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Administratio Publica is a double blind, peer-reviewed journal accredited with the South African Department of Higher Education and Training (DoHET) and produced four times a year and aims to promote academic scholarship in public administration and management and related fields. Analytical articles in the form of original theoretical and empirical articles, debates, research viewpoints, review articles and book reviews in English will be considered for publication (only contributions of paid-up members of ASSADPAM will be published).

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A gender-specific evaluation framework for the leadership development of women in local government

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Editorial

N Holtzhausen

Chief Editor

School of Public Administration and Management
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On 16 November 2012, Deputy President Kgalema Motlanthe identified the following constraints in the public service: lack of leadership and weak management capacity, poor organisational design, tension in the political-administrative interface, lack of skills and capacity as well as short-shrift changes in leadership, policy and priorities. These challenges are not in the interest of the public and were explored in the 2012 journal. An overview of the 2012 journal provides one with a sense of the issues at hand that not only government, but also society are grappling with. The last issue of the 2012 journal contains contributions on a wide range of topics. Issues surrounding local government; performance management; whistle blowing; Higher Education subsidies; civil society organisations and the Public Service Commission features in this issue.

In their article **“Local Economic Development (LED): Building blocks, strategy and implementation for local government in South Africa”** Ernest Ababio and Danie Meyer explore the current weaknesses in government interventions regarding poverty alleviation and state that LED could be overcome with explicitly “pro-poor” strategies. It is argued that poverty alleviation must be the top priority in a LED strategy and it must be accepted that the poor needs a “safety net” due to their high levels of vulnerability. This article explores the theoretical interface of LED strategic planning in the local government sphere in South Africa. The purpose of the article is to highlight the premium of LED as a strategy for poverty alleviation, and to help clear ambiguities on the nature of LED. The article involves a theoretical exposition and provides practical realities.

Mpedi Madue investigates **“The influence of the higher education subsidy formula on knowledge production in South Africa”**. In his article he attempts to present trends showing how higher education institutions respond to the government funding policies, with special reference to the New Funding Framework (NFF) introduced in South Africa in 2001. In terms of implementing higher education funding policies, the article indicates that governments use, among other approaches, an incremental funding approach or a funding formula to determine appropriations for higher education. This article concludes that in South Africa, the introduction of the NFF in 2001 has had a positive

influence on the knowledge productivity curve of the HEIs, more especially after 2004. This conclusion is based on a comparative analysis of the current subsidy formula and its predecessors and excludes other explanations for the rise in knowledge production since 2004.

In the article **“Challenges faced by the Amathole District Municipality in implementing LED policy”** Prudence Khumalo and Dhovani Thakhati examine the role of local government in the implementation of Local Economic Development (LED) Policy, focusing on the case of the Amathole District in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa. The research used a qualitative approach and employed a case study design to address the research problem. The study involved interviewing 21 officials who were purposefully selected on the basis of their direct involvement in the LED implementation process. The results of the study indicate that there is a participatory approach in the implementation of LED in the Amathole District. Officials have indicated their commitment to people-driven local development. While there is commitment to participation, community development is still constrained by high levels of poverty and a lack of skills. Although LED is a priority function of the municipality, the practice does not reflect this policy.

Shana Mavee and Fanie Cloete endeavour to provide an overview of the role that civil society organisations play in poverty reduction in their article **“The Role of civil society organisations in the policy-making process in Mozambique: Case study of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper”** This article examines the role that Mozambican civil society organisations (CSOs) played in the Mozambican policy-making process to influence the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper – PRSP (2001–2005). The article argues that even though CSOs were consulted by the Mozambican government, their inputs were not always regarded seriously. This may be attributed to the fact that CSOs were not formally organised at the time the PRSP (2001–2005) was drafted, or due to the fact that the government lacked the determination to foster public participation. It is clear that the culture of CSO participation in Mozambican policy processes needs to be developed more intensively, both inside government institutions and within society itself.

In the article **“Variables influencing the outcomes of the whistle blowing process in South Africa”** Natasja Holtzhausen describes the variables that will influence the decision to blow the whistle in the South African environment in order to counter act possible re-active outcomes. It provides an overview of the current scenario of whistle blower protection in South Africa and the article argues that in order to make a protected disclosure, public managers and the whistle blower must understand the whistle blowing process as prescribed by the *South African Protected Disclosures Act, 2000*. Additionally, organisations must establish a whistle blowing process that meets the needs not only of the organisation, but

also of the individual whistle blower. It is imperative to create awareness is that the decision to blow the whistle on alleged wrongdoing is a complex process and that there are a number of determinants that need to be considered.

Eddie Bain and Eric Nealer provide an interesting overview of the development of the Public Service Commission in the article **“Historical evaluation of the roles of Public Service Commissions in South Africa, 1912-2008”**. The article commences with a historical analysis of the pre-democratic public service commissions and continues with such an analysis during the transitional and post-democratic stages. It further explores the nature of the powers and functions of these personnel management institutions as well as the legal prescriptions relevant to such powers and functions. The article concludes with a summary of the salient features of the powers and functions of public service commissions, their roles in the development of the public service during the indicated stages, and (in the case of the post-democratic stage) the Public Service Commission’s contribution to upholding the basic values and principles governing public administration in terms of the 1996 Constitution.

The objective of the article **“The use of performance management for effective governance in Public Administration”**, is to argue the importance of the use of performance management towards effective governance. As a point of departure, David Fourie explores globalisation and the business of government. Good governance is assessed as a critical component and specific focus is placed on administrative governance as it relates to the implementation of public policy. Administrative governance forms the basis for performance management because it can be used as a tool to ensure effective governance. For the purpose of this article the focus is on the modernisation of public sector budget, reporting, management of contracts, benchmarking and comparison, and finally the implementation of a strategy. One of the key elements to achieve a successful performance management system is the ability of an entity to establish and administer sound institutional mechanisms that not only support performance management but also underscore good governance.

Ian Nzimakwe focuses on local government in his article **“Alignment between municipal development planning, budgeting, performance management and public participation”** and argues that performance, budgeting and public participation are tools to enhance service delivery and are seen as mechanisms for guiding the implementation of development plans. The key objectives of this article are to: analyse the extent of alignment between planning, implementation and performance management in municipalities; assess the effectiveness of the community involvement in these processes; examine the role of public participation in the service delivery processes; and determine the extent to which performance management and measurement contribute to fast-tracking and improving service delivery. The article adopts an analytic and descriptive

approach to assess and evaluate the alignment between development planning, budgeting and performance at a municipal sphere of governance.

In **“A gender-specific evaluation framework for the leadership development of women in local government”** Mapula Nkwana and Gerda van Dijk argue that even though South Africa’s advancement towards gender equity is held as an example across the world, municipalities find it challenging to recognise gender as an important factor in, specifically, the evaluation of leadership development of women councillors. The argument for a gender-specific evaluation framework is presented to ensure that efforts towards gender equity cascade to leadership development evaluation. The proposed gender-specific evaluation framework considers gender at every step in the evaluation process. The evaluation framework aims at incorporating women’s experiences in the evaluation process in order to ensure that gender equality is achieved in all facets of life, including leadership development.

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Local Economic Development (LED)

Building blocks, strategy and implementation for local government in South Africa

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ABSTRACT

The notion that Local Economic Development (LED) is a mechanism for poverty alleviation has led to heated debates over the last few decades. The two concepts have been intertwined and in some cases, confused with each other. LED strategies usually form part of a comprehensive poverty alleviation plan, a total onslaught on poverty, which are meant to address the socio-economic needs of a specific community, within a defined geographical area. In similar vein, the pillars of any poverty alleviation strategy should, at least, contain strategies such as provision in the basic needs of local people, creation of sustainable economic development, job creation opportunities, development of human resources and skills, ensuring safety and security and a well-managed quality environment. The current weaknesses in government interventions regarding poverty alleviation and LED could be overcome with explicitly “pro-poor” strategies. Such strategies place the formulation of strategies for job creation, sustainable rural and urban development and the central place of poor as the focus of all interventions. Poverty alleviation must be the top priority in a LED strategy and it must be accepted that the poor needs a “safety net” due to their high levels of vulnerability. LED has in some instances being misunderstood as being limited to community projects only. This article

explores the theoretical interface of LED strategic planning at the local government sphere in South Africa. The purpose of the article is to highlight the premium of LED as a strategy for poverty alleviation, and to help clear ambiguities on the nature of LED. The article involves a theoretical exposition and practical realities as methodology.

INTRODUCTION

The concepts of poverty alleviation and LED have led to heated debates locally and abroad over the last few decades. The two concepts are sometimes confused with each other. LED strategies should form part of a “comprehensive” poverty alleviation plan which will ensure that all socio-economic needs of a specific community are addressed, within a defined geographical area. The main pillars of any poverty alleviation strategy should at least contain issues such as meeting the basic needs of local people, sustainable economic development, job creation opportunities, development of human resources and skills, ensure safety and security and a well managed quality environment (Mokate 2005:16).

The concept of LED has evolved as a policy approach in the early 1970’s as a response by local government realising that business and investment were moving to geographical locations where competitive advantages are optimal within an enabling economic environment. By actively analysing a specific local economy, the local opportunities and obstacles to development is better understood by government and communities. With this new understanding of the local economy, strategies and policies could be formulated to address local challenges (Sekhampu 2010:61). According to the International Labour Organisation (ILO) (2006:2), LED could be utilised as a tool to find solutions to the threat or advantages of globalisation by maximisation of local resources and potential. The challenge for LED is to find ways to optimise local resources and local knowledge to benefit all residents in a specific geographical area (Rogerson 2009:35).

The current weaknesses of government, and specifically local government interventions regarding poverty alleviation and LED could be overcome with a balance between a “pro-growth” strategy and a “pro-poor” strategy. A combination of such strategies place the formulation of strategies for job creation, sustainable rural and urban development and the central place of poor and vulnerable people at the focus of LED (Trousdale 2005:4). Poverty alleviation must be high on the agenda regarding any LED strategy and it must be accepted that the poor need a “safety net” due to their high level of vulnerability. LED implementation must have

as its goal to facilitate and lead to long term, permanent employment as well as the improvement in the quality of life of all residents (McIlrath 2004:74).

The concept of LED could in broad terms be defined as all the economic actions and initiatives, carried out but the members of a specific local community in order to achieve improved levels of quality of life, with a focus on the poor in order to create sustainable and resilient local economies (Trousdale 2005:2). According to the National Resources Institute (NRI)(2006:16), LED initiatives must promote local ownership, partnership formation and assist in the creation of an enabling environment to stimulate new opportunities for economic development. LED must also attempt to improve governance, and create income generation opportunities. Bartik (2003:2) stated that LED could be defined as the capacity of a local economy to create wealth for all its residents. Ruecker (2007:15) stated that LED is an ongoing process by which all stakeholders from public and private sectors work together to create local unique locational advantages. LED should attempt to remedy local market failures such as barriers to enter markets and availability of information. LED is not social work, but must create economic competitiveness to ensure that a specific locality is superior to other localities with different resources (Meyer-Stamer 2003:4). Blakely (2002:159), in support of the listed definitions of LED, defined the broad goals of LED as the creation of jobs, economic stability through diversification, and a process driven by local people and local knowledge systems.

According to the Education and Training Unit (ETU), National and provincial governments must support local government by formulating suitable policies, providing funding and research support (ETU 2012:1). In terms of Section 152 of the *Constitution of South Africa* (South Africa 1996a), municipalities are tasked with development responsibilities which include LED implementation in South Africa. In addition to the Constitution, other polices, plans and legislation were formulated since 1994, such as the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP) as a macro-economic policy (ANC 1994), the Growth, Employment and Redistribution policy (GEAR) in 1996 as a macro-economic policy (South Africa, 1996b), the *Local Government Transitional Act* of 1995, Act 61 of 1995 which refers to LED as a local government strategy for economic development (South Africa, 1996c), the *Local Government: Municipal Systems Act*, Act 32 of 2000 also refer to the roles and functions of municipalities, regarding economic development and LED is identified as a tool to address spatial inequalities (South Africa 2000). In 2004, the Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG) formulated a Provincial LED policy and the main components and principles thereof were based on sustainable projects, and new innovation with implementation of projects. Local communities are recognised as the most important resource for LED and strong leadership on the local level is necessary. Other aspects of importance included the optimal utilisation of

local assets such as land and infrastructure, maintenance of a quality natural environment, and creation of public-private partnerships (DPLG 2006:7). In 2006 the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA) were released as a macro-economic policy to enhance partnerships and focus on industrial development (South Africa 2006a). In support and collaboration with ASGISA, the National Spatial Development Perspective (NSDP) was released in the same year to ensure the identification and integration of areas with economic development potential and areas of need (South Africa 2006b). In 2010 the New Growth Path (NGP), a national macro-economic policy, was released with the aim to identify and promote job creation through seven key “job driver” sectors (South Africa 2011a). In 2011 the National Development Plan (NDP) was released within the framework of the NGP. The focus areas of the NDP are job creation, infrastructure development, quality environment, improvement of urban and rural spaces, skills development, health care, good governance and national unity (South Africa 2011b).

It should be kept in mind that local government is the lowest level of government and closest to the people. This level of government should therefore be the main agent for the implementation of LED strategies and poverty alleviation projects. National government should provide broad policy and principles as well as funding for strategies and projects, in order for local government to implement. Any strategy to combat underdevelopment and poverty must focus on fighting of unemployment, improve income levels of the poor and the general improvement of quality of life.

As stated, local government is the implementation agency of LED plans. McIlrath (2004:91) listed the main functions of local government concerning LED as local policy formulation, formulation of LED strategies, co-ordination and integration of local economy, providing support to SMME’s, creation of a positive economic climate, facilitating of the implementation of sustainable LED projects, job creation through infrastructure development and other sectors and provision of information and research.

THE LED STRATEGIC PLANNING PROCESS

Introduction

This section of the article is an investigation of the strategic planning component of LED, which will be analysed and a model will be formulated later in the article. Issues to be investigated include formulation of a vision, principles, objectives and strategies as part of a systematic strategic planning approach. The approaches by Blakely (2002:343) and Swinburn (2006:5) forms the basis of the process analysed. The main features for LED success according to the ILO

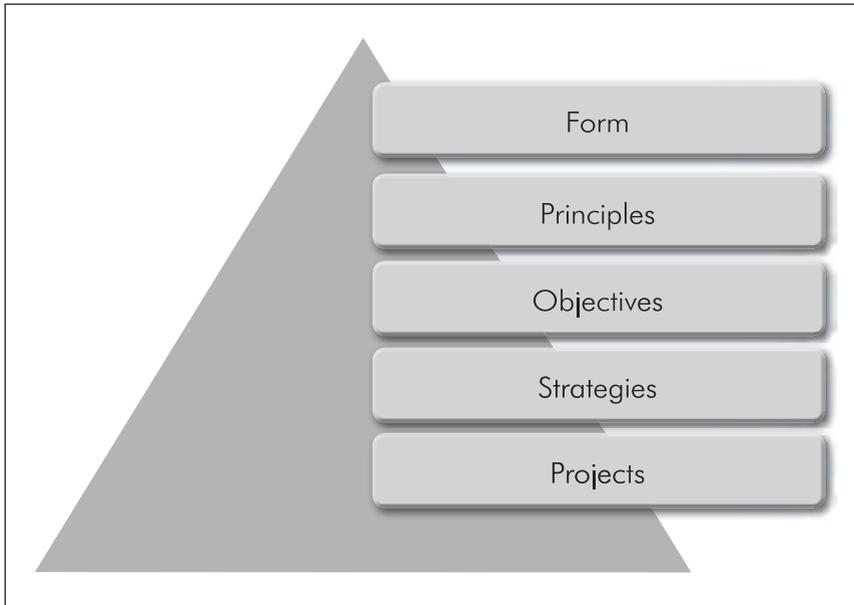
(2006:2), should include intensive levels of participation by all local role players (local government, private sector and local communities), focused on a specific territory, maximise local resources, focus on competitive advantages and lastly are locally compiled, implemented and managed.

The strategic planning approach should be followed in the formulation of an LED strategy for implementation. The process should commence with a vision which is a broad statement of the ideal goal of the selected economic direction for an area. Principles spell out the guidelines along which lines the vision could be achieved. Objectives are also broad statements or approaches which attempt to achieve the broad vision. Strategies are more detailed statements which have the intension to achieve the objectives. Projects and programmes are formulated in order to achieve and implement strategies (Swinburn 2006:6). Figure 1 is an illustration of the process.

Principles of a typical LED strategy

Examples of principles which back up the broad vision statement are discussed below. The LED process must be people centred and high levels of community

Figure 1: The LED strategic planning approach



Source: adapted from Swinburn (2006:6)

participation are requirements (Rogerson 2009:39). A “bottom-up” approach is accepted as best practice. The LED process must be a holistic and integrated approach in that it must address both the economic and social challenges faced by the people of the area, focused on the poor (Blakely 2002:55). All stakeholders need to bring innovative ideas and this could close skills and resources gaps. Sustainability of projects is of great importance in terms of economic feasibility, environmental impact and social impact. It must be ensured that micro and macro linkages in the local economy and between rural and urban areas are achieved (Davids 2004:10).

The bulk of local resources need to be prioritised towards those projects which best supports the area’s primary vision. LED projects need to make business sense and not only be community projects that are subsidised. Regulations and “red tape” procedures need to be limited and economic base data need to be available before investors will invest in the local economy. Good recent information leads to good planning. The focus should be on projects that results in maximum output with the least possible inputs. LED is everybody’s business, not only that of government or the local business community. The local municipality cannot achieve LED success on its own and need to form partnerships for success with local communities and the private sector. Government does not create jobs, but provides an environment in which business and entrepreneurs/SMME’s can flourish. They can do this for example by identifying potential growth sectors and competitive advantages. An economic development path needs to be chosen which is sustainable with long term value added potential and which links rural development with urban regeneration. Local success stories and best practice achievements regarding LED needs to be published and rewarded. This will inspire other people to greater efforts and lead to dynamic development momentum. LED is based on local initiatives where local communities are encouraged to help themselves within a support framework of government and its partners. LED cannot succeed without on equal investment in social upliftment, environmental protection, good governance and a commitment from all stakeholders (Malefane 2009:167).

Objectives of a LED strategy

Objectives are the building blocks towards the achievement of a local LED vision and in practical terms, below are some examples of typical LED objectives. Strong local leadership by all role players is required which will ensure local co-operation, implementation and good communication. The development of a regional, seamless LED focus is needed. National, provincial, district and local municipal LED strategies must be integrated and in support of each other. Broad regional co-operation holds the key to LED success. A broad coalition

of stakeholders and partnerships are required. Shared visions and values build and hold communities together, including the poorest of the poor. Shared ideas and robust, open discussion builds trust and commitment. The establishment of a local community development forum is also of vital importance. Quality and intensive stakeholder participation ensures continuous skills transfer and sustainability (Blakely 2002:54).

Local LED objectives must be relevant to the unique local socio-economic conditions. Projects allowing opportunities for income generation for rural women, labour intensive projects, household food security (food gardens), human capital building programmes, provision of social and community facilities, and youth development projects need to be attempted. LED objectives should seek to leverage, integrate and co-ordinate resources for maximum impact and avoid duplication between government organisations. Development of technology, human capacity, and access to funding and finance are key requirements. Access to market opportunities must be available to enter the local economy, for example infrastructure for informal traders (Van der Heijden 2008:126).

Effective public policy and a legislative framework are vital for LED success, including spatial policies (SDF), budgeting, procurement policies, etc. The LED process must be focused, continuous and measurable. This include the setting of objectives, performance targets, expected success criteria, feedback and appraisal mechanisms. Alleviation of poverty and inequality, the upliftment of rural people, disadvantaged communities and SMME development are the main objectives of LED plans (Bartik 2003:16). Rodrigues-Pose (2001:11) stated that traditional macro-economic policies have been unsuccessful in creating

Table 1: Traditional macro-economic policy versus LED

Traditional macro-economic policy	LED policy
"Top down" approach, decisions take by central government.	"Bottom-up" approach, decisions taken at local level.
Centralised management of policy.	Decentralised management policy including participation by local communities.
Sectoral focused approach to development.	Local space economy and locality approach to development.
Investment in large industrial projects to stimulate spin-offs and down-stream development.	Create an enabling local economic environment and maximise local development potential.
Financial assistance, incentives, subsidies to attract economic activity.	Provide an overall enabling economic environment to stimulate SMME and entrepreneurial development.

Source: Rodrigues-Pose (2001:12).

an enabling developmental environment at the local level. LED has provided an alternative as a developmental policy at the local level. Table 1 provides a comparison between traditional macro-economic and LED policy aspects.

A local economic analysis needs to create a clear understanding of the asset base of the poor, and based on what people have, identify possible livelihoods opportunities to expand their assets in order to improve the levels of vulnerability. A local understanding of poor people’s vulnerability context, and the risks the poor face, needs to be formulated. The local institutional framework also needs to analyse which will allow for future improvements (Davids 2004:5).

Table 2 below indicates in a practical manner how LED objectives are transformed from strategies to implementable projects.

LED policies needs to be implementable, which is the final test for the efficiency and success of such a policy.

LED strategies

LED strategies are the building blocks in reaching and achieving the objectives as listed above. Strategies are achieved by the implementation of projects and programmes (Blakely 2002:165). According to Sachs (2005:45), for LED strategies to be successful, both the macro and micro-economic issues need to be taken into account. Local economies should prioritise action plans that will create the most impact in view of their local vision and objectives (Swinburn and Murphy 2007:4). The following are some of the components that should be included in a LED strategy for a specific area including aspects such as a balanced set of “hard” and “soft” infrastructure programs. For example the provision of transport, energy, water, waste management and telecommunications networks (hard infrastructure) as well as social needs in terms of education, training, business

Table 2: LED from objectives to projects

Objectives	Strategies	Projects
Reduction of poverty	Provide in the basic needs of the poor	Provide in the basic essential services and allow access to community facilities
Promote job creation	Provide skills training	Set-up job and skills centre
Support the retention and attraction of business	Ensure focused marketing, research and analysis of economic conditions	Set-up business support and advice centre
Promote economic stability	Encourage economic diversity	Support key economic sectors as identified in research

Source: Trousdale (2005:15)

support and healthy lifestyles (soft infrastructure). The formulation of priority initiatives and sectors earmarked for investment with budgets and plans to attract investors, an outline of processes for monitoring, review and evaluation (systems approach), a clear statement of the nature and requirements of each project, along with expected outputs and outcomes. These can be used as a benchmarking mechanism for monitoring the progress and output of project as it is implemented. The plans should document the conceptual links from vision to projects. This will keep the logic consistent and will help in the reviewing progress in realising the vision. Strategies need to be achieved through the implementation of projects. For each project, the risks must be identified that could hinder progress and consider methods to contain or manage these projects (Nel and Goldman 2006:53).

Ideally, the development of a LED strategy should be an integral part of the broader strategic planning process for a region, city, town or rural area, such as the integrated development planning (IDP) process (Human 2008:53). Sound strategic planning ensures that priority issues are addressed and scarce resources are well targeted. The five step planning process detailed below should be tailored and customised to correspond with other local planning processes which will be unique for a specific area. The process is not prescriptive and should be adapted to meet the needs of each individual community.

The LED process

Various organisations have listed LED processes such as the World Bank (2001), Local Governance Support Program (LGSPA)(2009), Trousdale (2005), Blakely (2002:79) and Swinburn (2006:4–7), but for this article we will use the process as listed by the World Bank. The following is a summarised step-be-step description of the LED strategy formulation process as prescribed by the World Bank (2001:8–14):

Phase 1: Organizing the effort: A specific local community begins the LED strategy planning process by first identifying the people, public institutions, businesses, community organisations and other groups with vested interests in the local economy. This is often led by the specific local government, usually the Mayor or the Municipal Manager. The skills and resources that each of these stakeholders bring to the strategic planning process provide a critical foundation for success. The identification of these individuals and organisations assumes some basic knowledge of how the economy of the area works. Secondly, working groups and steering committees should be established to ensure formal structures are in place to support strategy development and implementation. More actions could include the following:

- Establish a “home” for LED and a “Champion” of LED;
- Management of stakeholders;

- Establishment of a steering committee such as a LED Forum;
- The local authority to oversee the LED process (World Bank 2001:8).

Phase 2: Conducting the competitive assessment: Each community has a unique set of local attributes that advance or hinder local economic development. This includes its economic make-up, and human resource capacity to carry out economic development, as well as how “friendly” the local government’s business environment is for economic activities. The aim of the competitive assessment is to identify the community’s strengths and weaknesses, including its human resource capacity and the local governments “friendliness” to all types of business from formal business to informal survivalists’ and identify the opportunities and threats to the local economy (SWOT analysis). The goal of the assessment is to create an economic profile (status quo) of the community that highlights its economic development capacity. More actions include the following:

- Compile LED information such as socio-economic information, demographic information, municipal hard infrastructure information, municipal soft infrastructure and regional and national information impacting locally;
- Analysis of the information (World Bank 2001:12).

Phase 3: Developing the LED strategy: The LED strategy includes development of a shared economic vision for the community and determination of goals, objectives, programs, projects and action plans. This process ensures all stakeholders are aware of what is to be achieved, how it is to be achieved, who will be responsible and the time frames associated with the implementation of the strategy. Most importantly, the LED strategy and action plans must be assessed against the human resource capacity, as well as the budgetary constraints. Ultimately the strategic action plans should be incorporated into the budgetary program of the local authority. The aim is to leverage strengths, overcome weaknesses, exploit opportunities and deal with threats (World Bank 2001:13).

Phase 4: Implementing the LED strategy: Strategy implementation is driven by the action plans and programmes. Ongoing monitoring is provided through the formal structures. Evaluation of specific project outcomes ensures that strategies continue to lead to the achievement of the LED vision, goals and objectives. Most broad-based comprehensive LED strategies are delivered through public/private sector partnerships that are led by the specific local authority. The private sector is often keen to manage initiatives through business chambers aimed at improving the vitality and viability of town centres or to be involved with business development initiatives. Community groups may seek to lead initiatives to improve the quality of life and living conditions of a target group of disadvantaged individuals. Strategy implementation is never as clear-cut as the strategy development itself. It often takes longer than expected, and involves a

consistently changing environment and economic cycles. Within each project and program that is being implemented, strategic thought must occur at every step of the way. This will often focus on how to best advance and complete a project in an often rapidly changing environment (Nel and Goldman 2006:3).

Phase 5: Reviewing the LED strategy: Monitoring and evaluation techniques assist to quantify outcomes, justify expenditures, determine enhancements and adjustment and develop best practices. This information also feeds into the review of the total strategy. The LED strategy should be reviewed at least annually to ensure that the overall strategy itself is still relevant. It may be that conditions have changed or that the initial assessment was incorrect relating to the local conditions. The LED strategy should evolve continuously to respond to the ever changing competitive environment (World Bank 2001:14).

Phase 6: Funding a LED strategy: Securing funding for a LED project is often very difficult. One of the reasons for this is that local authorities often do not have a statutory responsibility to delivery of LED services and LED seen as “luxury” expenditure. When it comes to budget time, LED is competing for scarce resources with departments such as housing, health and education. Sometimes, it is difficult for elected officials to justify spending scarce resources on LED efforts because short time horizon responses (such as improving access to piped water) are often perceived as more important than the LED initiatives that often offer longer time horizons, and whose benefits may not be immediately apparent. The LED strategy should have a budget. In selecting particular programs and projects, care needs to be taken to ensure that funds are available for the entire length of each project as projects are likely to span several financial years. Forward or exit strategies should also be developed. Sources of funding of LED initiatives include municipal revenue raised from the usual sources including property taxes and user fees, sale or rental of municipal owned industrial or commercial buildings and land, national and state government intergovernmental transfers, international donor grants and loans, private sector funding such as corporate donations, foundations, especially for environmental improvements, human resource initiatives and poverty alleviation (World Bank 2001:14).

The systems approach is followed whereby objectives support the vision, and strategies support objections. Projects are identified in order to achieve strategies. Ongoing measurement and review is necessary. Examples of typical LED strategies could include SMME development plans, industrial and service sector development plans, trade and export development plans, investment and development facilitation plans, research, policy and information provision, economic empowerment plans (Phago 2005:128). Other possible LED strategies could include support of new and existing enterprises, provision of developmental infrastructure, development plans for unique areas for intervention, and rural development plans (World Bank 2002:151).

Table 3: Examples of pro-poor interventions

INTERVENTIONS	EXAMPLES OF PRO-POOR APPLICATIONS
Economic Development Strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Should include interventions across the whole spectrum of municipal operations, not just in an economic development unit.
Grants/rebates to attract inward investment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Subsidised training and skills development of disadvantaged employees of investors and SMMEs.
Non-financial support for inward investment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of land, land use planning rights if for example a business employs a certain number of disadvantaged employees. • Support to investors to use their corporate social investment fund in ways relevant to disadvantaged people/informal economy.
Investment in infrastructure and infrastructure-related services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of incubators (skills and job centres). • Provision of market stands for informal traders. • Creation of produce markets. • Creation of input supply depots for up-coming farmers. • Construction of key economic access roads. • Contracts for community-based or SMMEs regarding construction and maintenance. • Support for specific infrastructure to support projects. • Planning suitable infrastructure for service delivery in rural area, e.g. cell phone payment of electricity bills. • Indigent policy to support access of poor people to services.
Skills development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support for adult and functional literacy programmes. • Skills training. • Training in entrepreneurship and marketing.
Procurement support for SMMEs/informal sector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preferential procurement for SMMEs and for BEE companies. • Promotion of procurement opportunities for informal businesses. • Encouraging large business to source locally including from SMMEs and informal sector.
SMME/Informal sector support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of incubators. • Subsidised support for market research, tenders, export. • Support for SMMEs requiring progress to BEE standards, at least for employment and skills development. • Support for collective organisations of informal traders to interact with authorities. • Support for agriculture and land reform processes including commonages and agri-villages. • Support for co-operative. • Promotion of accessible and fair micro-finance schemes.

INTERVENTIONS	EXAMPLES OF PRO-POOR APPLICATIONS
Livelihood support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improving access to cash transfers such as social grants. • Support for agriculture regarding food security and income in both rural and urban areas. • Promotion of periodic markets. • Promotion of community-based service mechanisms, e.g. for waste, home-based care etc. • Assessing which municipal services could be delivered or supported using community-based or SMME mechanisms. • Capacity-building support for CBOs and NGOs.
Sectoral development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promotion of sectors based on local knowledge, skills and environment e.g. agriculture, agri-processing, culture and tourism.
Special employment schemes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Subsidies for specific groups, e.g. disabled, youth to be employed or learnerships.
Special development zones	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Particular incentives for development zones for labour-based industries, for employment or training.
Research and information supply	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Analysing informal sector. • Assessing livelihoods – baseline and regular evaluations. • Undertaking participatory planning processes to obtain view of disadvantaged people on priorities and strategies. • Assessing potential economic opportunities in disadvantaged areas.

Source: Nel and Goldman (2006:10)

Pro-poor interventions

LED and poverty alleviation strategies could be implemented in support of each other, and a combination of the two concepts could be described as “pro-poor” intervention tools. Table 3 below is an analysis of “pro-poor” interventions in consultation with LED strategies.

Blakely (2002:165) states that if LED strategies are not formulated in terms of acceptable principles and best practice guidelines, it could lead to negative impacts on local economies and communities. For example, every local area is unique and a “one size fits all” approach will fail. Rather analyse a local area’s strengths and weaknesses and formulate a “best fit” strategy to maximise local potential. Capacity and competency with local commitment is required.

LED IMPLEMENTATION

According to the Trousdale (2005:28), successful LED implementation is dependent on six key issues which include the level and quality of local leadership, the quality of the local enabling economic environment allowing access to opportunities, the level of involvement of local youth, the potential for sustainable job creation, the level of governance, the skills levels available in the economy and lastly the impact of all initiative to reduce poverty and inequality. The International Republican Institute (IRI) (1998:15), listed LED tools for implementation which relates to the issues as listed above by UN-Habitat above including SMME and entrepreneurial development, relaxation of regulations to enhance the economic environment, provision of economic infrastructure, creation of special development zones, maximisation of regional linkages and plugging the gaps in the economy.

Composition of a LED project

Specific details regarding project components, including a hierarchy of tasks, responsible parties, a realistic delivery timetable, human resource and financial needs, sources of funding, expected impacts, results, performance measures and systems for evaluating progress, must be formulated for each project (Busso and Kline 2007:1–15).

Projects that can be implemented on the short term and which will result in “quick wins” play an important role in building momentum and stakeholder confidence. Other projects will have a medium to long-term timeframe. In each case, projects should be “championed” by individuals or a group of stakeholders according to interests, resources, commitment and expertise. Components for each LED project must include the following:

- **Project Objectives:** Each project should have clear objectives that meet strategic goals;
- **Project Inputs:** The necessary resources needed to implement the project, e.g. capital and revenue costs, human resource inputs and capabilities, other inputs such as land and buildings;
- **List of Actions:** A summary of the main actions to be undertaken in each project;
- **Project Outputs:** The direct result from the project, i.e., the construction of a business incubator;
- **Project Outcomes:** These are direct results from the outputs, e.g. an outcome of the building of a business incubator could be that four new businesses be established and 15 new entrepreneurs were trained and released in the field;
- **Project Impacts:** Impacts are associated with a strategy's goals, and the broader effect of a project over time, even after the project is completed, e.g., the development of a specific industry cluster based on the innovation centre;

- **Project Risk Assessment:** Assess the possible risks and formulate solutions;
- **Project Management:** Who will take financial and management responsibility for the project (internal to the municipality or external). Legitimate institutional mechanisms need to be in place or envisaged as part of the plan (World Bank 2001:72).

Approaches to LED implementation

The following are some of the approaches that could be used for LED implementation:

- Encouraging local business growth:
The provision of support, advice and resources to existing local business to create a positive climate for growth. Some of the projects and programmes include business retention visits and surveys, technical assistance, financial advice to businesses, buy local campaigns, public procurement policies, streamlining government procedures and provision of sites and premises for SMME development (World Bank 2001:16).
- Promoting foreign, direct and domestic inward investment:
For such investment attraction to be successful, the following key components are required namely, it must form a part of the LED strategy, the required hard or soft infrastructure are available and opportunities for local small business (SMMEs) are optimised (World Bank 2001:19).
- Investment in Hard Infrastructure
This includes investment in the built environment in order to make it more attractive for business retention, expansion and recruitment. Such projects and programmes include construction of key economic access routes, improvement of local transport nodes, development of industrial areas, (new or old areas), increase the availability of services such as water, sewer and electricity, improvement of telecommunication systems, environmental enhancements and lastly crime prevention projects (World Bank 2001:20).
- Investment in Soft Infrastructure
Projects and programmes include skills training projects which are demand led, increased business focused education, ongoing research and development, provision of business advisory services, provision of and assistance to access to capital and finance, support the establishment of business chambers, improved delivery of local government services to businesses and crime prevention measures (World Bank 2001:21).
- Sector Development
Projects and programmes include network agencies, supporting joint research, development of cluster-focused public procurement and local purchasing agreements, cluster specific research and information, develop cluster specific

marketing efforts and develop demand-led skills and education training programs (World Bank 2001:22).

- Area Targeting

Specific projects and programmes could include town centre improvement projects, upgrading of old industrial areas or sites, development of new industrial areas, encourage investment into growth nodes, encourage investment into corridors and provision of facilities to informal markets (World Bank 2001:23).

- Development of the Informal Economy

Provision of facilities for the informal sector such as infrastructure for street vendors, provision of access to transport, access to finance and banking, provision of skills and business training, ease or relax “red tape” regulations, and improvement of linkages between formal and informal sectors, provision of industrial incubators to SMME’s, market resources and information provision to the informal sector (World Bank 2001:26).

- Targeting the disadvantaged group

Projects include adults education and literacy training, skills training and job placement programmes, enterprise training, assist women to access employment and self-employment programs, develop mentor programs, health awareness programs and development of community resource centres (World Bank 2001:29).

MONITORING AND ASSESSMENT OF LED PROJECTS

Monitoring and assessment of LED projects are of key importance for the successful implementation of LED projects (NRI 2006:45; Todaro 2011:285). According to the Swiss Agency for Development and Co-operation (2008:23), the following aspects need to be taken into account which could include, LED outcomes in terms of job creation, and income generation, and the improvement of the local economic environment regarding provision of infrastructure and facilities. Monitoring should be simplified regarding the tracking of outputs, for example the number of businesses supported, and numbers of people trained. At most local municipalities, proper monitoring and evaluation systems have not been set up to track these types of indicators at this stage, which may well require undertaking of household surveys to ascertain the socio-economic status quo (base line information), as census data is not focused enough to reveal localised LED impacts. Some of the larger metro municipalities are collecting such data (e.g. Cape Town), others have considered it but not implemented it. Smaller municipalities would not have the resources to do surveys. Pressure to spend budgets, complete projects, staff shortages and pressure from local councillors to continually deliver, leads to insufficient time or priority

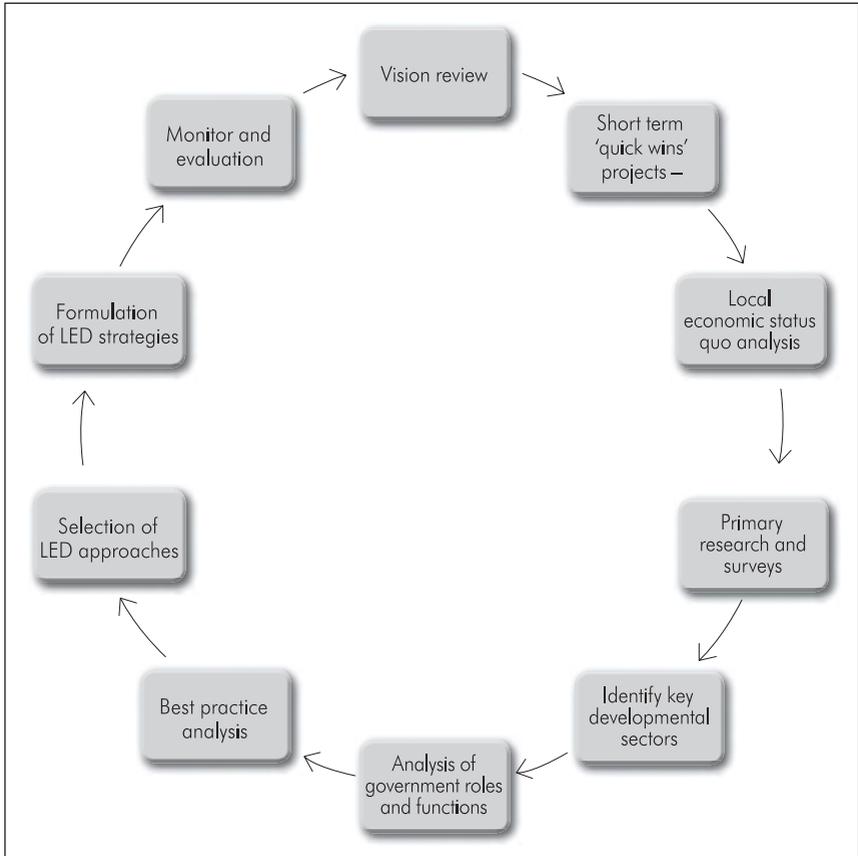
regarding monitoring and evaluation of progresses. Local municipal staff is often new and the focus is primarily upon issues of policy and implementation rather than assessment. The lack of tracking of the outcomes of projects can lead to decisions that are not taken based on evidence but subjective criteria (Davids 2004:95).

FEZA ISIMANGALISO: A LED IMPLEMENTATION PLAN FOR LOCAL CONDITIONS

After analysis of best practice LED implementation plans and practically being involved in various LED plans at the local government sphere, the author has formulated his own LED compilation and implementation plan. The meaning of “Feza iSimangaliso” is “achieving a miracle” in the Zulu language. The compilation of LED strategies and especially the implementation thereof is a difficult process and in some cases will require a “miracle”. The following is a step-by-step process, setting out the process of implementing an LED strategy, with a focus on mostly rural settings, where the majority of people in poverty reside. Although it is accepted that every locality and area is unique which requires a “best fit” process, the proposed process for the compilation and implementation could be used as a guideline at any locality as it is based on the strategic planning process.

- **Step 1: Vision review:** The overall IDP and LED vision must form the basis of the implementation strategy. Both short term and long term strategies must be implemented.
- **Step 2: Short term “quick wins” projects:** Completion of a rapid rural assessment with a focus on key sectors such as agriculture, public services, community development, environment, infrastructural and skills development. Such assessment needs to be completed in a week. A range of short term, easy to “kick-off” projects need to be identified and implemented. Projects such as food gardens, skills training, job training projects, clean-up projects, infrastructure for the informal sector, etc. needs to be implemented to show immediate positive results. This will allow a level of confidence in the overall, long term process of LED.
- **Step 3: Local economic status quo analysis:** Analysis of local policy documents such as the IDP, LED Strategy, SDF, etc. These documents and specifically the local spatial planning policy will give direction and focus regarding development in the area. The availability of up-to-date base line socio-economic data also needs to be determined including information on unemployment and skills gaps. The institutional structures need to be analysed to determine suitability and effectiveness.
- **Step 4: Primary research and surveys:** At this point, a decision needs to be taken with regard to the usefulness and “up-to-dateness” of existing statistics.

Figure 2: Feza iSimangaliso LED implementation plan



The principle is that good information leads to good planning. Socio-economic research, business surveys (for example an early warning system) and unemployment and skills surveys. Primary research will be required if recent base line information is not available.

- **Step 5: Identify key developmental sectors/areas:** Those sectors, areas which can unlock the development potential of an area need to be identified. Major stumbling blocks also need to be identified and addressed. Areas and sectors as listed in the New Growth Path (NGP) such as industrial development, manufacturing, agro-processing, tourism, informal sector, etc needs to be identified and be focussed on.
- **Step 6: Analysis of government and institutional roles and policies:** The alignment of priorities of all spheres of government. Analysis of all policies,

funding options, roles of the various spheres of government, partnership formation and skills development. Analysis of policies and programmes such as NGP, the community works programme (CWP), the expanded public works programme (EPWP), the comprehensive rural development programme (CRDP), the national youth development programme (NYDP), etc.

- **Step 7: Best practice analysis:** Analysis of local and global LED best practice procedures, principles and projects to implement locally.
- **Step 8: Selection of LED approaches:** Various approaches need to be identified with a focus on job creation. Approaches include a pro-poor focus, demand driven projects, mass job creation or “decent jobs”, agro-processing with an agricultural focussed economy, provision of basic needs and improvement in quality of life.
- **Step 9: Formulate a “best fit” LED/job creation model/manual and strategy:** The creation of such a model/manual and strategy for implementation in line with all applicable policies.
- **Step 10: Monitor and evaluation plan:** The success and failures of the LED strategy needs to be monitored and evaluated. Success needs to be supported and marketed while failures need to be addressed. Ongoing adjustments will be required to ensure success. Measurable development indicators must be formulated in line with national and millennium goals. The proposed early warning system (EWS) will play a major role in making sure that local businesses are satisfied with local service delivery.

CONCLUSION

The main challenge in South Africa is the compilation of LED strategies that are implementable by local government especially in rural areas, with strong linkages with poverty alleviation initiatives. In order to improve LED implementation, local government needs increased support from government in terms of capacity, skills and funding for sustainable projects. The above listed implementation plan has been tested in the Northern Free State region and a follow-up article will be compiled as a best practice case study.

In conclusion, a few examples of unsuccessful and successful LED projects are listed. Firstly, a few types of projects or programmes that did not lead to success could include expensive untargeted non-sustainable investment, supplied instead of demand-driven projects and training programmes, excessive reliance on grant-led investment, over-generous financial support using taxpayers’ money. In addition other unsuccessful projects include unsustainable business retention subsidies (where firms are paid to stay in the area despite the fact that financial viability of the business is at risk), reliance on “low-road”

techniques, e.g., cheap labour, low levels of technology and subsidised capital and lastly government conceived, controlled, and directed strategies.

Specific projects have been implemented successfully in parts of South Africa. Some of the best practice projects are the set-up of tourism associations and LED forums, urban agricultural projects such as food gardens and agri-villages, business and manufacturing advice and support centres, tender advice centres, technology assistance incubator hives, entrepreneurial training projects and life skills training, SMME supporting procurement policies, and specific demand led production and training programs for example in tourism and agriculture.

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The influence of the higher education subsidy formula on knowledge production in South Africa

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ABSTRACT

Government policies on subsidising higher education institutions (HEIs) may have a direct impact on the behaviour of both researchers and managers. Moreover, in the competitive world where researchers in HEIs are competing to access research funds, the relationship between funding and research output attracts much interest and becomes a complex phenomenon. Governments use quantitative formulas to allocate research funds to HEIs based on their production of research output. In South Africa, the Department of Science and Technology makes use of the National Research Foundation (NRF) to fund basic and contract research, while the Department of Education uses formula-based research funding to subsidise HEIs. This article attempts to present trends showing how higher education institutions respond to the government funding policies, with special reference to the New Funding Framework (NFF) introduced in South Africa in 2001.

INTRODUCTION

HEIs are collectively a critical resource of human development across the world. They also consume a large component of the national expenditure. Moreover, policy makers and higher education managers are increasingly under pressure

to make sure that the taxpayers' money is well spent and produces useful and relevant graduates and research output that represents good value for money. It is in this context that governments have intensified the focus on the mechanisms to determine higher education funding. Deaton (2004:3) writes that governments use either an incremental funding approach or a formula approach to determine appropriations for higher education. The funding formula method quantifies funding decisions based on variables and data sets. Marks and Caruthers (1999:5) define funding formulas as mathematical mechanisms that merge an institution's nature with its resource requirements. They view formulas as generally incorporating funding for teaching, academic development, research, academic citizenship and other activities in a series of "mini-formulas" or calculations.

The study has used higher education research output as a measure of knowledge production. As such, the project was set out to determine the effects that the research subsidy component of the NFF might have had on knowledge production by South African public higher education institutions between 2001 and 2006. The research project was informed by the following research question: What were the effects of the research component of the new subsidy formula on higher education knowledge production between the reporting years of 2001 and 2006? The secondary research questions for this study were:

- In what ways does the new government policy on higher education funding influence the behaviour of public higher education institutions?
- Can one see a new trend after 2001 in higher education research output? If there is a new trend, how should one explain that?

This article argues that the subsidy component of the NFF has had positive effects on the knowledge production of public funded higher education institutions (HEIs) in South Africa. An empirical study of South African HEIs' output trends for the period under review has shown a sharp increase, more especially from the 2004 reporting year. Therefore, the new trend in higher education knowledge production can be attributable to the successful implementation of the NFF. The article concludes that considering the output trends of the period under review, the implementation of the NFF is yielding positive effects towards achieving its intended goal of increasing research output of South African public HEIs.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Comparison can be used as a method for explaining why things differ in various countries, and for providing reasons or causes for the differences. Policy sciences are brought even closer to other scientific experiments when variables are distinguished to determine their causal effects (Freeman 2006:384). In South

Africa, the NFF for public HEIs introduced in 2001 affects institutions in various unique ways. It also has an influence on the knowledge production patterns of HEIs, which might be problematic or advantageous.

A number of theories can be considered in guiding researchers to investigate in detail patterns of higher education knowledge productivity and the factors that influence the productivity levels. On the one hand, a system of funding HEIs by means of subsidy formulas can, for example, be viewed from the behavioural reinforcement theory perspective (see Skinner 1969; Blackburn, Bieber, Lawrence and Trautvetter 1993; Blackburn and Lawrence 1995). The rewarding of HEIs for their knowledge production output and the rewarding of individual researchers by means of promotion or monetary incentives can thus be viewed as the greatest motivating effect. This article posits that as a reinforcement schedule, the NFF's research subsidy component influences the HEIs' knowledge productivity curve.

The expectancy theory elaborates on a rationale for how one's behaviour is influenced by preferences and perceptions of the environment one encounters. Tien and Blackburn (1996:6) write that on the basis of the expectancy theory, an academic's commitment to embark on research projects will be stronger when that person (a) believes the research project will yield some results; (b) perceives the results as invaluable; and (c) believes that hard work improves research output. In this study, the behavioural reinforcement theory has been employed to analyse the influence that the research subsidy component of the NFF has had on the knowledge productivity of South African public HEIs between the years 2001 and 2006.

SCHOLARLY CONTEXT

Government reform refers, *inter alia*, to changes in the structures and procedures of institutions so as to make them effective in achieving their purposes and more efficient in doing so in less time and with less expense. In the last decades of the 20th century, public administrators led largely through legislation and the allocation of resources. Accounting for such resources could not be reliably measured both qualitatively and quantitatively. Jones, Schedler and Mussari (2004:372) state that administrators did not have to provide any clearly defined services but had to fulfil their tasks in compliance with the law and a detailed input budget.

Mader and Schedler (1994:35) postulate that it was accounting which furnished senior staff with the necessary, albeit rudimentary, "controlling" information until the early 1990s. New Public Management – which in Switzerland and Austria is known as Results-Oriented Public Management (*Wirkungsorientierte Verwaltungsführung*, WoV) and in Germany as the New Guiding Model (*Neues*

Steuersmodell, NSM) – redirected the focus of administration management on effects and performance. This suggests that in scientific contexts of Public Administration scholars started thinking about performance orientation. As Lynn (2005:43) notes, in 1991 Christopher Hood had developed an encompassing global name for public management: “New Public Management”. In line with New Public Management, government reform is a continuous activity worldwide. Government reform can be subdivided into legislative, judicial and administrative reforms. At administrative level, reforms applicable to this study include:

- More performance measurement and evaluation of government programmes. The new South African higher education funding framework which is the focus of this article is performance driven as it is concerned with the throughput rate of students (especially at master's and doctoral level) and the research output of academics and researchers.
- Increased use of professionals and researchers.
- Better coordination of government agencies (including higher education institutions and research councils) across different levels of government.
- The development of the field of administrative law for clarifying due process in administrative adjudication, policymaking and judicial review. Knowledge of and understanding the criteria for allocating block grants and research funding as well as reporting thereof (accounting for public funds), is of paramount importance in the fields of policy and public finance; and
- More access to information (transparency) so that the public can obtain access to administrative records.

IN THE REAL SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

The higher education sector in any country is important both in knowledge advancement, through research, and also in the training of people for productive roles in society, through its teaching function. In almost all societies, the costs of providing higher education are funded by the public. Barr (2004:264) adds that a mass, high-quality university system is expensive and competes with other imperatives. In South Africa, the *Higher Education Act, 1997* (Act 101) provides for the regulation, establishment and functioning of one higher education system that replaces fragmented systems of the past. The Act further promotes the autonomy of higher education institutions, academic freedom and the advancement of national priorities for the development of scientific knowledge and scarce skills.

With regard to higher education funding, the White Paper 3 (WP3) of 1997 entitled *A Programme for the Transformation of Higher Education* elaborated on the details of the new funding formula for subsidising public HEIs. The WP3

has articulated, among other things, the following goals of transforming higher education in South Africa:

- To become an effective and efficient system that promotes high quality academic and educational standards;
- To promote equity and redress in order to bring about equal opportunity for individuals and institutions;
- To respond to the nation's social, economic, and political development needs; and
- To ensure democracy and accountability in the governance and management of education institutions (South Africa 1997).

The NFF was introduced to overcome the 1980s South African Post-Secondary Education (SAPSE) formula, as pointed out by Steyn (2002:253). It also had to introduce a single funding formula for universities and technikons with more emphasis on increased equity in access and outcomes, improved quality and efficiency that link higher education activities and national and regional needs.

According to the South African Universities Vice-Chancellors Association (SAUVCA 2002:2), South Africa has the opportunity to implement the primary goals of higher education, which include economic development, strategic contributions to the knowledge economy and the promotion of critical enquiry. In 2001 the Ministry of Education introduced the new funding framework. This was necessary as the old funding framework introduced in 1982–1983 was considered not be suitable any more. It could not be used as a steering mechanism to address national goals and objectives (Madue 2006:14). The higher education system needs to be geared towards addressing national priorities through planning and focused research funding, as well as monitoring and evaluation of the quality of research output. In South Africa, higher education is funded according to the throughput rate of students and the research output of academics and researchers. This study uses research output as a measure of knowledge production.

ESTIMATING RESEARCH OUTPUT

The methods of estimating the subsidy of higher education research output have always generated conflicting views. It is important to account for both the quality and the quantity of output, and not to concentrate only on the output produced (Abbott and Doucouliagos 2003:92). This argument is valid in both the natural sciences and the humanities. Moed (2005:25) argues that the concept "research quality" is accorded different levels of meaning. Scholars often differ on how to define quality. As a result, a compromise about the definition of quality is often reached. Jeenah and Pouris (2008:353) postulate that research productivity

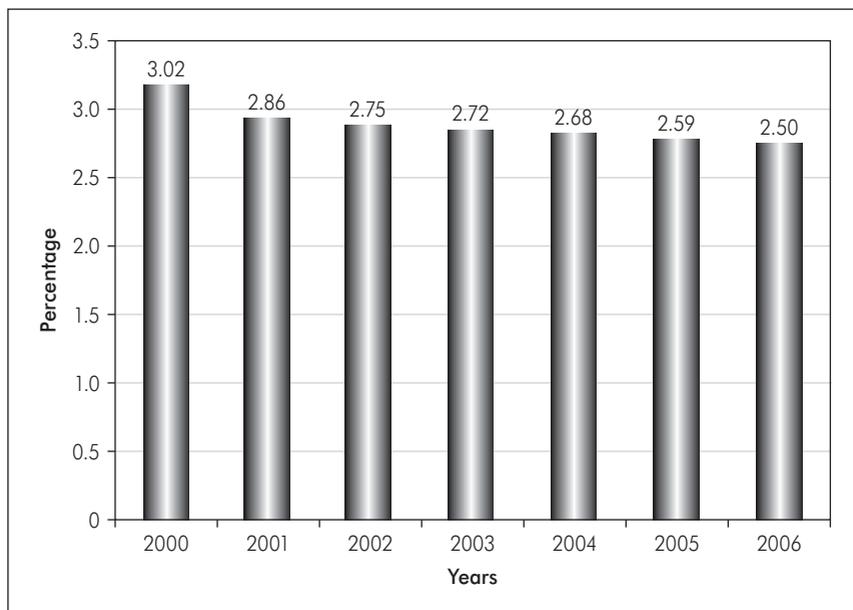
varies according to scientific fields. Moreover, publication practices differ widely across disciplines with regard to co-authorship practices, annual publications and even the definition of what counts as a scientific article.

This study brings to light the world knowledge production trends, and in particular South Africa's output trends since the introduction of the current policy in 2001. For the purpose of this study, world knowledge production trends are considered important from a comparison point of view.

INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH OUTPUT TRENDS

Globally, the growth of knowledge production as measured by research output between 1988 and 2006 is considered to be a major trend in academic knowledge production. It is mostly explained by comparing the growth of Research and Development expenditure of researchers in governments and public HEIs. However, in the South African context, the correlation does not exist since a declining trend in state expenditure on higher education has been observed since 1987. Akor and Roux (2006:428) stress that the funding of higher

Figure 1: State funding of higher education as a percentage of total expenditure, 2000–2006



Source: Figure constructed using data obtained from the HEMIS database

education remains a fundamental challenge to concerned institutions and government itself, especially in view of the steady decline in state funding of HEIs. Indicators such as the state funding of higher education as a percentage of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and higher education funding as a percentage of total expenditure are used to confirm the decline. In their analysis of the state's higher education expenditure, De Villiers and Steyn (2007:140) cited a decreasing trend of 0.86% in 1987 and 0.66% of the GDP in 2006, although a marginal increase was stated as a 10% in 2001/2. Figure 1 further indicates the declining trend in state funding of higher education as a percentage of total expenditure between 2000 and 2006.

In monetary terms, the general funding of the system of innovation and research as a percentage of GDP equalled 0.8% (1994), 0.7% (2001) and 0.81% (2004), while Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) averages were 2.15% (Steyn 2002:254). The system of innovation includes HEIs and research institutions such as the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) and the Medical Research Council.

In terms of world trends, Vincent-Lancrin (2006:3) writes that about 650 000 scientific articles were published in 2001 when compared to the 466 000 published in 1988. In other words, there was an increase of 39%. Almost 82% of published scientific articles were produced by the OECD countries. It has also been noted that 74% of all the scientific articles published in the United States in 2001 was produced by the HEIs. This figure is also used to explain or account for the growth in published academic books: a growth of 21% between 1993 and 2004.

South Africa's research output does not compare favourably with developed nations such as the USA and the OECD countries. For example, during the period between 1993 and 2003 the publication rate of universities in South Africa was about 0.5 publications per permanently appointed research personnel members. This means that one staff member in the South African HEI produced one approved publication every two years.

In comparison with other developing countries, again, South Africa compares unfavourably with two other countries, Brazil and India. According to the Essential Sciences Indicators (ESI) analysis of the ISI database, Brazil is ranked in the top 20 countries in 12 disciplines, with a high of 11th position in Agricultural Sciences. India is one of the top 20 countries in 13 disciplines in the world rankings. South Africa is rated in the top 20 countries in only 2 disciplines, Plant and Animal Sciences at position 18 and Geosciences at number 20. Table 1 below presents a comparative analysis of the three countries in the world publications rankings per discipline.

While the international research output trends are invaluable in locating South Africa's international ranking, this study is also concerned with tracing South African HEIs' research output trends.

Table 1: Relative ranking of South Africa, India and Brazil: publications (2005)

Field	Country ranking		
	SA	India	Brazil
1. Clinical Medicine	30	23	22
2. Plant & Animal Sciences	18	8	12
3. Chemistry	31	8	19
4. Geosciences	20	11	21
5. Biology & Biochemistry	36	15	21
6. Environment/ Ecology	22	13	18
7. Physics	43	10	15
8. Molecular Biology & Genetics	37	20	18
9. Space Science	28	13	17
10. Microbiology	30	18	13
11. Immunology	29	21	16
12. Engineering	42	12	22
13. Social Sciences (general)	21	22	20
14. Psychiatry/ Psychology	24	32	29
15. Neuroscience & Behaviour	40	24	13
16. Agricultural Science	38	4	11
17. Pharmacology/ Toxicology	35	11	16
18. Material Science	46	9	20
19. Mathematics	37	14	17
20. Computer Science	38	17	25
21. Multidisciplinary	9	4	18
22. Economics & Business	33	27	36
All fields	35	13	17

Source: ISI database

Since the introduction of the South African Post-Secondary Education (SAPSE) formula in 1985, higher education knowledge production has been recognised and subsidised on the basis of published refereed journal articles. Bawa and Mouton (2002:311) explain that in the 1990s, books and chapters published in refereed anthologies (with the exception of textbooks) were included in subsidising HEIs. While the SAPSE formula was faced with numerous challenges, the data obtained from it provides a means for accounting for HEIs' knowledge production.

SOUTH AFRICA'S HEI RESEARCH OUTPUT TRENDS

In tracing the trends of knowledge production, figure 2 presents the trends in South African HEIs' knowledge production as obtained from the HEMIS database of the Department of Education (DoE). In the current South African education system, the Department of Education has been unbundled into two ministries, the Department of Basic Education (DBE) and the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET). Figure 2 provides absolute values of publication numbers as a measure of the South African HEIs' research output.

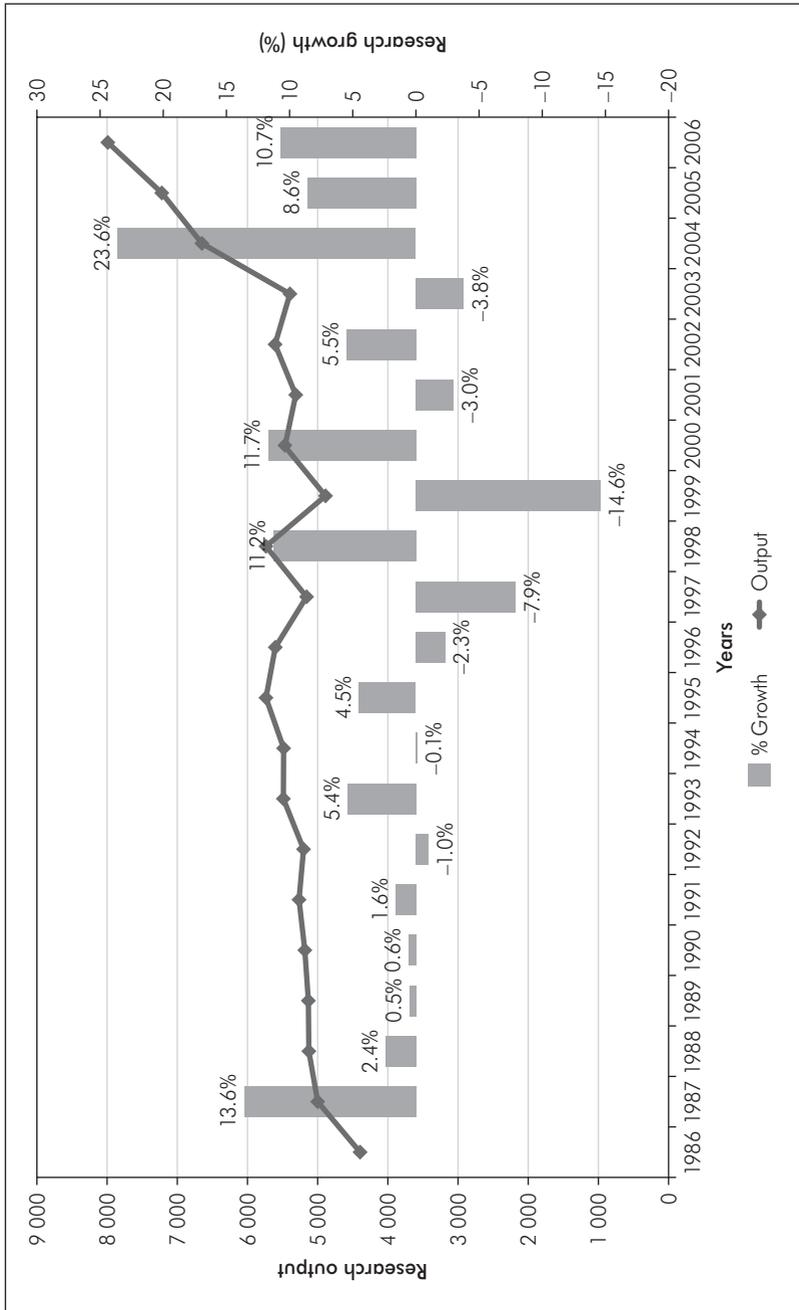
South Africa's recorded knowledge production as measured by the research output proxy has grown steadily from a reported figure of 4 400 in 1986 to 5 600 ten years later. From 2003 the number of research outputs has increased at a rapid rate. This can be seen in figure 2, where the research output increased by 23.6% in 2004, which is the highest percentage growth rate on average. For the period under review, the research output has increased by 14%, which is the annual growth rate between 2003 and 2006. The average is a calculated compounded annual growth rate using the formula below.

$$CAGR (t_0, t_n) = \left(\frac{V(t_n)}{V(t_0)} \right)^{\frac{1}{2n-t_0}} - 1$$

The study acknowledges that, in research, the term “*statistically significant*” refers to an inference where two variables are shown to differ considerably with a *P*-value of, say, <0.05 or 0.001. This article argues that a considerable increase has been registered as a result of the introduction of the NFF in 2001. Therefore, the increase is explained as being “*significant*”, since this study has only concentrated on the annual percentage growth rate of research output (univariate) over a period of time and not on comparing two variables. In other words, the t-test was not conducted in this case, as it was not applicable.

It should be noted that between 1986 and 2003 the research output increased by 1.52% on average, and by 3% between 1986 and 2006. It is also worth noting

Figure 2: Total actual research output of South African HEIs



Source: HEMIS database, Table 2 to Table 6.3, DoE 2008

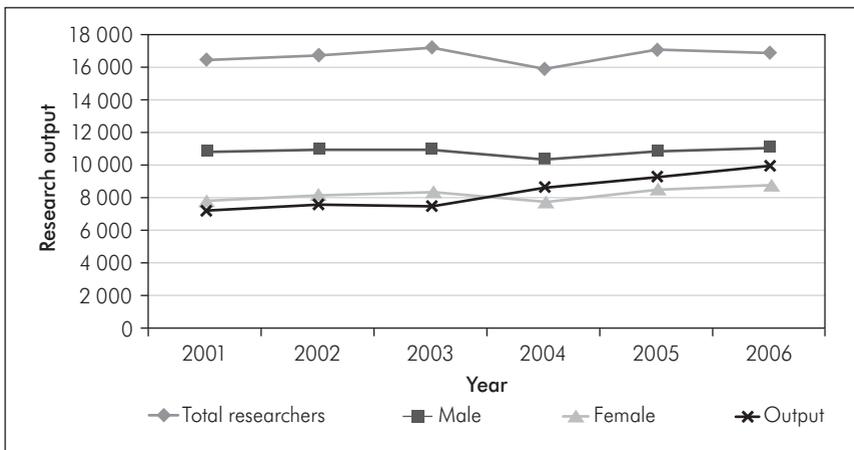
that figure 2 reveals that, for the reporting years of 1997 and 1999, the research output produced registered a sharp decline of -7.9% and -14.6% respectively. For the period under study (2001 to 2006), a sharp increase in research output has been registered, especially between 2003 and 2006 (14% annual growth rate) in comparison with the previous five years before the introduction of the NFF.

A further study conducted by the Council on Higher Education in 2004, using the same data displayed in figure 2, revealed that the HEIs' article output dropped (5 438 publication units in 1995 to 5 311 in 2001) by more than 2% between 1995 and 2001. Other South African authors (Jeenah and Pouris 2008; Madue 2006; Pouris 2006 and 2007; Steyn and De Villiers 2006; Vaughan 2008) have conducted related studies using the same data obtained from the HEMIS database to come to similar conclusions.

This study has also compared the research output trends of 2001 to 2006 against the headcount of instruction/research professionals as illustrated in figure 3 below.

Studies (Habib and Morrow 2006; Kahn and Blankley 2005; Jeenah and Pouris 2008; Madue 2006 and 2007; Pouris 2003, 2005 and 2007) have reported on the scientific production of the HEIs until around 2001. For example, the latest DoE (2004) studies using the 2001 figures found that the New Institutional Landscape, in comparison with the "old" system, does not indicate a serious difference in the number of articles published. This finding is not surprising, since the majority of the researchers who were employed in the South African HEIs before the introduction of the NFF were still active in those institutions for the period under study. Figure 3 shows a fluctuation of researchers employed in the HEIs between the years 2003 and

Figure 3: Headcount of instruction/research professionals and research output 2001–2006



Source: HEMIS Database (2001–2006), Table 3.5 staff members of all HEIs

2006 with a slight decline in 2006, while the research output for the same period has recorded a consistent increase. It is worth noting that, while the male researchers are still dominating the production of research output, female researchers have registered a steady increase from 5 400 in 2004 to 6 200 in 2006.

In table 6.3 of the HEMIS database, the DoE reports that under the old cost-based funding system (1996 to 2001), the research output per staff member improved by 5% while under the current performance-based funding framework (2002 to 2008) the research output per staff member improved by 22%. The DoE explains that one of the factors contributing to the 22% improvement was the increase from 2002 onwards in the rand value per publication unit by a factor of 3. The rand value per publication has increased from R20 000 in 2001 to R95 000 in 2006, while research output units per staff member have escalated from 0.69 (2002) to 0.84 (2008). It is from this perspective that this article argues that the new HEI subsidy formula has a considerable influence on knowledge production of public HEIs in South Africa.

INSTITUTIONAL SUBSIDY ALLOCATIONS AND RESEARCH INCENTIVES

Generally, university funders give universities the flexibility on how to allocate these funds in their respective institutions. However, the management of funds within the HEIs has also become competitive and is based on departmental research assessments (Hazelkom 2009:56). In South Africa, a large portion of the annual subsidy allocation is dedicated to rewarding institutions whose academics publish often and who supervise and promote master's and doctoral students. While the incentive scheme for rewarding meritorious research achievement was in existence before the introduction of the NFF, the scheme has effectively been promoted since the introduction of the NFF in terms of recognition of contributors in published output, master's dissertations and doctoral theses. The rand value of a unit has increased dramatically from just more than R20 000 on top of the blind component before the NFF to about R95 000 in 2006. Every article published in a DoE accredited journal (e.g. the *Journal of Public Administration*), for the 2006 reporting year, has yielded R95 000 for the HEI with which the author is associated. However, the incentives offered to authors vary considerably across all higher education institutions. In order to encourage and sustain knowledge production, institutions use various incentive schemes for publishing academics. For example, the College of Economic and Management Sciences (CEMS) of the University of South Africa annually recognises its outstanding researchers by means of research awards to the maximum of R20 000. In addition, each published article earns the author an amount of R12 000 in research funds.

In 2005, Johnson conducted a survey to form an understanding of how institutions divide output subsidy generated from the DoE through research publications. The results of the survey suggest that at institutions where there is a major drive to increase research output (e.g. North-West University) a larger proportion is allocated to individuals than at “established” research universities like the University of the Witwatersrand and the University of Pretoria. However, all the respondents indicated that in the light of the new subsidy formula, they are considering new incentives to maximize their share of subsidy. Table 2 presents a summary of the incentive schemes of selected South African HEIs.

The incentive schemes offered to researchers in HEIs are not immune to criticism. Vaughan (2008:93) argues that while on the face of it this could be a reasonable strategy to improve research productivity, it does have some serious drawbacks. Firstly, the scheme rewards those who pursue the least publishable unit. That is, researchers are rewarded for short reports of dubious validity and value in low ranking journals. However, it should be noted that such low ranking journals are accredited by the DoE. Secondly, it favours academics whose research field is conducive to multiple annual papers per annum (such as Zoology, Education, Law and Public Administration) versus those who may publish only one or two

Table 2: Incentive schemes for research output

Institution	Incentive scheme
North-West (Potch campus)	R14k in research account of researcher of which R7k may be taken as salary (taxable). A small portion is allocated to faculties. The balance goes to the central budget.
Wits	Until 2002, R5 000 per unit was paid to faculties – since then it became one of three elements used in calculating how 70% of the research budget is allocated to faculties.
UCT	Researchers could qualify for promotion if a certain number of articles were published. There is however no direct reward for individual researchers.
UWC	R3,5k paid to authors.
TUT	70% of unit value to research account of the researcher.
US	Portion to the research account of the researcher and some to the faculty.
Rhodes	Small portion to the research account of the researcher.
NMMU	R3 000 per unit to research account of researcher and over a number of years more funding via a points system.
UP	R12 000 to research account of researcher and R6 000 to faculty.

Source: Johnson 2005

papers per annum (for instance Mathematics and Accounting) or those who publish important policy documents that draw no subsidy at all (for example, public health specialists). Thirdly, there is the distinct possibility that such funds, even when paid into a research fund rather than directly into the individual staff member's personal bank account, may be considered a personal benefit by the South African Revenue Service and would therefore be liable to personal income tax.

In criticising the incentives advocated by the NFF, the OECD (2008:360) postulates that incentives for HEIs to become more efficient through norms for research output and graduation rates, as administered under the NFF, might have the adverse effect of neutralising that intended effect within the sector. This happens because the funds that are not allocated to "under-performing" HEIs that do not meet the set norms will be re-allocated to the very same institutions in the category of "development grants". This may push these institutions to do more, but it does not seem to provide incentives to institutions where more research is done to do even more. Thus, setting higher standards does seem to have the reverse effect to what is intended. Funds are channelled away from the HEIs that produce high standards of output, since they do not qualify for development grants.

DISCUSSION OF THE MAJOR FINDINGS

The processes of policy development and management do not end at the implementation stage of policies. Policy effects need to be assessed to determine whether the policy has achieved its intended goals. Documenting the trends of HEIs' knowledge production in relation to the implementation of the NFF is of fundamental importance, as it relates to the monitoring and evaluation part of the policy process. Key findings from this study are hereby presented for analysis and usage by interested parties, including higher education managers, policy makers and the research community.

The findings of this article strongly indicate that the research subsidy component of the NFF has had positive effects on the South African HEIs' knowledge production. In comparison with its predecessors, when we saw some fluctuations in knowledge production, the implementation of the NFF has resulted in a sharp increase in the research output of HEIs. In figure 2 (Total actual research output of South African HEIs), a sharp increase of 14% annual growth in the research output of the HEIs since 2003 is evidenced. This article has argued that the introduction of the NFF is the most probable cause of the increase in South Africa's HEI research output between the years 2001 and 2006. In other words, the increase in the research output, particularly between 2004 and 2006 can be directly credited to the introduction of the NFF.

Of all the 23 universities, five elite universities continue to be at the forefront of knowledge production in terms of both research output and postgraduate

throughput rates. For example, for the 2006 reporting year, the University of Pretoria accounted for 18% of the total national research output. The trends in research output have revealed a continued predominance of five universities. The research capacity of South African HEIs remains concentrated in the historically white institutions. This explains the continuing dominance of those five universities in the total national research output. Historically disadvantaged institutions (HDIs) are still producing the least in research output when compared with the historically white institutions (HWIs).

The secondary findings suggest that the pressure exerted on academics to publish, that is, the notion of “*publish or perish*”, negatively affects the quality of research outputs. In the opinion of Le Grange (2003:130), the trivial work being published might be the outcome of the pressure to produce sufficiently large numbers of publications to meet the bureaucratic requirements for the procurement of subsidy income from the government or the performance appraisal systems. However, tackling the publication quality discourse requires caution. Madue (2006:79) argues that what is perceived to be trivial by one research community might be perceived to be acceptable research by another. In this sense, the research quality discourse persists and merits further research.

There is still no consensus on what should be considered a standard of quality across all disciplines. For example, in the case of the natural sciences, the then Acting Director of the National Research Foundation, Dr Van Jaarsveld, argues (in Philp 2009:6) that the quality of our research remains high, but that we have been slow in terms of quantity while the rest of the world has been growing in leaps and bounds; we are running, but many other developing countries are running faster.

Again, the incentives offered by HEIs to the outstanding researchers in terms of the numbers of their published (subsidised) research output have some influence on the increase in knowledge production. The incentives are used to encourage the less productive researchers to compete with the productive researchers who tend to be regular recipients of research awards.

Another finding reveals that, with the NFF system, institutions that do not reach their norm will lose money. The money that they lose will go to the institutions that have produced beyond the norm. However, institutions that produce below the norm may focus their energy on applying for the surplus funds instead of concentrating on research output.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this article echoes the words of Dye (1995:312), who states that public policy does not end with the passing of legislation. It culminates in policy implementation, which involves all the activities designed to carry out policies

enacted by legislature. In further examining the policy implementation discourse, Henry (2001:295) explains that implementation is the execution and delivery of public policies by organisations or arrangements among institutions. In terms of implementing higher education funding policies, this study has indicated that governments use, among other approaches, an incremental funding approach or a funding formula approach to determine appropriations for higher education. Therefore, the subject of this article was the current South African higher education funding formula. Although improved accountability is a major driving force behind the implementation of the NFF, there is an even more important reason for it: to help HEIs to improve their knowledge production.

This article concludes that in South Africa, the introduction of the NFF in 2001 has had a positive influence on the knowledge productivity curve of the HEIs, more especially after 2004. This conclusion is based on a comparative analysis of the current subsidy formula and its predecessors, excluding other explanations for the rise in knowledge production since 2004. The behavioural reinforcement theory was adopted since it is viewed as having an influence on the productivity trends of South African public HEIs. While good research infrastructure, such as modern laboratories with up-to-date equipment, computers and library facilities, would, no doubt, facilitate the conduct of research, the strongest driving force in the research enterprise is the researchers. According to Benneh (2003:6), motivated by effective incentives and reward systems, researchers can overcome practical difficulties and carry out research activities using the most primitive equipment to achieve outstanding results, thus increasing the quality and quantity of research output.

Arguably, incentives play a vital role in motivating researchers' productivity. HEIs use university research funds to incentivise productive research and to encourage those who are not so productive. In attempting to contribute towards a significant increase in the number of subsidy-generating research publications, especially articles in journals, this article recommends the introduction of a national incentive scheme. Currently, HEIs use a variety of incentive schemes to reward researchers who publish. However, rewards should be viewed as an incentive to publish more than the benchmark requires.

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Challenges faced by the Amathole District Municipality in implementing LED Policy

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ABSTRACT

The article examines the role of local government in the implementation of Local Economic Development (LED) Policy, focusing on the case of the Amathole District in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa. The article discusses the findings on two of the four main questions of a more comprehensive research study.¹ These two questions relate to challenges faced by Amathole in implementing LED policy and the practical steps Amathole can take to address these challenges. A qualitative research methodology was used to unpack the difficulties faced by Amathole District and its local municipalities in attaining LED policy goals. The article gives some background on the study and explores the policy framework for LED implementation. Interviews with a purposive sample of LED and Integrated Development Plan (IDP) officers in the District's municipalities and agencies, together with documental analysis, were the sources of data used in the study. Based on the interviewees' responses and document analysis, the key challenges to LED policy implementation are discussed. Possible solutions are proposed to the challenges that were identified.

INTRODUCTION

Today, there is a growing realisation both in Public Administration scholarship and in general of the strategic role of local government as a pivotal sphere

of government in South Africa. However, local government has to grapple with many challenges in its attempts to achieve sound, people-led socio-economic development. This article, which is underpinned by a participatory development management approach, examines factors that hinder successful Local Economic Development (LED) policy implementation in the local municipalities of the Amathole District in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa. The article reports on part of a larger study. The article starts with a brief outline of the background to the study, and then discusses the data collection and analysis process, before embarking on the thematic discussion of findings and recommendations emanating from the study.

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

LED is a locality-based response to the challenges of globalisation and devolution, and to local-level opportunities and crises (Nel and Rogerson 2005:1). Macro-economic stability and a favourable national business-enabling environment are both necessary preconditions for successful and sustainable development at a national level, but every country is made up of multiple local and regional economies, each different in its own way, and each needing to be nurtured with a unique set of interventions (Swinburn 2007:2). As Blakely and Leigh (2010:1) observe, whether local entities in a global economy are poor or rich, they all have to face the challenge and the opportunity to shape their own economic destinies. Furthermore, the forces of nature, demography, technology and industry are such that no local economy can be guaranteed of necessarily achieving or maintaining a position of stability and security. Nevertheless, Nel and Rogerson (2007:1) note that despite its numerous limitations and applied difficulties, the principle of LED is firmly established in South Africa's development agenda.

STUDY AREA

The Amathole District falls under the Eastern Cape province of South Africa, which is one of the poorest regions in the country. At the time of the research, the District was composed of eight local municipalities, one of which, Buffalo City, has since become a Metropolitan Municipality. The main economic activity of the sub-region outside East London/King William's Town, the largest urban centre in the District, is agriculture (Buthelezi 2004:7). In the District's *Integrated Development Plan Review 2008–2009* (Amathole District Municipality 2009), statistics show that 70% of the Amathole District Municipality's populace of

about 1.7 million fell below the poverty datum line, with an unemployment rate of 49%. The District accounts for more than a quarter of the province's poverty gap of 26.17% (McCann 2005:8).

Amathole is a Category C2 municipality, which is indicative of its largely rural character and low urbanisation rate, as well as a limited municipal staff and budget capacity. Aside from Buffalo City (which has since been given metropolitan status), the rest of the local municipalities fall between Categories B3 and B4, which are characterised by low economic activity, difficulty in attracting and retaining skilled managers and other human resources, such as technicians (McCann 2005:8). The study argues that despite South Africa's expressed policy to make LED work, the evidence on the ground shows little evidence of any real transformation of people's lives, as high levels of poverty and underdevelopment continue in Amathole.

LEGISLATION AND POLICIES INFORMING LED IN SOUTH AFRICA

The government's position on local development can be traced back to the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) of 1994. The RDP is based on the assumption that, in order to foster the growth of local economies, broadly representative institutions must be established to address LED needs (African National Congress 1994:83). The RDP positions people at the centre of development by stressing the need for opportunities for people to develop themselves to improve their own lives and those of their communities. The critical role of local government in facilitating LED is also enshrined in the South African Constitution (Republic of South Africa, 1996). Section 152 of the Constitution spells out the objectives of local government in promoting participatory social and economic development.

The *White Paper on Local Government* of 1998 (Republic of South Africa 1998) stresses the need for local government to be developmental and to involve communities in its endeavours. The *Local Government: Municipal Systems Act* of 2000 (Republic of South Africa 2000) outlines the importance of drawing up a comprehensive Integrated Development Plan (IDP) to guide the process of a developmental local government. In 2001, the Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG) drew up an LED Paper entitled "Refocusing Development on the poor" (Republic of South Africa, 2001), which sought to give a pro-poor perspective and approach to LED. In 2005, *Policy Guidelines for Implementing LED in South Africa* (Republic of South Africa, 2005) was compiled with the aim of eradicating poverty and promoting economic growth. (A number of other legal and policy documents have been

crafted since 1994 which cannot be fully examined within the scope of this article) A more comprehensive policy, the LED Framework of 2006, called the *National Framework for Local Economic Development in South Africa (2006–2011)* (Republic of South Africa, 2006), is a product of a technical team from the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) and the DPLG. The framework advances the idea that economic decision-making and the implementation of decisions are defined by shared values, norms, beliefs, meanings, rules and procedures of the formal and informal institutions of society (Republic of South Africa 2006:3).

The focus of LED as derived from the policy framework includes

- improving good governance, service delivery, market and public confidence in municipalities;
- spatial development planning, and exploiting the comparative advantage of district municipalities and metros;
- intensifying enterprise support and business infrastructure development in local areas; and
- introducing sustainable community investment programmes focusing on organising communities for development and maximising circulation of public money spent in local economies.

Methodology

The research used a qualitative approach and employed a case study design to address the research problem. The study involved interviewing 21 officials who were purposefully selected on the basis of their direct involvement in the LED implementation process. These included LED officers from the district's eight local municipalities, IDP officials, and the District LED officials, together with the District LED agency representative. In addition to these, two officials were interviewed from a non-governmental organisation working towards community-driven development. To augment the interviews, data were collected by means of an analysis of municipal IDP officials. The main set of data from interviews and the one from document analysis were scrutinised to identify themes and patterns and draw some conclusions from the data.

Key Challenges Facing the District in LED Policy Implementation

The study sought to learn from those that are currently involved in the implementation of LED and to discuss what they regard as the main challenges facing LED policy goals. The results are summarised in Table 1, below. The main themes are then discussed in more detail.

Table 1: Challenges Facing Municipalities in LED Implementation

Challenges	Municipalities affected	Impact on LED Implementation
Absence of LED strategy	Six of the eight municipalities were affected.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of focus or clear vision • Lack of clarity on the role players • Difficulties in soliciting support • Challenges with assessing effectiveness
Reporting structure	Three quarters (75%) of the local municipalities do not report directly to the municipal manager.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • General disinterest by top managers in LED • Lack of prioritisation of LED endeavours by the council • General lack of understanding of LED goals • Poor budget allocation to LED • Lack of synergy with the rest of the municipal activities • Poor working relationship between the LED unit and other units
Capacity: Funding	Seven of the eight municipalities indicated that funding was a challenge.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inadequate resources such as transport to support LED work • Suspension of some projects • Difficulty in filling existing vacancies in LED unit • Delays in honouring funding pledges by sector departments and other funding entities
Capacity: Human resources	The problem affected all the local municipalities.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Implementation of projects suffer • Beneficiaries of LED funding lack necessary skills to achieve expected results • High turnover of staff, affecting continuity
Land ownership	Land ownership was cited as a problem in five of the municipalities visited.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Affects tourism projects • A lot of potential in agriculture-based LED is said to be difficult to tap due to the lack of available land
Dysfunctional Inter-governmental relations (IGR) forum	Seven of the eight local municipalities highlighted this as a challenge.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of synergy in the activities of different role players • Poor coordination • Delay in channelling funds to LED activities • Competition instead of complementary work • Confusion on the roles and expectations • Failure to respond in time or to observe time factor in implementation of work, affecting other entities

Challenges	Municipalities affected	Impact on LED Implementation
Poverty and inequality	This problem was raised in four of the municipalities interviewed.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High levels of inequality affect effective engagement among LED participants • Low levels of literacy, affecting business development • Lack of awareness of available support for LED in some sections of the communities
Poor Research and Development arm	Seven of the eight municipalities experienced this problem.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Absence of LED research to learn from best practice elsewhere • Doing things the same way with less results • Unavailability of monitoring and evaluation mechanisms
Climate change/global warming	Three municipalities raised this as a challenge.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Affecting rainfall patterns cause droughts • Reduction in agricultural produce • Suspension of some agricultural projects • More money needed to pursue other alternatives such as permaculture
Difficulties with impact assessment	Four municipalities identified this as a challenge.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Difficult to assess progress • Evaluating success is difficult without clear measurements

Absence of LED Strategy

The interviewees indicated that they understood the policy goals of LED. However, the absence of a local municipality LED strategy undermined the achievement of these goals.

Reporting Structure

The study found that the reporting structure in the municipality hampered the progress of LED. This made LED the sole responsibility of the LED unit, which (in most cases) does not report directly to the municipal manager. The challenge that this poses for the implementation came in the form of a lack of cooperation from some sections of the municipality, who either attach less value to the whole subject or are not quite conversant with how the process is supposed to work. One respondent stated: *“LED should be reporting directly to the municipal manager but here the unit is clubbed with other corporate services units and the corporate services manager’s attention is divided into so many issues.”* It emerged from the interviews that in areas where LED was directly represented in the top management of the municipality, its implementation was taken seriously too. Respondents pointed out the general misunderstanding of LED by top management, which often boiled down to lack of interest on the

subject. The findings also pointed to a poor working relationship between the LED unit and the rest of the functionaries or most of the other functionaries within the municipality.

Capacity: Funding and Human Resources

An organogram was compiled. It showed that related challenges are further worsened by the inadequate staffing of the LED unit. Minimal support from other departments and sections of municipality means that the LED unit finds itself operating more as a driver than as a facilitator of LED implementation, further hampering effective progress. The challenge of the absence of a reporting structure manifests again in the lack of prioritisation of LED to such an extent that in one of the municipalities, the LED unit is staffed by one person.

The lack of human resources evidenced by vacant posts was partly due to low employee morale within these units and among local government personnel in general. This low motivation seemed to coincide with unsupportive structures, particularly the lack of adequate attention from leadership. The respondents suggested that the low motivation translated into high turnover. This study found that most of the demotivation articulated by the participants was the result of an excessive work load and feeling that the work they are doing is not important. One interviewee commented: *“As you can see how many people have knocked on my door and calls coming since you came, how can there be effectiveness when one person is expected to attend meetings and be in the office at the same time?”*

This assessment concurs with the argument of Sherman and Smith (1984:878), who theorise that it is a general perception of constraints can cause decreased feelings of self-determination and result in reduced intrinsic motivation. Their study suggests that the structural characteristics of an organisation may have a very strong negative impact on levels of intrinsic motivation. It emerged from the findings of the current study that in some local municipalities the leadership was not willing to support LED. The lack of human resources allocated to LED is just one of the ways in which this lack of support manifests. This in turn frustrates the few employees who are available and end up doing more than their fair share of work.

Another matter related to the question of human resources inadequacy is insufficient funding. It emerged that in some municipalities, it was not necessarily the issue of a lack of prioritisation of LED that caused staff shortages, but a lack of funds. This was the case with other sections in the local government as well, where some posts remained vacant due to inadequate resources. The generally poor attention paid to the unit meant low budget allocations – one of the interviewees lamented: *“...the council does not seem to put much importance to this unit, the budget allocation for this unit is only*

1.2% of the municipality's budget. There is a general lack of interest on LED by the top leadership."

Evidence of unfilled posts, the lack of available funds to develop strategies, the lack of essential equipment for LED facilitation and many other challenges were directly or indirectly affected by funding. The findings indicated that even when commitments for payment for LED work were made (for example, the payment of salaries for additional staff), it took time for these funds to be received. These findings concur with those of Xuza (2007:120), who observes that LED funding sources are not scarce, but that the problem arises with the structuring of such funding.

The problem of funding in the Amathole District took forms other than just the question of availability – often problems boil down to a question of organisational processes and how the work of various players can be synchronised into one focal point. From the policy articulations, the local municipality is positioned as the sphere through which LED finds expression, and thus resources meant for LED should flow smoothly to this sphere of government.

Land Ownership

The respondents' views and the analysis of IDP documents indicated that most of the District's LED potential lies in agriculture and tourism. With regard to tourism, the findings revealed that some projected tourist trails pass through designated land, which therefore affects the implementation of potential projects. The respondents believed that the economic potential of LED initiatives in agriculture and tourism is hampered by the problem of land ownership. Large pieces of land are privately owned, preventing local municipalities from fully exploring the tourism and agricultural opportunities available.

It emerged from the interviews that the issue of land ownership remains unaddressed and that the socio-economic status of the population at present, in terms of race, has not changed much since the apartheid era. The black poor are perpetually landless, while vast tracts of land are owned by white farmers. Efforts to address this issue do not seem to be implemented quickly enough to reduce this inequality. This finding endorses Hendricks's (2010:1) claim that the main problem facing South Africa today is the problem of black poverty.

Hendricks (2010:1) argues that essentially there has not been much change in the socio-economic status of the different races in South Africa as a whole. Instead, there have only been a few whites who joined the poor blacks and few blacks who have ascended to the middle class. South Africa is held to be the most unequal country in the world – Buffalo City, in the district under review, is one of the most unequal cities in the world with a Gini- coefficient of 0.7 (UN-HABITAT 2010:n.p.). The same UN-HABITAT report indicates that the world's top three unequal cities in the world, namely Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni

and Buffalo City, are all in South Africa. However, the problem of reducing inequality may not be a *sine qua non* for eradicating poverty and promoting LED, given that the same report indicates that the world's most equal cities, Chittagong and Dhaka in Bangladesh, are also blighted by poverty.

While achieving high levels of equality may not necessarily eradicate poverty, addressing this issue does create a relationship of trust amongst different groups, which is an essential ingredient of the kind of social capital that LED requires to thrive. According to Eglin (2010:8), there are a lot of benefits that arise from achieving an equal society, including less crime, better health, less obesity and high life expectancy. Of interest to this study is the observation that in more equal societies there is greater community cohesiveness and people trust each other more.

The findings of this study indicated that in some local municipalities, LED and business forums failed due to mistrust in the communities, and inequalities. The difference between the privileged and the less fortunate made working together difficult if not impossible. Unfortunately, the divide between the groups was also along racial lines. This confirmed observations by Hendricks (2010:11) that the social stratification in 2010 was not so very different from what it was 16 years ago, and actually things seemed to be getting worse for the poor. The question of land ownership is one of the key causes of this form of inequality, and poverty that is stifling development efforts at the local level.

Hendricks (2010:12) argues that behind the problem of inequality are government policies that make efforts to redistribution difficult, suggesting that one of the problems of democracy is how to deal with the paradox between formal equality before the law, which most democracies invariably maintain on the one hand, and material inequality on the other hand, which democracies invariably maintain through the protection of private property.

The report on the South African government's position on land published in the *Mail & Guardian* (2009) of 10 November 2009 is in line with Hendricks's claims. The report presents Minister Gugile Nkwinti's stance that the government will not abandon its aim of transferring 30% of land to black owners by 2014. The Minister pointed out that failure to redistribute land posed a risk of Zimbabwe-style polarisation. The failure to meet deadlines, amongst other things, was a result of constitutional concerns pertaining to the issue of ownership. An expropriation Bill was being worked out after being withdrawn due to constitutional concerns. This Bill is meant to facilitate the seizure of land from white farmers who are unwilling to sell.

The extension of the time frame for the redistribution or transfer of 30% of land from the white farmers to black owners from the previous 2014 target to 2025, with all the financial justifications, seems to indicate that the government is overlooking the urgency of the matter. The fact that by 2009 the government

had only managed to redistribute 5% poses a real threat as the landless majority may lose patience with the government processes and push for the much-dreaded and unwanted Zimbabwe-style of fast-track reform. This study argues that the local government's role in achieving developmental objectives that are supportive of both growth and redistribution cannot be fully realised without addressing the main roots of poverty and inequality.

According to McCann (2005:2), much of the first decade of democracy in South Africa was spent in defining a modern macro-economic growth strategy. It is within the context of the macro-economic strength that has already been achieved that the government is looking to LED to convert increasing economic competitiveness into opportunities that can be exploited, particularly by previously disadvantaged South Africans, to reduce poverty and increase household income. Unfortunately, the so-called economic strength and stability have not made much difference to the poor majority and the manner and the rate at which LED is being implemented cannot guarantee any change to the *status quo* in the foreseeable future. Hence, in this study it is argued that much cannot be achieved through LED without addressing the key policy issues that maintain huge inequalities within the country.

Areas of concern in promoting LED implementation are the speed with which the questions of land ownership and skills are being addressed. There is no doubt that the land ownership issue has to be addressed with urgency, as it affects not only LED implementation but also the whole notion of decent life, which is a constitutional right. The land question affects opportunities for agriculture, especially for the rural populace, and housing for the urban poor.

While land allocation and ownership is a problem, another dilemma for the District on which the case study focused is the question of skills. It is the position of this article that even if land can be redistributed, doing so may not serve much purpose unless the skills problem is addressed concurrently. Action in the direction of redistribution of land should be accompanied by a massive government programmes to equip the intended beneficiaries or participants with relevant skills, otherwise, instead of ameliorating the challenges currently experienced, land redistribution may exacerbate them. Besides skills, funding has to be accessible to the beneficiaries to ensure that the kind of agricultural practices adopted on the acquired land involves more than just subsistence farming.

The government's efforts at fighting the emergence of the second economy have suffered a severe setback due to skills shortages. In a media briefing to ASGISA on 6 February 2006, the then Deputy President Phumzile Mlambo Ngcuka (2006:n.p.) pointed out that without interventions directly aimed at reducing South Africa's historical inequalities, growth is unsustainable. The mechanisms highlighted to deal with inequality include increasing

levels of public expenditure, developing small businesses and broad-based empowerment. Broad-based empowerment includes issues such as access to finance and preferential procurement. The respondents in the case study reported here indicated that preferential procurement was set back by the poor skill levels of most small black-owned businesses. It emerged that these businesses, more often than not, fail to meet the criteria regarding acceptable skills levels to benefit from the business opportunities meant for them.

Climate Change/Global Warming and Lack of Targeted Research

The agricultural LED potential is also being thwarted by changes in climatic conditions. Respondents observed that a reduction in rainfall in recent years is affecting agricultural activities, and requires that alternative measures to farming be sought. Interviewees pointed out that there is a need for a research arm attached to LED that will assist in coming up with innovative ways of exploring available potential.

Lack of Coordination

Respondents voiced strong concern about the lack of coordination between role players. In respect of funding, it emerged that following the channels for accessing LED funding required a lot of effort, aside from problems relating to the local government's budget allocation. Central to this challenge was the absence of a working relationship between the funders and implementers. It emerged that, in some cases, a project could be approved for funding, but getting the finances to the intended beneficiaries took a long time. This has resulted in a situation where some LED units feel that there is simply not enough funding for LED. While this might be true, the extent of the problem is exacerbated by a lack of coordination. Findings indicate that at times different players operate in the same localities, all contributing to LED implementation, but without any coordination between their activities. There is some duplication of roles and the implementation of LED programmes has become more costly than it would otherwise have been. Moreover, entities that should be operating as partners seem to be functioning as competitors, hampering the speedy implementation of LED work.

It also emerged that there is little interaction between local government and sector departments in respect of LED. This was evidenced by respondents' indication that there were cases of uncertainty as to which department had to be approached for a particular LED proposal. The issue of human resources incapacity was also raised with regard to the failure of some sector departments to attend planning meetings at the local level. It was, however, positive to learn from the respondents that an effort was being made to bring different parties to a working arrangement with the help of the Premier's office.

Practical Ways to Enhance LED in the Amathole District

In line with qualitative research, the respondents' views on how LED policy implementation could be enhanced were invited. The philosophy behind this approach is the argument that the people on the ground are in a better position to say what can or cannot work in their particular context. The work experience of the respondents was seen as the key to any effort towards better policy implementation in LED.

Funding

Respondents indicated that since lack of funding was one of the hindrances to effective LED policy implementation, the government needed to channel more funds to this cause. The findings indicated a general feeling that the municipality budget allocations for LED were quite minimal and thus inadequate. The respondents felt that the importance of LED should also translate to funding if implementation is to be successful.

It emerged from the interviews that there was a need for a simpler way for intended beneficiaries to access LED funds. It was suggested that funds be channelled directly to local government, where implementation takes place. The respondents suggested that the problem of accessibility of LED funding opportunities could be reduced by providing information centres.

Case studies of some small localities in the Philippines conducted by Cahill in 2005 indicate the need for local communities to be proactive in funding LED initiatives, and to start with what they have. Advocating the Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD) approach to LED, Cahill (2005:1) states that there is a need for local governments to maximise the use of available resources and skills to reduce dependence on external funding. Cahill used the instructive case of Jagna Bohol to drive home the need for local government to explore local potential. The local town is said to have a population of about 30 000 – almost the same population as the least populated municipality in the Amathole District. Jagna Bohol was overlooked and hence excluded from involvement in any large-scale development plans by the provincial government or by large financial investors in that region of the Philippines. Furthermore, it is not wealthy, although it has some basic infrastructure such as roads and electricity. The main lesson drawn from the Asian case study of Jagna Bohol in the Philippines is that the key to the successful implementation of LED is the ability to tap local resources and forge partnerships between various entities in an area. Despite a lack of external investment and support, the local municipality worked with communities – from doing feasibility studies to drawing up plans and implementing them. The challenge of funding was eased by the formation of partnerships. The Jagna Community Partnering Project (JCPP) was formed to

promote the use of locally available resources; project partners included the Australian National University (ANU), the local municipality, a non-governmental organisation and the community (Cahill 2005:8).

The LED projects pursued in Jagna Bohol were a range of informal economic practices, with agriculture as the dominant industry. Cahill (2005:8), basing her argument on the case presented, maintains that it was the failure of past and present development practitioners to recognise the complexity of the community economy (because of their focus on a capitalist economy) that has made many development initiatives ultimately unsustainable. The central argument from the Philippine experience is that effective LED should not depend on external resources and formal and prescribed interventions, but should start with what the community has and forge partnerships with local and external partners. The diverse economies approach which informed the LED strategy in Jagna Bohol involves a shift away from capitalist approaches (Cahill 2005:6).

An important aspect of the respondents' possible solution to the issue of funding was the centrality of the local government in harnessing resources. While Cahill's emphasis on the Asset Based Community Development approach to development does imply a contribution to the improvement of livelihoods, the historical background of the socio-economic challenges facing LED implementation in South Africa requires different approaches. The need for community agency is unquestionable. However, this should see the government putting in place meaningful weight in terms of funding and policy interventions to undo the effects of the systematic impoverishment of the past.

The challenge in implementing an Asset Based Community Development approach such as that advocated by Cahill (2005) and a Diverse Economies approach to LED implementation is the general impact of the community development projects that are embarked on. As the Asian case study shows, the intended outcome of such interventions is the attainment of a living wage. Participants can only produce for subsistence purposes. However, the position of the current study with regard to the approaches as derived from the participants' responses is that there is a vast need for the central government to invest in LED implementation. Funds should be made available to pursue LED. As the respondents observed, when LED is prioritised, this will also eventually yield better revenue to the local municipality and will in turn result in improved provision of services.

Addressing the land challenge

Respondents expressed their opinion that the question of ownership of land needs to be addressed with more urgency than it is being addressed at the moment. Suggestions for a faster method than the one being pursued by the department of land were raised. The Constitution (chapter 2 section 25(5)) states: "... the state

must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to foster conditions which enable citizens to gain access to land in an equitable basis". In line with this provision, respondents felt the State was depriving the poor majority of the right to attain land by being slack in its pursuit of this goal.

Institutional Challenges

The interviewees were adamant about the need to revise the reporting structure in the local government to allow proper coordination of LED. A proposed structure that places an LED unit head in the section 57 level of managers (Republic of South Africa, 2000) will help the LED units to get the attention they deserve. Making an LED manager directly accountable to the Municipal Manager will help relieve other factors plaguing LED policy implementation, such as the problem of the small percentage of the budget allocated to LED work. The presence of an LED manager in the top brass of the municipal administration will influence decisions promoting the prioritisation of LED. The performance agreement which such managers have to complete as required by the *Local Government: Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000* (Republic of South Africa, 2000) will ensure that mechanisms for LED evaluation are put in place. The requirement by section 57(4) of the Act states that the performance agreement that the manager enters into should specify the performance objectives and targets to be met, standards and procedures for evaluating performance.

It is the position of this study that making an LED manager directly accountable to the municipal manager will help to make a particular person responsible and accountable for the success and failure of LED implementation. It would be much easier for someone speaking on the same level with counterparts from other divisions to help them understand the need for a collective effort in the pursuit of LED. The lack of leadership will be addressed by restructuring the organogram of the municipality.

The lack of strategy could be solved by getting the leadership behind the whole process. The respondents believed that repositioning the LED leadership within the municipal structure will go a long way toward revitalising the LED units, and this would be strengthened, with more instrumental improvements, such as enhancing the unit with a research and development arm. With regard to improving internal systems, the findings indicated that there was a need to improve employment terms within the unit and the municipality as a whole to reduce high turnover.

Enhancing Inter-Governmental Relations

The interviewees were unanimous in pointing out that there was a need for a working policy framework. It was suggested that the IGR policy should be made enforceable by setting out penalties for non-compliance with the policy.

However, it is the observation of this study that perhaps setting up penalties will not result in better implementation, but may lead only to simple adherence to the law in principle, not in substance. Findings indicated that some departments did not necessarily excuse or simply absent themselves from IGR meetings, but sent junior representatives who could not make decisions instead. It was suggested that the Premier's office can help to bring the different entities together for successful LED implementation. Another suggestion was the need to reinforce mechanisms for engagement, where there is constant communication with relevant sectors on the implementation of projects and programmes. However, for a number of local municipalities, this suggestion could be more practical if other internal incapacities are addressed.

Addressing the Skills Challenge

The challenge with skills enhancement is that skills development programmes are sometimes implemented independently, without supporting mechanisms. In some local municipalities, youths were and are being trained in some field, but there is no appropriate exit strategy for those who have been trained. Youths were trained in agricultural skills through AgriSETA, but after the training, many are still unemployed and cannot use the skills they have acquired to earn a living. The study thus found that training should not be an end in itself, but a means to access opportunities. Skills development interventions should be designed to focus on the needs of the economy and should create mechanisms to accommodate the trainees.

Interventions on skills development implemented jointly with LED initiatives are recommended. This kind of skills and knowledge transfer is direct, because communities then learn as they work on their projects with expert guidance. Such interventions are also easier to monitor and evaluation of ongoing human resources development is possible. The skills development work being carried out by the Development Bank of Southern Africa in some of the local municipalities is a step in the right direction for LED – through skills development, small local enterprises' functionalities are enhanced and they stand a better chance of seizing local opportunities.

CONCLUSION

The results of the study indicate that there is a participatory approach in the implementation of LED in the Amathole District. Officials have indicated their commitment to people-driven local development. The discussion above shows that, while there is commitment to participation, community development is still constrained by high levels of poverty and a lack of skills.

The discussion results show that while, in terms of policies, LED is a priority function of the municipality, the practice does not reflect this policy. The challenges facing LED are both internal and external – weak internal systems in municipalities, land ownership, limited funding, poor intergovernmental relations, and skills shortages have been identified as some of the main challenges. The action recommended includes strengthening municipal internal systems by strategically positioning LED leadership, strengthening the IGR policy, prioritising the land question, injecting more funds into LED and vigorous skills development.

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The role of Civil Society Organisations in the policy-making process in Mozambique

Case study of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper

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ABSTRACT

Public policy is a plan of action developed by the government to address the needs and problems faced by a specific society. Policies are formulated in an environment characterised by complex political, social, economic, cultural, and technological factors that influence those policy outcomes. Consequently, sustainable policies cannot be formulated exclusively by the government: All the parties that will be affected by the specific policy should be in one way or another involved in its formulation and implementation. Public participation in policy-making is therefore an essential aspect of democratic public management and governance and for enhancing community development. Civil society organisations are important vehicles through which citizens can participate in the policy-making process thus promoting accountability, transparency and eventually good governance. This article examines the role that Mozambican civil society organisations (CSOs) played in the Mozambican policy-making process to influence the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper – PRSP (2001–2005). The article argues that even though CSOs were consulted by the Mozambican government, their inputs were not always regarded seriously. This may be attributed

to the fact that CSOs were not formally organised at the time the PRSP (2001–2005) was drafted, or due to the fact that the government lacked the determination to foster public participation. It is clear that the culture of CSO participation in Mozambican policy processes needs to be developed more intensively, both inside government institutions and within society itself.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this article is to determine to what extent CSOs in Mozambique influenced the policy making process of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) 2001–2005, as well as to assess the limitations and challenges CSOs faced in this process. The study was undertaken across a broad range of civic associations which presented common characteristics in that most of their functions are directed towards poverty alleviation aspects such as alleviation of hunger; reduction of HIV/AIDS infections, empowerment of communities – youth, women and most disadvantaged groups; promotion of public participation in policy-making and implementation; promotion of quality education and health services. Factors such as time, money, location and access to subjects were taken into account during the case study selection process. The research methodology is qualitative in nature and multiple sources of information have been used. It is based on an analysis of both primary and secondary sources which cover a wide spectrum of themes, including published core literature on the topic, theories and approaches of policy-making, CSOs' participation in the PRSP/PARPA (2001–2005) process, the relevant legislation, regulations, official documents, policy documents, newspapers, journal articles and internet websites. The literature analysis was supplemented by open-ended questions during interviews with a variety of respondents from CSOs and government.

The concept of civil society includes a range of interest groups that could consist of ratepayers or civic associations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), community-based organisations (CBOs), farmers, or specialist groups formed for a specific purpose (Craythorne 2003). One of the main features of policy-making is that it must reflect the needs and sentiments of the people for whom it is intended (Swanepoel 2000:87). Political participation can provide the mechanism by which citizens can communicate their interests, preferences and needs, putting pressure on government to respond to these (Burde 2004:3). Thus, in order for the government to formulate policies which are appropriate for sustainable development, the involvement of CSOs is vital given that they

work to foster development. However, the involvement of CSOs in the policy-making process depends on the governmental policy-making system in a specific country. For instance, democratic countries pursue public participation while authoritarian countries are perceived to be against the participation of interest groups in the policy making process thus increasing social exclusion from political decisions. As a democratic country, Mozambique, is supposed to pursue civil society participation in its policy-making processes. Giddens (1986:7) states that democracy exists “where the citizens are regularly informed of the activities of the state, and the latter in turn is aware of the sentiments and wishes of all sectors of the population”.

Public participation is therefore one of the prerequisites for the formulation of the PRSP as a government policy in Mozambique. The problem is that this does not seem to have happened. This article assesses the role that CSOs are supposed to play in public policy-making processes in Mozambique, and also the challenges and limitations faced by these organisations during the formulation of the PRSP (2001–2005). It concludes by presenting a few recommendations on how the role of CSOs can be improved in future policy consultation processes in Mozambique.

POLICY, PUBLIC POLICY AND THE POLICY-MAKING PROCESS

According to Van der Waldt (2002:208), policy is seen as a series of related decisions taken after liaison with public managers and political office-bearers that convert the specific needs of the community into objectives to be pursued by public institutions. For the purposes of this article policy will be defined as a plan of action adopted by the government to address a problem, or to create better living conditions for citizens. Nonetheless, various other definitions of public policy exist, such as:

- “a government’s programme of action to give effect to selected normative and empirical goals in order to address perceived problems and needs in its society in a specific way, and therefore achieve desired changes in that community” (Cloete and Rabie 2008:56);
- “a relatively stable, purposive course of action followed by an actor or a set of actors in dealing with a problem or a matter of concern” (Anderson 1997:9);
- “whatever governments choose to do or not to do ...” (Dye 1978:3); and
- “a desired course of action and interaction which is to serve as a guideline in the allocation of resources necessary to realise societal goals and objectives, decided upon and made publicly known by the legislator” (Hanekom 1991:8).

Given that there is no universally accepted definition of public policy, the following characteristics of a policy can be used to clarify the meaning of the concept of public policy:

- Policy involves a series of decisions (Hogwood and Gunn 1984:19).
- Policy involves behaviour as well as intentions (Hogwood and Gunn 1984:21).
- Policy involves that which is actually done by the government and relates to particular issues (Anderson 1997:11).
- Policy may have predictable as well as unpredictable outcomes (Hogwood and Gunn 1984:21).
- Policy is a relatively stable purposive course of action (Anderson 1997:9).

Thus, public policy is the product of the policy-making process (Masango 2001:59). Policy-making is a comprehensive process involving several participants, such as legislatures, public officials, political parties, interest groups and individual citizens (Anderson 1997:60). The policy-making process aims at the development of policies which have as an overall objective the improvement of the quality of life of the society. This process occurs in an environment characterised by various social, economic and cultural factors that will influence the different decisions that are taken. An understanding of the policy-making process can be enhanced by identifying and analysing its phases. According to Van der Waldt and Du Toit (2002:278), the policy-making process is constituted of five phases, which are as follows:

- **Phase 1 – Agenda formulation**

In this phase the problem is defined. Relevant information is used to structure the problem, which will help to make assumptions, diagnoses of the problem and new policy alternatives possible and can reconcile conflicting viewpoints (Van der Waldt and Du Toit 2002:278). In this phase public opinion should be taken into account, and for this to happen, members of the public should be given the opportunity to participate in the deliberations on policy proposals or options.

- **Phase 2 – Policy formulation**

Here forecasts are made to consider the estimated impact, advantages and costs of the policy alternatives. In this phase, the community can help the government by assisting it in choosing alternatives since they have a better understanding of the aspects that succeed or do not succeed in their area of living (Van der Waldt and Du Toit 2002:278).

- **Phase 3 – Policy adoption**

A specific alternative is selected as the most desirable one. Recommendations can be made on the risks and uncertainties of the choice and steps to overcome them (Van der Waldt and Du Toit 2002:278).

- **Phase 4 – Policy implementation**

The actual delivery of goods and services is undertaken. In this phase of the policy-making process activities are performed in order to achieve policy

goals, thus resolving problems within the society (Van der Waldt and Du Toit 2002:278).

- **Phase 5 – Policy evaluation**

Policy evaluation enables policy-makers to determine the extent of deviations between the expected and actual outcomes of policy (Van der Waldt and Du Toit 2002:278).

On the other hand, Dubnick and Romzec in Cloete and Meyer (2006:106) have identified a more detailed policy-making process, which includes the following stages:

Table 1: The policy making process

Problem Identification
Problem articulation
Agenda-setting
Policy formulation
Policy legitimisation
Programme design and development
Programme implementation
Programme evaluation
Policy reassessment
Policy change

Source: Dubnick and Romzec in Cloete and Meyer (2006:106)

CONCEPTUALISING CIVIL SOCIETY

A review of the literature on civil society shows that the term has its origins in the notion of civilisation itself, and reflects a desire to “make the world as it ought to be” (Bauman 1985:7). In general, civil society symbolises the presence of a collection of intermediary groupings operating in the social and political space between the primary units of society (individuals, nuclear and extended families, clans, ethnic groups and village units), on the one hand, and the government and

its agencies, on the other hand (Heckroodt, Van Wyk and Lemmer 2005:204). According to Schmitter (1997:240) civil society can be defined as a set or system of self-organised intermediary groups that: (1) are relatively independent of both public authorities and private units of production and reproduction, that is of firms and families; (2) are capable of deliberating about and taking collective actions in defence or promotion of their interests or passions; (3) do not seek to replace either state agents or private reproducers or to accept responsibility for governing the polity as a whole; and (4) agree to act within pre-established rules of a “civil” nature, that is, conveying mutual respect.

According to Bratton (1994:52), the development of the concept of civil society evolved into three main academic directions: the Marxist approach, the neo-liberal approach, and the Habermasian approach. Marx’s view of a social system is based on the dichotomy of the state and the market (Mukamunana and Brynard 2005:666). Bratton (1994:54) concludes that “Marx saw civil society as the historical product of evolution of property relations under capitalism”. Civil society is portrayed as an economic sphere bounded by historical and material conditions and characterised by the domination of the *bourgeoisie*, where economic activities to pursue individuals’ self-interest occurred (Bratton 1994:55). This view is incompatible with multi-party democracy.

In the neo-liberal approach, voluntary associations are necessary for successful alternatives for common good problems and curbing unbridled political power (Mukamunana and Brynard 2005:667). The Habermasian tradition argues that civil society indicates an arena of association where emphasis is put on choosing those with whom one wants to associate and choosing the terms on which associations are formed (Mukamunana and Brynard 2005:667). Mukamunana and Brynard (2005:667) define civil society as the sphere in which social movements become organised; the organisations of civil society, which represent base, constituency, thematic orientations, and types of activities include *inter alia*, church-related groups, trade unions, cooperatives, community-based organisations, youth groups, women’s associations and academic institutions. These different ideological perspectives therefore emphasise different facets of the institution of civil society. The latter two are more compatible with a democratic society than the Marxist perspective.

CSOs channel people's participation into economic and social activities and organise them into more powerful groups to influence public policies and gain access to public resources, especially for the poor (United Nations Development Program – UNDP 1994). Civil society is thus more than just society. It is the part of society that unites ordinary individuals with the state – it is the political face of society (UNDP 1994). In the last decade, the world has witnessed a significant upsurge of organised private, non-profit activity in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America (Salamon and Anheier 1997). Regardless of their growing

importance, CSOs in the developing world remain only partially understood – even basic descriptive information about these institutions – their number, size, area of activity, sources of revenue and the policy framework within which they operate – is barely available in any organised manner (Salamon and Anheier 1997). This situation can be attributed to the history of authoritarian rule that predominated in developing countries for decades in this way avoiding civil society empowerment. Nevertheless, as providers of relief and promoters of human rights, civil society organisations are now increasingly viewed as critical contributors to economic growth and civic and social infrastructure essential for a minimum quality of life for the people (Salamon and Anheier 1997).

ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS

Civil society organisations are becoming more and more important as they contribute to more democracy, transparency and accountability within governments. However, as already mentioned, the role of CSOs depends mostly on the political context of a specific country. “Civil society in a democratic government, is a channel through which citizens participate in making and implementing public decisions; in identifying: prioritising and resolving public problems, and in allocating and managing public resources” (Mukamunana and Brynard 2005:667). In non-democratic states, the civil society sector plays a significant role in lobbying and pressuring government for democratising politics and to complement policy changes (Bratton 1994). Many CSOs directly influence the implementation of policy, being the primary agents responsible for instituting a policy shift and making it a reality ‘on the ground’ (Pollard and Court 2005). CSOs can influence the policy implementation phase by:

- **Providing services:** Providing services is one of the most prevalent and also the most controversial part of the sector’s work. CSOs are often appropriately positioned to provide key services like health and education and replace the State – particularly where states are weak and where CSOs have rooted relationships at community level. If the capability of CSOs in service provision was properly invested on, it could improve the value of other CSOs work and the effectiveness of policy implementation (Pollard and Court 2005).
- **Providing technical assistance:** Various CSOs do not play a practical part in implementing policy themselves, but do offer technical advice and expertise on how it might be better implemented. Think tanks have become a growing part of this sector, frequently acting as a bridge between those with practical experience of implementation and those with responsibility for policy-making. Those contributing to implementation through technical

assistance must be as skilful in using their knowledge in an appropriate way that will yield proper results. To ensure that technical understanding does not dominate the knowledge of others, they must foster a 'learning approach', and be able to translate their expertise into practical as well as clear forms. These skills may help CSOs involved with technical assistance to negotiate delicate dealings in their work (Pollard and Court 2005).

- **Independent action:** Some CSOs have avoided all these problems by simply getting on with the job of changing their communities and paying no attention to whether this is recognised in 'official' policy spheres. This has been far more successful than demand-led social movements, which have been dogged by clientelism and hierarchy (Pollard and Court 2005).

On the other hand, Najam (1999) identifies five roles which a CSO can take up, defined by its activities: **Monitor:** with the function of keeping policy 'honest'; **Advocate:** lobbying directly for the policy options they prefer or against those they oppose; **Innovator:** developing and demonstrating ways of doing things differently and highlighting the policy value of being missed by options that are not adopted or considered; **Service provider:** directly acting to fulfil a service need, especially to the marginalised and underserved; **Capacity builder:** providing support to communities or other CSOs.

These roles can be played during four different components of the policy process: in the agenda-setting, policy development, implementation, or monitoring and evaluation phase (Najam 1999). CSOs can influence policy monitoring and evaluation by promoting information availability and transparency. CSOs have a key role in making information on policy publicly available and in an accessible format (Pollard and Court 2005). One of the roles of CSOs in policy-making is also to limit the power of and to exercise democratic control over the state. CSOs create confidence in and promote the legitimacy of public life and political institutions. In various instances, CSOs have served as privately supported service providers to fulfil demands for public goods left unmet by the government, as partners with government in public service provision, and as advocates and opponents to push government to make changes in public policy and to maintain accountability to the public.

According to Naidoo and Tandon (1999:195) civil society in a democracy has both demand and supply side governance roles. On the demand side, civil society assists the State's use of power and widens citizen participation in public policy-making. On the supply side, civil society shares the function of implementing public policy with state institutions (co-production and management of public goods and services) and undertakes this function outside of but with the permission of state institutions (self-governance). Like private enterprises, CSOs need adequate capacities to fulfil their potential. They also need an enabling

environment, including a legislative and regulatory framework that guarantees the right of association, incentives to facilitate support and ways for CSOs to be involved in public policy-making and implementation (UNDP 1994).

CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS IN MOZAMBIQUE

The following section will be constituted of an overview of the historical development of Mozambican CSOs and also a discussion of the PRSP (2001–2005) formulation process and CSOs participation.

Historical background of CSOs in Mozambique

According to Bellucci (2002:13) after fifteen years of civil war, during which time international aid donors supplied humanitarian, financial and food aid to the country, a peace agreement was finally signed in Rome in 1992 between FRELIMO (*Frente de Libertacao Mocambicana*, representing the official government) and RENAMO (*Resistencia Nacional Mocambicana*, representing the rebel forces). After the death of President Samora Machel, former Prime Minister Joaquim Chissano became president in 1987. His government requested and obtained the first IMF loan that was given on the condition that the country would introduce extensive structural reform. For this reason, the FRELIMO-led government introduced a multi-party system in the 1990 Constitution, reflecting the abandonment of several socialist views.

The democratisation process that was introduced, led to freedom of association, enshrined in Article 34 of the new 1990 Constitution, and CSOs began to grow in number and power as a result. Within this new “civil society-friendly” environment, three main groups dominate: (i) International NGOs; (ii) Pentecostal-influenced churches and (iii) Other church-based organisations (Pfeiffer 2004). Pfeiffer (2004) argues that the international NGO presence has intensified social inequality by channeling resources mainly to local and national elites. Furthermore, the fact that church-based organisations are thriving in poor communities throughout Mozambique, outside of the aid relationship, suggests a deepening of the marginalisation experienced by vulnerable groups in the market economy (Pfeiffer 2004). A study on civil society in Mozambique by Kruse (2002) found that “there is no clear separation between the formal and the informal, the rural and the urban, the modern and the traditional, those inside and outside the ‘state system’ (Rebello, Thue, Stensrud and Sissel 2002:3). The more visible a civil society organisation tend to be in the urban areas, it characteristically has a “corporate management and staffing structure and pay(s) market salaries” (Rebello *et al.* 2002:3).

Mozambique is a Third World country, and its economy is highly dependent on foreign funding. This is reflected in the fact that CSOs are not self-sustaining, meaning that most of their funds are provided by international donors, who in turn influence the actions of these CSOs. According to *The Citizen* (2008/06/11), Foundation for Community Development (FDC) president Graca Machel said that while the operations of CSOs had improved in the past twenty years, organisations needed to be self-dependent in order to execute their duties efficiently. According to her, “CSOs need to develop their capacities to generate their own resources so that they are not dependent on foreign funding” (*The Citizen* 2008/06/11). The governance culture in Mozambique has historically tended to be “closed and non-consultative” (Rebello *et al.* 2002:3). Thus, civil society activism is a recent phenomenon and both the state and non-state actors are relatively new at it – indeed, Kruse (2002) notes that civil society in Mozambique is still in its’ infancy. However, in the government’s Five-Year 2000-2004 Plan, one of the key objectives was to facilitate increased participation by citizens, communities and civil society in the formulation and evaluation of government policies and in satisfying their needs (Rebello *et al.* 2002:4).

THE ROLE OF CSOS IN THE POVERTY REDUCTION POLICY PROCESS IN MOZAMBIQUE

Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) have been designed to lay out a policy framework and agenda for tackling poverty in low-income countries. They are to be developed in a participatory way, involving both civil society and a wide range of government agencies, with the goal of national ‘ownership’. The advantage of the PRSPs is that they move poverty reduction closer to the centre of development strategies. They also provide a framework of donor coordination based on national priorities (Pasha 2004). However, the experience so far of civil society participation in the development of PRSPs more broadly shows that the World Bank and the IMF as well as many of the governments developing PRSPs have viewed this as little more than a functional necessity, rarely beyond the level of superficial consultations. In a study of civil society participation in the PRSP development processes in Malawi, Bolivia and Rwanda (Painter 2002), it was found that there are some key factors that affect the quality of CSO participation in PRS processes. The context of civil society and government, relations between civil society and the state and the strength of democracy have had a big impact on the quality of participation. The most important factor in the quality of participation is government willingness. If the government is unwilling to open up space for civil society debate, it is very difficult for CSOs to push these

boundaries. Government and civil society expectations of levels of participation are diverse and often incompatible, leading to frustrations and conflict.

Representation of the local and most marginalised citizens is another important factor. Weak local level democracies have produced weak participation. Often it is assumed that by involving local authorities the citizens' voices were being heard, whereas in reality often links with the civil society are very weak. CSO inclusion is often due to a group's insistence to participate (Pasha 2004). According to Curran (2005), the main criticism of participation in the first wave of PRSPs (eg. PRSP 2001 -2005) was that they were poorly conceived, very narrow (only certain issues – usually 'safe' social sectors – were open for discussion), exclusive (the governments decided who was invited) and rushed. To some extent the participation processes in the first round of PRSPs were superficial due to a lack of capacity in both the governments and CSOs. For some governments, this lack of capacity prevented them from conducting meaningful processes. It also hindered the possibilities of CSOs' recommendations being translated into policies. "For CSOs, a lack of capacity among some organisations to understand complex policy processes and economic arguments meant that they were unable to engage effectively in discussions" (Curran 2005:25). However, the analyses of civil society's engagement in the PRSP highlight that many Southern CSOs did actively mobilise around the PRSP, either in the official consultations or in parallel CSO-led participation processes. Furthermore, a number of strong networks were formed specifically to engage in the PRSP process (Curran 2005).

Overview of the PRSP (2001–2005) formulation process and CSO participation

PRSP is a priority plan for the government of Mozambique designed to manage medium-term macro and sector policies relating to poverty reduction and development (Government of Mozambique 2001:IV). At the same time it is also a means by which the government can ensure continued aid from international donors. According to PRSP (2001–2005), the central objective of the Government is a considerable reduction in the levels of absolute poverty in Mozambique through the adoption of methods to improve the capacities of, and the opportunities available to all Mozambicans, especially the poor.

The PRSP (2001–2005) underwent several stages in the course of its development. At the beginning consultations were at national and sector level. These reflected strategy, priorities, resources, constraints, and the effectiveness of interventions. According to the government of Mozambique (2009: internet source), an inter-sector technical group appointed for the purpose of bringing together representatives from various sectors of the government drafted the version

of the PRSP (2000–2004) that was presented in a revised form in February 2000 as interim IPRSP to the WB and IMF. Afterwards consultations were extended to province authorities, international partners and civil society. The main purpose was to get contributions and to discuss the methodology for the development of integrated provincial plans of action incorporating existing policy instruments such as the Food Security and Nutrition Strategy and the HIV/AIDS Strategy Plan. At a later stage the consultations aimed at gaining uniformity in the overall vision, priorities and targets of PRSPs, and achieving institutional co-ordination. Consultation mechanisms by sector and administrative level, social and economic policy implications, flow of information, issues in governance and legal framework were identified as the main issues (Government of Mozambique 2009: internet source). The PRSP therefore evolved into an instrument centred on the Ministry of Planning and Finance on behalf of government of Mozambique, and had to a certain extent opened itself up to interested parties in civil society after all the government's efforts to include all sections of society in the drafting of the PRSP.

The consultation process around the preparation of the final draft of the PRSP (which was new as a procedure to include wider public opinion) was considered satisfactory. However, as some actors were either not included or present, there was still scope to increase the legitimacy of the document (De Sousa 2002). The private sector's contribution prevailed over the contributions of the civil society as a result of their better organisation and preparedness in scheduling meetings with the Ministry of Planning and Finance. Civil society participation was further undermined, due to the fact that late contributions could not be included. Ministry officials found discussion with some partners difficult, because their understanding of the internal and external factors constraining the state in fulfilling its role was considered not adequate, or because often their interventions reflected a partiality, or was focused on specific interests (corporations) rather than on a more global and systematic view (De Sousa 2002:78). The problem was further compounded by the call for the institutionalisation of the consultation process. Others wanted negotiation rather than consultation and joint decision-making in the allocation of resources (De Sousa 2002:78).

Time constraints due to HIPC deadlines also hindered consultations, but sources close to the government also mentioned 'planning fatigue' at government lower levels and concerns about raising expectations and dissatisfaction on the part of the population (Falck and Landfald 2000). Other difficulties were the dispersion of the population settlements, difficult communications due to weak road infrastructure, and documents presented in the official language (Portuguese), which most of the rural population cannot understand. Hesitation of government in regions in which the opposition party is dominant could also have deterred further consultations.

FINDINGS ON THE CONSTRAINTS ON CSOs PARTICIPATION IN THE FORMULATION OF PRSP (2001–2005)

The lack of a participatory culture – On the one hand, culture can be defined as “not only values or personality, but rather the great corpus of techniques, knowledge, models of social organisation, ideas and aspirations, specific to a society, which is handed down and learned in each generation and enables a form of social life to take place” (Kotze 1997:93). On the other hand, it can be defined as “A particular way of life, whether of a people, a period or a group” (Storey 1996:1). In view of the above, the culture of participation could be described as a lifestyle that upholds the principle of participation while it can also be handed down from generation to generation; thus culture is very relevant to public participation (Masango 2001:167). The research findings indicated that the Mozambican government has not yet developed the participatory culture which a democratic country should have. This might be attributed to the fact that the country is new to participatory techniques. In order to cultivate a culture of participation, the legislation of a democratic state should allow and encourage ordinary members of the public to participate in the political decision-making process, so that they can influence it (Almond and Verba 1989:3).

Lack of information – The majority of CSOs did not have adequate information to make their participation significant. Most of the important documents that had to be discussed in the consultative meetings were given to these CSOs only on the day of the meeting. Thus, CSOs were not able to prepare proper comments in order to make valuable inputs in the meetings. Beach (1985:360) argues that people should possess a certain minimum amount of intelligence and knowledge for any participation programme to succeed. Therefore, members of the public who do not have sufficient information to understand or make a significant contribution to the process of policy formulation may feel powerless and discouraged.

Inadequate skills for participation – In addition to the culture of participation, the effectiveness of participation may depend upon the availability and effective utilisation of skills such as public speaking and civil society organisation (Banovetz 1972:54). People who lack the skills needed in public speaking situations may feel intimidated by the environment of participation and consequently withdraw from the process (Banovetz 1972:54). CSOs were not adequately organised – for instance, the G-20 (a strong civil society platform formed specifically to engage in the PRSP process) was only formed after the PRSP 2001-2005 had been drawn up.

Attitude towards participation and perceptions about public participation – According to Silverman (1982:399), an attitude may be defined as a predisposition to respond in a consistent manner to a particular person, group,

situation or object. Negative attitudes to public participation could be due to the perceptions people have about it. Public participation could be perceived by public officials to be time-consuming, inefficient, irrational and unproductive (Langton 1978:113). In fact, full citizen participation may retard the planning process (Brynard 1996:47). For instance, this may occur due to delays which could result from attempts by public officials to explain the situation to members of the public, since the latter may not understand some technical aspects relating to plans and programmes (Zimmerman 1986:4 cited in Cloete *et al.* 2006:203). The Mozambican government was under extensive time pressure to finalise the PRSP, in order to qualify for debt cancellation. The government seems to have invited civil society participation in order to lend the process credibility and legitimisation rather than with the intention of seeking substantive input. Other constraints observed include:

- **Time constraints/insufficient notice:** most of the CSOs were not told in advance about the meetings that were going to take place.
- **Language barriers:** all the documents were written in Portuguese and the language was very technical; thus it was difficult to understand what was written in the documents, because in many rural provinces of Mozambique few people can speak, understand or read Portuguese.
- **Lack of an institutionalised forum for civil society participation:** as noted above, particularly in Chapters Four and Five, there was no institutionalised forum for civil society participation in 2000. The G-20, which is the forum for civil society participation, came into existence only in 2003.
- **Participation was not wide enough:** most of the CSOs that participated in the process of formulation of the PRSP were from the capital city of Maputo.
- **Lack of capacity** within the CSOs, especially the small organisations that were included in the research. These organisations lacked capacity in terms of human resources and also in developing submissions in order to become more involved in the process.

In summary, the investigation found that the process for the formulation of the PRSP (2001–2005) was conceived mainly by the government. CSOs were taken on board later to accommodate what had already been decided. Based on the findings of the research, there was a definite gap between the principle of participation and how it is practised within the reality of the PRSP (2001–2005) process. At the beginning of the formulation of the PRSP and in terms of the process of civil society participation it was clear that the lack of organisation of the different CSOs hindered their effective participation, even though certain organisations such as the Mozambican Debt Group (MDG) tried to make efforts. Nevertheless, this represented an opening up of the policy-making process to CSOs.

Capacity was a challenging issue for both government and CSOs. For the government the challenge was more in terms of quantity of technicians to deal with the demands of such a complex process while responding also to other activities. A further problem was the language barrier. For civil society there was both lack of skilled people on policy formulation and a limited number of employees who could always be present at discussion sessions, as well as insufficient notice and consultation with regard to the meetings.

The research shows that there is a lack of communication within and between the different levels of government, and from the government to the public. Most people who want to obtain information from the government find themselves going from person to person, and frequently they cannot obtain the information they want. Thus there is a need to empower the people and to educate them on how to share information so that the civil society is more aware of the political background of the country and of their rights. Due to the complexities and technicality of the PRSP, its content was not fully understood and accessible to the majority of people – the document was just too complicated to be useful in consultations. It would be desirable therefore to produce a *user-friendly* version of the PRSP that would be more readily accessible. Nonetheless, for many CSOs, this experience of policy issues and the process itself has contributed to strengthening their capacities in one way or another. The PRSP does provide a good entry point into the policy process, but there is work for CSOs to do to make sure that their contribution to the process will continue to improve.

CONCLUSION

The role of civil society organisations is growing rapidly in developing countries. These civil society groups have evolved from service deliverers, previously the government's responsibility, to active participants in research and advocacy actions that put pressure on the state and international institutions. These groups focus on improving public policies and community development and empowerment in Mozambique and in Africa in general. Nonetheless, the role of Mozambican CSOs has gradually been recognised by the government and other development actors, as shown by a variety of policy documents such as the country's development vision, Agenda 2025, the Absolute Poverty Reduction Action Plan (PRSP 2006–2009) and the establishment of participatory mechanisms such as the Development Observatories and District Consultative Councils. Through the PRSP process, a new role has emerged for CSOs, and their participation in the first round of PRSPs has strengthened their capacity to engage in the policy process. CSOs play a very important role in the formulation of policies: they make issues more understandable and the language used more

accessible. However, CSOs working in the field of public participation need to be extremely aware of the risks they face so that they do not confuse their own objectives with the objectives of the citizens they work with which may differ. As the PRSP processes moved into their second (2006–2009) and third waves, the interest in civil society's role in policy processes increased. For instance, in Mozambique, the process of participation has been evolving over time, from a simple consultation in the PRSP (2001–2005) to a wider participation in PRSP (2006–2009). This might be attributed to the fact that CSO awareness of policy issues increased and also that their participation was formally organised through the G-20.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In order to improve the process of participation, the roles and expectations of CSOs and the government in the policy-making process need to be clear and understood by all participants. Based on the information gathered in this research, the following is recommended:

Recommendations for the government

The government should:

- Create an enabling public policy environment that is conducive to civil society participation.
- Do more to overcome the barriers to participation, such as language and cost, and it should also change its negative perception towards participation.
- Inform CSOs in advance about the meetings that will take place and also provide these organisations with the necessary documentation/information so that they are able to make meaningful contributions in the meetings. Public participation can be realised only if information is shared through community education and training.
- Simplify the language used to elaborate documents that have to be discussed so that everyone is able to understand what the discussion is all about – meaning that documents should be more *user-friendly* (providing information in different formats and languages).
- Train staff in order for them to reach the most rural communities that are not able to communicate in Portuguese.
- Be more open and transparent about issues in terms of poverty-reduction strategies/processes in order to avoid a situation whereby CSOs may be wasting their time pushing for something that government has already made a decision upon.

- Further discuss the definition of poverty and take into consideration the inputs of the poor.
- Support CSO capacity-building efforts to allow them to better articulate community needs. As noted in this research, the government formulated the PO in which CSOs can participate actively through the G-20.
- Build the capacity of the parliament to allow a proper monitoring of poverty-reduction efforts set out in government annual plans.
- Install mechanisms in place to ensure that the information gathered during participation/consultation processes is given due consideration by decision-makers – for instance, by providing written feedback to organisations who submit comments and recommendations.
- Give more focus to the definition of quality indicators for PRSP monitoring.
- Expand the involvement of citizens in the formulation and monitoring of PRSP to district and community level to allow for an effective engagement in PRSP processes.

Recommendations for CSOs

- CSOs must ensure comprehensive understanding of the policy at hand, be aware of opportunities for public comment, make oral and written submissions and make voices heard on issues about which CSOs have knowledge and expertise.
- Organisations should exercise sufficient and continuous pressure on government until change can be seen.
- CSO must continually familiarise themselves with the current and proposed legislation with regard to poverty alleviation. They must be clear about their views and be able to communicate their views to different audiences.

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This article comprises an extract from a full research masters dissertation by the first author on Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in Mozambique, completed in 2010 under the supervision of the second author.

Variables influencing the outcomes of the whistle blowing process in South Africa

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ABSTRACT

Whistle blower protection in South Africa becomes a point of contention every time a disclosure is made and the whistle blower is murdered or victimised. The purpose of this article is to describe the variables that will influence the decision to blow the whistle in the South African environment in order to counter act possible re-active outcomes. It provides an overview of the current scenario of whistle blower protection in South Africa. The article argues that in order to make a protected disclosure, public managers and the whistle blower must understand the whistle blowing process as prescribed by the *South African Protected Disclosures Act, 2000* and that organisations must establish a whistle blowing process that meets the needs, not only of the organisation, but also of the individual whistle blower.

INTRODUCTION

When the decision has been taken to blow the whistle on perceived wrongdoing, it can be done via either an internal or an external process. For the purposes of this article a whistle blower is an employee making an unauthorised disclosure of information about criminal or irregular conduct along avenues that are not specified. Whistle blowing plays an essential role in the fight against corruption.

"Just because they pass a right to rat law, it doesn't make ratting any less obnoxious" (Peterson and Farrell 1986:7). Whistle blowers have unjustly

acquired a poor reputation as 'busy-bodies', disloyal employees and 'rabble-rousers'. One of the major causes of this negative perception in South Africa is the fact that whistle blowers are seen as *impimpis* (apartheid-era informants who betrayed their comrades). This historical framework has unfortunately allowed whistle blowing as an activity to become stigmatised and to be detested rather than encouraged (Camerer 2001:1; Auriacombe 2005:86). Unfortunately the truth is often that, when conscientious workers or law-abiding organisations blow the whistle on perceived corruption, it seems the best they can hope for is exclusion and condemnation (Camerer 2001:1; Auriacombe 2005:86)

The dilemma and misfortune of the whistle blower often receive attention in the popular press. Most recently there has been the case of senior official Jimmy Mohlala who blew the whistle on perceived corrupt practices in a 2010 Soccer World cup construction project. He was shot dead. Some other whistle blowers, who provided information on corrupt housing practices, were also threatened and murdered. These cases were well publicised. King Winner Maluleka, an inmate of C-Max in 2004 who blew the whistle on the former prison warder and fellow inmates on an attempted escape, has been victimised in jail. Tales like these create an impression that it is unsafe to blow the whistle. This is the root of the problem. Since this perception on whistle blowing is detrimental to anti-corruption efforts, it is important for public sector managers to understand that different organisations will have different responses to the act of blowing the whistle and that there are steps that can be taken to encourage whistle blowers to disclose perceived corruption.

Mbatha (2005:214) states that the organisational response to an act of whistle blowing is influenced firstly by the credibility of the whistle blower, because if people are trusted, such an action may be taken seriously; and secondly by the motivation of the whistle blower. If there are any suspicions about the reasons why someone chooses to blow the whistle, chances are that the complaint will not be heard. Moreover, the perceived validity of the evidence (if done in good faith) rather than the perceptions or the motivations of the whistle blower should be the most important reason for taking a disclosure of wrongdoing seriously. In addition other important influencing factors are the whistle blower's position in the organisation and the membership of minority groups within an organisation, as females or members of underrepresented ethnic groups may find it harder to be heard.

The article examines the above individual determinants underlying the whistle-blowing process. It conceptualises the whistle blower and also describes the process as well as the consequences of whistle blowing and whilst this article does not elaborate on the mandatory steps as prescribed by the *Protected Disclosures Act* (Act 26 of 2000) for blowing the whistle, but instead describes the process when disclosures are made. The article illuminates specific ethical points in the whistle-blowing process including ethical concerns such as the question of loyalty and ethical tension points.

CONTEXTUALISING WHISTLE BLOWING/WHISTLE BLOWER

A review of the literature provides for a number of definitions for whistle blowing and whistle bower. Whistle blowing is "the disclosure by an employee of confidential information relating to some danger, fraud or other illegal or unethical conduct connected with the workplace, be that of the employer or of his fellow employees". (Louw 2002:121). In general, whistle blowing involves calling attention to perceived wrongful acts, usually in order to stay away from harm although there may be other reasons that people may wish to speak out (Camerer 1999:1). Whistle blowing is the act of disclosing perceived organisational wrongdoing by reporting it to authorities who are in positions to remedy the specific situation. MacDonald Dryberg (2009:157) concludes that whistle blowers can be "... thought of as individuals who break away from organizational ranks, often at great personal and professional risk, to expose unethical or illegal behavior to external authorities and the general public".

The concept whistle blowing implies the presence of specific actors, identifiable actions and a process consisting of a number of steps, occurring in a particular order (Near and Miceli 1996:513; Mbatha 2005:164). The actors are:

- the whistle bower;
- the wrongdoer(s), whether this is an organisation or an individual;
- the person who receives proof of the alleged wrongdoing; and
- the organisation that is called upon to act to correct the situation that gave rise to the whistle blowing.

Brewer in Near and Miceli (1996:510) states that the motivation to blow the whistle is not easy to identify because it is steeped in historical as well as symbolic expression. Therefore, many of people's motivations are considered elusive. The same goes for blowing the whistle. Different people have their own particular motives for blowing the whistle, but what they tend to have in common is a recognition that it would be morally wrong not to blow the whistle.

Williams (1985: 15-18) identifies three situations that might influence whistle blowing in the public sector. Firstly, as government is entrusted with certain responsibilities, such as national security, confidentiality would be of the utmost importance and a breach of confidentiality through whistle blowing could have damaging effects on everyone. Secondly, a public official may resort to whistle blowing if the conduct of another official is gravely offensive to the standing and fundamental interests of the public. Thirdly, the changing character of political heads could lead to conflict of interests occurring between the public sector and the government.

Whistle blowing occurs, therefore, whenever individuals take it upon themselves to point out what they believe to be unethical or irregular behaviour. Such action is

often met with a great deal of resistance from others in the organisation. Superiors often view such actions as being an insult to their authority or as a challenge to the organisational imperative, which they find useful to protect. Colleagues and subordinates are often unwilling to express their support either for fear of losing their own jobs or because of fear for the future of the organisation (Feldman 1999:149). If public officials had accepted the correct ethical values and behaviour, then whistle blowing can be an effective measure that can be used by the government in its campaign against corruption.

According to Vickers (1997:4) whistle blowers are perceived as being either watchdogs or protestors. They discover and disclose wrongdoing to prevent financial and safety disasters from occurring and raise general concerns regarding the activities of their employers. These two views describe the types of whistle blowers that exist in the literature, where four types are identified. The 'heroes' are loyal employees, who report concerns in order to ensure that organisational faults are rectified. The 'idealists' speak out because there is a mismatch between their expectations and organisational realities. The 'defensive whistle blower' is the calculating employee who, in anticipation of disciplinary proceedings for poor performance, reports a concern with a view to establishing that the true reason for disciplinary action was victimisation for speaking out. Finally, the 'vengeful whistle blower' is a former employee who reveals an employer's wrongdoing as a form of retribution for perceived maltreatment (Vickers 1997:4).

Most employees are loyal to their organisation. However, sometimes their loyalty to the organisation is overruled by their conviction that they should act first and foremost in the public interest. This is where the interest of the organisation and those of the public could cross paths. The trouble is that some people are victimised for disclosing wrongdoing. This is what makes whistle blowing a moral act, because the individual goes on a personal mission to protect the public against the wrongdoing he or she decides to report. Morality, trust and ethics all play a role, therefore, in whistle blowing. Often individuals disclosing wrongdoing experience ethical dilemmas (Holtzhausen 2007).

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS THAT UNDERLIE THE WHISTLE BLOWING PROCESS

De Graaf (2010:769) states that various factors influence the decision to blow the whistle either internally or externally. The decision to blow the whistle internally or externally is partially based on a relationship with aspects relating to the levels in the reporting process which includes the personal characteristics (self-esteem, personality traits, gender, religion) of the whistle blower as well

as the situational aspects including the status of the recipient, type of alleged wrongdoing, and ethics policies within the organisation.

Barker and Dawood (2004:123–124) identify a number of factors that can influence the whistle blowing process. Firstly, situational conditions that can be separated into organisational characteristics (e.g. the size of the group, organisational culture and climate, incentives for whistle blowing, bureaucracy, and departmental policies) and the characteristics of the wrongdoing (e.g. the type of wrongdoing and its seriousness, and the quality of the evidence). Secondly status and power relations and the amount of power held by individuals or units within the organisation (in South Africa there is often situations where the public official enjoys power in the organisation but not within the ruling party and would be hesitant to make a disclosure as it could influence his/her position within the party). Thirdly individual characteristics including personality variables (e.g. intolerance of ambiguity and low self-esteem), job situation (e.g. pay, supervisory status, job satisfaction), demographics (e.g. education, gender, age) as well as moral development/behaviour (e.g. social and religious responsibility, moral judgement) and lastly other factors such as social and/or financial support, membership of professional groups, conformity issues, loyalty and trust.

According to Kaptein (2011:515) research has shown that the motives for both internal and external whistleblowers are not entirely unselfish or for the good of the public. Dozier and Miceli (1985) in Kaptein (2011:515) state that these motives are prosocial in that whistleblowers weigh the costs and benefits of reporting wrongdoing to themselves and others. Dozier and Miceli were among the first scholars to indicate the relevance of contextual variables that may encourage or discourage the disclosing of perceived wrongdoing. Near and Miceli (1985:12) suggest that an understanding of the theory of moral reasoning is fundamental to grasp the individual's ethical tendency to blow the whistle, especially in relation to the organisation or to management. To test this suggestion, Arnold and Ponemon in Ponemon (2001:119) researched perceptions of whistle blowing and the reasoning characteristics of 106 internal auditors using a between-subjects experimental design. Findings revealed that those internal auditors who have moderately low levels of moral reasoning were unlikely to predict whistle blowing as a means for disclosing wrongdoing. This result was especially prominent when possible retaliation meant a potentially high degree of penalty for the whistle blower. The findings also indicated that the position of the prospective whistle blower influences internal auditors or management to act in an ethical manner.

Near and Miceli (1986:137) further believe that certain positions within an organisation predetermine whistle blowing behaviour Spencer in (Ponemon 2001:119) found that internal auditors may be instructed to blow the whistle as part of their jobs. Therefore, their behaviour is role-prescribed, and they should

consequently have more power in the organisation. Even though such reporting is role-prescribed, whether the instruction determines actual behaviour is doubtful. In a later study, Near and Miceli in Ponemon (2001:119) suggest that the internal auditor's role in reporting wrongdoing may lead to ethical tension because such actions can have a harmful effect on the reputation of the organisation. Hence, it is not only the prescribed roles that will determine the likelihood of a disclosure being made, but also the individual characteristics that will influence the decision. Potential whistle blowers might feel that it would be better to disclose the perceived wrongdoing in an anonymous manner.

Anonymity as a determinant of whistle blowing

According to Near and Miceli (1994:780) whistle blowers who do not have power in the organisation might decide to remain anonymous in order to safeguard their positions in the organisation. When whistle blower hotlines are established, it is assumed that the disclosure made by the whistle blower is confidential and the identity of the whistle blower protected. Whistle blowers may file a report without signing it, or provide incriminating evidence with no indication of the source. Whistle blowers may hide their identities in order to avoid retaliation, but then risk losing their effectiveness, for at least three reasons (Elliston 1982:173–176). Firstly, members of an organisation may dismiss the concerns of whistle blowers who are not willing to face the target of their accusations, and, presumably, give the accused an opportunity to confront them, thus weakening the minority influence of anonymous whistle blowers. Secondly, if anonymous whistle blowers do not provide sufficient evidence of wrongdoing, complaint recipients are unable to seek additional information from them, reducing their expert power (as they had witnessed the alleged wrongdoing). Thirdly, if whistle blowers are viewed as credible complainants because of their personal characteristics, an anonymous whistle blower obviously has reduced credibility.

A person may wish to remain anonymous to prevent retaliation but this is sometimes easier said than done. Laws protecting whistle blowers, for example the *South African Protected Disclosures Act* (Act 26 of 2000), do not always prevent retaliation against the whistle blower especially since the intention might be to prevent organisational detriment. In addition, if the whistle blower remains anonymous to the complaint recipient, the complaint recipient may be rendered less able to determine whether the wrongdoing has occurred and whether it is deserving of action (Elliston 1982:172).

A second way of remaining anonymous is for whistle blowers to identify themselves to the complaint recipient while requesting that their identity should not be revealed to others (such as to the South African Public Service Commission or the Hawks). Such partial anonymity may increase the credibility of the

whistle blower and facilitate the complaint recipient's enquiry. However, partial anonymity surrenders power to the complaint recipient and could jeopardise the whistle blower. If, at any time, the complaint recipient wishes to influence the whistle blower, he or she may threaten to betray his or her confidence.

Elliston (1982:171) argues that anonymity should be seen as neutral, as the middle ground between privacy and secrecy. The whistle blowing process creates the paradigm of unsatisfactory disclosures where the person involved cannot defend him/herself, which could disrupt the solidarity of the group. However, the seriousness of the wrongdoing might be harmful to the group anyway. This dichotomy could force the individual to make a moral judgement on whether or not to blow the whistle.

According to Barker and Dawood (2004:130) two questions arise on whether or not anonymity should be a guarantee or not: Does the public have the right to know the identity of the whistle blower or should his or her identity remain confidential?

Elliston (1982:172–173) states that anonymous whistle blowers may have mixed success in achieving the goal of preventing harm to the public interest. Anonymous complaints often are intended to protect the identity of the whistle blower by reducing the likelihood of retaliation. However, anonymous whistle blower complaints can be difficult to investigate due to a lack of information and the inaccessibility of the whistle blower for additional details. Also, if anonymous complaints are sufficiently detailed, they may make it possible to identify the whistle blower, thereby defeating the purpose of anonymity. Such a whistle blower will no longer be anonymous, and worse, may suffer retaliation even though there is no record that it was he or she who disclosed the information. Elliston (1982:172–173) further argues that blowing the whistle publicly might be ideal, but that it cannot be demanded and one cannot condemn persons that choose to stay anonymous.

Credibility as a determinant of whistle blowing

Whistle blowers that are credible have a greater chance of persuading the organisation to terminate the wrongdoing. Credible information is a resource in short supply in most organisations. If a whistle blower can convince others that wrongdoing has occurred he or she should have greater power to change the behaviour of members in the organisation. According to Kotter and Schlesinger (1979:106–114), members of organisations resist change when they do not trust those who want the change – thus, the credibility of the whistle blower is of great importance.

Credibility can rely on the perceived motives of the whistle blower. As noted before, some people consider whistle blowers to be loyal employees (Kolarska

and Aldrich 1980:41–58), whereas others view them as snitches, sneaks, rats, squealers or traitors (Bok 1980:334; Camerer 1996:2), for instance either with altruistic or egotistic motives (Brief and Motowidlo 1986:715). The real motives of whistle blowers will vary from one situation to another and cannot be entirely known by others, but their motives are often perceived to be the deciding factor in judging their credibility. The perceived validity of a complaint should reasonably rest on the evidence that wrongdoing has occurred and not on the individual's reason for calling attention to it. That is, it is possible that even the worst of liars did in fact witness real wrongdoing being committed (Near and Miceli 1995:689).

Status as a determinant of whistle blowing

There is a relationship between status and power in whistle blowing situations. Society perceives those that hold senior positions within organisations more powerful and credible. Imagine the whistle blower as a person who has a prominent status in the organisation – a person whose services are highly valued and difficult to come by and who, because of his or her technical or executive value or professional status is considered more important to the organisation (Perry 1992:52). Such a person may also, because of his or her status, be considered more competent or credible than someone of lesser status (Greenberger, Miceli and Cohen 1987:530). Whistle blowers with status may also be used to being rewarded and being able to influence the opinions of others, especially if he or she is in a position of authority or expertise.

Psychological determinants that underlie the whistle blower's decision-making

Empirical studies of Near and Miceli (1985:12) and Arnold and Ponemon (1991:119) have related the decision to blow the whistle to the moral reasoning paradigm and most of these studies focus on pre-decisional behaviour rather than on the decision-making process as a whole. Various psychological processes underlie all ethical behaviour and action and are depicted in the following table:

Psychology literature shows that the above six factors form a realistic mechanism for integrating the complex process of ethical behaviour and action (Rest 1986:77). These factors can also help the whistle blower analyse the whistle blowing process in the organisational setting. Initially, a prospective whistle blower would have to be sensitive to the possibility of wrongdoing. When it comes to fraud or theft, he or she would have to have healthy scepticism. According to Rest (1986:77), sensitivity to ethical issues is necessary if one is to be able to process and resolve ethical conflict. Someone without ethical

Table 1: Psychological processes underlying ethical behaviour and action

Sensitivity describes how the individual reads the situation around a certain set of ethical actions and choices.
Reasoning describes the processes from which the person chooses, from among the different possible actions, a single "best" ethical action
Perseverance describes how the individual follows through on a particular ethical choice, and which factors make it easier or more difficult for him or her to follow through in terms of his or her ethical decision.
Value assignment describes how the person assigns "moral" values (among other non-moral values, such as leisure time, career success, economic gain, or power) to the ethical path he or she chose.
Loyalty can be understood as the expectancy of the trustor that he/she will receive fair and kind treatment at the hands of the trustee (Binikos 2006:34).
Trust can be defined as the firm belief in the truth, strength or reliability of a person or thing; a confident expectation; responsibility (position of great trust) (Thompson 1992:981).

Source: Rest (1986:77)

sensitivity, therefore, would find it difficult to distinguish between ethical and unethical acts and would probably not even notice that there was a problem.

A second factor is perseverance, and this is perhaps the most important of the six factors when it comes to whistle blowing, because a person who has noticed a problem but does not have the strength of character to follow through on his or her ethical conviction, would not make the ethical decision to blow the whistle. It is often difficult for individuals to take that final step even if they believe that the moral choice would be to disclose the wrongdoing (Brabeck in Near and Miceli 1985:59).

The component of trust is also important. According to Davis (1989:8) a whistle blower no longer trusts his or her organisation as much as before. This might be because of the perceived wrongdoing or because of the manner in which whistle blowers are treated after a disclosure have been made. Once the whistle blower has blown the whistle, the organisation might not trust him or her anymore either, since the whistle blower has been disappointed in an ethical sense and therefore no longer recognises the organisation's authority.

The organisation's response might break the relationship of trust between the organisation and the whistle blower and confuses loyalties on both sides because the whistle blower has already been in a position where he or she had to choose between loyalty to the organisation and accepting the wrongdoing or moral probity and not accepting the wrongdoing (Uys and Senekal 2005:9). For the whistle blower, making these choices constitutes a betrayal of loyalty to and trust in the organisation (Uys 2005:13), and the subconscious need to

atone for this betrayal, which makes him or her even more determined to set right the wrongdoing that was reported. If there was any resistance to accepting the reporting, the whistle blower is bound to feel that the organisation is systemically corrupt (Uys 2000:9). Thus, if the response by the organisation internally is negative, external whistle blowing is often not a choice but a requirement that follows internal whistle blowing. It should be kept in mind that it is imperative that all internal channels in the organisation (such as to the supervisor, management, designated person or hotlines) must be exhausted before external channels (such as the Public Service Commission or the media) be utilised to disclose wrongdoing.

In some cases the whistle blower is pressured to discard the disclosure, conform, allow the wrongdoing to be ignored and continue with their day-to-day activities. The level of pressure varies, depending on how the wrongdoing was reported. In addition, once the whistle blower has been labelled as a whistle blower, he or she will also probably find it difficult to keep performing effectively in the organisation (Miliken, Morrison and Hewlin 2003:1454).

Given the consequences of the outcome that the potential whistle blower might face, it is likely then that potential whistle blowers will consider their options before blowing the whistle on organisational wrongdoing (Miceli and Near 1992:123) and many may choose not to blow the whistle, which means that they will rather explore other alternatives of dealing with organisational wrongdoing, for if there are viable options, then perhaps whistle blowing may be avoided altogether.

Another factor, namely reasoning, comes into play when the individual thinks about ethical strategies for solving the problem according to his or her level of moral reasoning. Individuals at lower moral reasoning levels tend to worry about retaliation or victimisation, while individuals at higher moral reasoning levels worry more about the negative consequences of failing to report the incident to the proper authorities, whether there is retaliation or victimisation or not (Miceli and Near 1992:123). For example, an individual with relatively high moral reasoning skills might decide to blow the whistle after discovering fraud in the organisation even though such disclosure would put the organisation at a disadvantage and cause (for example) the dismissals of colleagues. Another person with identical moral reasoning skills may decide to keep silent because to him or her it is more important to keep the organisation afloat than to reveal the fraud. Nevertheless, an individual will make a moral assessment in terms of which ethical values are the most appropriate to solve the ethical conflict.

Once he or she has decided on an ethical strategy, the whistle blower must decide when and how to act on it. Of course there are other issues to consider as well, besides moral values. These are issues such as organisational, social and economic variables, the need to do the right thing, possible retaliation such

as losing his or her job, peer pressure, economic incentives, and a host of other things also needs to be taken into consideration.

THE WHISTLE BLOWING FRAMEWORK IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Protected Disclosures Act, 2000 (the PDA) recognises the value of and need for whistle blowing in South Africa. It aims to:

“Create a culture which will facilitate the disclosure of information by employees relating to criminal and other irregular conduct in the workplace in a responsible manner by providing comprehensive statutory guidelines for the disclosure of such information and protection against any reprisals as a result of such disclosure.”

According to Martin (2010:8) the framework for whistle blower protection in South Africa is primarily located in the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, the *Protected Disclosures Act 26 of 2000*, the *Labour Relations Act 66 of 1995*, the *Companies Act 71 of 2008* and the body of jurisprudence that has been developed by the Labour, High and Supreme Courts of South Africa. The evolution of the laws in South Africa has resulted in four frameworks regulating whistle blowing.

- The first governs disclosures by the general public not protected by the PDA or the Companies Act.
- The second is the framework created by the PDA which governs whistle blowing by employees in the public and private sectors.
- The third is the framework created by the Companies Act which governs whistle blowing within all companies registered in terms of the Companies Act, including profit and not-for-profit companies.
- The fourth is the framework of rights and obligations imposed on “public” and “state-owned” profit companies registered in terms of the Companies Act.

It is evident that there are a number of gaps and shortcomings influencing whistle blowing within South Africa. According to Martin (2010:9-11) the PDA only allows for a formal employment relationship and exclude citizen whistle blowers. This poses a significant problem as it is often citizens that are exposed to corrupt and unethical practices from public servants. In terms of the PDA, disclosures can only be made about the organisation (thus not covering a person, or an organisation associated with the employer). Public officials are only protected against occupational detriment and the range of recipients to which disclosures can be made are too narrow as it is very specific. Although the PDA provides steps on how to make a disclosure, it does not provide guidelines on how whistle blowing can be encouraged within the organisation nor that

the identity of the person must be protected. In addition, the remedies and protection offered by the PDA does not create confidence that those that make a disclosure will be protected. In South Africa there is not a single dedicated body that provides advice to the public and that monitors and reviews laws and practices. The Public Service Commission and the Office of the Public Protector are involved, but again in a fragmented manner.

On 31 August 2011, the Minister of Justice and Constitutional Development announced practical guidelines for employees on the PDA. These procedures are aimed at providing employees, who wish to disclose certain information, with a short summary of the Act, but do not deal comprehensively with all the provisions of the Act. In the introduction it is stated that by remaining silent about corruption, offences or other malpractices that takes place in the workplace, an employee contributes to, and becomes part of, a culture of fostering such improprieties which will undermine his or her own career as well as be detrimental to the legitimate interests of the South African society in general. All employers and employees have a responsibility to disclose criminal and other irregular conduct in the workplace. Employers have a responsibility to take all necessary steps to ensure that employees who disclose such information are protected from any reprisals as a result of such disclosure. These guidelines provide an explanation of various procedures found mostly in acts that can be utilized by employees that would like to report an impropriety as well as the contact details of the relevant bodies involved in the disclosure process. These guidelines are long overdue and still have to be communicated widely.

The Open Democracy Advice Centre (ODAC) released a survey of public opinion in regard to whistle blowing for 2011. The survey found that in 2010 69.6% of those partaking in the survey believed that whistle blowers had to be protected. In 2011 87.5% believed that whistle blowers should be protected. Further, almost 20% stated that they have blown the whistle. Of those polled, 29.9% is of the opinion that the PDA does not protect whistle blowers. Gabriella Razzano (2011:online), a researcher at the Open Democracy Advice Centre states that "Although we are encouraged in this change of attitude in South Africans, the truth is that current laws aren't enough to protect whistle-blowers locally. Citizens themselves note that these protections are not enough and this is an obvious conclusion when read alongside the startling figure that states that, between public and private sector corruption, South Africans lose in excess of R100 billion annually. This figure is more than the South African government was able to contribute to social grants in total for 2011". (<http://www.opendemocracy.org.za/news/the-state-of-whistleblowing-in-south-africa/>).

Linked to the above statement made by Razzano regarding the protection offered by the laws, is the passing of the controversial "Protection of State Information Bill" that was passed by the South African Parliament on 22

November 2011. The intention of this article is not to elaborate in detail on this bill, but it should be mentioned that the intention of this bill is to safeguard information considered as secret by the South African government. What is especially of concern to whistle blower protection is that whistle blowers can be prosecuted if they disclose information deemed as confidential by the South African government. Public hearings were held and the last hearing concluded on 1 March 2012. It is of essence that the developments regarding the so-called Secrecy Bill be monitored to determine the true effect that it will have on whistle blower protection.

CONSEQUENCES OF WHISTLE BLOWING

Miethe (1999:147–148) states that “Unfortunately, most legal protection for whistleblowers is illusory, few whistleblowers are protected from retaliatory actions because of numerous loopholes and special conditions of these laws and the major disadvantage that individual plaintiffs have against corporate defendants”. Reporting in the popular media on the fate of whistle blowers supports this viewpoint. Public managers will need to consider the possible consequences of whistle blowing on the organisation and the individual as whistle blower.

Consequences for the whistle blower

As a result of the negative organisational response, the whistle blower may experience great disbelief and distress at the manner in which the organisation they seek to protect is behaving (Rothschild and Miethe 1994:262). Organisations believe that whistle blowing is a deviant act that threatens the prosperity and blemishes the reputation of the organisation (Uys 2006: 9). Ultimately, retribution affects the whistle blower's ability to continue working in the organisation (Milliken *et al.* 2003:1454). Many whistle blowers also face endless litigation (Jos, Tompkins and Hays 1989:554) to obtain compensation for damages they have suffered. Litigation is usually long, and emotionally and financially wearisome, and will affect the whistle blower's family as well (Jos *et al.* 1989:554; Binikos 2006:31). The reputation of the whistle blower may be affected, especially if the court case is reported in the media. Future job prospects may also be compromised as a result of the person's reputation as a traitor or troublemaker. In addition, financial pressures rise as a result of the person losing his or her job (Uys 2005:9).

Camerer in Barker and Dawood (2004:132) argues that the whistle blower will experience negative or positive responses to his or her action, depending

on the organisational culture – regardless of whether the disclosure was made internally or externally. The following responses might be expected:

- Managers might spend time and financial resources to cover up the problems rather than admitting that something is wrong.
- Superior officers might punish the whistle blower by questioning his or her competence and judgement, blacklisting the individual from other positions or even terminating his or her services.
- Colleagues might also feel betrayed and the whistle blower might experience degradation ceremonies that will punish and alienate the resister and protester.
- The whistle blower might be made the scapegoat ("shooting the messenger"), and may suffer for his or her efforts and may even fear retaliation.

Consequences for the organisation

Whistle blowers function within an organisational context and the disclosure of alleged wrongdoing also has consequences for the organisation. Miceli and Near (1992:9) state that challenging the authority structure through whistle blowing at times undermines legitimate control found in organisations. Miceli and Near (1994:777) further state that the reaction of members to whistle blowers in an organisation may be determined by their personal beliefs about whether the organisation is the beneficiary or victim of wrongdoing. Whistle blowing threatens the viability of the organisation, in that it reduces the organisation's use of illegal means to achieve greater profits, and any exposure of such shady dealings may be costly in terms of penalties, reputation and a loss of business. Whistle blowing affects the organisation's reputation and results in employee withdrawal (Milliken *et al.* 2003:1454), a decline in staff morale and a lack of trust (Davis 1989:8) as well as a poor business results (Miceli and Near 1992:8). It is also financially costly, as organisations would rather spend resources on covering up the alleged wrongdoing than to actively deal with the problem. Furthermore costs may be incurred when the matter is referred to labour courts and when penalties are levied against the organisation for their infringements. The fear of retaliation also serves as a deterrent to potential whistleblower (Camerer 1996:52; Binikos 2006:31).

SUGGESTIONS FOR PUBLIC SECTOR MANAGERS

Feldman (1999:2–3) and Mbatha (2005:178) state that there are three stages in the process of whistle blowing. During the first stage, causation, a person needs to observe irregular or criminal conduct (or activity) taking place in the

organisation. A decision must then be made as to whether to agree with the wrongdoing, to partake, to object or to walk away. These five choices are not mutually exclusive as an individual's decision on how to behave at any given time may be reconsidered later.

Irrespective of personal demeanour, there may be no alternative but to proceed to the second stage, disclosure. In organisations regulated by legislation, which include all organisations in democratic societies, there may be rules and regulations requiring disclosure to an external regulator or auditor. Auditors and other compliance officers are themselves under strict rules of disclosure. In situations of disclosure, the response of some institutions is to get rid of the problem, not by addressing the disclosed wrongdoing, but by addressing the whistle blower.

Stage three of the whistle blowing process is retaliation. Disclosure is often by means of confidential information including documents, but even so, the whistle blower's identity may not be obvious if the disclosure is an anonymous disclosure. Consequently, identification of the whistle blower is a matter of great importance to the wrongdoer while preserving anonymity may perhaps be of greater importance to the whistle blower (Feldman 1999:2–3; Mbatha 2005:178).

According to Miceli, Near and Dworkin (2009:383) managers can and should create an organisational culture that encourage good, ethical behaviour and good

Table 2: A summary of action steps for managers

<p><i>Before concerns are articulated:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support the development of moral identity and moral agency. • Create a tough anti-retaliation policy that allows for the disciplining or dismissal of employees who retaliate against whistle blowers. • Distribute the policy through the intranet, in orientation materials, and elsewhere. • Search for and select employees who have attributes associated with observation of wrongdoing, and whistle blowing. • Familiarise and train employees about what the organisation considers wrongful, and what to do if wrongdoing is observed. • Consider building incentives for valid internal whistle blowing into a reward structure.
<p><i>Once concerns are articulated:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus on the wrongdoing alleged in the complaint and not on the complainant. • Investigate reports fully and fairly. • Take swift corrective action when the complaint is well-founded. • Provide feedback so that management gets recognition for taking action. • Provide several communication channels so that employees can choose to report to someone with whom they are comfortable.

Source: Miceli, Near, and Dworkin (2009:379–396).

performance. Any behaviour that does not support this goal should be prevented and any disclosures on wrongdoing must be acted on. An organisational culture based on this will lead to self-correction and the reinforcement of values and standards.

Once the whistle blower has decided to blow the whistle, various steps can be followed to report the wrongdoing. Often, as is the case in South Africa, legislation provides for specific steps to be followed if a protected disclosure is sought. Whistle blowing is an obvious operation and concerns making public certain issues by an individual acting on his or her own, believing that both his or her motives and the accusation made will stand up to public examination.

People do not automatically blow the whistle if they become aware of for example unethical behaviour in their organisation. There has to be an issue that is larger, that affects more than only the people within the organisation. Miethe (1999:44) identified four types of responses to organisational wrongdoing in a survey attempting to analyse the age, gender, educational level, occupational position, and years of employment within a company as well as psychological beliefs and general attitudes of the whistle blower. Miethe (1999: 44) distinguishes the following four types of responses:

- non-observers of misconduct;
- silent observers – those who see misconduct but remain silent;
- internal whistle blowers – those who report organisational wrongdoing within the company; and
- external whistle blowers – those who report organisational wrongdoing to authorities outside the organisation.

Public managers need to take into consideration that these responses will be determined by a number of factors that was described in an earlier section of this article. Additional to the identified responses, managers need to consider that there are consequences to the whistle blower as well as the organisation as a whole.

CONCLUSION

Whistle blowers are defined as individuals that expose perceived wrongdoing to people or bodies in an authoritative position either internally or externally. This disclosure is often based on moral reasoning and for the good of the organisation and the public. Whistle blowing should have a clearly distinctive goal, in the attempt to terminate the current wrongdoing or prevent future wrongdoing of a related type. It is clear that the concept whistle blowing implies the presence

of specific actors, identifiable actions and a process consisting of a number of steps, occurring in a particular order.

The various individual characteristics of the whistle blower such as credibility, power, anonymity and the psychological factors impact greatly on the decision to blow the whistle as well as the organisational response to the disclosure. At heart, the whistle blower that discloses information in good faith, has honest intentions and wants to protect not only the interest of the public, but also the organisation. That is why it is troublesome that the responses and treatment whistle blowers receive disheartens so many potential whistle blowers to disclose perceived wrongdoing.

In making the decision to disclose wrongdoing, potential whistle blowers need to establish and address ethical tension points by for example establishing the seriousness of the problem and the possible effects of blowing the whistle. Addressing these tension points will also enable public managers to structure the whistle blowing process more efficiently. Public managers need to take into consideration the possible effects that whistle blowing might have on the individual – such as occupational detriment. The response of the organisation must be structured in such a manner that the relationship of trust that exists between the trustor and the trustee must not be harmed. This means that the organisation must properly investigate all claims made in good faith. Whistle blowing will have an effect on the organisation and it might even damage the reputation of the organisation. A Japanese proverb state that “The reputation of a thousand years is determined by the conduct of one hour”. It is imperative that public managers establish an effective process for blowing the whistle within the organisation that will not only protect the whistle blower, but that will establish an organisational culture that is characterised by ethics, values and morals.

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Historical evaluation of the roles of Public Service Commissions in South Africa, 1912–2008

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ABSTRACT

The historical development of public service commissions in South Africa had been a process that formed part of the administration of the country since Unification in 1910. Although public service commissions existed in the former colonies prior to 1910, it was only after the establishment of the Union of South Africa that a central public service commission was established in 1912 for the first time. This central public service commission not only played an important advisory role to the Governor-General, but also in the management of the public service at the time. Its creation in terms of the South Africa Act, 1910 (the Constitution) also formed the basis for the development of successive central and provincial public service commissions in the country and the development of the public service ever since.

The article commences with a historical analysis of the pre-democratic public service commissions and continues with such an analysis during the transitional and post-democratic stages. It further explores the nature of the powers and functions of these personnel management institutions as well as the legal prescriptions relevant to such powers and functions.

The article concludes with a summary of the salient features of the powers and functions of public service commissions, their roles in the development of the public service during the indicated stages, and (in the case of the post-democratic stage) the Public Service Commission's

contribution to upholding the basic values and principles governing public administration in terms of the 1996 Constitution.

INTRODUCTION

Public service commissions had been part of the administrative landscape of South Africa since Unification in 1910. Although public service commissions existed in the Cape Colony, the Transvaal and Natal prior to unification, it was only after the establishment of the Union of South Africa that a central public service commission was established in 1912 for the first time. This central personnel institution formed the basis for the development of successive central and provincial public service commissions in the country where their influence on the management of the public service has been felt ever since. It is therefore important to reflect on the roles that these institutions have played in South Africa since the establishment of a union.

Reference is made to the three designations of public service commissions, namely, the three institutions, severally, and jointly, of the pre-, transitional, and post-democratic stages in the central government and provincial government spheres of South Africa. These public service commissions were designated through the years as Public Service Commission (PSC), Commission for Administration (CFA), and Provincial Service Commissions (Prov.SCs).

The article commences with a historical analysis of the pre-democratic public service commissions (PSCs and the CFA) (1912–1993), of the PSC and Prov.SCs during the transitional stage (1993–1998), and of the restructured PSC during the post-democratic stage (1998–2008). It further explores the legal prescriptions relevant to the powers and functions of these institutions that shaped the practices that resulted from these prescriptions.

The article concludes with a summary of the salient features of the powers and functions of the public service commissions during the indicated time-frames. For purposes of clarity, the methodology employed in this article is discussed next.

METHODOLOGY

In historical research, sources are located and evaluated and then synthesised and interpreted with a view to suggesting causal explanations for events and practices (Welman, Kruger and Mitchell 2005:24). For the purposes of this article the sources consist of the roles of public service commissions as detailed in

Acts and reports that emerge from these Acts, namely annual reports and other official documentation – hence the historical nature of this article. Observing and attempting to interpret what one observes as conscious and deliberate human activities, lead to scientific knowledge (Babbie and Mouton 2009:xxiii).

The subsequent rubrics describe the establishment and powers and functions of public service commissions during the successive stages.

PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSIONS DURING THE PRE-DEMOCRATIC STAGE (1912–1993)

Prior to South Africa becoming a Union in 1910, public service commissions (also known as central personnel institutions) already existed in the Cape Colony, the Transvaal and Natal. During this time, the creation of such an institution was also envisaged for the Orange River Colony. However, with the enactment of the *Public Service and Pensions Act* 29 of 1912, a central PSC was established on 1 August 1912 to serve the public service of the Union of South Africa (Marais 1985:42; CFA 1987:7). This establishment was done in accordance with the *South Africa Act, 1909*

(Constitution of the Union). In terms of section 142 of the *South Africa Act, 1909*, the “...Governor-General-in-Council shall appoint a permanent public service commission with such powers and duties relating to the appointment, discipline, retirement, and superannuation of public officers as Parliament shall decide” (Union of South Africa 1909:section 142).

Section 2(1) of the *Public Service and Pensions Act, 29 of 1912*, stipulated as follows:

“In conformity with the provisions of section one hundred and forty two of the *South Africa Act, 1909*, the Governor-General shall appoint, as from the commencement of this Act, a Public Service Commission, consisting of not more than three members, one of whom shall be appointed as chairman. Each such member shall hold office for a period of five years and may be re-appointed.”

Government Notice No. 1014 of 1912 reflected the appointment of the three members. With the appointment of the three members (commissioners) by the Governor-General in 1912 and the subsequent appointment by them of a staff complement of fifteen officials to the Office of the PSC, this small institution, fashioned on the British Civil Service Commission, performed functions mainly related to personnel administration matters. It was a central, coordinating, personnel advisory body to the Governor-General as head of the executive government (Marais 1985:42).

Section 142 of the *South Africa Act, 1909*, therefore established the constitutional *locus* (place of abode) for the establishment of such a PSC.

POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE PSC DURING THE PRE-DEMOCRATIC STAGE

The activities of the Union of South Africa's PSC were mostly limited to the Administrative and Clerical Division and the General Division of the Union's Public Service as well as officials in these divisions who had been assigned to any of the four provinces (Cape of Good Hope, Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal) (sections 2, 3 and 5 of the *Public Service and Pensions Act, 1912*). Its powers and functions broadly related to "...the appointment, promotion, discipline, retirement and superannuation of persons employed in the Public Service..." and the "...reorganisation of departments in the Public Service" (Union of South Africa 1912: section 2(2)). In terms of section 2(3) (a-g) of this Act, the PSC was, more specifically, vested with the following powers and functions:

- keep a register of applicants who qualify for appointments;
- make recommendations on appointments;
- keep a record of persons employed in the Administrative and Clerical Division;
- make recommendations as to the control, reorganisation, or readjustment of any departments or offices in the Public Service;
- enquire into cases of misconduct and make recommendations as to the action to be taken in respect of such misconduct;
- make recommendations as to the terms of the regulations which it is expedient to frame in terms of Chapter IV of the Act;
- frame an annual report and submit it to the Minister of the Interior which shall be laid before Parliament within seven days if the Parliament be then in session;
- inspect all public offices and have access to all official documents; and
- exercise powers or any duties in relation to officers serving under provincial administrations.

The primary mandate of the PSC was therefore to make recommendations on appointments (employment) and matters incidental thereto, and to make recommendations on the reorganisation of the Public Service to the Governor-General as head of the executive government. The PSC was, therefore, a central, coordinating personnel advisory institution (Marais 1985:42) with recommending powers.

Also central to the function of the appointment of the Union's public officials, was the prevention of favouritism in the public service (PSC 2007:11). As a historical curiosity: favouritism would remain an important issue in the Union's

Public Service. The South African Party, in its election manifesto of 1929 stated in this regard:

“The spoils system which has been the curse of other countries, is being adopted in South Africa. Jobs for pals are publicly preached by the Pact as a desirable policy. We condemn this as a pernicious policy which will cost this country very dear”. “...No wonder many of our best men are leaving the Service, and that the Service has been impoverished and its morale lowered” (Kleynhans 1987:225).

In its early years, the PSC's right of existence as a central personnel institution was often questioned and met with suspicion (CFA 1987). “The Government, the permanent heads of Departments and the Treasury, all alike, regarded it with suspicion” (Brooks in Marais 1985:42). This suspicion led to an extensive number of recommendations from the Commission (112 cases in 1912 and 98 in 1913) having been ignored by government (Marais 1985:42). Moreover, the Government interfered in the administrative activities of the PSC, and as a result of the discord between the two, resulted in an investigation into the powers and functions of the PSC by a Select Committee of the House of Assembly. Following the recommendations of the Select Committee, the *Public Service and Pensions Amendment Act*, 1914, was adopted which stripped the PSC of its most important powers of recommendation (Gildenhuys 1988:50).

However, the PSC gradually gained in stature and became an accepted and highly regarded institution in the Union. The Graham Commission of Inquiry into the Civil Service (1918) and, later on, the Centlivres Commission (1944), helped to establish the PSC as a viable institution (Marais 1985:42-43).

The issue of the PSC's right of existence and the resultant suspicion during the early years of its existence was, however, not the only time that the PSC's powers and functions were distrusted and came under governmental scrutiny. Eleven years after the establishment of the Republic of South Africa in 1961, with the PSC's 60th anniversary in 1972, its right of existence again became a contentious issue. However, after consulting with heads of department, the Government decided that the PSC should be retained and that its status within the system of government would be enhanced and its authority would be extended (CFA 1987:7).

This enhanced status and extended authority during the 1970s are underscored by the fact that the PSC was enabled to communicate with the Government directly through the Prime Minister and the commissioners were appointed from the ranks of serving heads of departments. Also, its authority was further extended in 1976 through a new provision in the *Public Service Act*, 1957 (as amended), whereby departments were, for the first time, compelled to carry out the PSC's recommendations, thus propelling the PSC into a powerful

position where its recommendations – which had to be complied with – became vested with executive authority.

This extended role of the PSC which, in terms of the *Public Service Amendment Act 71 of 1980*, became known as the Commission for Administration (CFA), has been aptly captured as follows:

“As a body which was established by law, the Commission is supposed to undertake only what the law entrusts to it. However, the Commission gradually became more involved in functions that were not specifically laid down by law. The Commission’s *de facto* responsibilities thus began to extend beyond its *de jure* responsibilities. In reality, it is therefore a commission for more than just the Public Service” (CFA 1987:7). This enhanced nature, stature and sphere of influence of the PSC grew rapidly until, by the 1980s, “...it had burgeoned into a vast, powerful and formidable statutory body. Ostensibly, it was apolitical. In reality it played a key role in facilitating and bolstering the untenable operations of public administration under the apartheid regime” (PSC 2007:11).

Examples of the ever-increasing *de facto* responsibilities mentioned above were as follows:

- Advice on the abolition of the thirteen development boards and the accommodation of their personnel and functions for an interim period.
- Multi-lateral cooperation with Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei (the TBVC-states) with regard to personnel matters (e.g. improvements of conditions of service, productivity, and personnel mobility).
- Coordination of the dispensations of municipal managers and the boards of directors of state corporations.
- Development of a system for the greater managerial autonomy of scientific councils.
- Advice on privatisation and deregulation in terms of the *White Paper on Privatisation and Deregulation*, 1987 (CFA 1987:13–35).

This extended role of the PSC was continued until, through the constitutional developments in the country, an interim Constitution (*Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, 1993) was adopted.

SETTING THE CONSTITUTIONAL SCENE FOR THE CREATION OF PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSIONS IN THE TRANSITIONAL STAGE

The *South-Africa Act*, 1909 (which created the Union of South Africa in 1910), and the *Republic of South Africa Constitution Act*, 1961 (Act 32 of 1961) (creating

the Republic of South Africa in 1961) were basically similar in that the latter constitution largely embodied the 1909 constitution, with the exception that the position of the Governor-General became that of the State President (Marais 1985:33) and that the institution of the PSC was not mentioned in it.

Not only the 1961 Constitution, but also the interim Constitution, 1993, and the final Constitution, 1996, of the new democratic state, were said to be created on the foundations of state structures of the *South Africa Act*, 1909, and consequently, the structures of the 1961 Constitution: “Although the interim Constitution brought about a legal revolution, it did so on the foundation of the state structures created by an Act of the British Parliament in 1909. It was this state that survived the guerrilla warfare of the 1960s to 1980s, the mounting external pressure and the massive internal insurrection of the 1980s. It is this state which is preserved, though substantially modified, by the interim and 1996 Constitutions” (Curry and De Waal 2001:41).

After the establishment of the first Republic of South Africa (1961), the gradual establishment of “independent” states and “self-governing” territories (Marais 1985:33; PSC 1997:33) occurred up to the passing of the *Republic of South Africa Constitution Act*, 1983 and was continued until the adoption of the interim Constitution in 1993. Up to the 1983 Constitution, the government-of-the-day established ten such “independent” states and “self-governing” territories. In total, the combined number of states, together with the four provinces that existed from 1910, were fifteen in number: the Republic of South Africa, the four provincial administrations (Transvaal, Natal, Orange Free State and Cape Province), the administrations of four states regarded as independent (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei – the TBVC states), and the administrations of the six self-governing territories (Gazankulu, Kangwane, KwaNdebele, KwaZulu, Lebowa, and Qwa-Qwa) (UNDP 2000:111; Marais 1985:51–52; PSC 1997:33).

Although the above “independent” states and “self-governing territories” were separate entities with their own public service Acts and public service commissions or other forms of central personnel authority, the “family relationship” with the “mother” South African public service, in terms of their regulatory personnel prescripts and, in general, the formal model of administration, was clearly discernible (PSC 1997:4).

As will be shown later on, these regulatory prescripts and the model of administration all had to be amalgamated into a single public service deployed between a central administration and nine provincial administrations following the further constitutional developments.

With the adoption of the Harare Declaration in 1989, the African National Congress’s (ANC’s) *Constitutional Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa*, 1988, was used as a basis for outlining the minimum principles for a post-

apartheid South Africa. This declaration and the South African Government's own initiatives in the direction of constitutionalism during 1986, with a request to the South African Law Commission to investigate and make recommendations regarding the definition and protection of group rights, and the possible extension of the existing protection of individual rights, laid the basis for a negotiated settlement. State President P.W. Botha's forced resignation in 1989 and the cautiously reformist platform of Mr F.W. De Klerk, who became State President, led to the opportunity for meaningful negotiations between the government and its principal opponents (Curry and De Waal 2001:58–59).

Following the release of Mr Nelson Mandela from prison and the unbanning of the ANC in 1990, a system of representative government was negotiated by the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) which convened for the first time on 20 December 1991 and was, later on, formally supported by a whites-only referendum on 17 March 1992. "The major parties – the ANC and the De Klerk government – agreed on a number of fundamental details about the constitutional structure of a post-apartheid state. These included the establishment of a multi-party democracy in a unitary South Africa (entailing the reincorporation of the TBVC 'states'), and a supreme constitution with an entrenched bill of rights to be adjudicated by a constitutional court." (Curry and De Waal 2001:59). These fundamental details were ultimately captured in the interim Constitution, 1993.

These efforts led, *inter alia*, to the establishment, in 1994, of Provincial Service Commissions (Prov.SCs) and the continuation of the work of the Public Service Commission (PSC) that was in existence at the time.

In May 1994, the Government of National Unity was sworn in, followed soon after by the election of provincial Premiers and the appointment of the provincial executive councils. A new, unified public service, replacing the separate public services of the former dispensation, had to be available to the newly appointed political executives at both national and provincial spheres of government as a matter of urgency and the PSC and Prov.SCs, severally and jointly, had to perform this daunting task in terms of the interim Constitution, 1993.

Chapter 13 of the interim *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* 200 of 1993, introduced the concept of a national PSC, responsible for the public service of the central government sphere, and Prov.SCs, responsible for the public services of the newly created nine provinces. After the *South Africa Act* 1909, this was the second time in the history of South Africa that public service commissions were taken up in a constitution of South Africa (no such provisions existed in the 1961 and 1983 constitutions). This trend would later on be continued in the new *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, 1996.

POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE PSC IN TERMS OF THE INTERIM CONSTITUTION

Section 209 of the interim Constitution, 1993, determined that:

- “(1) There shall be a Public Service Commission for the Republic which shall have the powers and functions entrusted to it by this Constitution or by a law of a competent authority” and shall be accountable to Parliament. Its powers and functions (section 210) were, among others “...to make recommendations, give directions and conduct enquiries with regard to-
- (i) the organisation and administration of departments and the public service;
 - (ii) the conditions of service of members of the public service and matters related thereto;
 - (iii) personnel practices in the public service, appointments, promotions, transfers, discharge and other career incidents of members of the public service and matters in connection with the employment of personnel;
 - (iv) the promotion of efficiency and effectiveness of departments and the public service; and
 - (v) a code of conduct applicable to members of the public service.”

Section 210 (3(a) and (b)) of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* 200 of 1993 made the implementation of the PSC’s recommendations and directions compulsory in that they had to be implemented by the appropriate person or institution within six months unless:

- “(a) such recommendation or direction involves expenditure from public funds and the approval of the treasury for such expenditure is not obtained; or
- (b) the President rejects it and refers it back to the Commission before its implementation.”

The PSC’s powers and functions also included, “...when so requested, to advise the President, a Minister or a member of the Executive Council of a province in regard to any matter relating to the public service or the employment, remuneration or other conditions of service of functionaries employed by any institution or body which receives funds who are partly appropriated by Parliament or a provincial legislature” (RSA 1993: section 210 (1)(b)).

Section 211 of the 1993 Constitution determined that the PSC shall consist of not fewer than three and not more than five members appointed by the President. The

role of the PSC in terms of the Interim Constitution was that of "...a fully-fledged central personnel institution with executive functions and concomitant wide-ranging powers" (Muthien 1997:11). The terrain of the PSC in terms of legislation that existed at the time, covered policy-making, regulating the execution of functions pertaining to personnel practices, including public administration, training, governmental organising and information technology. The functions of the PSC had become so diverse that its impartiality and independence from the political executive (as guaranteed by the interim Constitution, 1993) were questioned. The PSC assumed three contradictory roles in this regard (Muthien 1997:11):

Firstly, the PSC "...was expected to protect officials from undue political pressure in, for example, appointments, promotion and discipline..." but at the same time, "...was expected to represent the State as employer in negotiations with trade unions on remuneration and conditions of service. This dual role of the Commission brought the independence and impartial status of the Commission into question.

Secondly, there was also a general perception that the powers and functions of the Commission were so wide that they actually infringed on political policy responsibilities and prerogatives of the Government.

The third major problem area concerned the extensive involvement of the Public Service Commission in executive functions/decision-making..." and "...this state of affairs became untenable, as it was administratively inefficient and curtailed the managerial autonomy of departments, as well as allowed departments to escape full accountability."

The issue of the impartiality and independence of the PSC also spilled over to Prov.SCs in the provincial spheres of government which was further strengthened by the fact that the powers and functions of Prov.SCs largely corresponded with those of the national PSC.

POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF PROVINCIAL SERVICE COMMISSIONS IN TERMS OF THE INTERIM CONSTITUTION

In terms of section 213 of the interim Constitution 200 of 1993, a provincial legislature could by law (Provincial Service Commission Acts) provide for a Prov.SC. For example, the North West Province established its Prov.SC in terms of the North West Provincial Service Commission Act 2 of 1994.

Once the Prov.SCs were established, commissioners were appointed to them. There existed no uniformity in the processes that were followed in appointments and the number of commissioners who were appointed to Prov.

SCs in the nine provinces, with membership ranging from three to seven for individual provinces. For example, in the North West Province three members were initially appointed to the newly established Prov.SC, two of whom were full-time and the other one part-time. Later on, another two full-time members were appointed to the North West Prov.SC (own experience).

Prov.SCs had to perform their powers and functions *subject to norms and standards applying nationally* (own emphasis). Such commissions shall, "...in respect of public servants employed by the province, be competent-

- to make recommendations, give directions and conduct inquiries with regard to:
 - the establishment and organisation of departments of the province;
 - appointments, promotions, transfers, discharge and other career incidents of such public servants; and
 - the promotion of efficiency and effectiveness in departments of the province" (section 213(a)).

The Prov.SCs' powers also included, "...when so requested, to advise the Premier or a member of the Executive Council of a province in regard to any matter relating to the public service or the employment, remuneration or other conditions of service of functionaries employed by any institution which receives funds wholly or partly appropriated by a provincial legislature (section 213 (b))." The determination of conditions of service and personnel practices were, however, excluded from the Prov.SCs' competencies (Muthien 1997:10) and fell within the ambit of the central PSC's powers.

In terms of section 213 of the interim *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* 200 of 1993, the legal obligation to implement the PSC's recommendations and directions was made *mutatis mutandis* applicable to Prov.SCs except that any reference to an Act of Parliament, Parliament or the President should be deemed to be a reference to a provincial law, a provincial legislator or a premier of a province, respectively.

This legal obligation to implement the Prov.SCs' recommendations and directions led the Members of the Executive Council (MECs) to inquire into the Prov.SCs' wide-ranging powers of appointment, promotions, transfers and discharge. The feeling was that they, as elected political office-bearers were hamstrung by the Prov.SCs' powers (own experience).

The interim Constitution thus made provision for more or less similar functions that had to be performed by the PSC and the Prov.SCs, each within the ambit of its own authority, and provided for the establishment of national norms and standards by the central PSC that had to be adhered to in the central as well as the provincial spheres of government. As a result of these provisions, the PSC and the Prov.SCs also had to grapple with the exigencies of performing their powers and functions properly.

Against the background of the creation of a single public service for the Republic (that is, the merging of fifteen South African civil services into one single entity by the re-integration of the South Africa national public service, the four public services of the four provinces, the public services of the four “independent” TBVC states, and the public services of the six “self-governing territories”), it became necessary to deal with the administration of the rationalised single public service on a coordinated basis.

The rationalisation process, described as a “...metamorphosis of epic proportions”, had to take place with minimal disruption to the delivery of services to all the people of South Africa (UNDP 2000:112). “To convert ... (the) public services, with varying degrees of similarity and dissimilarity, and numbering approximately 1.2 million people, into a single service, implied a massive exercise” (PSC 1997:5). Given the enormity of such an exercise, more than two years were to pass before it could be said that rationalisation had substantially been finalised (PSC 1997:9).

The rationalisation process was accompanied by an array of disparities and other difficulties that had to be addressed by, amongst others, the PSC and the Prov.SCs (see Annexure A for an example). The *Report on the Rationalisation of Public Administration in the Republic of South Africa, 1994–1996* is an authoritative report that fully deals with this difficult task and it is not considered necessary to recapitulate its contents for the purposes of this article save to name the major considerations and interventions, namely, setting a new legal framework in place, organisational rationalisation, rationalisation of terms and conditions of service, staffing the rationalised structures, and managing the rationalisation process.

The above considerations and interventions therefore attempted to deal with the multiplicity of public service systems and prescripts. For example, the integration of structures and personnel in some provinces proved cumbersome, particularly where it involved the integration of staff from the former “independent” states and “self-governing territories” referred to earlier. Infrastructure backlogs in these states and territories added to the difficulties of provinces such as the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Limpopo, causing them to lag in the implementation of subsequent management reforms and national policy (UNDP 2000:112).

The need for the PSC and Prov.SCs to work in a harmonised fashion can therefore not be gainsaid. This need led to the establishment of the Forum for Service Commissions.

Forum for Service Commissions

The Forum for Service Commissions was established in December 1994 on the initiative of the PSC and in conjunction with the Prov.SCs to obtain clarity of purpose and to enhance the implementation of the national norms and standards.

Although not a statutory body, and not vested with decision-making powers but rather an agreed-upon arrangement with voluntary participation by its members, the Forum was nevertheless an important structure during the time of rationalisation. The PSC, acting on behalf of the Forum for Service Commissions, also utilised the Intergovernmental Forum (consisting of Ministers of the Government of National Unity and the Premiers of the provinces) to clear, at the highest political level, issues such as the rationalisation process and appointments of the permissible number of managerial posts at provincial level (PSC 1997:90).

The first meeting of the Forum took place on 1 December 1994 and by the end of May 1996, there had been seven ordinary meetings, three special meetings and three workshop retreats. An analysis of the agendas (agendas were crafted by the chairpersons of the PSC and Prov.SCs) of the Forum's meetings and retreats suggests that the matters dealt with can be categorised under three main headings, namely:

- rationalisation;
- matters bearing on the on-going conduct and improvement of public service administration; and
- matters focusing on the restructuring and the transformation of the public service (PSC 1997:90).

This Forum continued its work to enhance the commissions' powers and functions until the Prov.SCs were abolished early in 1998 and a new single PSC (responsible for both the national and provincial spheres of government) was established in terms of Chapter 10 of the *Constitution of South Africa*, 1996, having due regard to the Constitutional Principles of the interim Constitution, 1993.

The “silent revolution”

The PSC re-assessed its powers and functions during 1994 and 1995, and fundamentally reviewed its statutory powers and functions based on the emerging system of democratic governance. “In a historically unprecedented move, the PSC devised a new system of state administration and governance for the public service, beginning with a dramatic unbundling of its powers and functions, transferring its policy functions to the newly created Department for Public Service and Administration, and delegating its executive functions to line departments, thereby vesting them with considerable management authority. This new system was adopted by Cabinet during February 1996 and pre-empted and paved the way for the implementation of the new Constitution...” (Muthien 1997:11) and, in so doing, laid the foundation for the creation of a new PSC that was appointed in 1999.

The PSC was therefore instrumental in re-shaping its own powers and functions from a fully-fledged central personnel institution with executive functions and

concomitant wide-ranging powers in terms of the interim Constitution, 1993, to an institution with advisory and recommending powers in terms of the new Constitution, 1996 (Muthien 1997:11). “With a fundamentally new constitutional mandate, a support structure of no more than 200 officials, and very few global or national examples on which to draw to translate its new mandate into reality, the PSC has managed “...to establish itself as a formidable anchor of our democratic state” (PSC 2007:5).

The legislative processes following the adoption of the 1996 Constitution can be summarised as follows:

On 1 July 1999, the *Public Service Laws Amendment Act, 1997*, section 15(1) of the *Public Service Commission Act, 1997*, and the abolition of the *Public Service Commission Act, 1994*, came into effect. The PSC and the Prov.SCs established under the interim Constitution (1993) were thus abolished. Staff employed in the offices of the PSC and the Prov.SCs was absorbed into the one office of the newly established PSC (PSC 1999:2).

Although the fourteen new commissioners (one each for the nine provinces, and five for the national office), were appointed by the President as from 1 January 1999, the commencement of formal operations by the new PSC was delayed until 1 July 1999 in view of amended legislation in 1998 (PSC 1999:3).

POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE PSC IN THE POST DEMOCRATIC STAGE (1996–2008)

In terms of sections 196 (1) and (2) of Chapter 10 of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996*, there is a single PSC for the Republic of South Africa which is “...independent and must be impartial, and must exercise its powers and functions without fear, favour or prejudice in the interest of the maintenance of effective and efficient public administration and a high standard of professional ethics in the public service” (section 196 (i), (ii)).

The PSC derives its mandate from sections 195 and 196 of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996*. Section 195 sets out the values and principles governing public administration that must be promoted by the PSC, namely:

- (a) A high standard of professional ethics must be promoted and maintained.
- (b) Efficient, economic and effective use of resources must be promoted.
- (c) Public administration must be development-oriented.
- (d) Services must be provided impartially, fairly, equitably and without bias.
- (e) People’s needs must be responded to, and the public must be encouraged to participate in policy-making.
- (f) Public administration must be accountable.

- (g) Transparency must be fostered by providing the public with timely, accessible and accurate information.
- (h) Good human-resource management and career-development practices, to maximise human potential, must be cultivated.
- (i) Public administration must be broadly representative of the South Africa people..." (Section 195).

In terms of section 196 (4) of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996*, the main powers and functions of the new PSC are:

- “(a) to promote the values and principles of section 195 throughout the public service;
- (b) to investigate, monitor and evaluate the organisation, administration, and personnel practices, of the public service;
- (c) to promote measures to ensure effective and efficient performance within the public service;
- (d) to give directions aimed at ensuring that personnel procedures relating to recruitment, transfers, promotions and dismissals comply with the values and principles of section 195;
- (e) to report in respect of its activities..." ; and
- (f) “either of its own accord or on receipt of any complaint:
 - (i) investigate and evaluate the application of personnel and public administration practices, and to report to the relevant executive authority and legislature;
 - (ii) investigate grievances of employees in the public service concerning official acts or omissions, and recommend appropriate remedies;
 - (iii) monitor and investigate adherence to applicable procedures in the public service; and
 - (iv) advise national and provincial organs of state regarding personnel practices in the public service...”

As can be derived from the above values, principles, powers and functions, the new PSC that was established in 1999, is an investigating, monitoring and advisory body, and not a policy-making or implementing institution as its predecessors were during the transitional stage. A discussion of its role must therefore be seen against this background.

An evaluation of whether the new PSC’s role contributed to the values and principles governing public administration and the powers and functions accorded to it in terms of the new Constitution, can be answered by referring to the Annual Reports, the annual State of the Public Service reports (SOPS reports),

and function-specific reports issued by the PSC and presented to Parliament and other stakeholders.

From the first Annual Report in 1999 up to 2008, the new PSC reflected how consistently it pursued the values and principles and its powers and functions in terms of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996*, in the interest of public administration. In these reports the PSC gave an overview as well as details, in a prescribed format, of the programmes and sub-programmes of its work in terms of the provisions of section 196 of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996*, and sections 40 and 65 of the *Public Finance Management Act (PFMA), 1999*. These programmes and sub-programmes are directly related to the values and principles and the powers and functions detailed in the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996*. In reporting in this fashion, the PSC thus promoted these values and principles.

In the SOPS reports, the PSC used the values and principles enshrined in section 195 of the Constitution, 1996, as yardsticks by which to measure public service performance and provided a high-level overview of the progress, or otherwise, in giving effect to the Constitutional values and principles of public administration (Media release 25 May 2006; PSC 2006:6). In doing so, it contributed to the very values and principles that the Public Service needs to uphold in public administration.

The function-specific reports with recommendations and advice also bear testimony to its independence and impartiality in the performance of its powers and functions. When the titles of these reports (1999-2008) are reflected against the values and principles and the powers and functions, a glimpse can be had of the positive contribution of the PSC towards public administration (PSC 2003:Online).

Deputy President Kgalema Motlanthe, expressed himself as follows on the critical role that the reports of the new PSC played since its inception:

“Established in terms of Chapter 10 of the Constitution, the PSC has the mandate to monitor and evaluate the performance of our public service and advice (*sic*) Parliament and the Executive on progress and areas that require intervention... Indeed you have ensured that the PSC is able to guide the transformation of the public service effectively and entrench the 9 Constitutional Values and Principles which define good governance for our public administration. As a result...the PSC has evolved into a formidable Constitutional body which not only generates insightful oversight information for Parliament, but also provides the Executive with credible advice on good practice in public administration... Through the PSC’s reports and advice, we have increasingly come to appreciate the importance of being proactive in identifying challenges before they become chronic and affect service delivery... (S)ome of the PSC’s findings may not always be flattering to the

Executive, but these have, regardless, been brought to our attention and the attention of Parliament.” (Motlanthe 2009: On-line).

Having regard to the above, the value judgement can be made that the new PSC did contribute to the values and principles of public administration in the sense that its advice, through its official reports to Parliament (as a superior political oversight body), is public knowledge.

SUMMARY OF THE SALIENT FEATURES OF PSCS, THE CFA AND PROV.SCs SINCE UNIFICATION

The PSCs, during most of the pre-democratic stage (1912–1972), were institutions with recommending powers and functions only. During the latter part of the pre-democratic stage (1972–1993), the PSC and the CFA became vested with recommending and executive (policy-making) powers. These policy-making powers and functions reached their zenith during the 1980s when their *de facto* activities exceeded their *de jure* responsibilities.

This powerful position of the PSCs during the latter part of the pre-democratic stage was perpetuated by the PSC and the Prov.SCs during the transitional stage (1994–1998), when they were legally vested with both recommending and executive (policy-making) powers with regard to appointments and matters incidental thereto as well as the reorganisation of the Public Service. The PSC had now developed into a fully-fledged central personnel institution with executive functions and accompanying powers.

During the transitional stage, Prov.SCs essentially became extensions of the central PSC in the sense that the interim Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 200 of 1993, made provision for similar powers and functions in the central and provincial spheres of government – with the exception of the determination of national norms and standards reserved for the central PSC. However, these national norms and standards also had to be implemented by the Prov.SCs in the provincial sphere of government – thus extending the reach of the central PSC’s policy, through the Prov.SCs, to the provinces. Even the legal obligations in terms of which appropriate persons or institutions had to implement the PSC’s and Prov.SCs’ recommendations and directions were identical in the interim Constitution 200 of 1993, for implementation in the central and provincial spheres of government.

The transitional stage also saw the PSC’s amalgamation and transformation of the public services of the various “independent” states and “self-governing” territories into one public service for the newly created central government and nine provincial spheres of government. This stage also saw the PSC transforming itself from a central personnel institution with policy-making and executive powers into a recommending

and advisory institution in tandem with the emerging system of government. During this time it also had to grapple with its untenable role of being both an “employer” (representing the state as employer in negotiations with trade unions) and “protector” of public officials in terms of their appointments, promotion and discipline.

Following the transitional stage, during which the PSC reorganised itself mindful of the emerging governmental system, the Prov.SC’s were abolished during 1998.

January 1999 saw the appointment of commissioners to the new PSC created in terms of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996. In the place of the executive powers of its immediate predecessors that reached their peak during the 1980s, and were continued during the transitional stage, the salient feature of the new PSC is an institution with no policy-making or executive powers; only with recommending authority. It therefore reverted to the principle of only recommending powers and functions of the PSC during the Union of South Africa, devoid of any executive and policy-making powers. Notwithstanding this, the work of the PSC, and its recommendations thereon, stood the test of time measured against the values and principles of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996*, in terms of which it had been created. The PSC also became recognised as a formidable institution giving advice to Parliament within the ambit of its constitutional recommending powers and functions.

CONCLUSION

This article provided a historical description and analysis of the roles of public service commissions during three stages in South Africa, namely the pre-democratic, the transitional and post-democratic stages, and provided an identification of the salient features of these institutions.

It has been shown that from its inception in 1912 in the Union of South Africa, the PSC has gradually grown to become a powerful central personnel institution, reaching its zenith during the latter part of the pre-democratic and transitional stages (1980–1994).

The transitional stage saw the daunting task associated with the amalgamation and rationalisation of the public services of fifteen authority levels (the RSA, its four provinces, the four “independent” TBVC states and six “dependent states”), but also bears testimony to the relatively successful roles of the PSC and Prov. SCs during a period of consolidation.

The post-democratic stage was the stage of further consolidation and, once the new PSC was established in 1999, this institution had to deliver on its mandate in terms of sections 195 and 196 of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996*. In referring to the new PSC’s numerous reports of various kinds and order, it can be concluded that it did make a valuable contribution

to upholding the constitutional values and principles of public administration in the post-democratic stage.

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ANNEXURE A

“TECHNICAL COMPLEXITY OF THE RATIONALISATION OF INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES TO COMPLY WITH THE INTERIM CONSTITUTION: ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH IN THE NORTHERN PROVINCE”

In the Northern Province the existing health departments of Venda and the self-governing territories of Lebowa and Gazankulu, together with the existing regional organisations of the Transvaal Department of Hospital Services and the national Department of Health, had to be consolidated into a single provincial health department. From the perspective of the new provinces created in terms of the interim Constitution, this was a problem to be solved by the process of amalgamation. However, from the perspective of the former Transvaal Provincial Administration, the problem was fundamentally different. i.e. one of division. The Transvaal province had been broken up by the interim Constitution and apportioned to four new provinces, namely Gauteng, Northern Province, North West Province and Mpumalanga. In consequence, the Transvaal Department of Hospital Services had to be correspondingly dismantled and apportioned to four new health departments. This dismantling and apportioning applied to both line and supporting or staff functions. A great many similar situations had to be addressed in the rationalisation process in South Africa as a result of the interim Constitution.” (Source: PSC 1997:34–35).

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The use of performance management for effective governance in Public Administration

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ABSTRACT

The objective of this article is to argue the importance of the use of performance management towards effective governance. Various authors have contextualised good governance and performance management and some of the views differ considerably. The intention of this article will not be to debate the differences but rather assess the applicability of performance management in public administration. As a point of departure globalisation and the business of government is briefly discussed together with the pressure on government to improve service delivery. Good governance will be assessed as a critical component and specific attention will be devoted to administrative governance as it relates to the implementation of public policy. Administrative governance forms the basis for performance management because it can be used as a tool to ensure effective governance. Performance management is normally based on the idea of improving external accountability within the context of governance. For the purpose of this article focus is placed on the modernisation of public sector budget, reporting, management of contracts, benchmarking and comparison, and finally the implementation of a strategy.

INTRODUCTION

Worldwide, the public service should respond to the changing environment and demands brought about by globalisation, growing consumer expectations and

increased fiscal demands. The impact of State ideologies on governance and interventions translates directly into different forms of co-ordination, co-operation and collective decision-making. Integration and co-operation across sectors and forming collaborative relationships becomes a major challenge as good governance objectives and an increased emphasis on service delivery require governments to become more innovative. Transformation of the bureaucratic mechanisms that underpin the public service is then essential to cope with the ever-changing environment in which the public service needs to function.

Organisations are required to establish what they want to achieve and indicate the success of their performance management in terms of defined performance indicators. Once an organisation has performed the necessary tasks, it should be determined whether the envisaged level of performance has in fact been achieved and how efficient this achievement was in respect of cost, use of the available resources and time. This requirement sounds like a simple task, but in reality, it is difficult to put into practice. This article explores the use of performance management practices as an indispensable link between effective governance and performance management in the public sector. In the quest to attain effective service delivery and good governance, the mere implementation of a performance system in itself provides no guarantees that the performance of the organisation concerned will be enhanced or that the public organisation will achieve its objectives.

GLOBALISATION AND THE BUSINESS OF GOVERNMENT

Globalisation has had a significant impact on the purpose, role and function of the State. Actors such as Non-Governmental Organisation (NGOs), the international finance sector, which includes the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and environmentalist/conservation groups all advocate sustainable development: the responsible production and consumption of natural resources. Today, this demand plays an ever-increasing role in the policy and administrative environment of a typical nation state.

Although globalisation is often used to explain and analyse international developments – policy shifts, economic interventions, investment and the commitment of a nation state's resources – there is still some difference of opinion about globalisation's role. Some perceive globalisation as a constant threat to social cohesion and as unduly advancing capitalist interests (Abedian and Biggs 1998:10). On a positive note, it is argued that globalisation has created a new dimension of public service delivery through the modernisation of systems, not only in the form of technological advances, but also in the field of information management, including the distribution of information and information

management systems. This shift requires public services to consider a number of issues that were less prominent in the past. Gaster and Squires (2003:21) identify three specific needs, namely, the need

- to achieve results;
- to work in partnerships; and
- to consult users and communities as consumers of public services.

With the above in mind, Gaster and Squires (2003:21), cite an additional set of expectations which originated from the consumers of public services, namely, the notion of “perception” and “satisfaction”. In this case, perception and satisfaction culminate in reliability, good and relevant information, and more importantly, access and helpfulness, which, according to Gaster and Squires (2003:21), should be a constituent of the quality system of a modern public service.

Public sector organisations are often criticized for being inefficient because they lack a business orientation. Consequently, the challenge for public sector organisations lies in adapting the inherent structure of these organisations to produce high-quality public services. Fourie (2011:154–155) highlights and contextualises the importance of structural reform via decentralisation to enhance performance. He argues that the process should involve striving towards a “minimal State”: public service mechanisms should be reconstructed into much flatter hierarchal forms, associated with a strong internal devolution, and characterised by self-organisation and inter-organisational networks. These “tight/loose” bureaucratic forms could provide greater autonomy within a framework of core values linked to explicit performance targets that emanate from the national government, but their impact in a complex socio-political environment will depend on the ability of public managers to cope with new governance challenges.

Gaster and Squires (2003:22) point out that past experiences have often showed that improvements and change tend to be inconsistent, continuing to reflect the historical divisions and differences with which public service organisations are faced. A similar perspective is held by Wilkinson and Applebee (1999:38), who explain that “we have inherited a set of structures, professions, skill mixes and job demarcations which have emerged as a series of responses to the needs of society...that we have long passed. ... if it were possible to start again with a Greenfield site, it is inconceivable that we would create anything like the same organisational and professional architecture that we now have”.

In advanced economies, such as those in the United Kingdom and in the Scandinavian countries, pressure was put on the public service to become more efficient and effective in order to reduce demands on taxpayers. For this objective to be achieved while maintaining the volume and quality of service supplied, public sector entities were forced to follow a number of private sector management principles and techniques (Brignall and Modell 2000:281). The

rise of the customer service movement also created one of the main reasons for the drive toward greater efficiencies in the public sector. Managers thus become increasingly focused on serving the citizens of the country, rather than on meeting the needs of the bureaucracy (Kettl 1997:446).

In respect of the South African business of government, the Constitution sets out the following principles in Section 195(1)(a)(b)(d)(f)(g):

“(1) Public Administration must be government by the democratic values and principles enshrined in the Constitution, including the following principles:

- A high standard of professional ethics must be promoted and maintained.
- Efficient, economic and effective use of resources must be promoted. [...]
- Services must be provided impartially, fairly, equitably and without bias. [...]
- Public Administration must be accountable.
- Transparency must be fostered by providing the public with timely, accessible and accurate information.

From the above stipulations, it can be deduced that good governance and some form of performance management are essential to ensure that the limited resources available to government organisations are used in such a way that the government is able to meet its constitutionally allocated responsibilities and the ruling party is able to meet its election promises.

CONTEXTUALISATION OF GOOD GOVERNANCE

Good governance must complement sound economic policies, and it is underpinned by five core principles: accountability, leadership, integrity, stewardship and transparency (Office of the Auditor General of British Columbia, 2011:5–6). Each of these principles directs and controls the structures and processes within the organisation, and holds the organisation to account. Governance can be described as a process of management, control, supervision and accountability, in which a public manager sets the tone at the top in managing (being open, accountable and prudent in decision-making) and in delivering on programmes (The Netherlands Ministry of Finance, 2000:8). The leader becomes critical in achieving an organisation-wide commitment to good governance.

Governance focuses on performance and conformance, ensuring that organisations meet the requirements of the law, regulations, published standards and the community’s expectations of probity, accountability and openness. In recent years, more emphasis is being placed on reporting on performance, since performance information is an integral part of public management reforms and

should improve accountability and results, while reducing risks. Risk management is regarded as an integral part of good governance, because it strengthens the approaches followed by an organisation in reaching effective performance outcomes and conformance to its objectives. The essence of governance is that there are enough safeguards to deal with the responsibility which extends over an entire policy chain, and to realise policy objectives efficiently and effectively (Office of the Auditor General of British Columbia 2011:5–6).

There are three types of governance which are all, to varying degrees, subject to the influence of civil society and the private sector, namely: economic, political, and administrative governance (UNDP 1997:8–10). These types of governance are also used for discussion purposes in this article, with particular emphasis on administrative governance. Economic governance includes processes of decision-making that directly or indirectly affect the economy of a country and/or its relationship with other economies that in turn exert a major influence on social issues such as equity, poverty and quality of life. Political governance refers to decision-making and policy implementation by a legitimate and authoritative State, which is enabled by separate legislative, executive and judicial branches, represents the interests of a pluralist polity, and, most importantly, allows citizens to elect their representatives freely. Administrative governance, which is the focus of this article, relates to the public sector's implementation of public policy. It may be applied at the institutional and organisational levels. The public sector consists of institutions and organisations specifically designed to contribute to sustainable development via the establishment of appropriate political, legal, judicial and social structures. In order to ensure such development, an organisation(s) is (are) required. Organisations are comprised of groups of individuals who come together to pursue agreed objectives that would otherwise be unattainable, or that would only be attainable with significantly reduced efficiency and effectiveness. Such organisations are structured by a division of labour into units of different size and composition. The units' activities are subsequently co-ordinated by integrative processes to achieve the required objectives (UNDP 1997:13).

Although developing countries' institutional arrangements differ, according to their political systems, the broad concepts and principles of governance still generally apply. The overall governance framework is normally set by the Legislature, which represents the country's citizens through legislation. The Executive, as the executing authority, normally ensures that the governance framework is applied to public organisations in its jurisdiction. Governing bodies are normally responsible for governing their respective organisations accordingly. The Legislature holds the Executive and its administration accountable for the use of resources entrusted to them and the result achieved

thereby. Thus the Legislature and the Executive each fulfils a cardinal role in the governance framework. The Legislature usually reviews the annual reports of the Executives (including the financial reports of the Accounting Officers or Authorities), evaluates the standard of their work and makes recommendations, based on the facts contained in the related regularity and performance audit reports by the legislative auditor. Reporting, auditing and scrutiny must be expeditious, so as to enable timely interventions in the execution of the cycle(s). For example, in terms of financial good governance, financial accounting and reporting should be based on generally accepted public accounting standards and should be audited by the professional legislative auditors belonging to a supreme audit institute to enhance the quality of information used for financial accountability process. Accounting standards are authoritative statements of how particular types of transaction and other events should be reflected in the financial statements (IFAC 2001:6–7).

Principles of governance

In order to strengthen the argument that performance management can be used as a tool to ensure effective governance, it is important to mention briefly the principles of governance as described by the International Federation of Accountants (IFAC 2001) and the Australian National Audit Office (ANAO 2003):

- Accountability refers to the process whereby public sector organisations and the individuals within them are held responsible for their actions and transactions. The submission of public sector accounts to appropriate external scrutiny depends on a clear understanding of the responsibilities of the sector, which includes clearly defined roles in a robust structure. These responsibilities extend across a range of areas, such as probity and ethics, as well as the effective and efficient implementation of programmes. These responsibilities also encompass a range of business processes.
- Transparency/Openness implies that stakeholders can have confidence in the decision-making process and actions of public organisations, in the management of their activities, and in the individuals in public organisations. Open, meaningful consultation and clear communication, as well as accurate and clear information, contribute to effective and timely action and can therefore stand up to public scrutiny.
- Integrity is based on honesty and objectivity, high standards of propriety and probity in the stewardship of public resources and the management of a public organisation's affairs. It depends on the effectiveness of the control systems as influenced by the legislation, set standards and professionalism. A public organisation's decision-making procedures and the quality of its performance reporting is normally a reflection of its professional integrity.

- Stewardship implies that a public organisation and its resources are governed (managed) by public officials to serve the government and that the public interest is maintained or improved over time.
- Leadership sets the “tone at the top”, and is absolutely crucial to achieve organisational commitment to good governance.
- Efficiency refers to the optimal use of resources to further the aims of the public organisation in its commitment to implement evidence-based strategies to improve the quality of life of the country’s citizens.

With these issues of good governance in mind, performance management and measurement in public organisations remain challenging in the areas of being efficient, effective and economical. More and more countries, including South Africa, have already to a greater or lesser extent introduced guiding principles as part of a general strategic framework to indicate how the public sector should integrate and use performance management to ensure service delivery. The *Policy Framework for the Government-wide Monitoring and Evaluation System* is a prime example of such an effort (Republic of South Africa (Presidency) 2007).

PERFORMANCE MANAGEMENT

Given that public service organisations are frequently criticised for not being effective and efficient, it is not surprising to see that the performance of the public sector is also questioned. Outdated or sometimes incomplete legislation, rules and procedures, hierarchical flaws in organisational structures, and political interference are seen as symptoms of an underperforming public sector. The perception of underperformance puts public sector managers under tremendous pressure to perform well. Efforts have been made by government to create an entrepreneurial culture, as depicted in the New Public Management movement in reaction to some of the core features of traditional public administration which need to be altered to create an effective public service (Boden, Cox and Nedava, 2006:129).

In order to strive for efficiency and effectiveness, one of the policy reform areas in the New Public Management movement deals with incentives. This reflects recognition of the centrality of performance in New Public Management. Hood (1991:4-5) argues that performance is a key competency in New Public Management and explains that incentives have been linked to performance by employees. The New Public Management movement’s focus does not end with the human resource level, but includes organisational performance. Scholars such as Kroukamp (2008:20-21) distinguish between performance management at the individual and organisational levels. In this article, however, performance management is viewed as interconnected and holistic.

There are rarely absolute measures by which public sector performance can be judged. It is considered normal in government to set targets for a range of issues such as reducing mortality rates, but these targets can only be determined in relation to existing performance indicators. This implies heavy reliance on comparative data in choosing performance objectives and in measuring the success of performance. Typically, this requires a form of baseline information to which performance is then compared, normally on a year-to-year basis (this approach is particularly favoured for central government activities and nationalised industries), or is compared from one entity to another in the case of provincial and local governments.

Performance management in the public sector is not a simple concept to clarify or to define, because the term has different connotations in different countries, depending on the level of centralisation in the overall governmental system. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has described performance management a series of processes related to:

- setting performance objectives and targets for programmes (and in many cases made public);
- giving the managers who are responsible for each programme the freedom to implement the necessary processes to achieve these objectives and targets;
- measuring and reporting the actual level of performance against these objectives and targets;
- feeding information about performance level into decisions about future programme funding, changes to programme content or design and the provision of organisational or individual rewards or penalties; and
- providing information *ex post* to the reviewing bodies, such as legislative committees and the external auditor (depending on the auditor's performance mandate), whose views may also feed into the decisions above (OECD 2001:10).

An important goal of performance management is often based on the idea of improving external accountability within the context of governance, whilst simultaneously increasing the internal efficiency of government organisations (Greiling 2005:554). The following could assist towards performance management:

- *The Public Finance Management Act*, of 1999 (as amended by Act 29 of 1999), is intended to regulate financial management in the national government and provincial governments to ensure that all revenue collected, all expenditure, assets and liabilities of those public institutions are managed effectively and efficiently. The *Local Government: Municipal Finance Management Act*, 56 of 2003 has a similar intention. It is clear that there is a definite shift away from an input-oriented budgeting system (labour, material and overhead) to output (housing and water connections) and an outcome-oriented (quality of life, reduction in poverty and HIV) budgeting system.

- Reporting as a tool is to ensure and achieve improved accountability by public sector officials, obligatory reporting is being instituted. Governing bodies are required to publish and distribute to the public an annual report within a reasonable period after the end of each financial year. The aim is to account for the use of public resources placed at these bodies' disposal to achieve approved objectives. A management report should accompany the financial report, commenting on the financial and non-financial performance of the entity and reflecting on the ability of the body to meet future liabilities and commitments. What is crucial about the management report is that it should include a statement on whether a code of governance has been adopted and, if so, that it identifies the code and certifies compliance with the code (IFAC 2001:18), or explains any reasons for non-compliance.
- Management of contracts as a tool and improve results and processes whereby performance indicators are of substantial value and interest in the management of contracts in government. The South African government has undertaken a major shift towards public-private partnerships (PPPs) – in its quarterly newsletter, the PPP Unit of National Treasury (Republic of South Africa, National Treasury, PPP Unit 2010) states that PPPs received a strong endorsement at the 2010 State of the Nation address. In the management of contracts in terms of performance management, it is important that where suppliers are contracted, the contracts provide clear details of the quantity and quality of services (these details are called Terms of Reference in a government contract or Project Reports), as well as indicators to measure the performance of the supplier concerned. Performance contracts have become common in alternative service delivery contracts (PPPs, outsourced contracts and joint ventures), between the various administrative levels among managerial staff and the political level. With reference to the local government sphere, the *Local Government: Municipal Systems Act*, 32 of 2000, makes provision in section 57 for employment contracts for municipal managers and the issue of direct accountability.
- The use of benchmarking and comparisons as a tool, within a particular sector, assists in determining a baseline for performance within a public sector entity. It is rare to find true benchmarking by public sector entities. Benchmarking is understood to mean a comparison with the best in the same class or across sectors from the best in business. For example, the Greater Johannesburg City Power (City of Johannesburg's power utility) call centre benchmarks itself against the performance of a private sector call centre, such as a banking call centre. Inter-administrative comparisons would be more realistic, where different government entities are compared to each other or to predetermined norms and standards. In the South

African local government arena, the *Local Government: Municipal Systems Act*, 32 of 2000, makes provision for five key performance areas and establishes key performance indicators for each area. Such indicators include financial and non-financial indicators, such as the percentage of a municipality's capital budget spent on projects identified in terms of the municipality's integrated development plan and the number of low cost houses built. Another example where municipalities are compared to industry norms is with regard to the municipality's input costs, such as a percentage of its operating expenditure spent on its salary and wage bill. National Treasury has established a norm of 32% to 35% of the budget for this expense, and municipalities are compared to this norm. However, this comparison would be irrelevant if the focus is on matters such as outputs and outcomes, because the input expenditure provides no guarantee that funds are spent efficiently or effectively.

- Implementation of strategy. Performance measurement is often used as a management tool to implement a better strategy, i.e. to improve efficiency and effectiveness. For example, quality of life reporting has been seen over the last few decades as an integral part of a more strategic use of performance measurement in the public sector. In the South African local government context, the development of Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) in conjunction with the communities in which the municipalities operate is required by the *Local Government: Municipal Systems Act*, 32 of 2000. In this case, the co-development of performance measures could assist in monitoring progress against the objectives set in the plans, and in fostering better relationships between the different spheres of government. It could also assist in facilitating comparisons between different local authorities in the delivery of their mandates.

For the aims above to be met, a core strategy with a clear purpose and intent is important to guide the entire performance management and measurement strategy. In this regard, Osborne (2007:3) argues that the first critical component towards the establishment of a core strategy is clarity regarding the purpose where public organisations and systems should have a clear, unambiguous purpose. The contentious issue of service delivery, for example, therefore, necessitates the development of appropriate monitoring and evaluation mechanisms to address policy and procedural aspects adequately in order to achieve better governance. Effective monitoring and evaluation systems and practices need to be enforced, not only in the provincial sphere of government, but also in the sphere of local government to ensure for example the correct collection of quality information and the dissemination thereof to assist in the strategic planning, decision-making and

policy formulation process. The quality of data and information remains the cornerstone of success, as good quality data and information enable accurate decision-making.

Measurement as a critical component in performance management

In order to ensure effective performance management towards effective governance, accurate measurement becomes a critical component. When assessing measurement in performance management, the following should apply (Callahan and Kloby 2009:219):

- Internal procedural management needs relating to implementation monitoring. In this instance, narrow measures of performance are essential for internal decisions to ensure the effective functioning of organisational components. The activities conducted need to be communicated to the public as “evidence” of performance. It is also important to ensure that:
 - the right people have been recruited for the right job (and are perceived to be the right people);
 - policies are in place for the greater good;
 - organising within the respective government organisations is such that time and public funds are not wasted in the process of policy execution;
 - government organisations have sound financial controls in place when dealing with public money; and
 - when required to do so, public managers and political representatives are able to render an account of their activities.

Implementation tracks refer to the means and strategies used to achieve a specific outcome. These means and strategies are commonly found in management tools, including budgetary resources, staffing and specific activity planning. Clarity on the interaction between means and strategies (inputs, activities and outputs) and specified outcome targets is important.

Performance measurement should inform and guide the decision-making process, especially when the process and measures are communicated openly, honestly, on a regular basis, and in a comprehensible manner. In this regard, the importance of consistency and clarity of communication should not be underestimated, especially when public sector projects or programmes have a direct impact on communities. It is therefore imperative that the community is involved from the start of the project or programme. It must be noted that data collection should not merely include the broader citizenry as “subject matter” but should also involve them in the active collection process via creative use of traditional modes to transfer knowledge.

STRATEGIC ENABLERS OF EFFECTIVE PERFORMANCE MANAGEMENT

Effective performance management remains a critical component in the creation of market-related economies, secure and productive populations and democratic political systems in developing countries. Capacity development is therefore, essential in achieving these developmental initiatives. Several implicit assumptions underscore these initiatives, namely, that:

- public sector organisations are the logical site for capacity-building interventions;
- administrative structures and monetary rewards determine organisational and individual performance;
- public organisations function optimally when structures and mechanisms are in place; and
- individual performance improves as a result of skill and technology transfer via managerial activities (Grindle and Hilderbrand 1995:441).

In establishing an institutional framework to enhance performance management within a flexible, integrative, innovative and dynamic modern delivery model, the following factors for the purpose of this article are contributing towards performance management and good governance (PricewaterhouseCoopers 2007:5):

- The strategic plan outlines the organisational goals and the strategies that will be used to work towards the achievement of those goals (Kroukamp 2008:21–22). Every strategic plan needs to contain both information relating to the results needed and a mechanism for ascertaining to what extent the intended results have been achieved. Thus performance measurement is not only an integral part of any performance management system, but is also critical for strategic plans. Performance measurement can also be used to shed light on individual performance for those individuals given authority for the implementation of certain goals, objectives, outputs and activities.
- Organisational design should facilitate change. An effective institutional framework should be established to promote decentralisation in a flexible, integrative, innovative and dynamic modern service delivery model.
- Technology alone should not be seen as a solution in the delivery of quality public services to the citizen. Successful use of technology in a performance management system hinges on a dedicated structure (plan), effective administrative processes (such as the integration of human resources practices, structure and technology) and the boundaries of operations.
- Performance measurement should use different techniques to collect and analyse information relating to goals, objectives and activities. The Balanced

Scorecard is one of the most popular techniques, because it uses both financial and non-financial indicators to record information (Sartorius, Trollip and Eitzen 2009:52).

- Performance indicators are significant. No monitoring and evaluation activity can be conducted without establishing clearly structured performance indicators. Regardless of what type of tool or technique is earmarked to be applied in any monitoring and evaluation undertaking, the type and structure of performance indicators remains paramount in achieving the set objectives (Kusek and Rist 2004:65).
- People, capacity and skills enhancement are vital. Skills and talent management form the pinnacle of any organisational and service delivery excellence. Effective performance in any public sector organisation can only be achieved by motivated, committed, flexible, skilled and devoted employees who are capable of delivering quality public services. For example, currently in South Africa, there is a drive in the local government sphere for all managers appointed in terms of section 57 of the *Local Government: Municipal Systems Act, 32 of 2000*, to be certified competent by 2013. This requires senior managerial staff to complete subjects identified by National Treasury and achieve the minimum credits with the Local Government Sector Training Authority (Republic of South Africa (National Treasury), 2007).

CONCLUSION

Successful performance management depends on the ability to measure actual achievement against a predetermined goal or objective. Moreover, the goal has to be achievable and realistic. Performance measurement has a number of advantages; however, it can also have a number of shortcomings which should be taken into account and managed to provide an objective outcome.

The concept of good governance is difficult and for the purposes of this article, the outline provided by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) was used. Governance is understood in terms of key elements commonly used to describe what it means. This concept assists in understanding performance management and its applications in a specific area, such as administrative governance, without disregarding governance in areas such economic, and political systems. Good governance and performance management requires the capacity to act, skills, knowledge and the resources to manage public institutions effectively. One of the key elements to achieve a successful performance management system is the ability of an entity to establish and administer sound institutional mechanisms that not only support performance management but also underscore good governance.

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Alignment between municipal development planning, budgeting, performance management and public participation

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ABSTRACT

The aim of the article is to analyse the alignment between planning, budgeting, performance management and participation in municipal governance in South Africa. Public participation is a key tool in formulating policies and programmes that govern the country. Furthermore, each sphere of government has to ensure optimal allocation and application of resources within its competencies, hence, it is crucial to determine the way in which each sphere sets its budget. Its influence should extend beyond government resources and must serve to mobilise budget resources. Development plans serve to inform the actions of a range of role players. Such plans should serve to inspire and guide the self-action of communities by presenting a clear vision for the area and development priorities and objectives. This article argues that performance, budgeting and public participation are tools to enhance service delivery and are seen as a mechanism for guiding the implementation of development plans.

INTRODUCTION

Local government should not be just about service provision but should also be developmental. Section 153 of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996*, requires all municipalities to promote developmental duties to ensure the

effective and efficient management of its administration, budgeting and planning, in order to promote socio-economic development (RSA 1996). It ought to be an agent for the development of communities and the approach to service provision also needs to be developmental, thus the notion of developmental local government. An integrated approach to planning has been introduced to serve as a platform for previously-marginalised municipalities to be involved in service delivery planning. Planning entails the formulation of goals within a specific environment context, while strategic planning entails positioning a municipality in relation to its environment by utilising planning applications. The Bill of Rights of the Constitution of 1996 has meant that all communities require access to basic services such as water and electricity. It has also meant that they fully participate in the economy and the development of the country. This meant that a bottom up and practical approach had to be primed to ensure that all citizens had a voice. The aim of this article is to discuss the alignment between planning, budgeting, performance management and participation in the municipal sphere of governance.

RESEARCH PROBLEM, OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

Although government put in place numerous intergovernmental relations forums to promote co-operative governance, effective co-operation between local sphere and other governmental bodies and the community remains a challenge. As a result, ensuring synergy in the planning processes and implementation still remains a challenge, and this affects the governance of municipalities. Based on the research problem, the key objectives of this article are to: analyse the extent of alignment between planning, implementation and performance management in municipalities; assess the effectiveness of the community involvement in these processes; examine the role of public participation in the service delivery processes; and determine the extent to which performance management and measurement contribute to fast-tracking and improving service delivery. The article adopts an analytic and descriptive approach to assess and evaluate the alignment between development planning, budgeting and performance at a municipal sphere of governance.

HYPOTHESIS

This article is based on the hypothesis that there is limited, or no effective alignment, in the development planning, budgeting and performance management processes at a municipal sphere of governance. Also, though communities take part in the municipal processes, their role is not effective, or has little impact on the final decision-making processes.

CONCEPT OF GOVERNANCE

The term governance refers to the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development. In the public sector context, governance means acquisition of, and accountability for, the application of political authority in the direction of public affairs and the management of public resources (Van der Waldt 2004:3; Levy 2007:5). Governance is also a process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented. The term governance can be utilised in different contexts such as corporate governance, international governance, national governance and local governance (Van der Waldt 2004:4). An analysis of governance focuses on the formal and informal actors involved in making and implementing decisions, as well as the formal and informal structures that have been set in place in order to arrive at a decision. Principal elements of governance include accountability, transparency, efficiency, responsiveness and the rule of law. Accountability and transparency, as elements of governance, are discussed below.

Accountability

Du Toit (1998:114) regards accountability as an obligation to explore, to explain and to justify actions. Four types of accountability identified by Du Toit (1998:114) include the following:

Bureaucratic accountability entails an organised and legitimate superior or subordinate relationship with close supervision, or standard operating procedures or clearly stated rules and regulations; *legal accountability* is based on the relationship between a controlling party outside the institution, mostly composed of lawmakers and members of the institution; *professional accountability* is dependent on skilled and expert employees for coming up with relevant solutions; and *political accountability* looks at different aspects such as who the public manager represents, that is, the general public, elected officials, institutional heads, clients, interest groups and potential constituencies.

Transparency

Transparency is an imperative in a democratic country like South Africa. Since the attainment of democracy, communities need to know how resources are used. The importance of achieving transparency is enforced by legislation which provides guidelines that regulate the public's access to information (Du Toit 1998:150). Transparency focuses on the extent of the functioning of public sector institutions and the actions of public managers are open to public scrutiny

(Du Toit 1998:115). It is crucial that all public processes and programmes are open to the public and the media for the public to know how and for what resources are used.

In the context of local government management the importance of openness and transparency depends on the need to build confidence and trust between the national departments, provincial administrations and the citizens served by government (Du Toit 1998:154). The importance of this is that communities need to know more about aspects such as how well government is performing and who is in charge. Without the flow of information and communication, citizens will not receive the necessary inputs from the government to effectively participate in the governing of the state (Du Toit 1998:146).

In order to achieve transparency in public organisations, it is crucial to reinforce effective communication so that municipal planning and performance budgeting information should be made available to the community through public participation. Communication and the availability of information must be made available to the public in order to ensure full transparency and public participation (Du Toit 1998:166). Hence public officials have to consistently interact with communities. Besides the nature or approach of communication, what is being communicated should take into consideration the sensitive and dynamic nature of the relevant society, as it impacts on planning. The development planning fundamentals are discussed below.

DEVELOPMENT PLANNING FUNDAMENTALS

Du Toit (1998:175) defines planning as a process that focuses on the formulation of future objectives for the organisation and on the means and methods of achieving these identified objectives. Similarly, Van der Waldt and Du Toit (2007:183) confirm that the importance of planning which aims to determine future circumstances and identifies the measures needed to realise them. Planning also bridges the gap between where the organisation currently is and where the organisation wants to be (Du Toit 1998:173). Further, planning assists in pro-actively identifying possible problems and opportunities, in identifying possible problems outside the organisation and consequently assists in formulating and implementing remedial action.

The Integrated Development Plan (IDP) is a development planning tool and a product of an integrated development planning process. As a tool it guides and informs all planning, budgeting, management and decision-making in a municipality. It is also a tool for local government to achieve coordination in all its activities. IDPs are aimed at assisting municipalities in achieving their developmental mandates and guides activities of municipalities within their

areas of jurisdiction. For the IDP to be effective and credible it needs to be informed and be in line with the key fundamentals of the development planning discipline (Mafunisa and Maphunye 2008:461; Davids in Theron 2008:35).

The *Municipal Systems Act* (32 of 2000) stipulates that all municipalities must prepare an IDP for their area of jurisdiction. IDPs were formed to overcome the apartheid legacy of separated developments and disintegrated local government levels; IDPs are for promoting intergovernmental co-ordination as well as ensuring that key municipal activities are encompassed in a single document. It is an approach to planning that involves the entire municipality and its citizens in finding the best solutions to achieve effective and long-term development (RSA 2000).

An IDP is a continuous process whereby municipalities prepare 5-year strategic developmental plans. These plans are reviewed annually in consultation with communities and stakeholders. IDPs seek to promote integration by balancing social and economic pillars of sustainability, without compromising the institutional capacity required in the implementation, and by co-ordinating actions across sectors and spheres of government. If these action plans are not incorporated into the budget, it is unlikely that the objectives will be achieved (Kumar and Moodley in Reddy, Sing and Moodley 2003:72–73)

In terms of the *Municipal Systems Act*, an IDP is a single inclusive strategic plan for municipalities that:

- integrates and co-ordinates service delivery in a municipality;
- outlines the general basis on which annual budgets must be based;
- aligns the resources and capacity of the municipality with the implementation of the plan;
- supports a municipality in fulfilling its constitutional mandate as developmental local government; and
- assists democratisation through vigorous public participation (RSA 2000).

The IDP is a legally-required plan for development and governance. It starts by defining the municipal vision, then proceeds to identify key developmental objectives, thereafter it has to come up with strategies which later translate into programmes and projects, which are budgeted for, and ultimately implemented and monitored. There are three core principles that underpin the IDP process, namely consultative, strategic and implementation-orientated processes. Firstly, as a *consultative* process, an IDP requires that suitable forums should be established where local residents, government representatives, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), civil society, and other stakeholders can:

- evaluate challenges affecting service delivery;
- prioritise concerns in their order of urgency and long-term importance;
- grow a shared vision and common strategic framework;
- prepare relevant project proposals;

- compile a record of proposals and integrate proposals; and
- measure, align, and approve development plans (Venter in Van der Waldt 2007:100).

Secondly, as a *strategic* process, an IDP approach seeks to ensure that:

- local knowledge is combined with the knowledge of technical experts;
- service delivery delays are conquered through agreement within given time periods;
- both the underlying causes and symptoms of service delivery problems are addressed;
- scarce resources are used efficiently and effectively; and
- IDPs are not planned and budgeted for in isolation, but are integrated from the start with other corresponding sectors (Pauw, Woods, Van der Linde, Fourie, and Visser 2009:280–281).

Lastly, as an *implementation-orientated* process, an IDP aims to become the means for better and faster service delivery by ensuring that:

- concrete, technically-sound project proposals are designed;
- the link between planning and budgeting is maintained; and
- sufficient consensus is reached among key stakeholders on the planned projects (Venter in Van der Waldt 2007:100–101).

One of the most significant initiatives to improve the sphere of local government, and in particular service delivery, is the adoption of the Local Government Turnaround Strategy of 2009. Amongst its plans, this Strategy involves: building and strengthening administrative, institutional and financial capabilities of municipalities; creating a single window of co-ordination to deal with intergovernmental matters in the local sphere; and developing a coherent and cohesive system of governance. This requires the alignment of planning, budgeting, performance and public participation to strengthen the above.

Integration in local government

The concept of integration is aimed at harnessing South Africa's scarce resources, and maximising social development and economic growth, in a coherent and purposeful manner by preventing municipalities and government departments from acting in an uninformed and uncoordinated manner as this leads to wastage of limited resources. Gueli, Liebenberg and Van Huyssteen (2000:92-93) regard integrated planning as being about various stakeholders and sectors working together under a commonly-designed agenda geared towards achieving a common objective. Gueli *et al.* (2000:93) emphasise

that 'integrated' symbolises, or is associated, with good planning, because it considers varied perspectives and impacts, allows decision-makers to find the finest solutions to critical issues and effective ways of responding to those issues.

The success of the integration elements in the IDP is enhanced significantly through:

- the structuring of implementation into the IDP processes; for example the involvement of the key implementers in the planning process;
- the outputs of the planning process, as for example a 5-year financial plan, a 5-year capital investment programme, and a 5-year action plan; and
- the alignment of human, systems and financial resources both within and outside a municipality specifically to enhance delivery, for example contracts with external service providers, a properly organised project management system and a monitoring and performance management system (Venter in Van der Waldt 2007:99–101).

Gueli *et al.* (2000:104) set out three approaches to ensuring integration which are: structured and systematic interaction, alignment of different planning instruments and targeted interventions. These approaches are briefly discussed below.

Structured and systematic interaction:

- Since local needs are often incoherent with national priorities and interests, outside actors should engage directly and regularly with local representatives to deliberate on service delivery issues, develop a shared understanding about which objectives to focus on, and determine the best strategies to reach those objectives;
- Local participation must happen during all phases of the planning process; and
- Municipal officials and external stakeholders must be responsible for the development of the area in question (Gueli *et al.* 2000:104).

Thus the public should be consulted through public participation during all phases of the development planning of the IDP and budgeting process.

- Alignment of different planning instruments:
- Three types of inter-governmental planning instruments should be aligned to ensure unity of effort, namely: planning processes, monitoring mechanisms and budgeting cycles;
- Area-specific programmes should be aligned with provincial and national ones. Municipalities should develop their own development plans, provided that these are in line with overall national goals and policies, and municipalities should also make inputs into national plans;
- Diverse monitoring and evaluation mechanisms should be aligned to jointly evaluate whether actions take place in accordance with the set outcomes and resource allocations, in the right amount and at the right time, and to take corrective measures when and where necessary; and

- The sequences of budget cycles in different spheres of government and the implementation of local projects should be aligned with the time-frames of the national spending programmes (Gueli *et al.* 2000:104-105).

Targeted interventions:

- Investment decisions should be informed by the concept of 'potential' and planners should distinguish between two types of regions: regions with development potential, that is, the best areas for economic growth, job creation and poverty alleviation and those with limited potential;
- Regions with development potential should become the primary focus areas for government spending and infrastructure development over the short-to-medium term. Ultimately, these regions should serve as building blocks for longer-term development processes;
- High potential areas should also serve as basic units that drive multi-sectoral planning and budgeting between various spheres and sectors; and
- Different role players should jointly prioritise and concentrate developmental actions and resources in the context of a shared 'area of impact' (Gueli *et al.* 2000:105–106).

In light of the above it is clear that different role players should participate in developmental actions. Performance as part of municipal governance is discussed in the next section.

PERFORMANCE-ORIENTATED APPROACH

Performance has been an issue in government for as long as government has been around. Performance was introduced as a possible way of strengthening effective public service delivery (Kambuwa and Wallis 2002:5). In public institutions, performance is constantly scrutinised by the different stakeholders including politicians, citizens, service users and bureaucrats. Managers in municipalities are under constant pressure to improve the performance and the quality of service delivered. Municipalities need to demonstrate that public money is spent in accordance with their mandates and that quality services are rendered to communities (Van der Waldt 2004:170).

Performance management aims to maximise the qualitative value of the relationship between inputs, activities, outputs and outcomes. It also provides methodologies required to gear the organisation towards the service delivery priorities identified during the strategic planning phase of the process. There are two issues to be considered when performance is planned, namely the area where performance is required, and performance targets, which quantify the indicators and translate them into measurable terms (Minnaar 2010:68).

In municipalities the Performance Management System (PMS) is integrated with the performance contracts and agreements for officials and has been one way of ensuring that services are delivered. Gaster (2003:91) emphasises that performance measurement for quality, in the climate within which most public service workers now operate, needs to have clear benefits for the employees, the public and the organisation. Performance in government is important to communities in the same way as it is to officials. It is about doing the work, as well as achieving the results. It is an approach to management which harnesses the endeavours of individual managers and works towards a municipality's strategic goals (Van der Waldt 2004:33; Venter and Landsberg 2006:148).

The main components of the municipal PMS include setting indicators, including outcomes and impact, linked to the municipal IDP setting measurable targets, undertaking performance monitoring, review, performance improvement and regular reporting (Kambuwa and Wallis 2002:5). The IDP is a prerequisite in order for the PMS to fulfil a key role in promoting better implementation. Performance ideology suggests that activities must be clearly defined and understood as separate to outputs and outcomes (Venter and Landsberg 2006:148). The most important feature of performance management is an attempt to separate the *means* from *ends*, or *process* from *achievement*. The distinction of *means* and *ends* has its own challenges and academics refer to such a rigid separation as a dichotomy (Haynes 2003:90).

In order to reduce discretion and be objective, the measure of performance must involve the precise assessment of a dimension of performance and involve an external process to verify its accuracy. The measures of organisational performance should satisfy three crucial criteria, namely validity, reliability and sensitivity (Boyne, Meier, O'Toole and Walker 2006:112). Government introduced a move beyond the outputs focused on Outcomes-Based Performance. The pressure to measure outcomes originates from accountability requirements, and the need to manage programmes promptly and properly. Van der Waldt (2004:42) outlines the following strategies for performance management:

- clarifies strategy and makes it accessible;
- transforms strategy into operations, and vision into action;
- clarifies roles and responsibilities of politicians and managers;
- clarifies expectations of the institution and individuals; and
- improves accountability and participation.

The Local Government Turnaround Strategy of 2009 emphasises the alignment of activities in municipalities. This requires the monitoring and evaluation of planning and performance.

MONITORING AND EVALUATING PLANNING AND PERFORMANCE BUDGETING

Monitoring is a continuous process aimed at early detection of performance deviation in order for it to be addressed prior to having a devastating impact on the measurable performance of the institution (Minnaar 2010:157). Performance monitoring involves the tracking of performance on an ongoing basis, in order to determine whether or not the achievement of objectives is likely to occur. Performance should be monitored to ensure that implementation is done as agreed. This should not be limited to financial performance but should also include non-financial performance. Monitoring is there to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the project and is based on targets set and activities planned during the planning phases of work (Van der Waldt 2004:95; Asmah-ndoh 2009:207–208).

Evaluation of performance is an in-depth process of investigation which assesses whether or not the stated objectives have been reached, and the nature of the process undertaken. It is the comparison of actual project impacts against the agreed strategic plans (Minnaar 2010:157). It assesses what was planned, what was achieved and how it was achieved. Performance evaluation is important for government in order to determine whether or not it is meeting the previously-established goals and objectives of a specific programme at a specific time. Thus performance evaluation has a crucial role to play in performance management because it can be utilised to determine whether or not the PMS is succeeding.

There are some similarities between monitoring and evaluation as they are both aimed at learning from what is being done and how it is being done by focusing on efficiency, effectiveness and impact. Both monitoring and evaluation depend mainly on timely and relevant information (Van der Waldt 2004:95). Users and citizens have a central role to play in monitoring and evaluation. Stakeholder involvement at all stages of the process of measuring, monitoring and evaluation is important (Gaster 2003:98). The success of performance management depends largely on monitoring and evaluation.

Performance Budgeting

Performance budgeting entails clarifying and quantifying different levels of activities that must be completed in order to meet objectives for which the institution exists (Moeti 2007:88). South Africa has laid a foundation for a shift to performance budgeting. The *Municipal Finance Management Act* (56 of 2003) assists the implementation of a budget-analysis process by prescribing a reporting cycle with specific time-frames and a content guide for departmental reports. The process of

monitoring and measuring performance and the service delivery process provide valuable information to managers contributing to better planning and budgeting within departments and enhancing service delivery to communities. Successful integration is crucial in the implementation of an appropriate PMS that contains financial and operational management data (Moeti 2007:88).

Van der Waldt (2004:205) maintains that the integration of Performance Management (PM) takes place at two levels in a municipality:

- At the *organisational level* PM links individual and team performance to strategic goals through a suitable organisation and management framework; and
- At the *individual level*, it links the people-management processes with the strategic goals, in a process that starts with human resource planning, knowing the purpose of a job and the competencies required to do that job. It is also the basis for the processes designed to attract, support, retain, and develop staff and set them up to succeed.

According to Van der Waldt (2004:248), the PM development cycle at municipal level consists of three elements, namely: *Performance Agreements* entered into between a superior and an employee which links the employee's work plans to the organisation's goals at the start of the cycle; *Continuous process of review* which includes a minimum of two meetings between supervisor and employee in the last half of the year to review achievements, agreements and to give feedback; and *Performance appraisal* where achievement is formally assessed in terms of the agreements made in the course of the cycle. This lays the basis for performance review. According to Pearse and Williams (2009:36), the performance management system must assist in transforming local government to ensure that the needs of the community are met through the improved delivery of municipal services to citizens.

In the context of performance budgeting, performance covers the extent of achievement of economy, efficiency, effectiveness and appropriateness in the delivery of outputs or outcomes. In addition, it is important for both the supervisor and supervisee to understand the set objectives for the job because that will provide the basis for evaluating performance (Sing in Reddy *et al.* 2003:143). The success of performance budgeting largely depends on the performance agreements signed, the continuous review process and performance appraisal.

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

In terms of Section 16 of the Systems Act, a municipality must develop a culture of municipal governance that encourages and creates conditions for the local community to participate in the affairs of the municipality. With the

transition to democracy in South Africa, which demonstrated to its citizens and the whole world the importance of including people in the governance processes, public participation became important (Mafunisa and Maphunye 2008:463). Public participation can be regarded as the new development phenomenon which got its popularity from a growing recognition of the need to involve stakeholders in development interventions. The South African government has committed itself to instituting wide-ranging participatory processes in the different spheres of government. Legislation like the *Systems Act* of 2000 gives guidelines on how the country enables the public to participate in the governance processes. Accordingly, local government has measures of devolutionary powers to engage communities in policy-making and implementation. A mechanism for such engagement is the system of ward committees (Ababio 2007:615).

The attempt to introduce participatory and direct democracy is evident in institutions and processes at national and provincial spheres, and in the planning processes and policy formulation of local government structures (Ababio 2007:615). Public participation is a key tool that informs and capacitates citizens, and therefore enhances the democratisation process (Van der Waldt 2004:117). Public participation can be viewed as an elusive concept which acts as an umbrella for a new style of development-planning interventions. It can be viewed as a kind of verification mechanism or assessment tool for determining the existence and extent of democracy in a society (Mafunisa and Maphunye 2008:464). Public participation is a way of receiving information on issues, needs and attitudes and provides affected communities the opportunity to express their views before policy decisions are taken (Van der Waldt 2004:117; Pillay, Tomlinson and Du Toit 2006:192).

Ababio (2004:273) regards community participation as the involvement of the community members in a wide range of administrative policy-making activities, including the determination of levels of service, budget priorities and other issues that affect the welfare of the community. Further, Ababio (2004:274) regards community participation as not merely receiving information by the community from authorities about proposed actions and the sharing of power to shape the final decisions. Thus, community participation essentially means allowing many people to be involved in the decision-making process since communities are customers of local government. Participation is not only about consulting individuals at key points in the cycle, but rather about forming an institutionalised level of engagement that allows stakeholders to define their own approach to long-term issues (Haynes 2003:119).

The approach regarding participation derives from an acceptance that people are at the heart of development (Van der Waldt 2004:15). Members of the community are the ones who are the end-users for the municipal services,

hence this makes them more aware of the impact of those services. Municipal councillors and officials therefore cannot, on their own, ensure that effective services will be delivered. The community has the constitutional right to receive constant feedback from municipalities concerning the IDP and performance budgeting (Ababio 2004:272). Regular consultation is imperative in ensuring that all the policies and developmental projects undertaken by local authorities are accepted by the community.

Key organisational stakeholders must collaborate to find what needs to be done to meet the new organisational good. Thereafter, the resulting mission, vision and strategy must be clarified and communicated to ensure consistency in both policy and action by all participants (Gaster 2003:28).

Consultation versus Participation

Consultation is a process of eliciting and listening to people's views and feelings about services, projects and proposals (Gaster 2003:29). This provides information that is (or should be) taken into account when the decision-makers are deliberating and making decisions.

Participation is based on the assumption that those affected by a situation are best placed to determine how to change it and make implementation work (Gaster 2003:29). It implies dialogue, leading to greater involvement both in jointly generating greater understanding of shared concerns and, in some cases, in the decision-making itself. Gaster (2003:32) refers to different ladders of partnership with the following five levels, namely information change, planning action, implementing projects and service plans, coordination and cooperation and collaboration.

Debates on public participation

Participatory democracy can only come into being when ordinary men and women, young and old are afforded an opportunity to actively and meaningfully contribute to their own development and well-being. Ababio (2007:615), however, cautions that what constitutes *participatory* is relative in that many acts have the potential to shape, in some way participatory democracy. If ordinary people participate in the governance of a municipality, the legitimacy of the political authority will be enhanced (Mafunisa and Maphunye 2008:464). Meaningful community participation is indispensable for a viable local government.

Five different levels of participation outlined by Ababio (2004:273) include informing, consulting, involving, collaboration, and empowering. Further, Ababio (2004:274) identified three different types of public participation, namely: passive participation, consultative participation and interactive participation:

- *Passive participation* involves only the dissemination of information to stakeholders, such as disseminating information during awareness campaigns;
- *Consultative participation* occurs when stakeholders are consulted before a municipality makes a decision. However, the community does not share the decision making responsibility; and
- *Interactive participation* occurs when stakeholders are involved in collaborative analysis and decision-making. This type of participation is important when a municipality intends sharing a mutually-beneficial connection with both the community and local political structures in building up a shared developmental vision while setting goals.

Successful community input into budget mechanisms enhances performance auditing (Brynard in Bekker 2004:44). This is likely to improve public accountability and public participation. With regard to performance auditing, the Auditor-General performs audits to determine whether a municipality has employed satisfactory management measures to ensure that resources are procured economically and used efficiently and effectively (Pauw *et al.* 2009:167). Ababio (2004:273) describes the relationship between local government and the community, and the extent to which the community influences decisions that affect their wellbeing. Meaningful community participation requires the involvement of all stakeholders. In addition, it also requires the involvement of all the stakeholders from the initiation to the implementation of policy.

A shortcoming of community participation is that it can take the form of self-serving actions leading to clashes in the diversity of interest within the community. It is important that the participatory process must not become an obstacle to developmental processes where narrow interest groups could impede the process (Ababio 2004:276). From the above it is clear that public participation is imperative in order to ensure the alignment between municipal governance, planning and performance.

Ensuring courtesy and respect

It is important for the community to be handled with courtesy and respect. Ababio (2004:285) adds that the concept of courtesy extends beyond asking municipal officials to smile politely and say 'please' and 'thank you' although these are certainly required. Local government officials should regard the community members as being entitled to receive the highest standards of service delivery. An effective communication system is required to ensure that the concerns raised by the community reach the top decision-makers if not effectively addressed by frontline workers.

Ababio (2004:285) views courtesy as related to ethical behaviour. Hence it is important for the municipal employees to be above reproach in the exercise of their official duties and one of the essential qualities that public servants should possess is integrity. Acceptable ethical conduct ensures that the community interest is placed above the own interest of municipal officials. Section 195 of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* of 1996 clearly outlines the ethical conduct expected from municipal officials.

Benefits of public participation

Public participation, development planning and performance budgeting are seen not only to play a pivotal role in development and service delivery, but they also enhance local democracy and municipal governance (Ababio 2007:616). There are advantages of involving members of the public in the development process. One of these advantages is the belief that if the public participate in development plans, then these plans will be seen as legitimate (Theron 2005 quoted in Mafunisa and Maphunye 2008:463).

Participation promotes fairness and reasonableness in the allocation and distribution of public resources. It is one way of striking a balance of tension between democracy and bureaucracy (Van der Waldt 2004:117). The benefits of this approach include improved performance and sustainability of policies, programmes and projects, as well as enhanced capacity and skills of stakeholders. Public participation teaches citizens to understand the needs and desires of other citizen groups in society and it teaches citizens to resolve conflict and to promote collective welfare (Davids, Theron and Maphunye 2005:20).

If stakeholders are included in decision-making, then they will become self-reliant (Mafunisa and Maphunye 2008:463). Municipal inhabitants must be provided with accessible, timely and accurate information to make informed decisions. Soncini-Sessa (2007:14) adds that information, transparency, repeatability and the active involvement of stakeholders are the important ingredients of public participation.

Community participation legitimises a local authority by making it acceptable to the municipal community. The community needs to constantly interact with its councillors and officials to ensure that all actions by the municipality are beneficial to them. Ababio (2004:274) believes that community participation in municipal matters contributes to the creation of community solidarity because the community feels involved in matters affecting them and which are relevant to their welfare, thereby creating civic pride. According to Nzimakwe (2008:52), citizens, in this way, develop a sense of patriotism when they are allowed to make a contribution to civic affairs, no matter how insignificant their inputs may seem. Participatory processes should not be limited to providing the

stakeholders with information nor to just asking them for information, but should also involve the stakeholders in the design and evaluation of the alternatives and ideology even in the final choice (Soncini-Sessa 2007:14).

Besides the challenges in public participation, South Africa has gone a long way in promoting citizen participation in municipal governance and administration. Moreover, cognisance should be taken of the fact that, in the absence of a skilled and assertive citizenry, the broad public will have a less-than-significant impact on public administration and governance.

CONCLUSION

It has been argued in the article that for a performance management system to be effective in improving the effectiveness of local government, the bureaucratic culture of local government needs to be developed into a more appropriate organisational culture. The focus should be on the development of a culture of accountability and the aligning and organising of the administration in such a manner that it is flexible and responsive to the needs of the community. The monitoring and evaluating of service delivery and development planning should be given greater priority, as there is a need to improve local participatory governance. The article has emphasised that the focus on local government should move from planning to implementing projects and programmes. Performance is a prerequisite for municipal service excellence. Planning, participation, performance budgeting and measurement will enable councillors and officials to demonstrate the impact of their policies to the community and to provide evidence of services rendered. The link between municipal development planning, budgeting, performance management and public participation must be maintained for effective municipal governance.

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A gender-specific evaluation framework for the leadership development of women in local government

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ABSTRACT

Municipalities have put in place gender policies and frameworks to facilitate the participation and engagement of women in local government affairs. Although women have been given the opportunity for self-development through leadership development programmes, they feel marginalised when it comes to decision-making. One may ask why this is the case, given the role played by South Africa's ratification of the multiple international conventions and declarations on women's rights. This article argues that even though South Africa's advancement towards gender equity is held as an example across the world, municipalities find it challenging to recognise gender as an important factor in, specifically, the evaluation of leadership development of women councillors. The argument for a gender-specific evaluation framework is presented to ensure that efforts towards gender equity cascade to leadership development evaluation. The proposed gender-specific evaluation framework considers gender at every step in the evaluation process. The evaluation framework aims at incorporating women's experiences in evaluation in order to ensure that gender equality is achieved in all facets of life, including leadership development.

INTRODUCTION

South Africa is an international case in point with regard to its efforts in the promotion of gender equality. Women however, still feel marginalised when it comes to decision-making. This should not be the case given that women currently constitute 38% of councillors in local government of the workforce in South Africa and gender policies and frameworks have been instituted to facilitate the participation and engagement of women in local government.

“Gender refers to the socially determined and evaluated identities and roles of men and women, and is usually distinguished from their biological or sex differences. Gender identities and roles vary from society to society, but are usually based on the unequal status of men and women, and their roles in society” (Local Government Gender Policy Framework 2006:15). There is a misconception that gender refers only to women. However, gender refers to the roles that are assigned to men and women by society. Service delivery in local government has a bearing on the lives of women owing to their roles in society. Women are generally responsible for duties such as cooking and cleaning activities in families. Women’s needs in relation to municipal services in particular are different from those of men. Bentley, Cherry and Maphunye (2002:7) assert women and men have different needs regarding the use of municipal services such as water and electricity. Women are care givers, responsible for families and will therefore consider their knowledge and expertise when making decisions in municipalities. The roles that women occupy in society dictate that service delivery has a direct effect on women in local government. Women are the primary users of municipal services; and it is imperative that they participate in taking decisions in matters of local government. Even though women participate in leadership development programmes, the impact that gender has on the evaluation of these programmes is not considered.

This article argues for a gender specific leadership development evaluation framework based on empirical evidence gathered through a largely qualitative approach to the research. Specific reference is made to the Municipal Leadership Development Programme offered by the Department of Cooperative Governance under the Local Government Leadership Academy (LOGOLA).

The conceptual study was supplemented with a focus group and one-on-one telephone interviews held with women participants, facilitators and the developers of the Municipal Leadership Development Programme. 22 Women councillors from the Gert Sibande, Greater Sekhukhune and Sedibeng District municipalities participated in the research. The article describes the current evaluation framework and proposes a gender specific framework for the evaluation of the Municipal Leadership Development Programme for leadership development evaluation.

CONTEXUALISING LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

According to Brache (1983:120) leadership is the process of defining current situations and articulating goals for the future, making the decisions necessary to resolve the situation or achieve the goals, gaining the commitment from those who have implemented these decisions. For the purpose of this article leadership in local government refers to the role of councillors who have the duty of making decisions and instituting actions whilst motivating others to implement these decisions. Leadership development focuses on enhancing the capacity of those in leadership roles to be able to carry out their roles and achieve improved organisational performance (Hannum 2004:5). Leadership development, in the context of this article, refers to the development and improvement of leadership competence to ensure that councillors can effectively carry out their leadership role.

It is vital, given the role that women and women councillors have in local government, to consider the importance of the leadership role of women in local government. The increased representation of women in political structures is an indication of the government's intention to empower women. This intention must be consolidated by capacitating these women leaders so that they are able to identify and deal with service delivery challenges. Leadership development serves important purposes, which include growing the knowledge, skills and abilities of individuals to be effective leaders (Hannum, Martineau and Reinelt 2007:6).

The aim of leadership development is to create a pool of leaders that can fast-track change in local government in order to resolve key issues and also to strengthen the capacity of teams to improve organisational outcomes.

This research is based on the premise that men and women have differences that go beyond the purely biological and that in developing the leadership competence of women and men it is important that these differences be considered. The focus of this article is the evaluation of leadership development programmes for women in local government with a specific focus on gender-based perspective to evaluation. McClaren (2000:ix) asserts that a gender-based perspective to evaluation builds in gender-sensitive considerations at every step and uses gender-based enquiry as an important component in evaluation. "Gender sensitive refers to the state of knowledge of the socially constructed differences between women and men, such as the different needs men and women have, and using to this knowledge to recognise and understand the issues arising from these differences and to act with a purpose of addressing them" (Local Government Gender Policy Framework 2006:20).

The aim of a gender-based evaluation framework is to incorporate a gender-based perspective into programme evaluation. The argument supported throughout the article is that if evaluation does not take gender differences

into account, the empowerment of women through leadership development cannot be fully promoted.

It is important to note the difference in learning styles of women and men. The extent to which gender impacts on adult learning must be taken into account in the leadership development of women. When leadership skills are developed through a programme such as the Municipal Leadership Development Programme, which is developed based on adult learning theories, it is vital that evaluation assesses the extent to which these theories consider the different gender needs and the manner in which women and men learn. The importance of this assessment is to ensure that there are no underlying ways of discrimination that benefit one gender and disadvantage the other. Evaluation which builds in gender at every aspect will ensure that the existence of different learning styles is taken into account when evaluating leadership development programmes.

Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule (1986:5) state that “the preconceptions of knowledge and truth that are accepted and articulated today have been shaped throughout history by the male-dominated majority culture. Modes of learning that are common, if not specific, to women have been devalued”. Leadership development programmes for women must ensure the inclusion of gender-based evaluation. McClaren (2000:54) asserts that not only are the aims and agendas of existing traditions filled with gender-blind ways of handling evaluation, the methodologies they utilise may be inappropriate. It becomes important then to develop appropriate approaches that meet gender-specific needs and provide gender-sensitive programme evaluation. The current percentage of women councillors in local government implies that the evaluation of programmes in which both women and men participate, should acknowledge the differences brought about by gender. The Local Government Gender Policy Framework, 2006, acknowledges these differences and further aims to mainstream gender in all aspects of local government including human resource development. Women in South Africa have emphasised the need to ensure a gendered approach in all spheres of government responsibility: legislative, policy and planning activities (Naidoo 2002:49). In this regard, specific gender-based evaluation becomes significant to ensure that gender is not only taken into account in representation but that the human resource initiatives that are aimed at supporting the representation of women and the evaluation thereof reflect gender awareness in every aspect.

Municipal councils complain that they spend large amounts of money on training but see little if any improvement in the performance of their staff (DBSA 2004:46). This statement highlights the need for evaluation that improves the effectiveness of training and development programmes in order to show improvement in the performance of municipalities and their councils. This research article argues that a gender-based evaluation framework will improve the effectiveness in leadership development programmes and will lead to an

increase in the performance of women and men who participate in leadership development programmes.

ENVIRONMENTAL ANALYSIS APPLICABLE TO LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

The article makes a case that evaluation that does not build in gender considerations results in programmes that are gender blind and do not effectively evaluate the impact of leadership development programmes on women. Leadership development does not take place in isolation and consideration should be given to the different environments which impact on the leadership development of women in local government.

The political environment

A gender evaluation can be contextualised in the political environment by focusing on the political obligations placed on local government which require that in achieving its developmental role, local government has to incorporate the inclusion of women in all aspects. This requirement means that women should not be discriminated against on the basis of gender. The representation of women in local government is legislated by the *White Paper on Local Government, 1998*, as well as the *Local Government: Municipal Structures Act, 1998 (Act 117 of 1998)*. Representation of women in local government political structures should be supported by human resource development practices, such as leadership development of councillors in local government.

However, the value of leadership development programmes can only be ascertained through evaluation. There is a need for a gender-based perspective leadership development evaluation, given the differences in leadership and learning styles of women and men, as well as the need for gender equality in all aspects of political life, which necessitates the need for women and men to benefit equally from development. The reason for this is that gender evaluation that builds in gender at every aspect empowers women and promotes gender equality, which is a core principle entrenched in the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996*, and which also cascades to other pieces of local government legislation and policies.

Societal factors influencing leadership development evaluation

Leadership development evaluation is not only influenced by legislation, it is also affected by social factors. For the purpose of this article the focus is on impact of traditions and the masculine model of politics.

Impact of traditions and the masculine model of politics

Alexandra (2004:6) states that in Africa the place of women is in the kitchen and not amongst men in a discussion or debating and creating political decisions. This article presents the argument that tradition impacts on the effectiveness of women in their leadership roles. This was pointed out by a woman councillor from Sekhukhune District Municipality who asserts that during the kgoro which is a traditional meeting between chiefs, community leaders and councillors, some men still feel that women should not participate. These women councillors receive resistance from men and this impact on their leadership effectiveness.

Another factor that impacts on the active participation of women in local government is the opposition or ridicule from male co-workers who feel threatened by the presence of women in council. This hostility is reflected by women councillors who were interviewed who stated that their capabilities are often not recognised, that they have to confront sexist attitudes and behaviour, and that they are often not given the same legitimacy and credibility as their male counterparts. The attitudes of society towards women are that they are subordinate to men therefore when women enter politics; the attitudes of their male colleagues tend to be negative towards them. The above is supported by interviews for this study with women councillors who participated in the Municipal Leadership Development Programme. Their responses revealed specific barriers and challenges that they as women councillors faced in carrying out their duties as leaders in local government. Among these are the following:

- Women sometimes feel intimidated when attending public meetings where men are present and there is resistance from men who do not want to listen to a woman speak. One councillor made an example of a public meeting where a man attended a public meeting for the first time and saw a woman councillor addressing the community. He started making comments that attending the meeting was not worth it because he did not come to listen to a woman speak.
- Serving in a mayoral committee with men and having a woman chair the meeting is at times met with some resistance from the men. The competence of women has been questioned, which has had a negative impact on service delivery.

The views from focus group participants reflected the following:

- “As a woman in a man’s world you don’t get assistance” (referring to the resistance and intimidation women receive from men in council meetings).
- Due to the resistance that women receive from men in council meetings, women form a women caucus before the council meeting to not be *blown out of the water* during council meetings.
- Men feel that they are better at debating than women and during the council meetings do not allow women to express themselves.

Rutherford (2001:329) asserts that women are evaluated in a negative way when they exhibit leadership characteristics that are typically associated with men, such as, being task oriented, directive or displaying autocratic behaviours, which are characteristics that are seen as unsuitable for women. When women behave in a way similar to men, they are often criticised as masculine. “When women are evaluated as competent in a male sex-typed role; they are disliked more than their male colleagues. These perceptions may contribute to the under-evaluation of women and delay the recognition they are entitled to receive, particularly when women perform well in domains that are seen as male oriented” (Eagly 2007:4).

There is a need to build gender considerations into the Municipal Leadership Development Programme in order to ensure that women councillors who participate in this Programme are not under evaluated. While political and societal factors in the environment impact the leadership development of women, their own motivation, knowledge and skills will also have a determining effect on the success of leadership development programmes.

Motivation, knowledge and skills

Motivation is a vital component of human resource development and by extension leadership development. Councillors should not only undergo training because training is good, they should undergo training because there is a genuine need for training and that because participants identify the need for training as part of their growth and development. Women councillors who view that their gender barriers are not considered will not be motivated to participate in leadership development programme evaluation. Through evaluation, the growth and development of participants in training can be determined; it is in this regard this study aims to propose a gender-based perspective to the evaluation of leadership development programmes for women in local government.

An important aspect of leadership is the perception of task competence (Bierna and Fuegen 2001:707). A general perception is that men are more competent than women in leadership roles. This stereotype affects the evaluations of individual women. Heilman (2001:657) states that the supposed incompatibility between stereotyped attributes associated with women (e.g. kindness, caring and relationship-oriented) and the attributes ascribed to men (e.g. tough, forceful and achievement-oriented) thought to be necessary for success at jobs and positions that are regarded as “male gender-type” jobs, gives rise to expectations that women will not perform well in these positions; and the greater the perceived lack of fit, the more negative the expectations. Of importance is the need to consider the existence of negative attitudes associated with women in leadership positions, attitudes that are gender-specific. This

article argues that a gender-specific framework for the evaluation of leadership development will consider, acknowledge and build in the presence of such attitudes into leadership development evaluation.

The environment in which leadership development of women in local government is implemented creates a context for a gender-based evaluation framework.

THE MUNICIPAL LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

The leadership development programme that forms the central focus of this research conducted for the article is the Municipal Leadership Development Programme offered by the Local Government Leadership Academy (LOGOLA) as part of the Department of Co-Operative Governance (COG). The Municipal Leadership Development Programme consists of four skills modules equalling 38 credits, namely emotional intelligence (8 credits), effective communication (10 credits), problem-solving and analytical thinking (12 credits) and communal knowledge management (12 credits). The skills programme constitutes the core of what is registered with the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) as the National Certificate in Leadership Development. The Certificate is positioned at the National Qualifications Framework (NQF) Level 4, which is equivalent to a high school grade 12 certificate. This qualification aims to develop skills, knowledge and abilities to function effectively as leaders in municipalities (SAQA 2010:2).

The aim of the Municipal Leadership Development Programme is to develop leadership skills of men and women councillors. This research is motivated by the need to acknowledge gender differences in leadership and leadership development. The impact assessment and evaluation of the result brought about by leadership development have to be gender-specific in order to enable the development, implementation and evaluation of programmes that are not gender-blind but bring a gender perspective into every aspect of leadership development. Gender-blind describes programmes, policies, actions, perceptions and processes that do not take women's needs or gender inequalities into account. A gender perspective identifies and informs actions to address disparities that stem from gender or the inequalities regarding power relationships between men and women and the effect of these imbalances on how men and women lead (Local Government Gender Policy Framework 2006:79).

Seventeen district municipalities have participated in the Municipal Leadership Development Programme since its launch in 2007. Fourteen of these municipalities participated in the first phase of the programme, which is regarded as the pilot phase of the programme. This phase provided leadership

skills development programme's to men and women who were elected and appointed in local government. Three district municipalities participated in the second phase of the programme; this phase of the programme had a specific focus on women in local government. The second phase of the Programme was implemented in collaboration with the Municipal Transformation Programme (CMTP) and various other stakeholders (LOGOLA 2008:1). The distinction between the two phases is that the second phase was aimed specifically at women councillors. With regard to the three district municipalities that were selected for this research, the Greater Sekhukhune District Municipality participated in the second phase whereas the Sedibeng District Municipality as well as the Gert Sibande District Municipality participated in the first phase. The results from the research revealed that there was no difference in the content, assessment and evaluation of the Programme in both phases.

A GENDER EVALUATION FRAMEWORK FOR LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The following section outlines the steps of a gender evaluation framework and provides recommendations for the implementation of this framework in the evaluation framework of the Municipal Leadership Development Programme.

Step 1: Engage stakeholders

The first step in the evaluation of the Municipal Leadership Development Programme was a needs assessment to assess the feasibility of a leadership development programme in local government. According to the LOGOLA (2004:7) the former Department of Provincial and Local Government, currently COG, compiled viability reports on municipalities which revealed human capacity challenges such as a lack of skilled and competent staff, councillors' lack of interest and commitment, poor community relations and political interference. The lack of an assessment of the specific individual challenges that women councillors face is a shortcoming in the evaluation framework of the Municipal Leadership Development Programme.

Stakeholders are people who care about what will be learned from the evaluation and what will be done with the knowledge gained (Baker 1995:17). Stakeholders have a vested interest in the evaluation and are in a position to do something with the results. The first step in the implementation of a gender evaluation framework is to engage stakeholders. The views of women councillors who participate in a leadership development programme and who devote their time and energy in the hope to take out useful knowledge, skills,

methods, tools and behaviours have to be taken into consideration specifically to outline the barriers relating to gender. The above did not take place during the development of the Programme. Had the women councillors been engaged, the following would have been heard (as was articulated by councillors who participated in the study):

One woman councillor who participated in the second phase of the programme states as an expectation prior to attending the Programme that she expected the Programme to teach her how to exercise her power as a woman both in the community and at home.

Another participant in the Programme stated that she expected the module on emotional intelligence to help woman councillors' deal with social difficulties.

From the above can be deduced that the engagement of stakeholders do not only ensure that proper attention is paid to expectations regarding content, but that the different needs of men and women be equally considered in the development of content.

Step 2: Conduct the structural evaluation

The structural evaluation of the Municipal Leadership Development Programme refers to the evaluation of the programme prior to its implementation. Important elements in the structural evaluation include the need for and feasibility of the Programme, the development of the Programme content as well as the assessments. Following the needs assessment, a design indaba consisting of design experts on leadership, serving councillors and managers was held in order to develop the programme content. The focus of the indaba was generic leadership training and there was no specific emphasis on gender (COG 2010). A recommendation made to the LOGOLA is to ensure that the content of a programme reflects the needs identified in the needs assessment and that the content is indicative of gender specific challenges that women councillors face. The aim of this is to ensure that the content of a programme is based not only on the needs of the municipalities and individuals but also reflects a gender perspective that is required by the external and internal environment governing leadership development.

According to the LOGOLA (2008:4), provincially and locally based facilitators were chosen to implement the Municipal Leadership Development Programme and to ensure that the facilitators would have an understanding of the municipal context to deliver the programme. This is a positive aspect of the current evaluation framework which takes into consideration the language barriers; all women councillors are not fluent in English. A shortcoming in the selection of facilitators is the lack of consideration for the facilitation preferences of women councillors.

- A recommendation is made that the facilitation of leadership development programmes incorporate a gender focus. This recommendation is aligned with the following views of councillors:
- A woman councillor remarked that she “preferred a woman facilitator in facilitating the programme because women are more understanding of the experiences and views of women as opposed to men”.

Another councillor also stated that she was more comfortable with a woman facilitator than with a man.

Several methods for assessing participation and competency were used in the Municipal Leadership Development Programme; formative assessment which was done to demonstrate the participants’ understanding during each skills module. This was followed by the summative assessment of written assignments as well as portfolios containing evidence of tasks that are specific to the work contexts of the councillors (COG 2010).

The assessment procedures used in the evaluation of the Municipal Leadership Development Programme utilised important elements in assessing the extent to which the intended competency levels of councillors were demonstrated. Group activities were used to assess the participants’ understanding during the programme and in addition, the participants were given tasks to be completed within their specific work contexts. This enabled women councillors have to point out any challenges that they might have encountered in their leadership roles.

The extent to which gender considerations were incorporated into the assessment criteria for evaluating the competence levels of councillors is questionable. The reality is that, according to COG (2010), after having submitted the portfolios of evidence, assessments were not completed. Thus, the reality is that the desired competence levels of councillors are unclear and the extent to which gender considerations are recognised remains a mystery.

This gender evaluation framework builds on the strengths of the assessment procedures currently in the Municipal Leadership Development Programme, however, recommends an inclusion of tasks that are specifically linked to the gender challenges and barriers that women in local government face. The significance of this is to assess the extent of how the contents of what the councillors have been taught in the Programme assists them in meeting the gender-specific challenges that they face as women in leadership positions in local government.

Step 3: Develop a data collection design

After each of the skills programmes in the Municipal Leadership Development Programme, the participants completed a course evaluation form, the purpose of

which was to determine the participants' perspectives on the programme (COG 2010). The course evaluation forms focused on the content of the programme, the facilitation of the programme, and the weaknesses and strengths of the programme.

The course evaluation forms were designed to learn what had worked and what had not and to determine the immediate reactions of the participants. The facilitators completed a facilitator's feedback report in which they described their experiences with the participants in the programme. The facilitator's feedback report comprises an outline of the objectives of the programme, the participants' expectations regarding the programme as well as the learning points at the end of the training session.

According to COG (2010), a third stakeholder participating in the evaluation of the programme was the representatives of the LOGOLA, who compiled observation reports. The observation report would serve as a third perspective regarding the programme and its impact and the extent to which the programme goals had been met. One of the main challenges is that course evaluation forms, facilitator's feedback reports as well as observation reports that were collected have not been analysed and reviewed in order to learn what had worked and what had not in the implementation of the Municipal Leadership Development Programme. Due to the challenges regarding the lack of funding for the Municipal Leadership Development Programme, the evaluation of the Programme could not be continued.

When evaluating skill levels in the beginning of the process and in assessing the extent to which an individual has changed at the end of the process, funders, facilitators, programme developers, and programme participants might have different views (Hannum and Martineau 2008:37). The perspectives of all stakeholders are important to consider all in order to gain the full picture of the Programme's effectiveness. In order to solve this shortcoming, the LOGOLA should conduct interviews with the different Programme stakeholders (Programme sponsors, Programme coordinators, Programme facilitators and the Programme participants) in order to ensure that the goals identified at the start of the evaluation have been met. The interviews should take into account the factor of gender as an element in analysing the effectiveness of the Programme. The importance of this recommendation is also in assisting the evaluations ascertain the extent to which the Programme is effective in assisting women to better handle gender barriers that they face in leadership roles.

Step 4: Conduct the data collection

The evaluation framework of the Municipal Leadership Development Programme indicates two shortcomings in terms of data collection; the data

collection design was limited in that all the stakeholders did not provide feedback regarding their views of the Programme effectiveness, during and after the Programme. The data collection design needs to make provision for all stakeholders to provide input regarding the programme. The data collection designs take into consideration not only the short term but also the long term reactions of the stakeholders. Lastly, the data collection design provides timely, reliable and accurate information. Baker (1995:47) states that the data collection should focus on two factors, quality and quantity.

Step 5: Analyse the data using a gender lens

This article recommends that the LOGOLA analyse the data collected through a gender lens. This means that the data collected be separated and analysed based on gender. Gender-disaggregated data is data that is separated and analysed by gender. The purpose of analysing the data through a gender lens is to ensure that programmes fully incorporate the needs, roles and participation and impact of the Programme on women. This step enables evaluators to ascertain the value of the Programme to women and the impact of the Programme on women. The data collection instruments used in the evaluation of the Municipal Leadership Development Programme did not make provision for gender disaggregated data. Gender-disaggregated data and the lack of evaluating the views of the stakeholders using a gender lens means that an assessment of whether women and men perceived the value equally or whether there were differences were not made. The extent to which gender played a role in the determination of the value and whether there were differences regarding the impact are important in order to inform future programmes provided to elected women in local government. There is a need to assess the extent to which gender considerations were built into this stage.

There has to be an analysis of the impact that the Programme has had on women specifically. This entails an analysis of the extent to which women perceive their participation in the Programme as valuable, and the strengths and weaknesses of the Programme as perceived by the women.

Step 6: Develop Recommendations

A challenge in the evaluation framework of the Municipal Leadership Development Programme is the lack of proper recommendations due to incomplete evaluation. One of the purposes of evaluation is to provide a learning role; this means that the evaluation must provide lessons as to what worked and what didn't in order to inform future leadership development programmes and to ensure that the challenges experienced in the Municipal Leadership Development Programme are not duplicated. After the data is

analysed and separated by gender the findings of the evaluation must be developed and recommendations to municipalities, facilitators, Programme sponsors and Programme participants be identified. The LOGOLA should also develop recommendations for their own evaluation purposes stemming from the data collected from all other stakeholders.

Step 7: Disseminate evaluation results

Due to incomplete evaluation, the results of the Municipal Leadership Development Programme could not be ascertained and disseminated. In this regard the article recommends that the final step in the evaluation of leadership development programmes offered to women in local government should be the dissemination of the research results. Baker (1995:62) states that dissemination is the process of communicating evaluation procedures and lessons learnt to relevant audiences, in a timely, unbiased and consistent manner. The goal of which is to achieve full disclosure and impartial reporting. Dissemination of evaluation results provides a full picture of the views of all Programme stakeholders and the impact and value (if any) it has had on the various stakeholders.

CONCLUSION

This article proposed a gender evaluation framework for the leadership development of women in local government was proposed in an effort to improve leadership development programmes. The research made a significant contribution to the body of knowledge in terms of the current challenges in leadership development evaluation. The article highlights the importance of promoting gender equality, not only through the employment and election of women in leadership positions but also through the evaluation of programmes aimed at leadership development. Gaps to be filled by future research in this field include an assessment of the implementation of a gender evaluation framework in local government in practice, as well as an investigation into the challenges faced by women in provincial and national spheres of government in terms of their participation and experiences in leadership development programmes.

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