with the Municipality of Gàvle, Sweden in December 2002. The two municipalities, Buffalo City and Gàvle, arranged reciprocal working visits to compare notes. A detailed programme focusing on tourism, water, roads, good governance, GIS and IT, the disabled and the customer information centre was prepared.
- The Association of Netherlands Municipalities, in collaboration with the South African Local Government Association (SALGA), organised various Municipal Management Training Programmes (MMTP) for South African municipal functionaries (Sam 20 June 2006).

Entering into partnerships was an important strategy that would enable the municipality to cope with the demand for services. The partnership with the City of Leiden involved training of ward councilors, funded by Cordaid; support for housing (Van Der Lej/Habitat Foundation); HIV/AIDS school project for Mdantsane; flood relief for hurricane village victims; funding for the day care

centre in King William's Town; and USAID funding support and co-operation with the development of the Buffalo City Tourism Plan (Sam 20 June 2006).

The training of municipal functionaries was a major priority. Most of them were from previously disadvantaged communities and had not been exposed to the activities in a municipal setting, as either politicians or officials (see Parnel *et al.* 2002:287 and Southall 2007:13). Moreover, many councilors had a low level of education and needed training as a matter of urgency, in order to get to grips with their roles and responsibilities (see Pieterse *et al.* 2008:8). The partnership on housing played an important role in providing houses – particularly to the middle level and low-income groups. Overall, these partnerships have yielded positive results, though they can never be enough.

Prospects, challenges and strategies

There has been continuous improvement in terms of local governance; however, despite the progress made to date, there are serious challenges that have to be addressed as discussed below:

- The finalisation of the restructuring process flowing from the merging of formerly separate municipalities has been a priority since 2000. Considerable progress has been made to create a new, appropriate structure (www.buffalocity.gov.za/municipality/index.stm). However, inefficiencies still exist within the institution that compromises the city's abilities to deliver services and fully achieve the objectives set out in the IDP (Buffalo City Municipality 2007/2008:43 and 46).

In this regard, Southall (2007:13) points out that not all delivery failures can be blamed on government. Certain problems have been compounded by clear dysfunction and malpractice at a local level, as well as the intergovernmental systems' failure to support municipalities adequately. It is necessary that all local, provincial and national stakeholders support each and work together to ensure the achievement of Buffalo City's long-term vision (www.buffalocity.gov.za/municipality/key_docs/idp2007section - pdf).

- Local residents are not fully aware of their civic rights. For this reason, there is a lack of community participation in municipal affairs. They have not been fully educated on when, why and how they should participate. Consequently, municipal functionaries are not held accountable for their actions and inaction (Sikhakane 2006:147 and 149). The local communities should be educated on community participation and their role in municipal governance. This includes the legislative provisions, mechanisms, processes and procedures. They should be alerted to the codes of conduct for municipal functionaries, so that they can be held accountable. Moreover, there should be a dedicated budget for community participation (Sikhakane 2008:153).

- Ward committees are representative and consultative structures that can play a pivotal role in facilitating service delivery. However, some ward committees are not functioning well and the members are not receiving the required information, capacity building and guidance. Moreover, ward councilors are not cooperative and are not working in collaboration with councillors (Sikhakane 2008:150). Ward committees are important structures introduced by government to promote participatory democracy. There is a need to train ward committee members and develop their capacity. Furthermore, there should be administrative and financial support from the municipality (Sikhakane 2008:152).
- In order to achieve and continue its mandate, it needs to maintain financial viability and expand its cost-based. Although financial fundamentals as well as predictability within the operating budget have improved, there are some issues that need to be addressed. This includes maintenance of assets; developing and extending services to new consumers; ensuring that all revenue is fully recovered; exploring additional sources of revenue; unfunded mandates; alternative service delivery mechanisms and considering levels of service in relation to affordability (Buffalo City Municipality 2007/2008:46 and Savage 2007:311).
- The government has launched various initiatives to improve financial management, ranging from Project Viability in 2001 to Project Consolidate in 2006. The national treasury has launched its own capacity building programme to assist municipalities with their financial management systems. National government is also providing greater fiscal resources ("equitable share") to municipalities to implement capital projects and to provide free basic services to the poor (Buhlungu and Atkinson 2007:33).

Project Consolidate is one of national government's key initiatives to support capacity building within local government. The municipality is a participant in Project Consolidate programme, "Free Basic Services Targeting the Poor, Billing Systems and Municipal Debt. A partnership has been created between the municipality, national and provincial government and the private sector to provide possible solutions. This aspect can be replicated in other municipalities that face similar challenges (www.buffalocity.gov.za/municipality/key_docs/idp2007/section.pdf/).

There was some progress in terms of ensuring co-ordinated financial management and increased revenue management. The targeted 75% spending on project funding has been achieved. Furthermore, 80% of the municipality's capital budget was spent, in accordance with the Integrated Development Plan. In addition, a collection rate of 94.3% was achieved falling short of the targeted 97% (www.buffalocity.gov.za/news2008/feb/feb15_successes.stm).

- A major threat is escalating unemployment in the area, which affects people's ability to pay for services. If this situation continues, the municipality could soon find itself with a huge burden in terms of indigent subsidies, given that 55% of the local population is classified as indigent⁹ (www.buffalocity.gov.za/municipality/speeches/may30_speech.stm). This could be exacerbated by the fact that most of the people who are employed are low-income earners (Sam, 20 June 2006). Approximately 71% of the local population earns less than the household subsistence level of R 1 500 per month (www.buffalocity.gov.za/municipality/index.stm).

The city has a higher percentage of very poor people than any other South African city. Moreover, and the Human Development Index, a measure of economic and social well-being is the lowest for any urban area in the country (www.buffalocity.gov.za/municipality/speeches/may29_speech.stm). The city strategy highlights the fact that poverty cannot be sustainably addressed without real growth in the economic performance of the urban core areas. Poverty reduction in a poor region requires a successful urban economy. Therefore, future economic growth will mainly be urban and more people will find employment in urban-based economic activities than all the other activities combined. Considerable emphasis has been placed on "crowding in" public investment in economically productive infrastructure (www.buffalocity.gov.za/municipality/keydocs/idp2007/sectionpdf/25/5/09).

The scourge of HIV/AIDS places a burden on the local economy. Together with poverty, it poses a threat to the future sustainability of the city (Sam, 20 June 2006 and Nealer 2007:158). Approximately 20% of the pregnant women in the province were HIV positive. Of these, the largest percentage (32.4%) fell within the 20-24 age group. In Buffalo City, 16% of the pregnant women were found to be HIV positive (www.buffalocity.gov.za/municipality/index.stm). Municipalities have a key role in HIV/AIDS policy development and implementation. However, this has yet to reach its full potential – particularly in the rural areas. A coherent collaborative partnership model has yet to emerge between the three spheres of government, the non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community-based organisations (Van Rensburg and Friedman in Nealer 2007:158).

Strategies that can be adopted to develop a comprehensive response to HIV Aids includes keeping track of current programmes in the municipal area and to link these programmes to other developmental aspects (poverty alleviation). Moreover, clear guidelines for mainstreaming the programmes should be developed. This will help ensure that all departments can identify and prioritise activities related to core functions and develop stronger intergovernmental relations with national and provincial counterparts to strengthen and improve implementation of policy (SACN in Reddy, 2008:9).

- The rising crime rate can lead to less investment opportunities and reduced tourism (Sam, 20 June 2006). The issue of crime should be singled out as a constraint to development. Furthermore, crime prevention should become one of the key priorities of the city and strategies developed to address it.
- The lack of a skills-oriented curriculum has also impacted negatively on the local economy. A fifth of the potential labour force has not attended school or completed the primary school phase (Buffalo City Municipality, 2005-2006:11). Qualified people are increasingly being absorbed by larger cities and overseas countries, which offer them better packages and incentives (See Nealer, 2007:166). According to Pieterse *et al.* (2008:15), the capacity challenges have to go beyond addressing the Joint Initiative on Priority Skills Acquisition's recommendations for overcoming the shortage of skilled personnel, such as engineers, planners and accountants. The debate about capacity should also include questions of consolidating democratic skills and expectations at the local level.
- Most of the population lives in the periphery of the city. This area is characterised by poor infrastructure and services, a low economic base, a high unemployment level and a considerable distance from the city centre. All these result in high transportation costs, which are disproportionate to the expenditure on food, shelter and other basic amenities. Infrastructure backlogs also hinder agricultural development in rural areas (Sam, 20 June 2006). The Revitalisation Plan focuses on improving the municipality's ability to facilitate and attract development, enhancing investment and local economic growth. The aim is to improve the ability of the majority of the residents to earn their own incomes, by creating a facilitative environment for sustainable job creation ([www.buffalocity.gov.za/municipality/key docs/idp2007/section - pdf/](http://www.buffalocity.gov.za/municipality/key_docs/idp2007/section - pdf/)).
- The city has a relatively narrow industrial base and is heavily dependant on a few primary industries. It has a limited tax base in proportion to the large rural areas incorporated within its boundaries (Buffalo City Council IDP2002:106). The revenue base for municipalities, composed of property taxes (rates), water and electricity service fees have limited scope for expansion. This is indeed a major challenge, as local needs will increase as the population increases (Cloete and Pycroft in Van der Waldt 2007:6). According to Mr Smith, the acting director of social services in the BCM (Interview 14 August 2006) the leading industry in the region is Daimler Chrysler South Africa, which provides jobs for over 1000 people. In King William's Town, certain projects, such as the industrial zone in Dimbaza have failed.

One major industry that still exists is Da Gama Textiles, which provides some employment. Other forms of employment are generated by small businesses. The largest employer in the King William's Town area is the

provincial government. BCM is the second largest employer. Some members of the population are employed in the building sector and in industries in the East London area. The formal business sector is well established. Moreover, authorities have to recognise the important role of the informal business sector, such as hawkers and taxis. Taxi ranks and hawkers' facilities have been improved to enhance small business projects. However, hawkers need to be controlled, as they tend to spread their wares all over the pavements and cause a lot of littering.

The challenges the BCM encounter are by no means specific to it. One is inclined to acknowledge that these challenges are common to all municipalities in South Africa, with variations from area to area (see Parnel 2002: and Nealer 2007:166). Moreover, BCM is in the Eastern Cape, which is the second poorest province in the country.

A social attitudes survey the Human Sciences Research Council conducted in 2005 revealed that 78% of the city's residents trusted the municipality. In addition, 52 % of the residents voted in the 2006 elections. This proved to be second to Tshwane with 56% and higher than the national average of 43% (www.buffalocity.gov.za/municipality/speeches/may29_speech.stm). It should also be noted that the city's average annual growth rate over the past five years was higher than the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality and the Cape Town City Council. The city was also listed as second to Johannesburg City Council in terms of the proportion of people with access to libraries, parks and sports-fields. (www.buffalocity.gov.za/municipality/speeches/may29_speech.stm)

There is no doubt that BCM is committed to devising various strategies to create employment opportunities for its communities, thus improving their quality of life. However, much still needs to be done as unemployment and poverty levels remain at unacceptable levels.

CONCLUSION

Buffalo City Municipality was established following the amalgamation of the city of East London and King Williams Town with their respective hinterlands. It serves an estimated population of 880 000 people in the greater East London area.

The restructuring and transformation processes were fraught with difficulties. The fact that the new, restructured municipality had to incorporate the peri-urban areas with huge backlogs of services, as well as rural areas where services were almost non-existent exacerbated the situation.

There were also demands and expectations from people in the incorporated areas who, by and large, were unemployed, while the few who were employed

were low-income earners. Most of these people were living in abject poverty. This meant that they could not make any meaningful contribution to the financial base of the municipality, which was required to improve their quality of life. Buffalo City, like many other municipalities, is under tremendous pressure following the amalgamation exercise. Many have not managed to amalgamate their administrative systems successfully. Furthermore, municipalities face with a wide array of new functions. This includes promoting local economic development, alleviating poverty, addressing the impacts of HIV Aids and undertaking land reform. Although the twin challenges of democracy and non-racialism have been met, the developmental demands placed on municipalities appear to be growing exponentially ((Buhlungu and Atkinson 2007:27).

The municipality had to devise strategies in order to overcome the challenges highlighted. This includes developing an efficient and effective management structure; limited civic education; under functioning ward committees; financial viability and increasing its revenue; escalating unemployment; scourge of HIVs; increasing crime rate; migration of qualified professionals and infrastructural backlogs. Considerable progress has been made to address the above-mentioned challenges. However, much more needs to be done to address the developmental backlogs, thereby improving local citizens' quality of life. The rapid transformation has also highlighted the inadequacy of administrative skills, financial systems and popular accountability.

NOTES

- 1 Senior Lecturer in the School of Government, University of Fort Hare, Alice at the time of her death. This article is based on the doctoral thesis submitted in 2008.
- 2 Senior Professor in the School of Public and Development Management of the University of Kwazulu – Durban, Natal.
- 3 The Act required hundreds of locally negotiated transitions thereby slowly ushering in developmental local government.
- 4 See Reddy, 2006:57-58 for a detailed discussion of the negotiations leading to the ushering in of both pieces of legislation
- 5 This meant that the whole of South Africa was under local municipal control (Van der Waldt, 2007:15).
- 6 See Section 9(d) of the *Local Government: Municipal Structures Act, 1998* (Act 117 of 1998)
- 7 See Section 72 -78 of the *Local Government: Municipal Structures Act, 1998* (Act 117 of 1998)
- 8 An Integrated Development Plan, adopted by the Council of a municipality is the key strategic planning tool for the municipality. It guides and informs all planning and development and all

- decisions relative to planning, management and development (Section 35 (10 (a) of the *Local Government: Municipal Systems Act*, 2000 (Act 32 of 2000)
- 9 The cumulative cost of the provision of free basic services for the five year period was in excess of R 600 million www.buffalocity.gov.za/municipality/speeches/may29_speech.stm.

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The sustainability of gated communities in local government development

Open or close the gates?

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ABSTRACT

Gated communities refer to physical areas that are fenced or walled off from their surroundings. Entrance to these areas is prohibited or controlled by means of gates or booms. These areas include residential areas with restricted access, as well as controlled access villages for work, recreational and/or commercial purposes, enclosed neighbourhoods and security estates/villages.

However, the approval of gated communities in local government is controversial and the decision in terms of the long term benefits of developmental urban sustainability is currently contested because there are many stakeholders advocating for 'opening the gates' and others for 'closing the gates'.

This article aims to describe urban sustainability and urban transformation before contextualising the phenomenon of gated communities. A brief overview of the legislative and policy framework for urban reconstruction and development is provided in order to follow the developments in the legal context of urban and spatial development in South Africa. The article then discusses different approaches to gated communities. As examples, the findings of two reports (the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality and the South African Human Rights Commission) are discussed, in order to determine the advantages and disadvantages of gated communities, from the perspectives of the different stakeholders. Conclusions are presented throughout the article in order to understand and evaluate the role of gated communities within a sustainable urban developmental paradigm.

INTRODUCTION

In a democratic state such as the Republic of South Africa, it can be accepted that the role of public institutions of state is to perform particular functions to enhance the welfare of the specific society. Developmental local government refers to a local government committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs and improve the quality of their lives. Developmental local government has four interrelated characteristics, namely maximising social development and economic growth, integrating and coordinating, democratising development, and leading and learning.

For municipalities to become developmental in nature, they have to change the way that they work. Building local democracy is a central role of local government, and municipalities should develop strategies and mechanisms to continuously involve citizens, businesses and community groups in processes such as planning and budgeting. The establishment of developmental government must be predicated on three principles, namely autonomy, supervision and cooperation.

Governance structures for sustainable development should, in particular, enable individual and social learning processes and create options for sustainable urban design. Traditional systems of regulation are under pressure to reform and require the participation of all stakeholders to ensure that this objective is met. The upgrading of the current underdeveloped areas in urban areas through the provision of adequate infrastructure and services, and the integration of these areas with the rest of the adjacent city, are critical challenges that require urgent attention. Urban planning and design indirectly contribute to crime prevention strategies. Many citizens respond in their own way, however, for example by establishing numerous gated communities, which are changing the face of South African cities.

The aim of this article is to establish the sustainability of gated communities in local government development as well as to establish, if only by implication, whether the authorities continuously act to the benefit of the society, with special emphasis on the developmental role of local government. In terms of section 152 of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996* the objectives of local government are *inter alia*, to ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner, to promote social and economic development, to promote a safe and healthy environment and to encourage the involvement of communities in matters of local government.

The article takes an exploratory look at the role of gated communities. Questions that prompted the research are: What are the benefits of gated communities for a developmental society? What are the positive and negative aspects of gated communities? What are the arguments for and against gated communities? How does the law and government policy affect the phenomenon

of gated communities? How does the constitutional right of 'all people to have access and free movement to all public space' affects this phenomenon? Who is legally responsible for the financial maintenance of the public spaces and services in these enclosed areas?

URBAN SUSTAINABILITY

Urban sustainability can be defined as sustainability in a city where achievements in economic, social and physical/environmental development are made to last.

It strives for:

- economic efficiency in the use of the development
- social equity in the distribution of development benefits and costs
- avoidance of the exclusion of future development options (Landman 2000b:2).

When applying multiple dimensions of sustainability to the city, cognisance should be taken of the following key dimensions or aspects of sustainability:

- sustainable urban economy: work and wealth
- sustainable urban society: social coherence and social solidarity
- sustainable urban shelter: decent affordable housing for all
- sustainable urban environment: stable ecosystems
- sustainable urban access: resource-conserving mobility
- sustainable urban life: building the liveable city
- sustainable urban democracy: empowering the citizenry (Landman 2000b:2).

Indicators and key issues of urban sustainability that might have an impact on gated communities, include:

- A sense of community

This sense can be enhanced or reduced. A reduced sense of community can lead to negative relations between neighbours and can have a drastic impact on the quality of life in an area and on building a liveable and vibrant city.

- Safety and security

Aspects include reduction of crime, displacement of crime and response times. There are mixed feelings about whether gated communities do in fact reduce crime. The long-term snowball effect of the displacement of crime could have a negative impact on urban sustainability in terms of the spatial arrangement, as well as effective management and functioning of urban environments.

Response times are influenced by blocked or gated routes, which cause delays for police and emergency personnel wishing to reach the destination in time.

- Social exclusion

Social segregation and exclusion are reflected in some residents who are only concerned with taking care of themselves and their immediate neighbours. Gates and walls contribute to bypassers and people from other neighbourhoods feeling excluded. This could have a harmful effect on urban sustainability in terms of the urban economy, social coherence, solidarity, building liveable cities and democracy. Social and political exclusion is harmful for both the included and the excluded, and the society involved may experience severe tensions.

- Urban fragmentation and separation

Gated communities' restricted access prevents motorists and pedestrians from moving freely and can increase travelling distances, leading to discomfort and frustration. Apart from congestion, the transport system is also undermined. The future sustainability of gated communities in terms of urban functioning as well as quality urban life is therefore questionable.

- Urban planning and management

Examples include blocked roads and traffic congestion, and general urban maintenance. Municipalities complain about the difficulties in reading water and electricity meters, removing waste and allowing emergency vehicles quick access to the premises. Longer routes must be taken leading to secondary roads being used, which causes traffic congestion. Private governance and control could threaten urban sustainability, specifically sustainable urban democracy in the future.

- Financial implications

The establishment and maintenance of a gated community can be very costly, especially as regards the maintenance of infrastructure. Demands from gated communities for tax rebates and lower service charges can have a negative effect on the budget of the municipality, which may in turn lead to higher taxes for all other residents in the municipal area.

Within the framework of urban sustainability, all roleplayers should come up with innovative and creative ideas and policies on how to ensure that gated communities can and do contribute to the wellbeing of all residents in the municipal area (Ballard 2004:67; Landman 2000b:2-5; Naudé 2004:7-8; Walker 2005:26-27; Frantz 2006:72-74 and Petschow, Rosenau and Von Weizsäcker 2005:23).

URBAN TRANSFORMATION

Institutional transformation is often an end result of spatial transformation, or a change in the way in which spaces are managed and/or controlled. Gated

communities in South Africa are good examples of this, as the privatisation of space often also results in the privatisation of public services and governance (Landman 2002b:5).

Rules and controls are an integrated part of the management of gated communities, although more so in security villages/estates than in enclosed neighbourhoods, as security villages/estates are designed to create and ensure a specific lifestyle. Gated communities may thus be viewed as a design of power, linking them to a much broader spirit of the time, namely postmodernism or postmodern urbanism. Postmodern urbanism interventions, for example gated communities, reveal an escalating decline in meaningful public space and the desire to control one's space. Previously they combined production, consumption and social interaction but public space has now become compartmentalised and transformed – exactly as is happening in South Africa (Landman 2002b:6).

The following are long-term consequences of transformed public space and governance in South Africa:

- Territorial governance could assist municipalities by alleviating their burden in terms of service delivery and maintenance of infrastructure in enclosed areas. In this way municipalities can be assisted to ensure more efficient cities. But efficient cities for whom, and at what cost?
- Privatisation of public urban space and governance could lead to increased spatial and institutional fragmentation and become a way in which private groups can resist integration and the redistribution of wealth within the new democracy (Bellet 2007:6-7; Landman 2002b:7).

Certain types of gated communities, due to their nature, size and location, are starting to contribute to urban sprawl, fragmentation and separation, thus creating physical barriers in many South African cities. This could have significant social consequences, as was the case in Brazil, where fortified enclaves contributed to higher levels of inequality, fear, suspicion, as well as feelings of vulnerability in those 'outside' the boundaries. Fortified enclaves in Brazil contribute to the transformation of urban spaces; some public spaces are privatised, while others become dilapidated, abandoned and open to different forms of violence and illegal forms of control (Ballard 2004:68; Landman 2002b:5-7).

CONTEXTUALISING GATED COMMUNITIES

The idea of gated communities or walled cities is nothing new. The Romans built the earliest forms of gated communities around 300 BC in England. Retired Roman soldiers were given land in tribal areas after their term of service so as

to maintain order in the countryside. Their families clustered near or within the manor, and erected walls and other defences. The walls around these settlements, however, were seldom erected to protect the occupants from external invaders, but rather to guard against local villagers who might have turned on the lord of the manor at any moment. That was at a time when tribes-people often rebelled against their masters. Later, fortresses also served to protect against invaders or internal warring factions (Blakely and Snyder 1997:3–4).

Definitions of gated communities

Gated communities refer to physical areas that are fenced or walled off from their surroundings. Entrance to these areas is prohibited or controlled by means of gates or booms. These areas include residential areas with restricted access, as well as controlled access villages for work, recreational and/or commercial purposes. Gated communities include both enclosed neighbourhoods and security estates/villages (Landman 2000b:2; Walker 2005:3-4).

Enclosed neighbourhoods refer to existing neighbourhoods with controlled access through gates or booms across existing roads. These neighbourhoods may also be fenced or walled off, with a limited number of controlled entrances/exits (Atkinson and Flint 2003:4).

Security estates/villages refer to private developments where the entire area is developed by a (private) developer. These areas are physically walled or fenced off and usually have a security gate or controlled access point, as is the case for example in golf estates, townhouse complexes and office parks (Holtshousen 2003:5; Landman 2002b:4).

Grant and Mittelsteadt (2004:913-914) defines a gated community as “having development on private roads closed to general traffic by a gate across the primary areas. The developments may be surrounded by fences, walls or other natural barriers that further limit public access”.

Types of gated communities

There are various types of gated communities in South Africa. They can broadly be divided into two types, namely enclosed neighbourhoods (which close off existing neighbourhoods) and security villages/estates (which are private developments). Gated communities contribute to spatial transformation in a very significant way which, in turn, has a great influence on urban governance at the local level. It is possible that gated communities can be a particular local expression of the reigning spirit of our time, namely postmodernism, and its manifestation in urban design through postmodern urbanism. Previous research proved that there is a relationship between the reconstruction of space

and the recent growth in territorial governance in South Africa – the growth in homeowners' associations, bodies corporate and private firms managing enclosed or demarcated areas attests to this (Bähr and Jürgens 2006:197-199; Bellet 2007:14; Brunn 2004:1; Landman 2002b:3-6).

In the case of enclosed neighbourhoods, existing neighbourhoods are closed off through booms and gates across existing roads. Many are fenced and/or walled off, with only a few points of controlled entrance/exit; some also have security guards. The roads within these enclosed neighbourhoods were previously or are still public property, and in many instances the municipality is still responsible for public services to these communities. These types of gated communities in South Africa are sometimes referred to as "road closures". Public urban space is privatised by this type of gating – formally or informally. Different models of the closure of existing neighbourhoods are in existence in South Africa. They vary from more public to increasingly private approaches. Many municipalities opted for a more controlled approach to neighbourhood enclosures, which entails that public spaces within the enclosed areas, for example the roads and parks, remain the property of and be maintained by the municipality. As neighbourhood enclosures are usually only approved for a limited period, say two years, public space is not formally privatised, but often controlled in such a way that it becomes semi-private space or operates as private space in practice. Another option allows for temporary booms/gates or permanent closure of streets in the neighbourhood, but the public areas remain the property of and are maintained by the municipality. Still another option is the privatisation of all public spaces, and in this case the future ownership and maintenance will be taken over by the residents' associations – public space is thus formally privatised (Landman 2002a:5; Naudé 2004:5).

Security villages/estates are private developments from the start, including luxury (residential) estates, for example golf estates and office parks. These areas/buildings are physically walled and/or fenced off and usually have a security gate or controlled entrance with a security guard. The roads in these developments are private and a private management body carries out the management as well as the maintenance (Landman 2002a:5; Landman 2002b:4).

These private developments can be further divided into the following:

- Lifestyle communities – The focus is on leisure activities with recreational activities, common facilities and shared services at their core. Lifestyle enclaves may include retirement villages, golf communities or suburban new towns. Such projects seek to commodify a community by creating a sense of community through common interests and activities.
- Prestige communities – These serve as symbols of wealth and status for image-conscious residents. These projects often do not include common amenities or facilities.

- Security zone communities – The closing off of public streets to non-residents reflects a fear of outsiders who may disrupt neighbourhoods (Blandy, Lister, Atkinson and Flint 2003:4-6; Grant and Mittelstaedt 2004:915-917; Holtshousen 2003:3; Maxwell 2004:4-5; Van de Wettering 2000:2-3; Wikipedia 2009).

LEGISLATIVE AND POLICY FRAMEWORK FOR URBAN RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

Since 1994 the South African government has committed itself to urban reconstruction and development. This is evident in the two major macro-development strategies, namely the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR). The RDP is directed at addressing the social aspects of sustainable development by meeting the basic needs of people and encouraging people-driven processes. GEAR is the country's main economic strategy and attempts to address issues of economic inequality, as well as ensure the country's continued economic growth.

The RDP is directed at addressing the basic needs of the people of South Africa through six basic principles, namely:

- integration and sustainability
- people-driven processes
- assuring peace and security for all
- nation building
- linking reconstruction and development
- democratisation (Landman 2004a:6).

The GEAR strategy was developed subsequent to the RDP. Its aim was to strengthen economic growth in South Africa by broadening employment opportunities, and redistributing economic opportunities and income in favour of the poor. GEAR may, however, be questioned in terms of its implications for long-term sustainability. While economic sustainability is an important prerequisite for sustainable development and human settlements, it cannot be viable over the long term without a balance in terms of environmental sustainability and quality of life (Landman 2004a:6-7).

Post-apartheid planning and design faces two major challenges concerning spatial transformation in South African cities, namely integration between and within cities; and developing previously disadvantaged areas to the same extent as previously white areas: from infrastructure investment, housing delivery and development of well-functioning public facilities to effective service delivery (Landman 2004a:7).

Apart from the RDP and GEAR, the following important planning and development policies exist in South Africa:

- The *Development Facilitation Act* 67 of 1995 (DFA)

The main purpose of the DFA is to bridge the gap between previous apartheid planning laws and a new planning system reflecting the needs and priorities of a democratic South Africa. Key features include general principles for land development, land development objectives (LDOs) and development tribunals. The DFA paved the way for integrated development based on normative planning principles. This is a huge shift from previous planning policies and legislation based on specific standards, and is a very technocratic and master-planned approach. The term "planning", according to the DFA, consists of objectives such as promoting equity, promoting efficiency, protecting the public good, and ensuring the good use of scarce resources and the protection of the environment (Holthousen 2003:6; Landman 2004a:7).

Integration refers to the rejection of past practices of fragmentation and separation. Forms of integration include integration between rural and urban landscapes, integration between elements of spatial structure, integration between land uses, integration of new developments with old ones and integration of different classes (Landman 2004a:8).

- In 1995 the government released the Urban Development Strategy document with a view to ensuring the future sustainable development of both urban and rural areas in South Africa. The vision was that by 2020 cities and towns in South Africa should be:

- based on integrated urban and rural development strategies
- leaders of a globally competitive national economy
- centres of social and economic opportunity for all
- free of racial segregation and gender discrimination
- managed by accountable, democratic local governments
- planned in highly participative fashion
- marketed by good infrastructure and services for all
- integrated centres which provide access to many physical and social resources
- environmentally sustainable (Landman 2004a:9).

- The following seven strategic goals were outlined to achieve this vision:
 - to create efficient and productive cities with less poverty and sustained by dynamic economies
 - to reduce existing infrastructure and service disparities
 - to provide better housing and shelter and greater security for urban residents
 - to encourage affordable growth of local economies

- to address spatial inefficiencies, especially the mismatch between where people live and work, so as to improve the quality of the urban environment
- to transform local authorities into effective and accountable local government institutions
- to establish safe and secure living environments (Landman 2004a:9).
- The Urban Development Framework of 1997 was a redrafting of the Urban Development Strategy, and was directed at more sustainable urban settlements. It consists of four key programmes, namely integrating the city, improving housing and infrastructure, promoting urban economic development and creating institutions of delivery (Landman 2004a:9-10).
- Then followed the *White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management* in 2001. It consists of five essential elements, namely principles and norms aimed at achieving sustainability, equity and good governance in spatial planning and land use management; land use regulators as organs of state; local spatial planning based on integrated development planning (IDP); a uniform set of procedures for land development approvals; and a national spatial policy framework for sustainable and equitable spatial planning around national priorities (Landman 2004a:11).
- The Urban Corridor Programme suggests the densification of land use along identified corridors, which is not always conducive to the creation of sustainable settlements due to specific local conditions or needs, or the type of urban form and secondary development that encompass a particular outcome of densification (Landman 2004a:13).
- In 2000 the Guidelines for Human Settlement Planning and Design (Redbook) was developed to guide settlement planning in South Africa. This should be achieved through the following eight performance qualities:
 - efficiency – to effectively develop settlements
 - opportunity – to help ensure personal welfare through access to economic, social, cultural and recreational opportunities
 - convenience – to allow citizens to conduct daily activities quickly and easily
 - choice – to ensure multifaceted settlements that offer diversity or choice of places, lifestyles and interaction opportunities
 - equality of access – to give all people reasonable access to opportunities and facilities to support living in settlements
 - quality of place – to embrace uniqueness as opposed to standardisation through the celebration of the natural and cultural characteristics of a place
 - sensory qualities – to work towards settlements that are aesthetically enjoyable in order to improve quality of life

- timeliness – to reflect timeless qualities through flexibility on the one hand and continuity on the other (Landman 2004a:13-14).

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, in section 26 of the Bill of Rights (chapter 2) states “the right of access to adequate housing”. South Africa is also a signatory to the *Habitat Agenda* (1996). This includes a commitment to “improve living and working conditions on an equitable and sustainable basis, so that everyone will have adequate shelter that is healthy, safe, secure, accessible, affordable and that includes basic services, facilities and amenities and will enjoy freedom from discrimination in housing and legal security of tenure” Holshousen 2003:6; Landman 2004a:15; Naudé 2004:1).

The *Housing White Paper* (1994) adopted a market-centred approach, which had several unfortunate outcomes for low-income housing, inter alia that communities were displaced, and apartheid-style ghettos were reproduced (Landman 2004a:15-16).

The *Housing Act 107 of 1997* defines housing development as the establishment and maintenance of habitable, stable and sustainable public and private residential environments to ensure viable households and communities. It continues to prescribe the establishment, development and maintenance of socially and economically viable, safe and healthy living environments to ensure the elimination and prevention of slums and slum conditions (Landman 2004a:16-17).

The *White Paper on Safety and Security* (1998) emphasises two pillars of intervention, namely law enforcement and crime prevention, which includes crime prevention through environmental design (Landman 2004a:18).

The (Gauteng) Rationalisation of Local Government Affairs Act 10 of 1998 makes no provision for applicants to pay for the impacts on the entire network, which are road improvements on major arterial roads that now carry far more traffic diverted from other roads where access is restricted. There is also no provision for a community to pay for other externalities, such as the noise and air pollution along the remaining open roads in an area that would now carry the majority of the traffic (Holthousen 2003:11).

Most of the policies mentioned referred to integrated development in some form. Spatial integration is concerned with the integration of previously disadvantaged areas. This can be achieved through integrated corridors and nodes, which in turn would promote principles such as efficiency, greater opportunity, convenience, accessibility and equality of access (Landman 2004a:23).

Social integration is concerned with the integration of different groups in various urban areas to allow for greater opportunities and more vibrant communities (Landman 2004a:23; Patel 2005:28).

Economic integration encompasses greater accessibility to economic opportunities for all urban residents. Institutional integration refers to integration and coordinated efforts between different spheres of government and different government departments to ensure more effective provision of services and integrated planning (Landman 2004a:23).

DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO GATED COMMUNITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

There are different approaches to, or models of, enclosed neighbourhoods in South Africa within different municipalities. These include a public approach, a private approach, some combination of the two, or both. Municipalities may support one of the two, a combination of the two, or have both models from which residents can choose. The implications of these two approaches are very different. If the roads, parks and sidewalks are still owned by the municipality, then the municipality is responsible for the maintenance of these areas – the public approach. Enclosed neighbourhoods also have different implications for accessibility. The *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, 1996, guarantees the right of all people to have access and free movement to all public space. The important implication of this right is whether the public will be entitled to this right in an enclosed area if it is under the control of another institution when it is declared as ‘private space’ by the residents’ under the auspices of, for example, a homeowners’ association. If the enclosed area stays under public control, all people have the right to enter the public spaces within this area, and provision should be made for them to be able to do so at all times (Landman 2004b:12).

Hence, homeowners’ associations are responsible for the general management of security estates/villages: especially those ones developed by private developers. Some of their tasks include the following:

- to levy contributions from members/residents
- to inform members of decisions taken and actions performed regarding the estate
- to manage and control the security of the estate and communicate with security companies
- to manage the enforcement of the rules, regulations and controls of the estate
- to issue, alter and add rules and regulations for the administration and control of properties in the estate
- to provide for the maintenance of sidewalks and open areas
- to control the architectural standards of buildings and other structures within the estate (Bellet 2007:8; Landman 2004b:17-18).

Enclosed neighbourhoods function as existing ‘open’ neighbourhoods prior to closure, and have almost no additional rules and regulations applicable to residents, apart from the municipal bylaws and other laws applicable to all urban residents in public spaces (Landman 2004b:18)..

Both the security estates and the enclosed neighbourhoods have extensive additional rules, regulations and controls, such as those relating to the following:

- conduct in streets, sidewalks and open spaces, for example traffic rules and speed restrictions
- environmental management, including the maintenance of gardens and infrastructure
- architectural standards and general aesthetics of the area
- good neighbourliness, including rules related to noise levels and times of silence
- security
- levies
- notices
- pets
- the clubhouse and golf courses
- boundary walls and fences (Landman 2004b:19 and Frantz 2006:65).

Security estates may prove less problematic than enclosed neighbourhoods since security estates are planned as closed entities from the start. Infrastructural costs involved in creating a security estate, especially when it includes a golf course, are high. When developers are prepared to provide the funding for it, it may turn out to be a financial benefit for the local government. Large security estates may provide a financial solution for local governments, and solve the problem of urban expansion through privatisation. The developer provides the entire infrastructure at own cost. In these cases local authorities will be responsible only for ongoing service provision, such as electricity and water supply. The residents’ association will be responsible for the maintenance of the roads, parks and other facilities or amenities on the estate (Landman 2004b:20).

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF GATED COMMUNITIES

In this section some advantages and disadvantages of gated communities will be highlighted in terms of the findings of the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality as the selected case that was explored in this regard. In the draft report of the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality on gated communities,

dated March 2003, some positive and negative aspects were highlighted, that could be perceived as advantages and disadvantages of this phenomenon in the context of urban and spatial transformation.

Positive aspects reported were as follows:

- Context evaluation – The opinion exists that gated communities should be seen in the context of urban and suburban areas. The phenomenon of gated communities exists in the suburban areas.
- Exceptionally high incidence of crime – In cases where there is exceptionally high and widespread unemployment in the larger region and resultant poverty, the crime problem is experienced to a much larger extent than ‘normal’.
- Sustainability – In this context sustainability is a need to retain the ‘normal’ qualities of the specially designed larger residential area/function/land use. If it is accepted that the area can be continually exposed to crime, the sustainability of the residential function will be jeopardised, possibly leading to the creation of slum areas.
- Integration – From an integration perspective, gated communities should not be viewed/considered ‘separate’ from the rest of the city. The characteristics of the neighbourhood are already fixed, so that a fence and gate should be evaluated in terms of the impact of access restrictions as opposed to the security benefits. In this regard the National Development and Planning Commission stated that the real challenge is to create longer-term structural frameworks, which incorporate fragmented pockets into an emerging, integrated system, and to ensure that new developments reinforce this framework in ways which bring the greatest short-term strategic advantage. On a smaller scale, integration is a structural rather than a geographical concept. Spatially, two interrelated concepts are central to achieving integration between activities within settlements (Holtshousen 2003:8-9).

Negative aspects reported were as follows:

- The entire legibility of the city can be impacted if large areas are closed. Numerous diversions, detours and deviations from the logical route can lead to confusion and people losing their way.
- Access to public facilities, ranging from schools to parks and from crèches to shopping centres, is hampered by security access restrictions. Users of the facilities must either travel further to access these facilities, or they must stop and go through all the procedures required by the community/security access restriction in order to gain access to the area where those facilities are located.
- The impact of the traffic flows and volumes on the entire system when traffic is diverted from routes within security access restriction areas to surrounding

areas must be considered. The impacts are on both the roads themselves and the ability of the networks/roadways/intersections to carry the additional traffic. The more security access restrictions there are, the greater the impact on the network.

- There can also be a detrimental impact on the roads within a security access restriction area. Underutilised roads tend to deteriorate rapidly, and break up when the tar surface is not constantly being compacted. In security access restriction areas, the roads are still public property and the responsibility of the local authority.
- The displacement of crime can lead to residents of neighbouring communities also having to consider 'gating' to protect themselves. The long-term snowball effect of this could have a negative impact on urban sustainability in terms of the spatial arrangement, as well as the effective management and functioning of urban environments.
- Response times may be severely affected. For instance, in many cases the shortest route to a specific point in need of emergency attention is blocked or gated and this forces emergency personnel to take a more circuitous route – which time delay could mean the difference between life and death.
- Social exclusion suggests that gates and walls can exclude not only the undesirable new residents, but also even casual passers-by and those people from surrounding neighbourhoods. This could have a harmful effect on urban sustainability in terms of the urban economy, social coherence and solidarity, the building of liveable cities and democracy.
- Increased distances that have to be travelled may affect transportation, leading to greater discomfort for those who are dependent on public transport or pedestrian access. In addition, gated communities encourage car ownership and use, which again has various consequences. Apart from contributing to unacceptable levels of congestion and pollution, they decrease opportunities for a sustainable public transport system. They also increase the occurrence of suburban car-based residential sprawl, which in itself can prove to be detrimental to urban sustainability, leading to longer commuter journeys and congestion. With the issue of suburbia, the future sustainability of these areas in terms of urban management and functioning, as well as quality urban life, can be questioned.
- Urban fragmentation and separation occur as gated communities physically separate a specific area from its environment and create zones and pockets of restricted access within the urban fabric. Physical barriers and divisions, however, do not only establish physical exclusion, but can enhance social and political exclusion as well. This has an impact on urban sustainability, including social coherence, sustainable urban access and sustainable urban life (Holtshousen 2003:10-12; Walker 2005:28-29).

However, South Africa is unique and hosts a different set of characteristics from other countries in the world. The following are some of these particular characteristics:

- a unique diversity of urban residents living together in South African cities
- a specific political and socioeconomic environment present in urban environments
- particular crime patterns and a relatively high crime rate
- proportionately high levels of fear of crime
- low levels of trust in the police in many communities
- a heritage of fragmented and separated urban environments, resulting from previous planning policies
- large differences between existing facilities and services accessible to particular sectors
- a suspicion regarding the delivery of local governments in South Africa, and their ability to deliver
- notorious extremes between the rich and the poor (Landman 2000d:18).

Therefore, road/neighbourhood enclosures raise questions about the role of local authorities/municipalities. By allowing closures, municipalities could neglect some of their traditional roles and functions. These include the following:

- seeing to the needs of all the residents of the city
- implementing a long-term urban strategy
- ensuring the general public good
- providing for, developing and maintaining public open spaces for the use of all urban residents
- ensuring that all residents will be able to use public spaces (Landman 2000a:18).

In light of the above discussion it can be concluded that there are both advantages and disadvantages to neighbourhood enclosures.

Positive aspects/advantages are as follows:

- permanent or temporary reduction in crime
- reduction in the fear of crime, and the provision of psychological relief
- an enhanced sense of community
- an increased sense of ownership and responsibility

Negative aspects/disadvantages are as follows:

- creating a false sense of security
- displacing crime
- reducing response times of emergency vehicles
- dividing communities

- causing conflict and tension between urban residents
- increasing the fear of crime
- promoting social exclusion
- increasing urban fragmentation and separation
- causing difficulties with regard to maintenance and services

Neighbourhood enclosures are here to stay, and are likely to increase in number. It is therefore necessary that all roleplayers apply their minds to neighbourhood enclosures, especially their impact on the urban future (Blandy *et al.* 2003:42-43; Landman 2000a:25; Minnaar 2004:8; Patel 2005:32; Walker 2005:37-38).

REPORT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

In addition to the findings of the City of Tshwane report, the South African Human Rights Commission compiled a report in 2005 of the public hearings into the use of boom gates and road closures. It was found that those who were opposed to road closures argued that the notion of an open city and of citizens being able to move around freely, as well as the commitment that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in diversity, was being undermined by the use of boom gates that effectively created no-go areas. The Commission's findings and recommendations revealed that:

- The Commission did not generally support the use of boom gates and gated communities, as these measures cause social division, dysfunctional cities and lead to further polarisation of our society. The proposed enhanced safety and security is also doubtful.
- The Commission found that a number of rights may also be violated, especially the policy of the municipality.
- The Commission took cognisance of the fact that legislation such as the (Gauteng) Rationalisation of *Local Government Affairs Act* 10 of 1998 does indeed provide for restriction of access, including road closures. Concerns were, however, raised about the noncompliance with strict imposed conditions, coupled with an inability, mainly due to capacity problems and practical difficulties, to effectively monitor compliance.
- Communities, in liaison with the authorities, were encouraged to continue with their efforts to make communities safer.

The Commission, even though satisfied that a legal basis does exist for access restrictions, including boom gates and road closures, urged municipalities and communities to consider and exhaust alternate access restrictions, including

guards and guard houses, traffic calming measures and closed circuit television (South African Government Information, 2005:1-2).

SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

The face of South African cities is changing rapidly and spatial transformation is the order of the day. Involvement in all areas, including community-based planning, sustainability and social justice, needs to be spatialised to arrive at spatial justice and regional democracy (Landman 2002c:2).

Together with the beginning of a new democracy in 1994, approaches to planning and governance gradually responded to the new ideals of equality and integration. The *Development Facilitation Act* (DFA) was introduced in 1995, with the aim of being an interim measure to bridge the gap between the old apartheid planning laws and new planning systems. An important feature of the DFA was that it was based on a set of normative principles for land development that embodied a medium-term and long-term vision for South African cities. This was followed by the development of a Green Paper for Planning and Development in 1999, which took the idea of normative planning further. It finally culminated in the *White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management* in 2001. The White Paper is fundamentally based on a long-term vision and a set of principles and norms to achieve this vision. The vision calls for integrated planning for sustainable management of land resources (Landman 2002c:3).

Gated communities also pose a number of challenges to local governments in terms of spatial planning or integrated development planning. These challenges relate to a short-term view of gated communities, lack of integrated development, spatial fragmentation, social exclusion, threat to urban sustainability and private micro-governance. Gated communities have the potential to increase spatial fragmentation through the division of neighbourhoods into distinctive cells, so limiting accessibility and social cohesion on a metropolitan and sub-metropolitan scale. These challenges, together with the potential of the privatisation of public space, the privatisation of public services, such as road maintenance and its implications for tax rebates, the privatisation of local governments, the increasing marginalisation of the poor, increased conflict and aggression between local residents due to differing opinions regarding gated communities, and a reduction of urban democracy can seriously threaten the achievement of urban sustainability in South Africa (Bellet 2007:8-9; Landman 2002c:11).

Challenges posed by gated communities include the following:

- lack of long-term consideration
- lack of integrated planning

- spatial fragmentation
- social exclusion
- threat to urban sustainability
- private micro-governance
- growing demand for land use management
- lack of limited policies
- lack of effective urban management
- illegal closures (Landman 2002c:11).

An approach combining political and economic considerations of city processes needs to be coupled with cultural and aesthetic needs. The challenge is therefore to engage in a multidimensional approach to spatial planning in South Africa that goes beyond single perspectives to both space and time. It calls for a socio-spatial approach to planning, taking into account the need for a place-making approach, while simultaneously considering the bigger whole and the public good. This implies flexible, yet strong, governance to ensure a balance between short-term needs and long-term visions and costs. In the short term, local governments should be concerned with the regulation, monitoring and control of gated communities, while still taking into account the desperate need for safety and security. Longer-term actions could include the evaluation of different types and models of gated communities, determining the impact and implications thereof, and identifying the possible advantages and disadvantages (Landman 2002c:13).

The main challenge related to gated communities is therefore to establish a balance between flexibility (in terms of land use management and development) and stronger collective action to guarantee democratic and fair governance of places in South Africa (Landman 2002c:14; Patel 2005:34-35).

CONCLUSION

In evaluating gated communities, positive aspects include context evaluation (urban and suburban), addressing the exceptionally high incidence of crime, sustainability and integration. Negative aspects include the legibility of the city that can be affected if large areas are closed, the hampering of access to public facilities by security access restrictions, the impact of traffic flows and volumes on the entire system when traffic is diverted, no provision for applicants to pay for the impact of the entire network, the detrimental impact on the roads within a security access restriction area, crime displacement, response times, social exclusion, transportation problems, and urban fragmentation and separation. A lack of intervention on the part of local governments, and the

uncontrolled growth of gated communities, can exacerbate existing patterns of spatial segregation and social exclusion. This in turn undermines democratic consolidation.

The existence of gated communities relates to the need for institutional accommodation of different spatial, social and economic realities. Thus it cannot be assumed that communities will start reaping more benefits from the developmental system of local government. Municipalities operate in a complex system of intergovernmental relations, which places a high premium on both local discretion and intergovernmental integration. Capacity constraints in critical areas of municipal governance and administration are also a hampering factor. There is also a lack of connectivity between communities and municipalities, which flies in the face of the policy intent of 'developmental local government'.

The challenge for South Africa and other roleplayers involved with the democratic reconstruction and development of cities is to balance the short-term needs with the long-term vision and costs.

The *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, 1996, guarantees the right of all people to have access and free movement to all public space. The questions remain whether these enclosed areas falls under public or private control in terms of the above constitutional right; where is the legal boundary drawn between 'public' or 'private' space; if the enclosed area stays under public control, does all people have the right to enter the public spaces within this area, and should provision be made for them to be able to do so at all times.

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Learning strategies for a postgraduate educational model for ethics management

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ABSTRACT

This article addresses an important – yet least investigated – problem of ethics management outcomes at universities. It specifically addresses outcomes to develop feeder and general competencies for management positions in the public sector. The article covers issues, such as the importance of ethics curricula for public management and the improving teaching methodologies for ethics at postgraduate level for South Africa universities. An ethics management educational model is also posited. This model could be used to address and streamline ethics management training at postgraduate level. Ethics management capacity training and education at universities are complex issues. Therefore, it is difficult to find a clear-cut ethics-teaching model to recoup the management ethics-training backlog that has built up over years. For this reason, the ensuing article advocates an integrated approach – instead of a parochial one – for addressing ethics management skills.

INTRODUCTION

“One of the foremost tasks of any effective management education ... must be to improve the ability of managers and embryo managers to make wise decisions and make plans for their successful implementation” (International Labour Office 1974:11.1).

One place to acquire ethics management skills is in an educational setting. In South Africa, this refers to management and development training in schools,

colleges and universities as well as through organisations that offer in-house management training and development (Smit and Cronje in Nethonzhe 2008:3).

Ethics management training and education is of major importance to the South African public service. The Transparency International in South Africa, Public Service Commission (PSC) also echoed this sentiment in an ethics survey (Nethonzhe 2008:3). Their main findings included the following: a) ethics management strategies and procedures are not broad enough; and b) ethics training and education sessions are too brief to be effective and do not focus on important groups of employees such as senior managers and new managers. A lack of ethics curricula and feeders at postgraduate university level were cited as a major deficiency. In order to meet this need, comprehensive ethics management training and development programmes are required if the South African public service is to foster a culture of ethics management.

Stewart (in Nethonzhe 2008:4) argues that, "... although organizational (stet) roles, climate and structure always interact with personal responses remain critical practicing public administrators fall back on institutions when faced with ethical quandaries". She further states that: "From an ethical theory perspective, there is a problem with institutions alone. Hence, professional societies developing codes, professors and lecturers teaching theories, departments formalizing (stet) rules of good practices for transmission to new employees". All of these instructional efforts may shed only a dim light on actual quandaries public administrators encounter. At the critical moment of choice or decision-making, the public manager may be left defenseless with no capacity to evaluate and justify his/her own moral values / feelings. Researchers in applied fields often eschew fundamental questions for higher learning institutions. Notably, these questions relate to the way in which to teach ethics management most effectively and to determine the best method to achieve this end at the postgraduate level. Strategies such as high-quality experiential learning methodologies, with ethics strongly infused in the content; dramaturgical teaching and the use of live cases will be discussed. This article examines deficiencies in ethics training in the South African public service. Furthermore, it proposes solutions and suggestions on how teaching approaches and methodologies can be reshaped or revamped in order to adapt to the fluid South African situation.

IMPORTANCE OF ETHICS MANAGEMENT COURSES

Public Administration and Management academics have stressed the importance of ethics in public management courses. They have commented on the risks associated with blatant ethical failures, such as long prison terms, loss of

confidence, loss of goodwill, as well as the moral need for public organisations to do what is right – purely for moral purposes. While the above reasons are all legitimate, they fail to identify the main reason why ethics courses are important, namely to improve organisational performance to achieve goals that would satisfy their customers in all respects.

It seems that, as a management feature, ethics has been stuck in a *neutral or external failure mode* for decades. During this time, it has focused only on addressing the blatant issues at hand. It especially relates to those associated with a high failure cost associated with unethical behaviour. This is the result of corruption or failures due to unproductiveness within the organisation largely taking place unnoticed and unmanaged. The leading causes of many governmental organisational problems – client dissatisfaction, high employee turnover, poor service delivery and a lack of training effort and innovation – have all been linked to the organisational failure, which in turn relates to unethical actions by employees.

Ethics is concerned with norms that guide human conduct. As a science concerning human behaviour, ethics must follow the same logic that is required of the real sciences. When ethical reasoning is properly applied, ethics becomes a useful tool for identifying the acceptable and unacceptable components of complex human interactions.

At this level, ethics is about determining what values to acknowledge and to what extent they have to be maintained. Because ethics contains characteristics associated with a science, it generates new knowledge and applies it to support decisions acceptable to society or the clients of an institution. For this reason, a study of ethics has been at the heart of intellectual thought since the early Greek philosophers. Notably, its ongoing contribution to the advancement of knowledge is undeniable. It is relevant and is a vital aspect of management. Ethical principles have a profound impact on many fields of modern management. This includes managing quality, human resources, culture, change, risk and ethics.

IDENTIFYING THE OBJECTIVES OF ETHICS EDUCATION PROGRAMMES

According to Denhardt (in Nethonzhe 2008:4), the most frequently stated goals of ethics education in Public Administration are the following:

- Capacity building to tolerate ambiguity and differences of opinion.
- Conveying knowledge of democratic values and public employees' obligations in terms of knowledge of code of ethics and constitutional norms and rules.

- Developing skills in managing ethics by influencing institutional culture and bureaucratic norms.
- Modeling ethical conduct.

Cooper (in Nethonzhe 2008:5) states that the main goals for ethics educators include:

- Developing an awareness of ethical issues and problems.
- Fostering ethical conduct in the public service.
- Building analytical skills in ethical decision-making.
- Cultivating an attitude of moral obligation and personal responsibility in the public service.
- Stimulating a sense of moral obligation among public service employees.

Hilliard (in Nethonzhe 2008:5) states that a country as culturally heterogeneous as South Africa is characterised by divergent values and norms that must be upheld. Moreover, they could lead to ethical dilemmas and conflicting situations. One can therefore argue that an effective response to the challenge of developing or reinforcing sound ethical dispositions and behaviour depend on adopting mutually reinforcing education and training programmes that incorporate ethical behaviour and actions.

INCLUDING ETHICS IN A CURRICULUM

"The aim of ethics ... is not to teach the difference between right and wrong, but to make people comfortable facing moral complexity."
Robert C Solomon (1992)

A curriculum within a public sector environment, should ensure that qualifying students are capable of:

- Explaining the core ethical values and standards that apply to the public sector.
- Outlining ethical values and standards contained in legislation and codes that are relevant to the conduct of employees in the public sector.
- Describing areas of ethical conflict for public sector employees.
- Explaining the importance of ethical values and standards in relation to the public sector workplace.
- Discussing the relevance of established professional ethics and codes of conduct in public sector administration.

Many Public Administration programmes at postgraduate level face challenges

concerning the incorporation of ethics into their normal educational curricula that already provide only limited coverage to competency teaching or training. One solution is a modular approach that incorporates ethics as integral component of competency course work. Over the past years, many institutions incorporated ethics education into the management skills content of each course.

As part of the curriculum Public Administration and Management, ethics teaching, could achieve a variety of goals; namely:

- becoming aware of the ethical standards that govern public servants;
- gaining a useful framework for evaluating ethical dilemmas;
- having the opportunity to address an ethical dilemma;
- making an ethical judgment; and
- defending their decisions.

At the very least, incorporating ethics into a curriculum would introduce students to the codes of conduct that govern public servants' behaviour. Examples should include – but not be limited to – the public's expectations, the nature of democratic governance, the need to encourage voluntary compliance with the code of conduct, as well as accountability requirements. While students may become familiar with the public service code of conduct in their pursuit of an academic qualification, they may be unaware of other, equally important codes of conduct. This includes the ethical requirements in national, provincial and local legislation, regulations and the international code of ethics for public servants. Examples should also be imbued with the spirit of *Batho Pele*, concern for the public interest, being efficient, as well as how to maintain appropriate standards of integrity and personal responsibility.

Providing students with a practical framework for evaluating ethical dilemmas could be an important part of the ethics module. With such a framework in hand, students could be required to evaluate an ethical dilemma and recommend a course of action to correct the unacceptable conduct. The final recommendation must include a viable solution to the ethical dilemma, with reference to the relevant code of conduct. This requirement will assist students to apply philosophical ethical challenges to real-life situations.

PRACTICAL ETHICAL TRAINING

Educators face the daunting task of giving a clear account of what ethics is. According to Barclay (in Nethonzhe 2008:6) the definition of *ethics* varies, depending on the situation. In some contexts, ethics is synonymous with moral philosophy, the area of philosophy pursuing answers to theoretical questions concerning the nature and rationality of morality. In some other contexts, ethics

refers to morality, which is described as standards of conduct everyone wants everyone else to follow – even if it means that they have to follow them too. In other cases, the word *ethics* refers to special codes of conduct that apply to members of a profession.

It may be useful to consider philosophical theories in a lecture devoted to ethical issues. However, it may be of dubious value in a presentation dealing with management skills and competency matters (Gauras and Garafalo in Nethonzhe 2008:6). An adequate explanation and discussion of theories generally require more time than is available. Therefore, insufficient time may be available for ethics modules.

As course schedules generally leave little discretionary time, a superficial explanation of the theoretical underpinnings of moral philosophy could confuse students at a Masters level even more and impede their ability to think clearly about the issues concerned. Catron and Denhardt (in Nethonzhe 2008:7)) suggest that it is more beneficial to focus briefly on the theoretical underpinnings of ethics in an introductory module and to attend specifically to the evaluation of real ethical dilemmas via a user-friendly framework. In their book entitled *Practical Ethics in Public Administration*, Gauras and Garafalo (in Nethonzhe 2008:7) explain that ethics is a matter of real concern to students who have only limited exposure to managerial responsibilities. Students have to ask the fundamental question of ethics: "Within a specific context what should an individual do when confronted with a case of a conflict of interest?" (Gauras and Garafalo in Nethonzhe 2008:9).

The framework for ethically acceptable decision-making should consist of the following steps (Smit and Cronje in Nethonzhe 2008:9):

- identify the ethical dilemma;
- determine whose interests are involved;
- determine the relevant facts;
- determine the expectations of those involved;
- weigh up the various interests;
- determine the range of choices;
- determine the consequences of these choices for those involved; and
- make a choice.

Testing the alternatives is typically the most difficult function to execute. It is important to have benchmarks against which to measure proposed solutions. To assist the students to evaluate the alternatives, a number of tests should be developed that focus on the moral evaluation of the options under consideration. These tests should hinge on relevant professional standards of conduct and common sense morality rather than on philosophy and are as follows:

- A *rules test* where students answer the question "Does this option violate the rules or codes of conduct that govern my profession?"

- A *publicity test* – “Would I want to see or hear my choice reported on the news?”
- A *harm test* – “Does my choice do less harm than another option?”
- A *defensibility test* – “Could I defend my choice to my peers or my parents?”; and
- A *reversibility test* – “Would I approve of my choice if I were among those adversely affected?”

Other tests can be devised and should be used when appropriate to provide standards for evaluating alternative solutions. Armed with these tools, students (future public managers) should be better equipped to deal with ethical dilemmas – both in an academic context and in their professional lives.

ETHICS TEACHING STRATEGIES

There are several key questions that must be addressed before teaching ethics effectively. Among these are:

- Is the coverage of ethics primarily theoretical and conceptual, or mostly applied, or a combination of both?
- Which methods are used to impart ethics to our students?
- Does lecturing concern ethical and philosophical concepts or should a variety of hands-on methods be used to focus on applied ethics?

The methods used to teach ethics range from formal lectures on theories and principles to hands-on projects and internships (Mastracchio 2005). Some scholars support teaching the philosophical concepts and theories (White and Taft 2004) and Socratic dialogue to discuss ethics. While others advocate applied and hands-on methods that engage students in the learning process (Thorne in Nethonzhe 2008:10).

Carlson and Burke (1998) propose that students must live ethics rather than simply learn it by heart. One of the most popular methods for teaching ethics is case analysis (see Winston 2000 for examples). This type of analysis can provide for discussing simple issues or complex dilemmas, requiring students to draw on their cognitive skills, personal insight, and imagination for their conclusions and recommendations.

Other pedagogies include using student-produced videos (Ziegenfuss 1996), cartoons (Dyrud 1998), film (Lauder 2002), religious parables (Coate and Mitschow 2002) and the identifying students' heroes (Apostolou and Apostolou 1997). Several faculty members have relied on local issues (Baetz and Carlson 1999) and used news articles to make ethics relevant to their students. Others

have integrated the students' own experiences into teaching ethics (Laditka and Houck 2006), had students write letters of complaints to companies about violations of ethics (Jurkiewicz *et al.* 2004), or used classic literary sources (Coutu 2006) to teach ethics. Finally, one of the most engaging and effective pedagogies for teaching ethics, albeit a challenging one, is engaging students through experiential methods such as games, role-playing and behavioural simulations (Coutu 2006).

It is important to note that, regardless of which method is used, it is an indispensable requirement for effective teaching / learning. Notably, students should feel safe and supported in expressing their opinions (Fry and Kolb 1979 and Sims 2004). While this applies to any teaching setting, it is particularly crucial when discussing a value-laden and often controversial topic such as ethics.

Teaching ethics through drama

In dramaturgical teaching, the instructor display leadership style(s) in and out of the lecture room. This enables students to experience the leadership style while learning about it. The positive impact that experiential learning has had in the ethics leadership education field has been well documented. Leadership education programmes have been experiencing trends to move away from formal learning structures, such as standard lectures and discussions, and has seen a shift towards highly-interactive teaching strategies that encourage integrating learning and experience (Fry and Kolb 1979).

A recent approach called *dramaturgy* takes the basic tenets of experiential learning and extends them to a more holistic and fully encompassing lecturer / student experience (Hartog and Frame 2004). This pedagogic method, termed dramaturgical teaching, may be perfectly-suited to teach ethics for application in the public service.

The following are principles of dramaturgical teaching:

- A proposed course topic outline; followed by
- Strategies for teaching suggested topics; and
- The preliminary assessments results regarding the effectiveness of dramaturgical teaching.

As a pedagogic approach, dramaturgy has its origins in theatre and the performing arts (White and Taft 2004). However, it has also drawn attention in the broader conversation surrounding language and meaning making. Applications of this pedagogical method have resulted from increased attention to experiential learning. This type of interactive teaching currently has a stronger presence in the fields of leadership and organisational behaviour (Brady 1999).

Dramaturgical teaching has been described as the most student-centered course design structure available in the leadership / management education field (Felton and Sims 2005). Such leadership education courses are more frequently aimed at the learning and developmental needs of the student. To date, the topic of dramaturgical teaching has received limited coverage in the leadership education field. Among its most attractive features is its potential for connecting theory and practice for creating knowledge, meaning-making and developing critical thinking and wisdom (Felton and Sims 2005).

Applying a dramaturgical approach to leadership education coursework involves several principles (Felton and Sims 2005) such as the following:

- Instructors should inform students that they will be adopting a dramaturgical teaching method and explain what this entails.
- The topics covered should last at least two to three weeks. This will allow students to fully appreciate the nuances of the ethical leadership style(s) the instructor is displaying.
- Instructors should adopt the ethical leadership style for the time that the specific topic is being discussed.
- Instructors should structure assignments and teaching methods to be consistent with the ethical leadership style being studied.
- The course content should be consistent with the teaching methods.
- Instructors should process the experience with students at the end of each topic to ascertain how modeling the ethical leadership styles impacted the students' ethical leadership impressions and experiences.

Live case projects

Live cases include four components: independent research, an article, a presentation and a debate. The project requires students to find a department or an individual who is viewed by the press and public, or the courts, to have undertaken unethical or illegal activities. Students thoroughly research the background, events and people involved and write an 8-10 page report describing their findings. If the department is the basis of the case, students identify the individuals responsible for the violations and describe the events. If an individual is the focus, students identify events and others affiliated with the case. To facilitate the debate described below, students also write a two-page synopsis summarising key facts and issues in the case. The synopsis, due at least two days prior to the class discussion and e-mailed to all students, should contain sufficient information to set the stage for the discussion and debate.

A student has 25-30 minutes to present his / her case and conduct a debate in the classroom. The presentation portion is limited to five minutes and relies on the synopsis. The intention is to spend only a few minutes reviewing

the case, and the rest of the time discussing and debating the ethical issues. Therefore, once students summarise details, they are required to provide their interpretation of whether an ethical requirement was violated and to present the reasoning behind their position and conclusions.

Moreover, students are also required to take a position regarding their case. They should and explain what they would have done differently had they been the person or department in question. At this point, other students are given the opportunity to agree with the conclusions or challenge them. If a student challenges the conclusions, s/he must provide justifications and reasons. Furthermore, the discussion leader is expected to defend his/her position.

This process should generate lively debate. The students are required to act professionally throughout the process, challenging the accused executives and managers in the case. The discussion leader should act as analyst. Thus, s/he should not be part of challenging the accused parties. Generally, there is little need to facilitate the debate. However, the lecturer occasionally has to play devil's advocate to encourage further discussion.

The students usually present a number of different perspectives and opinions than they are able to defend. At the end of the allotted time, students vote by a show of hands on whether the behaviour identified in the case study was ethically justifiably. In most situations, the debate ends in consensus, although this outcome is not required.

The case write-up and discussion should count towards the students' grade. The assignment evaluation is based on the thoroughness of the research and the clarity of the arguments. The criteria for evaluating the debate include the student's ability to keep the discussion focused and effectively defend his/her position. In the event that a student defends someone that appeared to be an obvious violator, the student's logic; arguments and ability to counter challenges from others in the class become the focus of the grading.

Goals for live case projects

The live case project has several goals, as summarised in *Table 1* below. Firstly, it serves to increase students' awareness of issues related to ethics within the public service. In recent years, the public has become increasingly aware of unethical and illegal conduct among top-level officials and political office bearers in the public service. Increasing awareness is one of the key goals of ethics education (McDonald and Donleavy 1995; Williams and Dewett 2005).

The second objective is to provide students with a thorough understanding of the facts of the case selected. Students have to gather facts, analyse them, integrate information and draw conclusions based on critical thinking about the issues researched. Students should have a full analytical, rational or cognitive understanding of ethical challenges (Freeman 1991; Winston 2000).

Table 1 Goals and components of live cases

Goals	How goals are achieved through live case
Awareness	Research
Understanding of facts and application	Research and assignment
Emotional connection	Research, taking and defending a position
Accountability	Assignment presentation and debate
Application of concepts	Assignment; presentation; and debate
Critical thinking	

The *third* goal is to provide an emotional connection to the case and to engage students in it. It should require them to investigate the actual and potential consequences of unethical behaviour for the public service participants, and various stakeholders, by taking a specific position in the case. Students should be guided to consider the consequences, particularly the negative impact on various stakeholders and the serious consequences for the public service and individuals being accused or legally prosecuted for violations. Inextricably, students should supplement their cognitive knowledge with an emotional connection to the event.

Ethics violations impact on people's lives. By being asked to defend their position in writing and during the debate, students make further emotional connections with the ethical issues. Notably, this emotional connection makes their ethics education that much more effective (Warren 1995).

The *fourth* goal of live cases is to hold students accountable for their analyses and judgment. This accountability is related to emotional engagement and is yet another key aspect of effective ethics education (Carlson and Burke 1998). Students have to publicly take a stand and defend their position verbally or in writing. Additionally, the debate exposes them to various interpretations and points of view. This further allows them to become aware of the complexity and intricacy of ethical challenges and ethics violations.

The *fifth* goal of using live cases is to provide students with an opportunity to apply the ethical concepts they have learned. By definition, the case analysis provides an excellent opportunity to consider the application and relevance of concepts to concrete examples.

Finally, live cases allow the development of critical thinking. Through research, analysis, synthesis of information, taking and defending a position in their assignments and in class presentations and debates, students must think critically about the ethical concepts and their applications and implications.

The live case project fulfils many of the criteria of effective ethics education. Students develop awareness, gain knowledge, become engaged, are accountable and learn to think critically about ethical issues.

Benefits of live cases for postgraduates

The live case project is particularly successful in the finance capstone course. When paired up with a course or series of courses that cover ethical theory and concepts, live cases allow for achievement of all but a couple of the goals of ethics education (integration with other knowledge and transferring of learning to real life).

Students gain in-depth understanding of the issues. Moreover, they learn to apply concepts, understand their relevance, and are actively engaged in understanding a multitude of black, white, and gray areas related to ethics. They challenge one another about their interpretations of events and conclusions. Furthermore, they leave the discussions with a clear understanding of the distinct differences between ethical conduct and illegal or unethical behaviour and action. On numerous occasions throughout this process, students could express dismay and outrage about many actions. While some of these actions could be viewed as unethical, they were performed within the realm of existing legislation. This indicates that an action may be legally justified but unethical.

The case becomes personal – rather than being just an abstract study. Therefore, the project provides both the cognitive and emotional involvement that is essential to effectively learn about ethics. While live cases do not engage students as fully as experiential methods such as simulations, they do actively engage students in learning.

CONCLUSION

The debates about teaching ethics have moved from whether ethics should be taught, to determining the best methods and strategies for teaching ethics. A question to resolve is whether one should rely on a single ethics course or integrate ethics as topic throughout the curriculum. Furthermore, sing a dramaturgical approach, or live case, seems to be more appropriate than a traditional teaching mode.

Dramaturgical teaching is an innovative teaching method to use in an ethics education classroom. In this article the theoretical basics of dramaturgical teaching and how it works were discussed in detail. The teaching benefits of live cases were also discussed. It was argued that live cases could be used where the curriculum offers separate ethics courses, as well as the concept is integrated throughout the curriculum. Live cases provide a powerful method for teaching ethics as part of the Public Administration and Management curriculum. Institutions are encouraged to consider using a dramaturgical approach and live cases to assist students to internalise both the concepts underlying ethical actions as well as the actions.

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Gender racial ratios as a means to achieve equality in the Public Service

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ABSTRACT

The *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* of 1996 is the foundation of human equality in South Africa. Its aspirations are further promoted by the *Employment Equity Act* 55 of 1998, and the White Papers on Transformation and Affirmative Action in the Public Service. These pieces of legislation were the basis for gender equality and the inclusion of women in the senior management services (SMS) of the public service between 1999 and 2009. This article examines the extent to which gender racial ratios can enhance the fair implementation of gender equality in the public service. Results of empirical research reveal that gender racial ratios are interventions for promoting equity between and within race and gender, which serves as a tool in bringing about substantive equality in the public service. It also permits women equal access to the state's decision-making processes, which allows the South African Public Service to benefit from expertise that will improve the quality of life for all South Africans.

INTRODUCTION

Equality is an issue that South Africa has grappled with since the arrival of the Dutch in 1652 and the British in 1795. *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, 1996 (hereafter referred to as the 1996 Constitution) is the foundation of human equality in South Africa. Its aspirations are further promoted by the *Employment Equity Act* 55 of 1998, the *White Paper on the Transformation in the Public Service*, 1995 and the *White Paper on Affirmative Action in the Public Service*, 1998. These pieces of legislation have been the basis for gender equality

and the inclusion of women in the senior management services (SMS) of the public service since 1999. The 1996 Constitution clearly states that everyone has "the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms" (s 9(2)). Therefore the importance of ensuring gender equity in the public service is undeniable. Only when an institution puts into practice the words that describe the desired outcomes (van Dijk 2008:386) will gender equity become a reality in the public service.

The public service, after a decade (1999 to 2009) of determined effort, had failed to achieve government's gender equity target of 50% women at SMS levels by 31 March 2009 (Republic of South Africa 2008d:12, 16). During this period, the corporate advancement of men exceeded that of women (Republic of South Africa 2009). However, this period saw white women favoured and promoted above their black counterparts, which created racial discrimination among women (Mathur-Helm 2005:63–64). One of the vital criteria used to measure progress in the transformation process is representativity (Wessels 2008:29), which is used to test whether public institutions have achieved gender equality and also to measure their state of transformation (Republic of South Africa 1995:23). The purpose of this article is to examine the extent to which gender racial ratios can enhance the fair implementation of gender equality in the public service.

GENDER EQUALITY

Section 9 of the 1996 Constitution clearly sets out the equality of South Africans as an important right. Firstly, this section reveals the position of every South African before the law, namely that everyone "is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and benefit of the law" (subsection 9(1)). Secondly, it explains the practical implications of this concept as "the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms" (s 9(2)). The 1996 Constitution guarantees to everyone the fundamental right of equality. This includes the equality of all persons and groups in society in the social, political and economic spheres. The 1996 Constitution also recognises that measures to ensure freedom from discrimination are necessary to remedy the pervasive inequalities which define South African society (Republic of South Africa 1997c:9).

According to the *Employment Equity Act* 55 of 1998, equity in the workplace can be achieved through 1) "promoting equal opportunity and fair treatment in employment through the elimination of unfair discrimination"; and 2) "implementing affirmative action measures to redress the disadvantages in employment experienced by designated groups in order to ensure their equitable representation in all occupational categories and levels in the workforce"

(Republic of South Africa 1998b:ch 1). The *Employment Equity Act* (Republic of South Africa 1998b:51) promotes gender equality by including women as a “designated group” on the basis of their having been disadvantaged on the grounds of race and gender (Mello 2000:32). From the above it is clear that equity encompasses the elimination of discrimination and the establishment of specific measures (eg gender and racial ratios) to accelerate the advancement of designated groups, particularly women.

The *Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act* 4 of 2000 (Republic of South Africa 2000:ch 1) derives “equity” as a concept from the 1996 Constitution and defines it as “the full and equal enjoyment of rights and freedoms which includes *de jure* and *de facto* equality and also equality in terms of outcomes”. These provisions include the promotion of equality through legislative and other measures designed to protect or advance people disadvantaged by past and present unfair discrimination (Republic of South Africa 2000:ch 1). The outcomes of equality should be apparent in the workplace and society particularly at SMS levels in the public service (Republic of South Africa 1995:10.6).

The *Green Paper on a Conceptual Framework for Affirmative Action and the Management of Diversity in the Public Service* (hereunder referred to as the Green Paper) (Republic of South Africa 1997d:ch 1) distinguishes between two categories of equality, namely formal and substantive equality. Formal equality means “the removal of laws that result in discrimination and segregation”, whereas substantive equality “necessitates the acknowledgement and eradication of the actual social and economic conditions that generates inequality” (Republic of South African 1997d:ch 1). The South African government has introduced several pieces of legislation that deal with formal equality, among others the *Employment Equity Act* 55 of 1998 and *Skills Development Act* 97 of 1998. Substantive equality is only possible in an environment where equity prevails (Wessels 2008:25); in which fundamental change in human resource management (HRM) policies and practices can take place (Republic of South African 1997a:10–11).

The 1996 Constitution requires employers to move beyond formal equality to substantive equality by acknowledging the differences between employees and treating them equally but differently on the basis of those differences. Equity therefore involves the requirement of “fair” treatment in order to achieve substantive equality in the workplace. Therefore, it subjects everyone to the same rules without distinction (Republic of South Africa 2005:5.2.3). This implies removing barriers that prevent fairness and equity (Republic of South African, 1996 Constitution) and creating an organisational culture in which HRM policies and practices reflect the spirit of fairness and equity (Republic of South Africa 1997a:10-11). Equity therefore means changing the rules so that their

application is “fair”. Gender racial ratios are interventions that would change the rules allowing for equal representation of women at SMS levels as well as racially proportionate representation of them in SMS positions. This would allow the South Africa Public Service to benefit from women’s competencies, which in turn would afford women opportunities to advance corporately and achieve self-actualisation (Pesonen, Tienari & Vanhala 2009:4).

According to Nelen and Hondeghem (2000:13) there are two critical aspects that promote gender equality, firstly, “a justice and democracy” argument: a real democracy has to ensure that men and women participate equally in the state’s decision-making processes, it is not “just” that men monopolise representation in the public service. According Wessels (2008:27) justice is similar to equity and may be viewed as a standard which serves as criterion for the assessment of interventions by government or employers, with regard to the employment of individuals in the public sector. The *Green Paper* (Republic of South Africa 1997d:ch 1) cites “justice” as a concept invoked by the broad term “equality”. Justice is therefore seen as a criterion or standard against which government’s transformation policy interventions can be measured (Wessels 2008:27), which can be equated to a fundamental principle for employment equity.

Secondly, an “economic and resource” argument: an institution will gain by integrating more women because it means an introduction of new perspectives and ways of solving problems, and also contributes to change in organisational processes, culture and management styles (Nelen & Hondeghem 2000:13). It allows for greater gender sensitisation in the workplace and more responsive delivery to women (Republic of South Africa 1998a:29). Wessels (2008:26) states that equality is based on the notion of equal treatment, which is guaranteed by subsection 9(1) of the 1996 Constitution. Equality also means parity exists between people, which implies enjoying equal opportunities (Republic of South Africa 1998a:25). It is clear that the above allows both men and women equal access to the state’s resources and decision-making processes, which allows the South African Public Service to benefit from the sum of the combined competencies and personalities of both men and women.

The *White Paper on Human Resource Management in the Public Service* (Republic of South Africa 1997a: ch 2) defines “equity” as “where there has been unfairness, corrective measures must be implemented as to ensure that human resource practices are free from discrimination, invisible barriers and unjustness which will impede equal employment opportunities”. The application of corrective measures seems to be closely related to the concept of equity, which is underscored by the *Green Paper* (Republic of South African 1997d:ch 3) as employment equity that can be achieved through affirmative action programmes to accelerate the advancement of designated groups towards the achievement of equality (Republic of South Africa 1998a:51).

The implication of the term “equal opportunities” within the context of governmental institutions is to have the opportunity to be treated equally, especially with regard to employment (Wessels 2008:26). The *Green Paper* attaches two characteristics to the concept of equal opportunities, namely that of 1) a “principle enshrined within the ideal of a representative public service to ensure equality in employment for the equal enjoyment of rights, opportunities, benefits and access in the workplace” and 2) a “tool to eradicate discrimination and unfairness in the workplace in pursuit of a representative public service” (Republic of South Africa 1997d:ch 3). This definition refers to “equal opportunities” as both a principle and a tool, although it is difficult to comprehend how a concept can simultaneously be both. According to the *Webster’s New World Dictionary* (1999:1142, 1508) a principle is a fundamental truth upon which other moral principles are based, while a tool is any implement or instrument used in bringing about change. It seems that principles are foundations and tools are activities used for achieving a principle. Equal opportunities within the context of public employment are therefore seen more as a principle than a tool (Wessels 2008:27), while policy interventions such as gender racial ratios seem to be a tool for pursuing equality in the workplace. Equal employment can be referred to as a condition that is characterised by fairness and representativeness (Republic of South Africa 1998a:51), while equity can be viewed as “a state of being” to be achieved by affirmative action and other policy interventions (eg gender racial ratios) (Veldman 2001:1; Wessels 2008:27). These interventions should be fair and equitable, recognising, valuing and harnessing societal diversity (Wessels 2005:130).

CASE FOR GENDER RACIAL RATIOS

The *White Paper on the Transformation of the Public Service* (Republic of South Africa 1995:10.6) and the *White Paper on Affirmative Action in the Public Service* (Republic of South Africa 1998a:23) clearly articulate government’s desire to bring about gender equality in the public service; stating that 30% of SMS posts were to be held by women by 1999 and 2005. The 30% target of 2005 was revised by Cabinet on 25 November 2005, and a new target of 50% representation of women at all SMS levels by 31 March 2009 was adopted (Republic of South Africa 2008c: 12, 16). Meeting this challenge would have allowed the public service to apply the competencies of women optimally, and in that way enhance its performance. It was also anticipated that public institutions would formulate detailed affirmative action plans that would allow them to achieve the prescribed gender equity targets (Republic of South Africa 1995:10.7). Thus, by 31 March 2009, women and men should both have

occupied 50% of SMS posts in the public service instead of 34,87% (Republic of South Africa 2009).

Figure 1 shows that gender equity targets for the stated periods were 17% in 1999 (Republic of South Africa 2008a:11–12) and 29% in 2005; however, the 30% target was only achieved in March 2006, seven years later (Republic of South Africa 2008a:11–12) and by 31 March 2009 it had reached only 34,87% (Republic of South Africa 2009). The statistics show that public institutions have not achieved government's gender equity goals.

One of the reasons for this non-achievement may be the reluctance of directors-general, heads of department and senior managers to comply with the performance management and development system (PMDS) and the nonconclusion or late conclusion of performance agreements (PAs) (Republic of South Africa 2008d:64–65). In disregarding government's policies, executive authorities are making themselves the rule, which is inevitably to the disadvantage of women. Another possible reason is that the public service is still seen as operating within over centralised, hierarchical and rule-bound systems inherited from the previous political dispensation, which makes it difficult to hold individuals accountable (Republic of South Africa 1997b:12). Studies conducted by Pesonen *et al.* (2009), Mathur-Helm (2005) and Singh, Terjesen and Vinnicombe (2008) cite social and individual barriers as being responsible for the lack of women's employment and advancement in SMS positions. If the rate at which the 30% target was achieved is anything to go by, then it is highly probable that the public service will achieve the target of 50% representation of women in SMS only during the third decade of democracy in South Africa. These statistics show how men took advantage of the new democracy by appointing men who resembled them (Pesonen *et al.* 2009:4). Thus women are still regarded as secondary to men in the South African Public Service (Mathur-Helm 2005:61).

Figure 1 reveals a significant increase in the number of men at SMS levels compared with women. It is apparent that cunning ways have been applied to advance men at the expense of women (Republic of South Africa 1998a:25–26); thereby perpetuating women's disadvantaged status: this points to the likelihood of black women being underrepresented and their appointment to SMS positions being restricted. It further indicates that the majority of women are allowed access to director and chief director positions, but very few are allowed to reach deputy director-general and director-general positions, which reveals the existence of a glass ceiling for South African women in the public service (Republic of South Africa 2009). This confirms that although gender equality legislation has been implemented in South Africa, inequality in career advancement and job segregation still remains. Thus employment equity and affirmative action policies alone cannot remove persisting barriers to women's advancement (Mathur-Helm

Table 1 Gender equity for SMS levels and race for 1999, 2005 and 2009 in the public service

Race	Gender	Director-general	Deputy director-general	Chief director	Director	Total							
Year		1999	2005	2009	1999	2005	2009	1999	2005	2009	1999	2005	2009
Black	Men	54	68	130	197	502	752	1688	2557	96	2374	3574	
	Women	18	27	59	118	251	424	869	1539	24	1197	2108	
Total	0	72	95	0	189	315	0	753	1176	0	2557	4096	120
%women	0%	25,00%	28,42%	0%	31,22%	37,46%	0%	33,33%	36,05%	0%	33,99%	37,57%	20,00%
Asian	Men	5	3	22	30	80	107	256	324	17	363	464	
	Women	0	0	10	12	14	49	118	161	5	142	222	
Total	0	5	3	0	32	42	0	94	156	0	374	485	22
%women	0%	0,00%	0,00%	0%	31,25%	28,57%	0%	14,89%	31,41%	0%	31,55%	33,20%	22,73%
Coloured	Men	9	7	22	28	73	100	244	324	15	348	458	
	Women	3	6	7	12	27	47	94	160	4	131	226	
Total	0	12	13	0	29	40	0	100	147	0	338	484	19
%women	0%	25,00%	46,15%	0%	24,14%	30,00%	0%	27,00%	31,97%	0%	27,81%	33,06%	21,05%

Race	Gender	Director-general	Deputy director-general		Chief director		Director		Total	
Year		1999	2005	2009	1999	2005	2009	1999	2005	2009
White	Men	12	12	45	56	299	320	1053	1012	86
	Women	3	1	17	18	73	114	342	467	8
	Total	0	15	62	74	0	372	434	0	1395
	% women	0%	20,00%	7,69%	0%	27,42%	24,32%	0%	26,27%	0%
Grand total		0	104	124	0	312	471	0	1319	1913
Total women		0	24	34	0	93	160	0	365	634
% women		0%	23,08%	27,42%	0%	29,81%	33,97%	0%	27,6%	33,14%
Black women		0	21	33	0	76	142	0	292	520
Asian & coloured		0	3	6	0	17	24	0	41	96
% Asian & coloured		0%	14,29%	18,18%	0%	22,37%	16,90%	0%	14,04%	18,46%
White women		0	3	1	0	17	18	0	73	114
% white women		0%	14,29%	3,03%	0,00%	22,37%	12,68%	0,00%	25,00%	21,92%

Source: Republic of South Africa, Department of Public Service and Administration 2009

Table 2 Population estimates by race and gender for 2008

Race	Gender	Gender racial ratios				Total population		
		Exclude age 0-14 %	Exclude age 65+ %	Total excluded %	Workforce excluded %	Men	Women	Total
Black	Men	6728300	50,59%	541400	37,68%	7269700	49,33%	11258300
	Women	6570300	49,41%	8955000	62,32%	7465800	50,67%	12571300
	Total	13298600	27,31%	1436900	2,95%	14735500	30,27%	23829600
Asian	Men	146500	50,60%	31600	40,51%	178100	48,46%	436600
	Women	143000	49,40%	46400	59,49%	189400	51,54%	439400
	Total	289500	0,59%	78000	0,16%	367500	0,75%	876000
Coloured	Men	633400	50,28%	66200	36,84%	699600	48,60%	1406200
	Women	626300	49,72%	113500	63,16%	739800	51,40%	1533600
	Total	1259700	2,59%	179700	0,37%	1439400	2,96%	2939800
White	Men	418600	50,76%	230300	40,75%	648900	46,69%	1547400
	Women	406000	49,24%	334900	59,25%	740900	53,31%	1562000
	Total	824600	1,69%	565200	1,16%	1389800	2,85%	3109400
Population		15672400	32,19%	2259800	4,64%	17932200	36,83%	30754800
	% population							48,15% 51,85%

Source: Republic of South Africa, Statistics South Africa 2008

2005:59, 62). Zafarullah (2000:201–202) maintains that public institutions that are struggling to develop their internal apparatus for the improvement of society are being forced to withhold democracy and equal opportunities from the very groups they should be advancing: the weak and the vulnerable.

Figure 1 shows that affirmative action has benefited white women more than both Asian and coloured women combined. The development of Asian and coloured women has thus been neglected and has been seen as subordinate to the development of white women (Mathur-Helm 2005:61); who benefited under the previous dispensation (Erasmus, Swanepoel, Schenk, Van der Westhuizen, & Wessel 2005:171–172). This is supported by Rothenberg (2001:591) who claims that white women's built-in privilege of whiteness and sharing of power with white men allowed them to advance corporately faster than blacks. She states that white women define women in terms of their own experience, which means that black women become "other", the outsiders whose experiences and traditions are too alien to comprehend (Rothenberg 2001:590–591), which creates gender discrimination among women (Mathur-Helm 2005:63–64). A remedy for this situation may be to determine gender racial ratios that mirror South African demographics. It is possible, if managers demonstrate commitment, to implement affirmative action policies and strategies without showing favour to any race and gender (Republic of South Africa 1998a:5–26, 60). Figure 1 illustrates a profile of managerial hierarchy in the public service that is consistent with research conducted by Mathur-Helm (2005:63–64). The profile consists of African men at the top, then African women, followed by white men, white women, Asian and coloured men, and Asian and coloured women respectively (Republic of South Africa 2009).

Figure 2 shows that the 2008 mid-year population estimate for South Africa was approximately 48,7 million, of whom 23 444 800 (48,15%) were men and 25 242 200 (51,85%) women (Republic of South Africa 2008b:6). Figure 2 indicates that certain age categories have been excluded from gender racial ratios. These categories have been divided into two clusters, namely cluster A, which includes all children under 15 years of age, and cluster B, which includes people of 65 years of age and older. Cluster A will contribute to the economy and have an impact on gender equality in the workplace only five years from now. It therefore makes sense to review gender racial ratios every five years. Cluster B comprises people who have left the formal workplace and it therefore does not affect them (Republic of South Africa 2008c:8). The exclusion of clusters A and B would result in an overall increase of 0,25% for Asians, 0,56% for coloureds and 0,91% for whites and a decrease of 1,72% for Africans, which contributes to equitable gender racial representation in the workplace. Callister (2005) claims that gender equity in the formal sector should include employees who contribute to the national economy. Gender racial ratios are a first step in

levelling the gender equity playing field in the public service because it would allow women equal access to the state's decision-making processes (Nelen & Hondeghem 2000:13) thus allowing the public service to benefit from women's unique competencies (McShane & Von Glinow 2007:225). It would also allow women to advance corporately, achieve self-actualisation and break through the glass ceiling.

GENDER RACIAL RATIOS INFLUENCE HRM POLICIES AND PRACTICES

Gender racial ratios allow equal employment opportunities for both men and women irrespective of race and disability (Republic of South Africa, 1996; Republic of South Africa 1998b:51) as well as allowing them to develop their competencies and personality through their work (Nelen & Hondeghem 2000:9). They also allow the South African Public Service to play an important exemplary role in encouraging public and private institutions to establish an organisational culture that allows opportunities for gender equality in all race groups (Republic of South Africa 1997a:10–11).

Gender-inclusive workforce

According to Nelen and Hondeghem (2000:11) an HRM model allows for flexibility that allows both men and women to seek employment that allows for a better combination of work and home and for more balance in their lives. It also allows both men and women to improve their quality of life. They claim that a good balance between working and private life influences an employee's performance (Nelen & Hondeghem 2000:27). This means that women can seek employment where they can be 100% effective and productive and still perform their household responsibilities particularly in the case of single-parent households.

Figures 1 and 2 show that gender racial ratios allow for a more structured and proactive way of managing gender imbalances in the workplace. It is an instrument to challenge the status quo, which might reproduce and reinforce gender inequalities. It is also a means for challenging gender mainstreaming, which should take into consideration the differences not only between the conditions, situations and needs of men and women, but also their racial differences (Nelen & Hondeghem 2000:12). Gender racial ratios would not only allow women of minority race groups' equal opportunities for developing their competencies and achieving self-actualisation, but also women in lower management levels.

The increasing pace of communities' needs for basic services requires a workforce that delivers superior performance (Pfeffer 1994:7). Gender racial ratios allow the public service to attract and retain the best qualified candidates without excluding competent women and those with potential (Republic of South Africa 1995:23). A representative workforce would assist in the development of a more responsive and effective public service and an improved relationship with the recipients of public service (Republic of South Africa 1998a:29). A gender-inclusive workforce would enhance the effectiveness of public service delivery, which in turn, would translate into high quality service delivery that would satisfy communities' basic needs. Gender racial ratios would assist in establishing an organisational culture in which marginalised groups felt they belong.

According to Wilkinson and Hill (2001:1494) human resources are a vital resource in ensuring institutions' sustainability in an environment of increasing staff turnover, declining organisational loyalty, increasing working hours and stress levels, and declining satisfaction levels. They claim that improving the work and social environments could contribute to improved employee satisfaction, commitment and productivity. As such, human resources are crucial in building capacities in institutions for an integrated system for regeneration and renewal. Gender racial ratios are an intervention that bridges both work and social domains by allowing previously disadvantaged people access to mainstream affirmative action and gender equity. They would allow the public service to increase its human resource capacities amidst a war for talent (Van Dijk 2008:389).

Talent recruitment and selection

According to Van Dijk (2008:398–399) public institutions should embark on a concerted effort to integrate talent management into all their HRM functions because the war for talent in South Africa, which is in the midst of a skills crisis, is fierce. Public institutions operate in an increasingly competitive environment when it comes to acquiring talent in a range of scarce-skills categories. SMS levels in particular have been identified as pivotal in the delivery of public services (Republic of South Africa 2003); however, the vacancy rates of 2006 showed that 35% of SMS posts were vacant (Kock & Burke 2008:214). Gender racial ratios are a means of supplementing the skills shortage in the public service.

Gender racial ratios are closely related to gender targets, which allow equal vacancies for both men and women; senior managers should be urged to be more attentive when selecting suitably competent candidates (Republic of South Africa 2005:5.4.2). Therefore, short listing panels and selection committees should not only be racially representative (Van der Westhuizen 2000), but also gender representative. Gender racial ratios allow for greater gender sensitisation

in the workplace and more responsive delivery to women (Republic of South Africa 1998a:29). They would also assist the public service in designing an employment equity plan that is representative of gender and race.

Better service delivery

According to Nelen and Hondeghem (2000:27) professional employees enhance the institution's effectiveness and productivity, which, in turn, translates into quality service delivery for all communities (Republic of South Africa 1998c), which improves the quality of life of all South Africans (Republic of South Africa 1996). Gender racial ratios would provide the public service not only with competent employees, but also with employees who empathise with communities because they understand their needs and culture and speak their language. This would allow public managers to pre-empt issues that might be raised at imbizos and allow them to provide political officers bearers with appropriate information when engaging communities.

Gender racial ratios would promote the practical demonstration of the *Batho Pele* principles (Republic of South Africa 1997b:ch 7). They would allow women to use their leadership styles (participative, people-oriented and inclusive) (Metz & Kulik 2008:378) and to narrow the gap between government and communities thus allowing women to reach out to households headed by women.

Promotion and succession planning

Succession planning and decisions on promotion should take into consideration the institution's gender equity targets and ensure that underrepresented racial groups in identified categories are developed and promoted (Republic of South Africa 2005:5.4.3). Senior managers' performance should, among other things, include to what extent they have achieved their gender equity targets (Republic of South Africa 2005:5.4.1). This would allow mentors to ensure that protégés were competent to perform the functions entrusted to them particularly where the protégés are women.

An ageing public service is gradually losing a high proportion of senior public officials who are due to retire in the next few years. This will result in a significant loss of institutional memory and capacity, which necessitates succession planning (Bertucci 2006:176). Gender racial ratios would allow competent employees to be earmarked, coached, mentored and groomed to ensure continuity and would ensure that succession planning is representative and that the next generation of public employees is gender-inclusive, which would truly reflect South Africa's demographics.

Gender and leadership

According to Drucker (1992:100) leadership is a means to an end and not an end itself. Leadership to what end is thus the crucial question. The end should be the achievement of the institution's mission and the leadership qualities that are needed. Drucker (1992:101–103) mentions three qualities of effective leadership that promote the case for gender racial ratios. Firstly, leadership is about building human capacity. It should increase people's competencies by training and developing them, and motivating them to internalise the institution's vision and strive to achieve the mission. Gender racial ratios are the public service's means of building its resource capacity with people who have previously been disadvantaged. These people, if developed and empowered, will contribute to the effectiveness of the public service (Republic of South Africa 1998c). Secondly, leaders should take calculated risks. They should weigh up the short-term gains against the long-term benefits. Gender racial ratios not only allow the public service to acquire competent candidates by recruiting them (short-term gains) (Van Dijk 2008:387), but also inculcate in the public service a culture in which it nurtures and "grows" its workforce (long-term benefits). Thirdly, leaders should earn the respect and trust of subordinates by leading by example. Gender racial ratios allow management to select from a pool of competent candidates who compete for limited SMS positions. The integrity of these candidates enables them to "walk the talk" (Metz & Kulik 2008:379–380).

According to Metz and Kulik (2008:378) the tradition of labelling a feminine leadership style as inferior to a masculine style should be challenged. Their research backs up the fact that women are able to perform as well as men in top management positions. Gender racial ratios would provide the public service with a combination of balanced leadership styles (masculine and feminine) that enable management to make the most appropriate decisions (McShane & Von Glinow, 2007:225), which, in turn, would result in quality service delivery for communities.

CONCLUSION

This article has examined the way gender racial ratios can be a means of promoting equity between (inter-equity) and within (intra-equity) race and gender in the public service. As such, they are a tool that can assist in bringing about substantive equality in the public service. The study revealed continued underrepresentation of women at SMS levels, but reflects a gradual move towards the optimal utilisation of women. By 31 March 2009, the public service had not complied with government's gender equity target of 50% women at

SMS levels. Gender racial ratios would therefore assist government in enforcing compliance, which would discourage senior managers from using cunning ways of benefiting one race group to the detriment of another.

This article has revealed that gender racial ratios are an intervention that would ensure the equitable representation of women in the public service. They would therefore allow women equal access to the state's decision-making processes, which in turn would allow the public service to benefit from expertise that would improve the quality of life of all South Africans. Gender racial ratios would also provide the public service with a combination of balanced leadership styles that would enable management to make the most appropriate decisions, which, in turn, would result in quality service delivery for communities. Therefore, women's development and advancement opportunities should exceed those of men, which would allow them to occupy more SMS positions in the public service.

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