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Editorial

N Holtzhausen

Chief Editor

School of Public Management and Administration
University of Pretoria

Constant battles relating to service delivery in the local sphere are the focus point of most of the articles published in this issue. As a nation South Africans need to become actively involved in matters relating to government and governance. The contributions of Qwabe, as well as Lekonyane and Disoloane stems from the ASSADPAM Emerging Researchers Workshop held in 2012. The editorial committee encourages emerging researchers to submit articles for the 2013 ASSADPAM Emerging Researchers Workshop that will be held during September.

The article, "Rethinking domestic water resource management: a shift from gender-biased to gender-based approach" by Shika Vyas-Doorgarpersad explores and analyses the definitive transferral of gender responsibility from 'carrying' water to 'carrying responsibility' for water. The study builds on a literature review, policy regulations and case-studies that reflect transformational reallocation of set tasks and explores the way forward to utilise water as a means of enhancing gender empowerment. The study recommends the use of gender disaggregated data and a close consideration of gender-based and gender-sensitive approaches in defining water policies.

Bongani Qwabe's article focus on "Realising South Africa's Vision 2030: A Capacity-Building Perspective". From a 'human rights' and Millennium Development Goals' (MDGs) point of view, espoused by the United Nations (UN), his article explores the magnitude of socio-economic challenges, and their effect on human development. The article concludes by proposing a renewed capacity-building for the public-sector (RCB4PS) framework. The framework deems the renewed focus on capacity-building necessary, in order to unlock and re-orient the state's capability of achieving the proposed Vision 2030.

In the article "The perceptions of municipal water service officials on the Blue Drop Certification Programme: the case of Nkangala District Municipality" Eric Nealer and Dennis Mtsweni made use of mixed data collection methodology research to determine how the technical and/or water service managers and process controllers of the Nkangala District Municipality perceive the Blue Drop Certification Programme. From their research all the respondents support the Programme since they perceive it as a mechanism to improve the management of drinking water quality and ultimately to ensure safe drinking water.

Buti Lekonyane and Pholoso Disoloane seek to determine if the Service Delivery and Budget Implementation Plan (SDBIP) 2011/12 is the most suited plan for implementing the delivery of services of the City of Tshwane Municipality in managing the provision of services such as roads, water, sanitation and electricity. Their article, "Determining strategies to manage informal settlement: the case of City of Tshwane Municipality" focus on the challenges experienced by the urban poor living in informal settlements.

In the article, "Towards results-based developmental public governance in the Cape Town City-region of South Africa" William Sewell and Fanie Cloete use cross-national action research for this interdisciplinary, mixed-methods study. The goal was to identify significant results-based developmental governance enablers and inhibitors, within a theoretical framework formulated to address the research question, based on exemplary public performance practices. While the research outcome is not conclusive, it is part of a continuing search for effective urban developmental governance modalities.

The article written by Ntuthuko Mchunu and Francois Theron provide an interesting perspective on "Public protests in context: the case of Khayelitsha" The aim of the study was to determine the extent to which the perceived lack of authentic and empowering public participation through the invited spaces in the City of Cape Town contributes to public protests in Khayelitsha. The study adopted a qualitative research paradigm. Personal interviews, focus group discussion and participatory observation were the research methods used to collect primary data. The study indicates that lack of authentic and empowering public participation opportunities in the decision-making processes of the City of Cape Town alienates the public and leads to public disengagement from available state sponsored invited spaces of participation.

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Rethinking domestic water resource management

A shift from gender-biased to gender-based approach

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ABSTRACT

Historically, socially and economically, women in many societies have been given the onerous responsibility of travelling long distances, often in unfavourable weather conditions, to carry home containers of water on their heads for drinking and domestic purposes. Women are over-represented in performing these tasks but are under-represented in offering a significant contribution in water management at decision-making levels.

This article aims to explore and analyse the definitive transferral of gender responsibility from 'carrying' water to 'carrying responsibility' for water. The article [qualitative] builds on a literature review, policy regulations and case-studies that reflect transformational reallocation of set tasks and explores the way forward to utilise water as a means of enhancing gender empowerment. The article recommends the use of gender disaggregated data and a close consideration of gender-based and gender-sensitive approaches in defining water policies. Importantly, scope is also left for further investigation of strategies and policies which promote gender empowerment in and through water programmes.

The article emphasises the roles of women in water resource management in South Africa as a case study.

INTRODUCTION

Historically, women have devoted time and energy to the organisation of environmental reserves. From a global perspective, they accept noticeable

responsibility (distinct from men) for the equitable use and consumption of natural resources, complemented by their collection of water, firewood and fuel. Their responsibilities incorporate *involvement in* and *development of* family, society and community at large. Despite these diverse dimensions of responsibility, capacities and experiences, women's role in water resource management remains negligible.

The identification of responsibility for water is the stepping stone of developing a gender planning process for effective water resource management. It is vital to conduct research into needs analysis which identifies the gender-based utilisation of water (gender-based disaggregated data). Research of this nature is necessary to identify the level of gender-representation and involvement in water governance so that gender-sensitive policies can be formulated. It is equally significant that a focus on gender in water resource management should identify the diverse range of limitations experienced by men and by women. This recognition of gender-based responsibilities is imperative to provide equity in dealing with water governance. The issues of gender in water resource management should be recognised as broad matters of authorisation for the use by women (and men) of necessary resources. This awareness of the relationship between gender and sustainable development for water resource management was fully supported at the International Conference on Water and the Environment Development Issues for the Twenty-first Century¹ (ICWE 1992:2) held in Dublin in 1992. At this conference it was highlighted that women's involvement is also vital in water conservation (ICWE 1992).

This message is a clear indication that there is a shift away from the old paradigm. The gender-inclusive approach in water resource management is now being explored, discussed and debated at various local and international forums.

At a conceptual level, the researcher aims to utilise the "empowerment approach of feminist theory" (Govender and Vyas-Doorgapersad 2013:107) as a framework for the study. The aim is to "raise the need to engage with critical issues hampering the social, economic and empowerment of women" (Kithatu-Kiwekete 2011:2). This approach will assist the researcher to translate the "political ramifications of women's empowerment that is the transformation of gender relations, into gender planning" (Wieringa 1994:830). Against this background, the study focuses on the relationship between gender and water as a tool for empowerment, sustainable development of individuals, families, and communities at large. 'Gender', in this paper, is contextualised as a role-player that can handle specific delegated responsibility; women, who represent the female aspect of gender, demand appropriate recognition and opportunities in water resource management. At a contextual level, the

study emphasises the roles of women in water resource management in South Africa as a case study.

The study concludes with the suggestion that a holistic approach should be taken by organisations dealing with water policies and programmes and that there is a need to encompass gender-based indicators for development and empowerment on a global scale. According to the United Nations Department for Economic and Social Affairs (UN-DESA) and the UN Water Decade Programme on Capacity Development (UNW-DPC) (2009:21), “a relatively easy entry point would be to incorporate into these indices statistics on women in governmental decision-making bodies on water and sanitation”.

GENDER-INCLUSIVE WATER RESOURCE MANAGEMENT: POLICY ENTRY POINTS

Women have an equal right to participate in decision-making processes. Moreover their contributions in development initiatives have been the stepping stones of feminist movements. The literature reviewed for this study shows that the gender equality issue was first raised and discussed at some length in 1971 and that this laid the foundation of women’s participation in social, cultural, economic and political decision-making structures. Internationally accepted resolutions that have been instituted to support women’s involvement in decision-making processes include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948); the Convention on the Political Rights of Women (1952); and the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979), among others. These conventions have established a strong paradigm that women are more than capable of handling specific delegated responsibilities. In the context of this study this responsibility is limited to water resource management, with the rationale that women are the main consumers and the foremost stakeholders of water and water resources. Constraints on access to water and sanitation facilities may have a negative impact on women in terms of unfinished household activities; a degraded hygienic environment; health concerns; and occupation issues. There is a close interactive connection between women, water and empowerment.

The issue of bringing gender into the mainstream of water resource management was raised at the UN Water Conference in Mar del Plata, Argentina in 1977. Thereafter policy frameworks were established for women to perform a transformational role in managing water resources at a global level. The International Conference on Water and Environment (ICWE) held in 1992 led to the Dublin Declaration which emphasised the need to empower women

for effective implementation of water resource management (refer ICWE 1992). The principle was also supported at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development held in 1992 at Rio de Janeiro, commonly known as the 'Earth Summit'. At this conference Agenda 21 was adopted and chapter 18 of the declaration² emphasised the need for financially and socially feasible projects embracing a participatory approach involving women in water resource management (Earth Summit 1992).

The gender issue was comprehensively discussed at the Bonn International Conference on Freshwater³ and the 2001 Ministerial Declaration emphasised the need to encourage both men and women to become involved in water resource management. It was recognised that women should be capacitated for contributing towards effective water resource management (refer Bonn 2002). The Second World Water Forum (SWWF) organised in Hague in 2000 also recognised the need to empower women through water management (refer SWWF 2000). Furthermore the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) held in 2002 at Johannesburg stressed that in order to afford safe drinking water, a Millennium Development Goal, the relevant services must be gender-sensitive (<http://www.johannesburgsummit.org>). The Third World Water Forum (TWWF) held in Japan in 2003, gave close attention to gender issues for sustainable water management to achieve the Millennium Declaration (<http://web.worldbank.org>).

These discussions and debates at global level paved the way for the Inter-agency Network on Women and Gender Equality (IANWGE) by establishing an Inter-agency Gender and Water Task Force in 2003. This task force is responsible for highlighting gender issues of the International Water for Life Decade, 2005–2015. In order to incorporate the gender component in development initiatives, the task force has formulated a policy brief entitled 'Gender, Water and Sanitation Case Studies and Best Practices'. The task force also takes responsibility for examining the existing constraints in establishing and maintaining water-related gender-based disaggregated data. It can be deduced that in water resource management, a gender sensitive outlook is imperative to ensure that resources are managed in a sustainable manner and "help to empower women and so furthers broader goals of equality within society, contributing to poverty alleviation and social inclusion" (Sandys 2005:3) for sustainable development.

Further research is required to assess the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and for analysing the impact of established linkages. The gender aspect features prominently in the Millennium Development Goals. The relationship between gender and the Millennium Development Goals (prepared by the Millennium Project Task Force on Water and Sanitation 2005 cited in UN-Water 2006:2) is provided in Table 1:

Table 1: Relationship between Gender and Water Millennium Development Goals

MDG relevant targets	Ensure Environmental Sustainability (Goal 7) Halve by 2015 the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation (target 10)	Contribution of sound water resources management and development
	Contribution of domestic water supply and sanitation	
Promote gender equality and empower women (Goal 3)	Reduced time, health, and care-giving burdens from improved water services give women more time for productive endeavours, adult education, empowerment activities, leisure	Community-based organisations for water management can improve social capital of women by giving them leadership and networking opportunities and building solidarity among them
	Convenient access to water and sanitation facilities increase privacy and reduce risk to women and girls of sexual harassment/assault while gathering water	
	Higher rates of child survival are a precursor to the demographic transition to lower fertility rates; having fewer children reduces women’s household responsibilities and increases their opportunities for personal development	

This line of thinking concerning women partaking in water resource management has opened up opportunities for gender empowerment. The follow-up surveys of this paradigmatic shift indicate that it is imperative in the quest to preserve global water resources and protect public health by providing an acceptable standard of sanitation facilities.

WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN WATER RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

A paradigm shift in gender approach

According to (Lundqvist 2012:13), “When water resources management is part of the unpaid, informal economy, governed by traditional male/female norms, women are the responsible parties. But once it enters the paid, public domain, it becomes subject to hierarchical rules which state that men are managers and women carry out the decisions they make”. In reaction to the progressive decisions taken at global deliberations, the awareness has grown on the significant contribution that women can make in water resource management as individual stakeholders. Equally significant is the realisation of the need to re-assess gender-based responsibilities that can assist in the endeavour to “share benefits from use of water; make progress towards more sustainable use of water; and maximise

social and economic benefit from sustainable use of water” (Guio-Torres and Taylor 2006:10). Policy reflections also support the fact that a gender-inclusive outlook to water resource management is vital for accomplishing most Millennium Development Goals, “including not only those related to health, but also to poverty and hunger eradication, education, women’s empowerment, environmental sustainability and global partnership for development” (Eid 2009:8). The need for gender-inclusive water resource management is also reflected in the words of Fabiano Kwaule, the Minister of Works in Malawi. He emphasised that:

efficiency, effectiveness, equity and affordability are the main gains of adopting a gender approach. It requires detailed attention to social realities during the design, and throughout the execution, of water delivery systems (Lundqvist 2012:6).

The transformative approach on gender-inclusiveness has led the way towards Integrated Water Resources Management (IWRM) with an emphasis that “there should be recognition that women play a central role in the provision, management and safeguarding of water” (Sandys 2005:3). It is true to say that “Water is not ‘gender neutral’. Water resource management is incomplete without a gender perspective” (Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation 2012:4).

Empowering women through water

“In sub-Saharan Africa twenty five percent of the female population spends roughly thirty minutes a round trip gathering water on a daily basis” (WaterWideWeb 2011). At family, social and community levels, many women, particularly those in developing countries, exhaust the majority of their time and effort accessing water. To bring water closer to communities, the Water Project has been implemented in Africa with the aim of allowing women to utilise the time previously used to collect water, to gain an education and perform jobs for social and economic upliftment as well as their own empowerment. The Water Project (2011:1–4) [summarised version] involves:

- Community engagement and education about the water project, which helps to prepare local people on how to manage their own water schemes.
- Constructing a well. This involves drilling a borehole and installing a hand pump.
- Follow-up education on how the system operates and handing over the facility. This includes reviewing the education provided and discussing general maintenance. The installation is finalised; the water quality is tested; and finally the project is officially handed over to the community.
- Monitoring and evaluation of the completed facility is imperative. The impact of the process must be assessed. There must also be an evaluation of the level achieved compared to the perceived outcome.

The Water Project has been implemented in a number of African countries including Kenya, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Uganda and Burkina Faso. Improved access to water with water technologies such as borehole and hand pump can make a significant transformation in the lives of women through involvement in the water process at community level, saving time for education, improved hygiene and health, and job opportunities.

Another initiative known as the Water and Sanitation Project has been implemented at the Namanganga village in Uganda. In order for the community to own the project, a water and sanitation committee has been established and “at its formation, gender balance was considered whereby women are inclusive in making decisions at this level” (Safe World for Women 2012:3). The women in this village are the victims of domestic violence where husbands accuse them of spending too much time at the boreholes and ignoring household activities. The outcome of the project therefore, is to improve women’s empowerment in terms of reducing levels of harassment and domestic violence.

The outcomes of water projects can be expanded with the assistance of the Women for Water Partnership (WfWP), a worldwide strategic coalition of women’s organisations and networks which recognises and gives full acknowledgment to “the pivotal and central role of women in sustainable development” (WfWP Annual Report 2010:6) through the promotion of gender equity and equality. The WfWP maintains that water and sanitation are foundational landmarks for sustainable and human development. The WfWP’s small grants programme assists women’s organisations in African countries by “enhancing their capacity to develop and manage their projects and development activities; supplying communities with drinking water and/or sanitation and hygiene education; and facilitating knowledge and experience transfer” on comparative and country-specific approaches related to women and water (WfWP Annual Report 2010:4).

These initiatives capacitate women, enabling them to manage water, sanitation, hygiene, and eco-health dimensions of water resource management. Such outcomes can be endorsed thus:

A healthy woman is a confident woman. A confident woman is the cornerstone of her community, leading the way to economic prosperity and sustainability (WaterWideWeb 2011:3).

Women, water and empowerment: the case of South Africa

There is positive affirmation of the empowerment of women in the 2011 Report on Assessing Progress in Africa towards the Millennium Development Goals. It states that “African countries have shown good overall progress in gender equality and the empowerment of women in recent years” (African

Development Bank 2011:32). Impressive advances have been made in South Africa, where gender equality has been made a constitutional requirement. The White Paper on a National Water Policy for South Africa was issued on 30 April 1997. Section 7.3.2 emphasised the need for capacitating personnel to ensure effective water resource management. Furthermore the involvement and empowerment of women is made obligatory (refer White Paper 1997). The *National Water Act*, 1998, following the notion of 'division of labour', stipulates that additional members of Catchment Management Agencies must be appointed with due regard to satisfactory gender inclusiveness.

Cleaver in Joshi and Fawcett, (2012:3) points out that some "great claims have been made for both the theory and the practice of women's increased participation in the management of domestic water resources". The review of relevant policies and literature indicates that participation of women in water resource management can have dual significance in enhancing effectiveness of water related projects, and empowering women. Women's involvement can also be significant in eco-health and the hygienic aspects of water and these water related endeavours may well yield additional income.

In South Africa, the National Implementation Strategy and Action Plan 2006–2010 for mainstreaming gender in the water services sector incorporates the objective of equality and equal opportunity to all in society, regardless of race and gender. The strategy aims to realise the significant operational objectives for gender mainstreaming in water resource management for sustainable delivery of water services (WSS Implementation Strategy and Action Plan 2012). In addition, the National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality aims to establish appropriate gender-based policies, programmes, structures, projects, and mechanisms, thereby empowering, encouraging, capacitating and authorising women. Gender equality of this nature is imperative if women are to perform tasks at all levels of the labour hierarchy, including all facets of work (Department of Water Affairs and Forestry [DWAF] 2012). This policy proclamation was duly endorsed at the political level by the Water Affairs minister, Lindiwe Hendricks. She emphasised that,

we must reaffirm our commitment not only to the delivery of water, sanitation and forestry services, but to ensuring that we mainstream gender to ensure that women can also benefit from the development opportunities that arise when we provide such services (DWAF 2011:1).

The affirmation to provide empowerment to women through water schemes has indeed been put into practice by the DWAF; it implemented two women empowerment projects in the 2010/11 financial year and the impact observed includes the following:

- As many as 725 temporary jobs were created and women from poor female-headed households benefited significantly from this employment;
- Women were given training in areas concerned with water safety and were also instructed on the auditing of women-owned water projects;
- A successful rural development project was carried out. Eleven water projects owned by women were assessed for the Women in Water Awards; the prizes awarded benefited 33 rural households (DWAF Annual Report 2011:49).

The implementation of the water projects outlined above is an indication that the government is fully cognisant of the importance of women's empowerment. Furthermore, this supports the empowerment approach of feminist theory stipulated as a framework for the study.

In order to sustain the outcomes of strategic objectives linking women, water and empowerment, it is imperative to identify the challenges that must be addressed. Through analysis of the relevant literature and water policies/projects, the following challenges are identified:

- **DWAF Regulations:** According to the regulations of the DWAF, women must be appointed on all water boards, and be members of water committees with a 30% representation. The following implementation gaps are identified:
 - Water related proposals and schemes are directed towards houses with the appropriate water connection. Homes that are scattered in remote rural areas typically lack adequate water provision and yet are excluded from water related proposals and schemes.
 - Needs analysis, impact surveys and baseline research are not explicitly conducted to incorporate gender disaggregated data and identify the gender-based need of water.
 - In addition, "few women are involved in making decisions aimed at the creation of a healthy and sustainable environment" (National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality 2003:17).
- **Policy formulation:** In South Africa, the Ministry of Water and Environmental Affairs is responsible for dealing with the formulation and implementation of water policies and programmes. The political office-bearers who are responsible for policy formulation in the ministry (the minister and deputy minister) are *female* and yet gender analysis is lacking in the policies they formulate. In order to ascertain whether the legislative frameworks in South Africa incorporate gender equity and inclusiveness, the following questions demand analytical answers from the respective role-players: i) Are there any gender-based criteria in the utilisation of water? ii) Is a gender-disaggregated data-base available to identify the need for water? iii) "Who bears the costs (and how equitably)?" iv) "Who reaps the benefits"? And, finally, v) "Who is

most at risk and made vulnerable from a lack of water?" (Chancellor, Hussein, Lidonde, Mustafa and Van Wijk 2003:47).

- **Human resources:** Most of the senior positions (executive portfolios) in the water sector are still not filled by an adequate number of women. Table 2 (author's interpretation) explores the statistics of gender (male and female) appointed at the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (national office and regional offices). The information is compiled from the website of DWAF (<http://www.dwaf.gov.za>) and the names of the [bureaucratic portfolio] personnel have been omitted here to maintain the ethical aspect of this study.

Table 2: Gender and Executive Positions in the DWAF

Office	Positions (bureaucratic)	Female	Male
DWAF National Office	Office of the Minister Acting Chief of Staff (Head of Ministry)		X
	Office of the Minister Media Liaison Officer		X
	Office of the Deputy Minister Chief of Staff	X	
	Office of the Deputy Minister Media Liaison Officer		X
	Office of the Director General Director General		X
	Office of the Director General Deputy Information Officer		X
	Office of the Director General Acting Director		X
	Communication Services Chief Director		X
	Communication Services Director (Media Liaison)	X	
	Head Office Chief Director: Regional Co-ordination and Support	Vacant	Vacant
Regional Offices			
Eastern Cape	Chief Director: Eastern Cape		X
	Director: Operation and Maintenance		X
	Director: Institutional Development		X
	Director: Water Sector Support		X
	Director: Forestry		X
	Director: Corporate Services		X

Office	Positions (bureaucratic)	Female	Male
Free State	Chief Director: Free State		X
	Director: Water Sector Support	X	
	Director: Institutional Establishment		X
	Director: Water Regulation and Use	X	
Gauteng	Chief Director: Gauteng		X
	Director: Water Sector Support		X
	Director: Institutional Establishment		X
Kwazulu-Natal	Acting Chief Director: KwaZulu Natal	X	
	Director: Water Use and Regulation	X	
	Acting Director: Institutional Establishment		X
	Director: Corporate Services and Finance	X	
Mpumalanga	Acting Chief Director: Mpumalanga		X
	Director: Institutional Establishment		X
	Director: Water Sector Regulation and Use	X	
North West	Chief Director: North West	X	
	Corporate Service Manager	X	
Northern Cape	Acting Chief Director: Northern Cape		X
	Director: Water Sector Regulation and Use		X
	Director: Water Sector Support		X
Limpopo	Chief Director: Limpopo Region		X
	Director: Water Sector Support and Development		X
	Acting Director: Water Service		X
	Director: Water Regulation and Use	X	
	Director: Institutional Establishment	X	
Western Cape	Chief Director: Western Cape		X
	Director: Water Sector Support	X	
	Director: Institutional Operations	X	
TOTAL		14	28

The table shows that women hold fewer bureaucratic positions than men. Women's contribution in the implementation processes is therefore not fully utilised.

The government has established Catchment Management Agencies (CMAs) at provincial level for geographical representation of water needs. The staff at the provincial CMA also comprises more men than women. The Governing Board and the strategic positions in the Breede-Overberg CMA (a case-reference to validate and rationalise the concern) are occupied by men (eight) serving in the following portfolios, as listed at the Breede-Overberg CMA website (2012:1–2): Emerging Farmers; Water Cape Provincial Government: Integrated Environmental Management; Industry and Business; [Chairperson] Commercial Agriculture: Surface Water Non-Scheme; [Deputy Chairperson] Statutory Conservation and Environment; Access to Water by Poor/Rural Settlements; Commercial Agriculture: Groundwater; and Commercial Agriculture: Surface Water Scheme. Only three women serve in the portfolios of Water, Environmental Civil Society/NGOs; Civil Society; and Potential Agriculture Water Use by Emerging Farmers.

The status of women in water resource management at the local sphere of government is more unembellished in reality. Municipalities in South Africa do not have a direct mandate to deal with water resource management. Due to their decentralised status, the municipalities can however perform significant roles in the areas of water supply and waste water treatment. To do so, the municipalities require capacity, resources and the participation of relevant stakeholders. Women who are designated as ‘member participants’ are excluded from stakeholders’ meetings.

- **Grass-roots governance:** The element of social inclusion (an important aspect of Integrated Water Resource Management) excludes women, thus depriving them of having any input in the decision-making processes, and ignoring their water needs. At municipal level women are involved in performing tasks in the agricultural field and yet this is ignored, restricting their responsibilities to the domestic context and weakening their economic status. Due to socio-cultural considerations (traditional societies being markedly patriarchal) the voices of women are not heard in decision-making processes, hence the deterioration of their social status. Gender equity can bring social inclusion, social empowerment, and social justice, allowing women to partake in the implementation of water resource management projects/processes at municipal level.
- **Capacity-building:** Studies have been conducted on water issues, exploring “a sector-wide Capacity Gap Analysis and a Capacity Building Strategy ... however, some difficulty has been encountered with the implementation of a Capacity Development Programme of Action specifically targeted at women” (Seetal 2005:4). This challenge is substantiated by the Office on the Status of Women (OSW) in a situational analysis of the water sector exploring the lack of adequate and appropriate capacity-building initiatives

and programmes enabling women as caretakers of eco-health reserves (OSW 2003). Furthermore, the training programmes that are available at DWAF are not continuously supported and supervised. The lack of mentorship and counselling creates a gap in acquiring relevant knowledge (theory) and its alignment with the execution of appropriate gender-based programmes (practice) (refer DWAF 2012).

It is suggested that the South African government should implement the following strategies to enhance women's participation in all the relevant areas within the water sector. For example, every effort should be made to support, strengthen and develop:

- the policy-making process (design, formulation and implementation) encouraging women involvement as primary stakeholders;
- strategic portfolios which accommodate women as decision-makers;
- all capacity-building programmes empowering women in water resource management;
- adequate resource allocation, educating women on the control and management of water;
- a gender disaggregated data-base and indicators identifying gender-based responsibilities in water resource management; and
- qualitative and quantitative research for gender planning.

Further studies may require both qualitative and quantitative research approaches to observe and monitor the implementation of these strategies; to assess the impact of women's participation on effective water projects; and to remain committed to expanding the association between women, water and empowerment.

THE WAY FORWARD

There are some gaps which need to be closed in order to achieve an effective outcome as far as gender-inclusiveness in water resource management is concerned. This article leaves scope for future research and suggests the following areas that require further investigation:

- The lack of access to basic services such as the provision of water (to both women and men) is against the objective of the Millennium Development Goals. There is an urgent need to identify *the status of indigenous women* (the knowledge source of maintaining an ecological relationships between health, environment, water, sanitation and hygiene), and encouraging them to take responsibility for water resource management.
- Global policies do not accommodate the priorities of women as compared to those of men. This leaves a gap as far as *gender perspective approach*

to water resource management is concerned, There is a need to conduct country-specific research (making use of both qualitative and quantitative methods) to identify the gender-biased roles, attitudes, demands, and expectations as they pertain to the social, economic, political and cultural environment of that particular country.

- Water resource management lacks trained and capacitated people to deal with water projects. There is a need to conduct country-specific Strength, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats [SWOT] analytical research in the urban and rural areas. Based on these findings a Work Skills Plan (WSP) should be implemented to train the personnel, the community members and the relevant water authorities in their areas of jurisdiction.
- Degradation of water not only devalues the dignity of women but also discourages them from embracing water ethics. There is a need to embolden an ethical gender-inclusive approach in water resource management.

The exploration of these areas will enhance the literature in this field and create better understanding of gender-inclusiveness in water resource management.

CONCLUSION

There are policies and programmes in place to enhance women's participation in water resource management. However there are still some gaps in the formulation and implementation stages that need close consideration. Studies already conducted globally and nationally do not absolve us of the responsibility to undertake more localised gender studies to clarify the diverse societal gender-based predispositions and inclinations of men and women. The literature review indicates that studies taking a gender approach and outlook on water accessibility and management are not absolute in concluding gender-based preferences and priorities. Transformation is required on women's inclusion in processes such as finances (expenditure related to water usage, payment of water bills, etc.); capacity-building (technical and technological aspects of water resource management, project management skills); and decision making (formulating water policies). Gender equity that emphasises the participation of women will lead to their empowerment in water resource management. Against this (hypothetical) statement, this article concludes that there is a need to conduct further research to explore social-cultural empowerment whereby women's participation is fully accepted by a male-dominated society. The issue of female and male aspects of gender should give way to an accommodation as mutual role-players in water resource management. There must be political empowerment that leads to women holding strategic

decision-making portfolios and this must go hand in hand with economic empowerment that ensures women's self-dependency through entrepreneurship opportunities and the establishment of women's SMMEs. Similarly, technical/technological empowerment will capacitate women to utilise advanced modes of communication and equipment in water projects.

NOTES

- 1 At this conference it was emphasised that “women play a central part in the provision, management and safeguarding of water” (ICWE 1992:2).
- 2 Agenda 21, chapter 18, states that “to design, implement and evaluate projects and programmes that are both economically efficient and socially appropriate within clearly defined strategies, based on an approach of full public participation, including that of women, youth, indigenous people, local communities, in water management policy-making and decision-making” (Stakeholder Forum for Our Common Future [formerly UNED Forum] 2002:2).
- 3 A 2001 Ministerial Declaration states that “water resources management should be based on a participatory approach. Both men and women should be involved and have an equal voice in managing the sustainable use of water resources and sharing of benefits. The role of women in water related areas needs to be strengthened and their participation broadened” (Bonn 2002:3).

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Realising South Africa's Vision 2030

A Capacity-Building Perspective

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ABSTRACT

Democratic transition in South Africa led to policy shifts towards a developmental and outcomes-based government, in the pursuit of the country's socio-economic needs. This is affirmed in the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, 1996. The constitution succinctly states that 'public administration must be development-oriented'. To this end, public institutions are required to discharge their legitimate functions and constitutional obligations in order to enhance democratic governance for sustained growth and development. To date, however, despite these constitutional provisions, government's effectiveness and capacity for addressing the existing pressing socio-economic challenges, is highly contested. Almost two decades into democracy, the majority of South Africans are still besieged with complex developmental challenges, including unemployment, poverty, and inequalities, referred herein as "triple constraints of development". From a 'human rights' and Millennium Development Goals' (MDGs) point of view, espoused by the United Nations (UN), this article explores the magnitude of these challenges, and their effect on human development. Finally, the article concludes by proposing a renewed capacity-building for the public-sector (RCB4PS) framework. The framework deems the renewed focus on capacity-building necessary, in order to unlock and re-orient the state's capability of achieving the proposed Vision 2030.

INTRODUCTION

It could be argued that the notion of a developmental state is a requisite for human development. South Africa's unstable and dwindling socio-economic

progress, characterised by unemployment, poverty, and inequalities, has impacted on human development. With the Gini coefficient and unemployment rate of 0,65 and 25% respectively, nearly 16 million of South Africa's population depend on government grants for their social needs. This explains the necessity for developing a 'capable-state', with which to meet developmental targets set out in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). MDGs are an overarching development framework based on a broad vision for the promotion of global development by 2015. While South Africa is lauded for its development initiative and for the progress made post 1994, and following the adoption of MDGs in 2000, it still suffers the "triple constraints of development".

MDGs require the adoption of the country's strategies for meeting the identified goals. To this end, the third democratic elections held in 2009 saw the adoption of a National Development Plan (NDP) with Vision 2030. The NDP is a long-term plan that facilitates government's delivery agenda, including the reduction of unemployment, poverty and inequalities. The daunting question posed in the article is whether South Africa has made sufficient inroads in addressing the existing developmental changes, including poverty, inequality, and unemployment. From this context, and based on the review of the literature on sustainable human development, human rights, and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), this article examines South Africa's state of human development and socio-economic transformation. The pervasiveness of the developmental challenges require, as proposed in the article, a renewed focus in building the capacity of the state to offer its delivery agenda as required by the Constitution and the MDGs. Thus, renewed capacity-building for the public sector (RCB4PS) framework is proposed in the article, in order to promote learning organisations, innovation, and learning, which are requisites for an outcomes-based government.

DEVELOPMENTAL STATE AND DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE: A REQUISITE FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

According to the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), (2011:101) sustainable development is a major preoccupation for most post-colonial countries. In Ghana, for instance, Kwame Nkrumah's philosophy of Pan-Africanism stirred political and economic liberation through the regional integration strategies. These strategies were designed to advance economic prosperity. Similarly, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia embraced humanism as the philosophy for human development. As such, Gibbon, cited in UNECA (2011:101) describes the early post-colonial state in Africa as "developmental".

The following features, among others, are common characteristics of a developmental state (UNECA 2011:97):

- Vision-setting, capable leadership, and a developmental ideology;
- State institutional capacity, and competent bureaucracy;
- Effective national development planning; and
- Development of human capacity.

From these characteristics, the developing of human capacity among public officials is emphasised in the article, in order to implement national development plans.

Maphunye (2009:12) argues that the term ‘developmental state’ implies making constructive headway towards improvement in human conditions; including the reduction of unemployment, poverty, and inequalities. The need to build a capable state is indispensable for a developmental state such as South Africa, in order to realise its strategic developmental objectives.

The quest for democratic governance in Africa during the post-independence period has seen a major advance in socio-economic development (UNECA 2011:95) Edigheji (2005:6–7) stresses that a democratic developmental state should foster progressive realisation of economic growth and development. Similarly, White, cited in Edigheji (2005:7), succinctly argues that economic growth should be capable of “generating higher material standards of living”. As such, democratic developmental state interventions should have explicit socio-economic developmental objectives and strategies. In this regard, Gumede (2009:4) argues that the development state should, in a strict sense, influence the direction, pace, and goals of growth and development. While UNECA, (2011:96) contends that a democratic developmental state must have capacity, credibility, and legitimacy of formulating and implementing developmental policies and programmes, Gumede (2009:9) argues that a successful development state demands political will, long-term vision, and determination with which to initiate and drive socio-economic transformation. This determination is reflected in South Africa’s 1996 Constitution and Vision 2030.

South Africa’s Constitution, 1996

Section 195 (1) (c) of the Constitution requires that all government organs and institutions be “development-oriented” (RSA 1996). Moreover, the constitution requires the respective government institutions to adopt strategic objectives that embrace democratic values, and the citizens’ rights in their development initiatives. As such, strategic objectives and development are entangled; and they require a concerted effort from politicians and administrative officials, in order to foster an outcomes-based and results-oriented government. An outcomes-based approach is a fundamental ingredient for improved service delivery (Farik 2007:1).

South Africa’s 2009-2014 Medium Term Strategic Framework (MTSF) is Government’s outcomes approach which reflects other development initiatives.

The MTSF has twelve key outcomes, of which each is enunciated in terms of discernible and measured outputs, and key activities with which to achieve the indicated outputs. The twelve key outcomes are (RSA 2010:13):

- Improved quality of education.
- A long and healthy life for all South Africans.
- All people in South Africa are to feel safe.
- Quality employment, through inclusive economic growth.
- A skilled and capable workforce with which to support an inclusive growth path.
- An efficient, competitive, and responsive economic infrastructure network.
- Vibrant, equitable, and sustainable rural communities, with food security for all.
- Sustainable human settlement, and improved household life.
- A responsible, accountable, effective, and efficient local government system.
- Environmental assets and natural resources which are well protected, and continually enhanced.
- The creation of a better South Africa; contributing to a better and safer Africa and world.
- Efficient, effective and development-oriented public services, and an empowered, fair, and inclusive citizenship.

The outcomes approach focuses on results; and requires public officials continually to learn and improve public policies (RSA 2010). Therefore, Ministers are required to enter into a signed performance agreement with the president (RSA 2010:14).

South Africa's vision 2030

In 2010 the president of South Africa, Mr. Jacob Zuma, appointed the National Planning Commission (NPC). The commission serves as an advisory body to the cabinet, on issues affecting South Africa's long-term vision. Among other things, the NPC was tasked with presenting a comprehensive report on issues affecting long-term development; and with the development of a vision statement, and a country plan for 2030. Following the Diagnostic Overview Report of 2011, which presents a wide range of developmental challenges, including unemployment, poverty, and inequalities, the South African government adopted a national development plan (NDP). The NDP contains a long-term vision intended to address the existing developmental challenges. The plan is premised on the realisation that, while much progress has been made post 1994, the "business-as-usual" approach is likely to fall short in meeting government's objectives of a prosperous, united, non-racial and democratic South Africa, characterised by

equality for all (RSA 2011:7). Gumede (2009:7) observes that the country's long-term vision can influence change in a developmental state. A developmental state must, therefore, be defined by its strategic objectives (Adigheji 2005:8). Hence, South Africa's Vision 2030 strategic objectives include the reducing and elimination of unemployment, poverty, and inequalities.

In his 2010 State of Nations Address (SONA), the president of the Republic of South Africa, Mr. Jacob Zuma, announced government's future developmental efforts with which to advance the realisation and attainment of human rights through, for instance, poverty alleviation, and employment creation. In his definition of a developmental state, the Minister of the National Planning Commission (NPC) Mr Trevor Manuel, argues that "the developmental state takes upon itself the task of establishing substantive social and economic goals with which to guide the process of development and social mobilization" (RSA 2010:7). Farik (2007:1) affirms that recent government initiatives towards development have been posited by means of which to give credence to this pronouncement and definition. These initiatives include:

- continued increase in social spending on health, education, and social service sectors;
- government policies that seek to intervene in the economy, including Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE), and affirmative procurement policies; and
- social welfare transfers geared towards social-protection measures.

Health care, high-quality education, and adequate provision of housing, water, sanitation, and other basic services, give impetus to human development. The Bill of Rights, Section 27 of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, 1996, and subsequent legislation, advocates the advancement of sustainable human development (SHD) through provision of social services and lawful execution of policies which impact positively on the development of all people. According to Matlosa (2005:13), SHD implies a decent standard of living for communities with a prevalence of high literacy rate, continuing increase in life expectancy, and per capita income. Cheema *et al.* (2001:6) further note critical generic characteristics of human development performance in a society. These include, *inter alia*, access to social services, level of employment and economic growth, and participation in policy-making.

With respect to the latter, White, in Gumede (2009:8-9) argues that a democratic developmental state should have an ingrained inclusive approach, with greater citizen participation in socio-economic decision-making as a precondition for democratic governance. Stressing the importance and need for a wider participation in policy processes, Seddon and Belton-Jones, cited in Edigheji (2005:10), note the following:

“Effective insulation from immediate pressures of special interests enables policy-makers to respond swiftly and effectively to new circumstances; but the capacity to identify and implement appropriate policies to promote effective medium – and longer-term development requires the maintenance of strategic relations with wider civil society.”

Relevant to this, Linz and Stefen, cited in Cheema and Maguire (2001:6), argue that, to strengthen democracy, “free and lively civil society” should be acclaimed as a strategic stakeholder in governance issues. Mhome and Edigheji, in Davids, Theron and Maphunye (2005:120), advised also that the configuration of government interventions aimed at promoting sustainable human development (SHD) must be premised on popular participation. Fox and Meyer, cited in Fox and Van Rooyen (2004:118), argue that citizen involvement in policy-making activities encourages a sense of cohesiveness within society. Burkey, cited in Davids *et al.* (2005:120), views popular participation as a critical factor of the process of human development; it serves as a platform for policy deliberations, and consensus building of policies and implementation. Similarly, Sitta (2006:5) maintains that participation is a “pillar” of human rights, and human development. Through participation, people make and have fundamental choices that result in tremendous influence on policies and developmental strategies affecting development projects. Thus, people should not only be perceived as recipients of government services, but also as active policy contributors toward progressive realisation of the MDGs and human rights.

MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS AND RELATED HUMAN RIGHTS FOR SUSTAINABLE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

In pursuit of SHD as a global agenda, the United Nations (UN) in 2000 adopted eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). MDGs require political commitment from all member states in order to accomplish these goals by 2015. The MDGs are sets of goals with key targets, as indicated in Table 1, intended to promote human development, in order to sustain social and economic progress in all countries.

The MDGs and human rights are closely related. The UNHR (2010:1) argues that, alongside development goals on health, poverty, and hunger, for instance, there is always an allegiance to the promotion of democracy and respect for all human rights, including the right to development; and relevant economic and social rights. As such, MDGs would consider poverty a form of deprivation of the right to social services, such as education and health (Sitta 2006:20). The author

Table 1: The Millennium Development Goals and related human rights

Goals	Related Human Rights
1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger	Right to adequate standard of living
2. Achieve universal primary education	Right to education
3. Promote gender equality and empower Women	Women's right to equality and education
4. Reduce child mortality	Right to life
5. Improve maternal health	Women's right to life and health
6. Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases	Right to health
7. Ensure environmental sustainability	Rights relating to environmental health
8. Develop global partnership for development	Right to development

Source: UNHR 2010

further argues that assimilating human rights in development activities means expressing civil, economic, political, and social targets in terms of human rights.

Collier (1998:14) asserts that service delivery is fundamental to human rights. In a just society, therefore, services should be made available and accessible to all. The Bill of Rights in South Africa, Section 27 of the Constitution, 1996, affirms and protects democratic values, including human dignity, equality, and freedom (RSA 1996). This principle does not preclude services which are unavailable because of governments' financial constraints. Moreover, Section 195 of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, 1996, provides basic values and principles that public institutions must adhere to. These values and principles include, *inter alia*, (RSA 1996):

- Maintaining professional and ethical standards;
- Providing social services in an efficient, economic, and effective manner;
- Instilling and maintaining the culture of transparency and accountability;
- Promoting people-centred and development-oriented government;
- Building a capable state through continual human resources and capacity-building;
- Encouraging active public engagement in policy-making processes; and
- Providing social services impartially, fairly, equitably, and without bias.

Cheema *et al.* (2001:2) argue that democratic governance should preserve and promote a political system and culture that values the respect for human dignity, equity, participation, and accountability as tenets and characteristics of good governance for human development. In addition, democracy should reflect all categories of rights. These include economic, social, political, cultural, and civil rights, as mentioned earlier. Consequently, developing countries such as

South Africa must always ensure that equal access to opportunities, including government services, is embedded in the system of governance.

The Declaration of the Right to Development, Article 1.1, succinctly states that (UN 1986):

“The right to human rights is an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized.”

In South Africa, Section 26 (2) of the Bill of Rights states that the “state is required to take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realization of human rights” (RSA 1996). With this constitutional provision, analysis on the achievement of human rights in South Africa is provided below.

THE TRIPLE CONSTRAINTS OF DEVELOPMENT

The triple constraints of development – unemployment, poverty, inequality, reflect the reality that, despite all the achievements since 1994, the underdeveloped character of South Africa persists. The construction of a developmental state for sustainable development, as espoused in the Constitution, 1996, has seen tremendous efforts following the demise of the apartheid regime. However, the state’s intervention towards development and progress made since 1994 is somewhat questionable.

In his 2012/13 SONA, the president of the Republic of South Africa, Mr. Zuma, noted that, despite progress made since 2009, South African communities still face the “triple constraints of development – unemployment, poverty and inequality”. These challenges are further exacerbated by other more complex and continuing development challenges, which include (RSA 2012:7):

- Sub-standard education system, affording poor education, especially amongst Black people;
- Inadequate infrastructure;
- Corruption;
- Ailing health system, and massive disease burden;
- Uneven performance of the public service; and
- Organisational instability and the political/administrative interface.

These challenges confirm the slow progress of South Africa’s democratic governance and development. The discussion below specifically provides

an analysis of the nature and complexity of the unemployment, poverty and inequalities faced by the country.

Unemployment

Gumedé (2010:20) argues that the catalyst to structural eradication of poverty and inequality is employment. Unemployment in South Africa, which is estimated at 25,2% (RSA 2011:6) confines the marginalised and/or the poor communities to mass poverty and inequalities. Kaplan, cited in Cheema; *et al.* (2001:10), concludes that for democracy to prosper, certain prerequisites, including some degree of employment and economic stability, are essential.

Following the 2008-2009 global recession, unemployment in South Africa remains rampant. The global downturn in the economy has come at a huge human cost, as indicated in Table 2.

Table 2: Employment response to falling output during the recession in selected countries

Country	GDP Contraction	Employment Contraction
Korea	-4,6	-0,6
Turkey	-12,8	-1,8
Germany	-6,6	-1,6
Mexico	-8,5	-2,1
United Kingdom	-6,4	-2,3
Chile	-4,1	-2
Ireland	-14,3	-13,6
United States	-4,1	-5,4
Spain	-4,9	-10,2
South Africa	-2,6	-7,5

Data source: RSA 2011

Table 2 indicates that the scale of job losses in South Africa was high (-7,5) following the global recession. Impressively, this figure was low compared with Ireland and Spain, which were -13,6 and -10,2, respectively (RSA 2011).

The State of Public Service Report, 2010 notes that, although 39% of South Africans received an income below the poverty line of R388 per month, which signalled a decrease in the poverty rate, this may be attributed to the increase

in social grants recipients, not job creation (RSA 2010:26). Furthermore, the MDGs mid-term country report indicates that the beneficial impact of social grants is not enough to overcome widening income inequality (RSA 2007:15).

In his 2012/2013 national budget speech, the Minister of Finance, Mr. Pravin Gordhan, firmly assured the country that unemployment remains a central priority of government’s agenda. The objectives for employment and growth are set out in Table 3 below.

Table 3: National objectives for employment and growth to 2030

Millions	2010	2015	2020	2030
Non-working-age population	18	18,2	18,8	20,6
Working-age population (15-65)	32.4	35,1	36,5	38,8
Labour-force participation rate	54%	57%	60%	65%
Labour force (million)	17,5	19,8	21,9	25,3
Employment targets				
Unemployment rate	25%	20%	14%	6%
Employment (million)	13	15,8	18,9	23,8
Net new employment needed (in millions)	0	2,8	3	4,9

Data source: RSA 2012

The reduction of unemployment in South Africa remains government’s strategic priority, as envisaged in Vision 2030. As indicated in Table 3, government plans to reduce unemployment from 25 per cent in 2010, to 6 per cent, by 2030. Resulting from this decision, government committed an additional R4,8 billion over the 2012 MTEF period to the expanded public-works programme (EPWP), bringing its allocations to a total of R77,8 billion, compared with R73 billion allocated in the 2011 MTEF period (RSA 2012).

Despite the decrease in the unemployment rate from 25,7 to 25 in Quarter 3 (Q3) of 2011, of the 50 million South Africans, only 13,1 million people are employed (RSA 2011:40). Furthermore, only two (41 per cent) out of five persons of working age have a job, compared with 65 per cent in Brazil, 71 per cent in China, and 55 per cent in India. With the current employment rate of 13,1 million, South Africa would need to employ at least 5 million more people in order to match an average of 56 per cent employment in the emerging markets, which includes Brazil, China and India. Furthermore, to keep pace with the number of people entering the labour market, the South African economy would have to create at least 9 million jobs over the next 10 years

(RSA 2011:40). To this end, the South African government adopted the New Growth Path (NGP) as an economic policy intended to create employment and accelerate economic growth. Among other sectors, infrastructure development, agriculture, mining, and green economy have been identified as key sectors in scaling up job creation. Moreover, the NGP also encourages greater cooperation between the public and private sectors (RSA 2011:39).

Poverty

In the context of South Africa, the key indicators which measure the attainment of the MDG 1 – eradicate extreme poverty and hunger – are Gini, dollar-based poverty measures, employment, and income per capita, among others. The available data, as indicated in Table 4 below, reflect the unlikelihood that South Africa will make a positive achievement in these key indicators by 2015. The Millennium Development Goal Country Report, 2010, for instance, reveals that the proportion of the population of South Africa, who live below \$2,50 per day, is targeted at 21,1%; this is an unrealistic goal.

Table 4: Achievement of MDG 1: Facts and Figures

Goal 1 and Indicators	1994 baseline (or closest year)	Current status 2010 (or nearest year)	2015 Targets	Target achievability
Proportion of population below \$2.50 per day	42,2 (2000)	34,8 (2006)	21,1	Unlikely
Share of poorest quintile in national consumption	2,9 (2000)	2,8 (2006)	5,8	Unlikely
Gini coefficient (including salaries, wages and social grants)	0,70 (2000)	0,73 (2006)	0,3	Unlikely
Gini coefficient (per capita expenditure excluding taxes)	0,65 (2000)	0,67 (2006)		

Source: RSA 2010

The high rate of poverty and unemployment discussed earlier, remain structurally interlinked (RSA 2010:27 and 30).

Inequality

Table 5 indicates the extent of poor access to basic services and to quality of life in South Africa.

Table 5: Access to basic services

Households using basic services	Year		
	1999	2001	2007
Electricity			
For lighting	58%	70%	80%
For cooking	47%	51%	67%
For heating	45%	49%	59%
Water			
Equivalent to, or above RDP standard (200m to communal tap)	62%	74%	88%
Tap in dwelling or on site		61%	70%
Sanitation			
Equivalent to or above RDP standard (ventilated, improved pit latrine)	52%	59%	73%
Flush toilet		52%	60%

Data source: RSA 2010

Table 5 indicates an improvement in basic services from 1999 to 2007. Access to, for instance, electricity for cooking, increased from 47% in 1999, to 67% in 2007. However, although the South African Government has improved access to services, and has increased its expenditure on service delivery; the outcome necessary for achieving a “better life for all” (ANC 1994:3) is yet to be realised. For instance, only 60% of South Africans had access to adequate sanitation, as indicated in Table 5. Furthermore, the Human Development Index (HDI) and Human Poverty Index (HPI) as per the 2009 Human Development Report, depicts gross inequalities, and high poverty levels in South Africa. According to the report, the Black population group, for instance, has the lowest HDI (0,63), compared with that of Whites (0,91) (Gumede 2010:19).

Turok (2010:498) argues that lack of access to social services, such as water, health, and education, are worst in places of historical neglect, such as rural areas. The current state of service delivery in these areas undermines human rights. Service-delivery protests experienced across the country echo a call for the protection of human rights and for government’s concerted effort to achieve Vision 2030.

To achieve Vision 2030, this article contends that a development state is imperative for building and sustaining a capable state. Hence, a renewed capacity-building for the public sector (RCB4PS) framework is proposed in this article. With RCB4PS, this article maintains that building learning organisations and sustaining innovation and learning in the public sector demands a new focus on capacity-building.

RENEWED CAPACITY-BUILDING FOR PUBLIC SECTOR (RCB4PS)

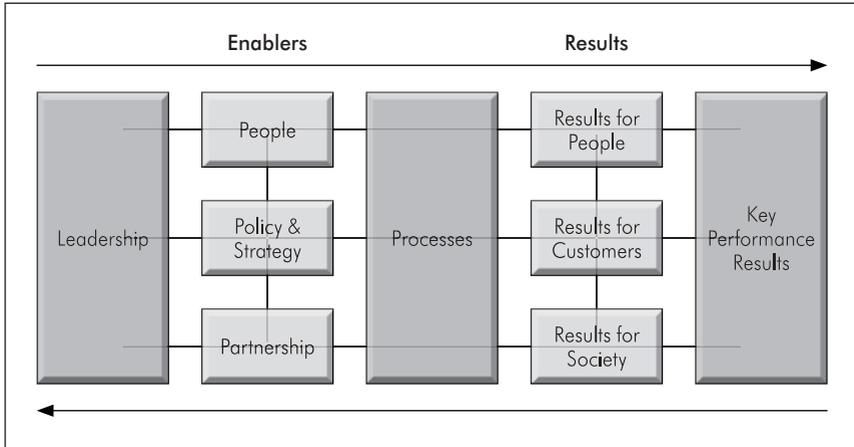
In the final analysis, the critical question is whether the promoting of a 'developmental-state' alone is sufficient for South Africa's overcoming of unemployment, poverty, and inequalities. While the nation applauds government's interventions, and the progress made in addressing socio-economic ills, this article moves for a holistic approach in dealing with the existing development challenges. Essentially, this approach should be informed by government's commitment to the building of better capacity for public officials. Thus, this article proposes a renewed capacity-building for the public sector (RCB4PS) framework. With this framework, government must rethink its commitment towards capacity-building and the training of public officials, in order to expedite the achievement of the Vision 2030.

Public officials need continuously to align their skills with the ever-evolving overall strategic thrust and ethos of a developmental state, and a people-centred government. Thus, with RCB4PS framework, capacity-building institutions, including the Provincial Training Academies and the proposed new National School of Government, should be encouraged to design sector-specific programmes, which would ensure that capacity-building initiatives in any event reflect, directly and indirectly, the "triple constraints of development". Furthermore, the education and training (E&T) system must incorporate the RCB4PS framework. At this level, a multi-disciplinary approach to capacity-building and public-sector leadership development should be emphasised. This should include key disciplines such as Public Management and Administration, Economic and Finance, to mention a few.

From a theoretical perspective, the RCB4PS framework connotes capacitating and re-capacitating of public-sector officials, so that they become competitive, effective and efficient in the provision of excellent services to the communities. The proposed RCB4PS framework advocates innovation and learning.

The pervasive nature of the developmental challenges identified by the NPC requires a robust and innovative learning approach. As such, the proposed framework embraces innovation and a learning approach, as depicted in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Innovation and Learning



Source: www.dti.gov.uk.quality/excellence

The RCB4PS framework should be used to redefine the goals of capacity-building, and the way in which learning should be structured, in order to reduce the scourge of underdevelopment. In this context, the RCB4PS framework should be seen as a leadership-development process influencing key performance results. In this regard, the RCB4PS framework entails enhancing innovative learning, designed to enhance leadership development with cognitive abilities capable of mobilising people, partnerships, policies and strategies in order to positively influence the socio-economic transformation espoused in Vision 2030. In essence, the RCB4PS framework should be seen as a results-oriented capacity-building approach with which to facilitate human development.

CONCLUSION

The South African government must find a balance between taking advantage of post-1994 political strides, and providing a secure and stable social, economic, domestic environment. In view of the existing developmental challenges, including unemployment, poverty, and inequalities, the state capacity to improve delivery has somewhat stagnated. Vision 2030 demands that government become future-oriented, as opposed to the existing “business-as-usual” approach. To this end, the proposed RCB4PS framework compels the building of a capable state. This article contends that the realisation of the MDGs and related human rights is contingent upon building a capable state, with the required human capital to meet the existing developmental challenges.

The RCB4PS framework advocates innovation and learning as requisites for the development of public-sector leadership capable of promoting government's performance. As a framework for learning, RCB4PS demands innovation in the design of future public-sector capacity building programmes, in order to address developmental challenges.

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The perceptions of municipal water service officials on the Blue Drop Certification Programme

The case of Nkangala District Municipality

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ABSTRACT

The Blue Drop Certification Programme was introduced in 2008 by the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF) with the aim of maintaining and improving drinking water quality in the Republic of South Africa. The Programme involves a compulsory annual assessment of water services authorities' management and service rendering of the potable water supply in their respective geographical areas of responsibility.

It is against this background that the authors undertook a mixed data collection methodology research venture to determine how the officials of these authorities (municipalities) perceive the Programme. The research brought to light the following core findings (albeit perceptions):

- The Blue Drop Certification Programme has the support of the majority of municipal officials who participated in the research.
- Municipal officials involved with the assessment programme experienced it as an inspiration for improved performance.
- There is a lack or poor understanding of the water sector's legal framework including the Blue Drop Certification Programme's assessment criteria by some participating municipal employees.
- There is a lack of managerial and political leadership involvement and support for the water services functions in municipal areas.

INTRODUCTION

South Africa has introduced new legislation and policies governing water supply and sanitation services since the advent of democracy in 1994. This was done to ensure equitable access to water resources and water supply. The change in government came with its own challenges, such as the capacity of local government to provide water services efficiently.

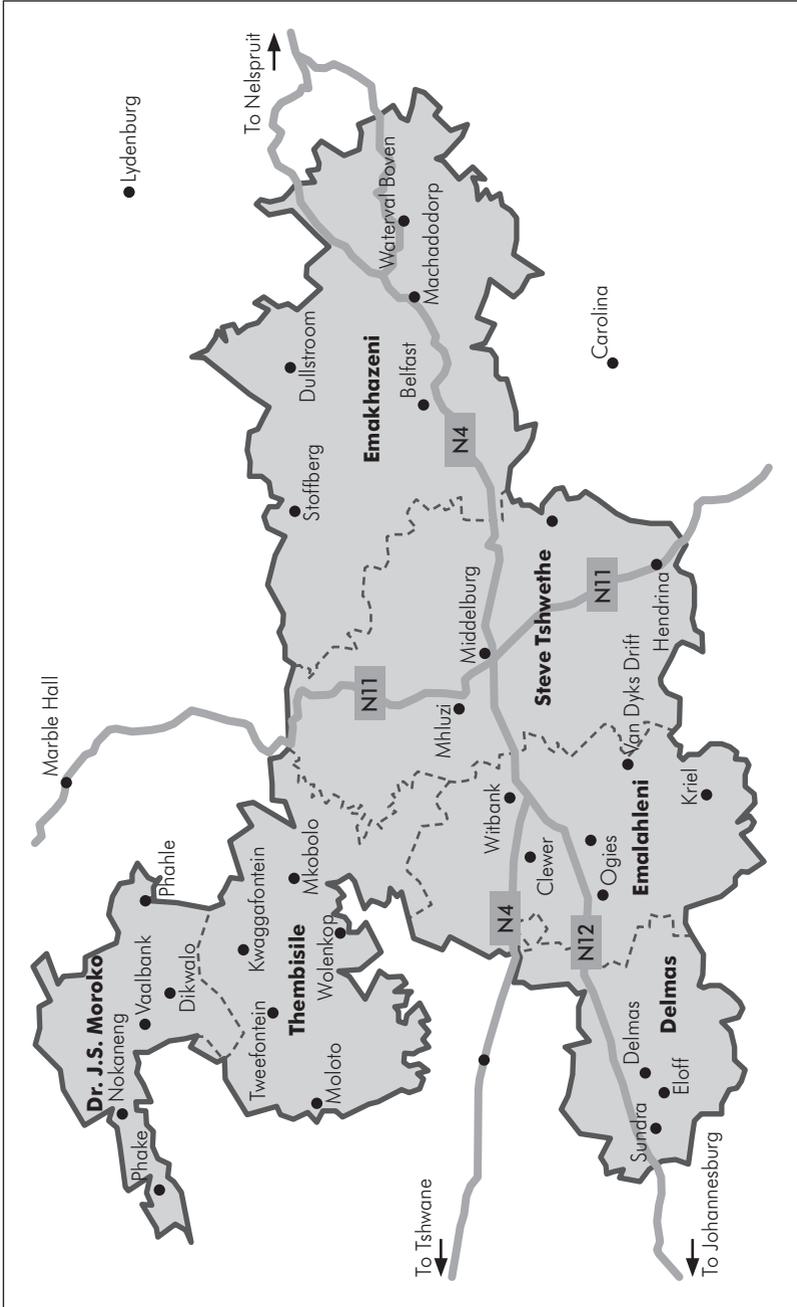
Thus, for example, the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996* places the responsibility for water and sanitation provision on local government with its public policy implementation institutions (RSA 1996: Part B of Schedule 4). A Water Service Authority (WSA) refers to a municipality or local authority that has executive authority for water services in the area under its jurisdiction (Tissington, Dettmann, Langford, Dugard & Conteh 2008: Online). A WSA is responsible for ensuring that its community has access to water and sanitation services. WSAs must also ensure that water provision in their area of jurisdiction conforms to national norms and standards (DWA 2003:51).

The Department of Water Affairs (DWA) is the water sector leader and the custodian of all South Africa's water resources. It is also the regulator, which guides and coordinates the support to water service institutions, and is responsible for the development of public policy.

In order to maintain and improve drinking water quality in South Africa and to ensure that public trust in the country's tap water is restored, the Blue Drop Certification Programme (hereafter referred to as Blue Drop Programme) was introduced on 11 September 2008 by the DWA as an incentive-based regulation. According to the DWA (2010:1), "The Department of Water Affairs initiated the drinking water quality regulation programme in 2005 with the objective of ensuring the improvement of tap water quality by means of compliance monitoring". According to the DWA (2005:12), "The SANS 241 Drinking Water Quality Specification is the definitive reference on acceptable limits for drinking water quality parameters in South Africa; and it provides a guideline level for a range of water quality characteristics". According to the DWA (2005:4), research shows that usually the major problems with poor quality drinking water occur most frequently in rural areas and small towns. Various reasons for the failure to comply with drinking water regulations include: insufficient or untrained staff, poor management, budgetary constraints, poor operations and poor maintenance of inadequate infrastructure.

In this article the background to the implementation of DWA's Blue Drop Programme on the management of water quality will be sketched after which the problem statement, research objectives, some of the major findings and analyses of them, and lastly recommendations about the way forward in potable water quality management will be presented.

Layout of the Nkangala District Municipality



Source: Nkangala District Municipality 2011: Online.

LOCUS AND PROBLEM STATEMENT OF RESEARCH

The proposed study was conducted in six local municipalities under the jurisdiction of the Nkangala District Municipality in Mpumalanga Province. They are: Steve Tshwete, Emakhazeni, Emalahleni, Victor Khanye (formerly Delmas Local Municipality), Thembisile Hani and Dr J.S. Moroka. See Figure 1 for a locality map of the District:

The Steve Tshwete and Dr J.S. Moroka Local Municipalities obtained Blue Drop Programme certificates during the 2010 assessments. The Emalahleni and the Thembisile local municipalities obtained a very low Blue Drop Certification Programme score of 29,7% and 37% respectively. The Emakhazeni Local Municipality showed an improvement from its 2009 average score of 58,5% to 71,2% in the 2010 Blue Drop Certification Programme assessments (DWA 2010:155). The Victor Khanye (Delmas) Local Municipality was one of the four Mpumalanga Municipalities which chose not to be assessed during the 2010 Blue Drop Certification Programme assessments (DWA 2010:4).

By 2010, the number of participating WSAs and water supply systems has not yet reached 100%. A vast number of municipalities have chosen not to be assessed. Four of those WSAs which chose not to respond to the call to be assessed were to be found in Mpumalanga Province. The poor commitment shown by the Mpumalanga Province WSAs which were not assessed left the Department concerned about the management of their drinking water and its quality (DWA 2010:4).

The research problem that this study sought to address was to determine the perceptions of water service employees in municipalities on the Blue Drop Certification Programme (an incentive-based regulation) and to suggest recommendations for ensuring maximum participation in this programme.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The primary objective of the study was to determine and describe the perceptions of municipalities' employees, such as technical and/or water service managers and process controllers of the DWA facilitated implementation of the Blue Drop Certification Programme since its launch on 11 September 2008 – right up to the assessment report of 2011.

The secondary objectives of the study were the following:

- To analyse the theoretical principles of water services, the existing regulating legislation, and drinking water quality regulations.
- To assess if the water service employees in municipalities are familiar with water services policies and legislation, especially the Blue Drop Certification Programme.

- To establish whether water service employees in municipalities are in favour of the implementation of the Blue Drop Certification Programme.
- To present recommendations on how to encourage the participation of water service authorities in the Blue Drop Certification Programme.

LEGAL FRAMEWORK AND POLICIES

Even though the Constitution formally recognises the right of access to water as a basic human right and the guarantee of a basic water supply, many households in South Africa still do not have access to safe drinking water (Welch 2005:58).

The *Water Services Act* No. 108 of 1997 obtained its mandate from section 27 of the Bill of Rights. Schedule 4(b) of the Constitution places the responsibility for water and sanitation services provision on local government, an independent sphere of government.

The *National Water Act* 36 of 1998 regulates the licensing of raw water abstraction and WSAs in their roles as water users. The return of waste water to a water source is also governed by this piece of legislation.

According to Tissington, Dettman, Langford, Dugard, and Conteh (2008: Online), the *Water Services Act* 108 of 1997 is the main legislation dealing with the accessibility and provision of water services in South Africa. The Act covers both drinking water and sanitation services to households and other water users within municipalities. Water Services Regulations are informed by this legislation under section 71(1). Water services institutions such as water boards and WSAs are also established under this Act. The roles of water services institutions are clarified in this Act. The Act also aims to assist local government to fulfil its role as a water services authority.

The Strategic Framework for Water Services (2003) stipulates targets, and the approaches and guidelines to provide water and sanitation services. The sector vision as stipulated in the Strategic Framework is to ensure adequate, safe, appropriate and affordable water and sanitation services. The Strategic Framework also defines the role of the DWA as the national water sector regulator.

Regulation 2834 is read in conjunction with section 12 A of the *Water Act 54 of 1956*. This water services regulation addresses the employment of personnel (process controllers) in water treatment works. Process controllers are classified according to their qualifications and relevant work experience. The role of process controllers is to purify raw water from the source by engaging in activities such as operating pumps, valves and other related plant machinery (DWAF 1985:section 26).

There are two important local government legislation which have an impact on the provision of water services in municipalities' geographical areas of responsibility. They are the following:

- *Local Government: Municipal Structures Act* No. 117 of 1998 deals with the powers and functions of municipalities, in particular their roles as water services authorities in ensuring water provision in their area of jurisdiction.
- *Local Government: Municipal Systems Act* No. 32 of 2000 distinguishes between the functions of a water services provider and water services authority. The Act regulates provision of services either by the municipality or the appointment of external service providers under section 78. (DWA n.d.:4-5).

In the next section the Blue Drop Certification Programme will be addressed.

THE BLUE DROP CERTIFICATION PROGRAMME

Franceys and Gerlach (2008:23) define regulation as a distinctive form of government intervention aimed at encouraging or discouraging certain types of behaviour by society at large. The regulation process involves the monitoring of actions of regulated institutions in order to ensure compliance with set standards. Drinking water quality serves as a good example of an activity that calls for monitoring on a regular basis (Krause 2009:42–43).

According to Franceys and Gerlach (2008:233–234), “A good legal framework is one that has essential components and that is developed to suit local circumstances (political, social, cultural, physical, environmental and economic). In other words, an effective regulatory framework considers the ‘institutional endowment’ of any country and respects the constitutional context as well as existing administrative capacities”.

Groom, Halpern and Ehrhardt (2006:Online) suggest that governments should first assess whether a particular regulation will achieve the intended objective before its implementation. Tremolet (2006: Online) is of the view that quality regulation should be applied in a flexible way and be adapted to the circumstances of that particular area and the particular customers. Each individual country should develop and implement policies and regulatory models that are appropriate for that particular country. This should be informed by factors such as commitment to regulation and institutional capacity (Eberhard 2007:Online). An effective regulation does not necessarily have to be complex and too detailed, but it should be simple, practical and manageable (Franceys & Gerlach 2008:233).

A regulation is developed with the aim of achieving certain results that are desired by the public in cases where such results are not achieved under normal circumstances (Baldwin & Cave 1999:19). It should be noted that a regulation will not be effective if the necessary political will is lacking and the required social values are not held (Franceys & Gerlach 2008:234).

South Africa has had several drinking water quality failures such as the cholera outbreak in Delmas in the Mpumalanga Province in 2007. Such drinking water quality failures cannot be ignored and also played a role in influencing the implementation of the Blue Drop Certification Programme by DWA.

DRINKING WATER QUALITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

According to Kolanisi (2005:18), “The main idea related to the quality of water is the eradication of impurities and to produce water which is healthy and fit for consumption”. The author identifies three properties of drinking water:

- Microbiological – includes bacteria of water quality.
- Chemicals – such as metals and salts.
- Physical – is visible and can be evaluated through the eyes, smell and taste.

All these properties determine the water quality and whether it is safe for human consumption. Water treatment processes involve the removal of harmful micro-organisms from raw water to ensure that it meets the most important requirement for drinking water, namely that it must be safe to drink (Schutte 2006:3). South African water services providers are expected to supply water that is consistent with regulated standards specified in the Compulsory National Standards for Quality of Potable Water (DWA 2007a:5).

A situation assessment undertaken by DWA pointed out certain drinking water quality challenges mostly in smaller municipalities (DWA 2007a:6). These challenges include lack of adequate human resources, insufficient funding made available for drinking water quality management, lack of knowledge of drinking water quality requirements and inadequate access to credible laboratories.

Tissington *et al.* (2008: Online) are of the view that “Media reports of baby deaths and cholera outbreaks in poor and rural areas speak to the fact that a large proportion of the population does not have adequate access to sufficient clean and safe drinking water and sanitation facilities, and that not enough is being done by local municipalities, water services providers and DWA to address the crisis”. The deaths referred to above happened in the Ukhahlamba District Municipality in the Eastern Cape Province where 80 babies died from allegedly contaminated drinking water (Tissington *et al.* 2008: Online).

Drinking water quality can be successfully managed if there is commitment and support from all those who are involved in the provision of water (DWA 2007a:8). The commitment also involves ensuring that water works employees have the appropriate training and skills to manage and operate water supply systems. The lives of millions of South Africans depend on how WSAs manage drinking water quality (DWA 2007a:47).

Municipalities should ensure transparency in dealing with the management of drinking water quality. This includes providing reliable information about the management of their drinking water quality when required to do so in terms of the *Water Services Act*. The Act makes it an offence to fail or refuse to provide information (MacKintosh, Manxodidi, Wensley & Uys, n.d.: Online).

WHY INTRODUCE THE BLUE DROP CERTIFICATION PROGRAMME?

According to the DWAF (2008a:42), “One of the stated objects of the *Water Services Act* 108 of 1997, is to provide for a regulatory framework for water services institutions and water services intermediaries”. The DWA formulated water services regulations in order to protect consumers from water services providers who might not act in the interest of the public and to ensure that municipalities improve their performance in managing their drinking water quality. The programme will also ensure that credible information about drinking water quality is published for access by the public (DWAF 2005:xv).

The Department acknowledged before the implementation of the Blue Drop Certification Programme that the level of confidence on the part of the public regarding the quality of drinking water in South Africa was not as desired and therefore a need existed for the regulation of drinking water quality management (DWAF 2007a:5). The DWA therefore initiated the Blue Drop Certification Programme as mandated by the *Water Services Act*.

HOW THE PROGRAMME IS IMPLEMENTED

A town achieving the Blue Drop Certification Programme’s water quality assessment certification will receive a token (i.e. flag and award) which will serve as a sign that the drinking water quality in that particular municipal area is of good quality and can be consumed and used with confidence. A municipality should receive a score of 95% and above based on the set criteria to obtain the Blue Drop Certification award status (DWAF 2008b:3). It is also compulsory for all WSAs to take part in the Blue Drop Certification Programme assessments (DWAF 2008b:9).

The assessment of WSAs is done continuously by the DWA Drinking Water Quality Regulation Unit with trained assessors who conduct the assessments nationally. The assessment focuses on each water services system and results are given per system (DWAF 2008b:3). WSAs which achieve the Blue Drop Certification award status are formally acknowledged by the Minister of Water

Affairs (DWAf 2008b:9). The programme's results are communicated to the public on an ongoing basis to ensure that the public is well informed about the status of their drinking water quality.

The DWA does not suddenly stop monitoring drinking water quality once a Blue Drop certification award has been granted to a water services system. A water services system is assessed on an annual basis and, if it qualifies, it then receives a certificate of reconfirmation of the Blue Drop award status. The Minister of Water and Environmental Affairs will withdraw the Blue Drop Certification award status of a particular system if there is a decline in drinking water quality compliance. However, the Blue Drop Certification award status is not taken away due to a single drinking water failure but will depend mainly on the WSA's annual compliance with drinking water quality standards as set out in the SANS 241 (DWAf 2008b:10). If municipalities fail to achieve the Blue Drop Certification award status, it does not necessarily mean they do not comply with drinking water quality standards (The Water Wheel 2009:22).

PROGRESS SINCE THE INTRODUCTION OF THE BLUE DROP CERTIFICATION PROGRAMME

The DWA (2010:1) noted that there has been a huge improvement by WSAs in the way they manage their drinking water quality since the implementation of the Blue Drop Certification Programme. In the second year of the implementation of the programme, the number of drinking water systems that were assessed increased by almost double the number of systems assessed during the first year in 2009. During the same period there was an increase in the number of water services systems that received the Blue Drop Certification awards.

The number of municipalities assessed increased from 107 in 2009 to 162 in 2011 and water supply systems from 402 in 2009 to 914 in 2011. The National Blue Drop Certification Programme's average score improved from 51,4% in 2009 to 72,9% in 2011. The general performance trends showed an improvement in all the performance categories. The DWA (2009:3) states that "This serves as an indication that the introduction of this incentive-based regulation approach stimulated renewed energy in the sector towards compliance". The DWA was impressed with the way WSAs responded to the first year of the implementation of the Blue Drop Certification Programme.

According to the DWA (2011:193), all municipalities (100%) were assessed in Mpumalanga Province during the 2011 Blue Drop Certification Programme's assessment cycle and the province managed to receive eight Blue Drop Certification awards compared with only three certificates in 2009. The Steve

Tshwete Local Municipality was the best performer in the province during the 2011 Blue Drop Certification Programme's assessments, achieving a Blue Drop Certification Programme score of 96,60% (DWA 2011:191). It is also important to note that the lowest Blue Drop Certification Programme score in the province was obtained by the Mkhondo Local Municipality with a score of 5,05% (DWA 2011:214).

CRITIQUE OF THE BLUE DROP CERTIFICATION PROGRAMME

Tissington *et al.* (2008:Online) are of the opinion that the Blue Drop Certification Programme will be biased in favour of well-performing municipalities and assure rich water consumers about their drinking water quality. On the other hand, municipalities that are not performing well will be named and shamed irrespective of the reasons behind their poor performance and non-compliance with set drinking water quality standards.

The aforementioned authors' criticisms are unfounded since up till now the Blue Drop Certification Programme has not negatively criticised or embarrassed under-performing municipalities. Instead, the DWA has worked closely with them to ensure that they improve performance. The authors also question how municipalities which are facing staffing challenges such as lack of technicians are expected to manage their drinking water quality effectively and efficiently.

It is unfair to compare the performance of larger metropolitan areas and smaller and poorer municipalities. Many smaller municipalities, which seldom have the capacity to purify their water, are responsible for treatment of their drinking water as compared with larger metropolitan areas that contract water boards to purify their drinking water. The quality of the raw water in a particular area is also a challenge since some sources such as the Hartebeespoort Dam are heavily polluted and others are comparatively less polluted. The Blue Drop Certification Programme should therefore not overlook the quality of raw water in a particular municipal area (Water Rhapsody 2010: Online).

OPTIMISTIC VIEWS ON THE BLUE DROP CERTIFICATION PROGRAMME

Tissington *et al.* (2008: Online) hope that the Blue Drop Certification Programme as an incentive-based regulation becomes a success, especially with the DWA assuming its role as a national regulator of water services. The

authors consider this programme as a good start for an effective drinking water quality enforcement system.

Tremolet (2006: Online) summarised the importance of the South African drinking water quality regulations as follows:

- They promote transparency since communities will now have access to information about their drinking water quality.
- The regulations will also induce municipalities to work towards complying with drinking water quality standards, especially those which have had difficulty in complying before.

According to the DWA (n.d.:1–5), the Blue Drop Certification Programme has resulted in improved management of drinking water quality in South Africa. The following improvements among others were singled out by the Department:

- There has been an improvement in micro-biological and chemical compliance in 2010 as compared with the 2009 results.
- The programme has also compelled decision-makers in local government to shift their focus to dealing with drinking water management more decisively.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The methods used to conduct this study were both qualitative and quantitative (Mixed Method). The researcher decided to combine these methods in order to have a one-on-one interview with the individuals responsible for management of water services in municipalities. The number of these respondents is limited as there is only one water service/technical manager per municipality. This also gave the researcher an opportunity to visit the identified water treatment works in order to guide the data collection and the completion of survey questionnaires at the same time.

The research method to investigate the perceptions of water service managers and purification plant superintendents/supervisors in the identified municipalities regarding the introduction of the Blue Drop Certification Programme was **qualitative** in nature. It involved the use of a semi-structured questionnaire to conduct the interviews. The method of investigating the perceptions of process controllers and non-professional employees was **quantitative** in nature. A structured questionnaire was developed to conduct a survey with process controllers and non-professional staff. The questionnaire consisted of closed-ended questions, in order to obtain standard answers, which would make it easy for the researcher to compare the responses of the different participants.

POPULATION AND SAMPLE

In this study the population refers to all municipal water services officials in all municipalities in South Africa. These are specifically water services/technical managers; water treatment works process controllers and their assistants.

According to the Municipal Demarcation Board website, the Mpumalanga Province has 18 local municipalities and three district municipalities. The study only focused on six of the 18 local municipalities.

Non-probability convenient sampling was applied to obtain the qualitative and quantitative research samples in order to undertake this particular study. According to Welman, Kruger and Mitchell (2005:69), this sampling method involves selecting cases that are easy to obtain. The total targeted number of participants in the study comprised forty-two (42).

Interviews were conducted with eight research participants; these included municipal technical directors, water services managers and water treatment works supervisors/superintendents. All the interviewees came from the six local municipalities of the Nkangala District Municipality.

The numbers in the sample of the survey participants who completed the questionnaire in all the municipalities are as follows:

- Fourteen process controllers and one supervisor completed the questionnaires.
- Eight non-professional staff at the water treatment works also completed the questionnaire.
- In two municipalities there were no process controllers to complete the questionnaires. In one municipality the water is provided by external water services providers, namely the J.S. Moroka Local Municipality which participated in both the survey and the interviews. In another municipality it was indicated that they used package plants to purify water from boreholes and the building of a new plant had just been completed. Even though these municipalities did not have process controllers to participate in the survey, their water services managers participated in the semi-structured interviews.
- Only twenty-three out of the initially planned thirty survey questionnaires were completed, while only eight participants in all the six identified municipalities were available to participate in the semi-structured interviews.

STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The main limitation of this study is that it cannot be generalised to a larger population of municipal water services officials due to primarily differing geo-hydrological circumstances in the respective municipal areas, but it can provide

the water sector with an opportunity to learn more about perceptions of municipal officials regarding the Blue Drop Certification Programme in order to look at other similar cases in the future. The use of two separate data gathering instruments intensified the worthiness of the study.

DATA ANALYSIS

The analysis of data was done separately for both the qualitative and quantitative methods. Qualitative data gathered through the semi-structured interviews were analysed by identifying common themes that emerged from the participants' descriptions. The data were organised according to each of the questions used in the interview schedule. Consistencies and differences in the participants' responses were identified and grouped together. Sentences and themes that speak to one theme were clustered into categories to reflect one meaning.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Eight of the twelve originally identified participants participated in the interviews. Four of the eight interviewees were water treatment works supervisors and the other four were from middle to senior management in the water services division.

With reference to the interview question *"What do you think of the Blue Drop Certification Programme?"* there was a general consensus among all the interviewees that the Programme is a good initiative for the water sector in South Africa in that it raises awareness in municipalities about the importance of good management of drinking water quality and that it has so far improved compliance with drinking water quality standards. Some indicated that it helps to protect communities from drinking unsafe water. One interviewee mentioned that the programme has improved the operation and maintenance of water treatment works infrastructure in municipalities.

On the questions *"How do you think it will change the management of water services in your municipality? Do you think the programme has already brought about any changes?"* The interviewees remarked that for a positive change in water services management to manifest, senior management in municipalities should be involved in drinking water quality management. In response to the second part of the question, there were mixed responses from interviewees. Most interviewees were of the opinion that the programme has improved communication between water services senior officials and their subordinates. Some are now noticing political interventions in the management of drinking

water quality, something that was not happening before. One interviewee pointed out that management has even decided to appoint qualified staff in the water treatment work and this has brought improvement in the water treatment works. One interviewee indicated that the impact of the programme in his municipality is not yet evident.

On the question *“What do you think is the best way to regulate drinking water quality in municipalities”* the general point of view among the rest of the interviewees was that the Blue Drop Certification Programme is an acceptable form of regulation for drinking water quality and that it will need to be improved and adjusted as time goes.

Regarding the enquiry about possible reasons for poor potable water supply delivery by a WSA in a municipal area, the poor operation and maintenance of water treatment works infrastructure was raised as a major concern by most interviewees. Constant changes in management and leadership also have an impact on the morale and performance of employees. Municipalities need to appoint experienced and knowledgeable people, people who have a passion for the management of drinking water. Those municipalities which do not comply with drinking water quality standards should be labelled and also need the intervention of the Department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs and the DWA. Budgetary constraints and lack of payment for services were cited as major problems affecting the performance of municipalities. In some municipalities, communities still believe every service provided by a municipality is free. Communities need to start paying for services they receive from municipalities.

The question *“What is your understanding of drinking water quality regulations?”* elicited mixed responses among the interviewees. Two interviewees indicated that they are not familiar with water services regulations, but have heard about SANS 241 and the regulation for classification of water treatment works and process controllers. The rest of the interviewees pointed out that they know about the existence of the SANS 241 and are familiar with its contents. Familiarity with legislation and regulations is a major concern since some of the participants could not differentiate between regulations, policies, legislation and ordinary documents with the DWA logo. From the responses it was clear that most interviewees are not familiar with water sector legislation, policies and regulations.

In order to provide some pointers to effective implementation of the Blue Drop Certification Programme, the respondents indicated that municipal dynamics should be taken into account when conducting Blue Drop Certification Programme assessments and assessors should be accommodative. The following came out as specific advice regarding the Blue Drop Certification Programme:

- It is important that process controllers are familiarised with Blue Drop Certification Programme assessment criteria.
- DWA regional offices should pay visits to treatment works on a more regular basis.
- DWA should help establish drinking water quality forums in municipalities.
- Communication between DWA regional offices and municipalities should be improved.
- Process controllers should be provided with Blue Drop Certification Programme assessment results of their respective municipalities.
- Municipalities need to ensure that their infrastructure and equipment are properly maintained.

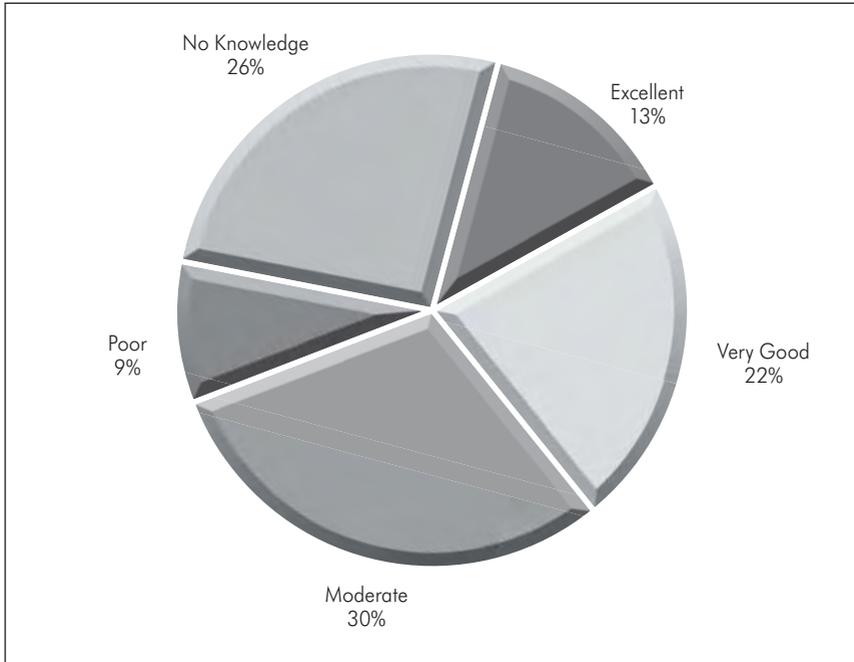
With reference to the statements of the questionnaire submitted to 34 municipal officials (of whom 23 responded) the one specifically asked if they are aware of the Blue Drop Certification Programme in their place of work. On a Likert scale of 1 (strongly in favour of) to 10 (strongly against), an overwhelmingly 83% indicated that they are aware and only 17% indicated that they are not aware of the programme. It is clear from the responses that municipalities are informing their employees about the programme and that the DWA is also communicating the message to the majority of employees. The fact that 17% of employees working at a water treatment plant were not aware of the programme is a cause for concern considering that the certification programme has now been running for four years (2009–2012).

The statement that “the Blue Drop Certification Programme has improved performance in the management of drinking water quality” was aimed at determining if employees had noticed any difference in the management of drinking water in their municipalities since the implementation of the Programme in 2009. Only 44% of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement and another 17% agreed, while 4% disagreed, 13% strongly disagreed and 22% did not know if the programme had brought about any improvement to the way their drinking water is managed.

In response to the question of how important it is for the respondents’ municipality to be assessed, 67% or 14 of the 21 respondents gave the highest rating of 10 and the remaining 7 (33%) gave a rating of between 7 and 9. This implies that participants do realise the value of the assessment done by the DWA.

Respondents were asked to rate their knowledge of the water sector legislation. In this case the researcher wanted to determine the extent to which respondents are familiar with water sector legislation. It is important to note that those who are confident about their knowledge of such legislation and who gave a rating of excellent and very good, make up only 35%. The other 65% have little or no understanding of water sector legislation. The responses are reflected in Figure 1:

Figure 1: Knowledge of water sector legislation



Respondents were further asked to rate their knowledge of their own municipalities' 2010 Blue Drop Certification Programme results. Thirty-one percent (31%) of the respondents gave a rating of 1 on the scale of 10. This means that 31% of water services employees in municipalities have no knowledge of their municipalities' Blue Drop Certification Programme results for 2010 while they are employed to process the treatment of drinking water. Another 44% gave a rating of between 9 and 10 implying that they are familiar with their municipalities' Blue Drop Certification Programme results for 2010.

CONCLUSIONS

From the research the authors concluded that, regarding the implemented Blue Drop Certification Programme in selected municipal areas, there still are a number of water service employees who are not familiar with drinking water regulations. The statistics obtained from the survey indicated that a large number (65%) of employees in water treatment works have moderate or no knowledge of water sector legislation and regulations.

In some selected municipalities, information about the Blue Drop Certification Programme's assessment results does not filter down to water treatment works employees. It is also apparent that there are those who are not informed about the Programme's assessment results of their municipalities. One can therefore conclude that the management cadre in some municipalities do not share the results with their subordinates.

The research results show that supervisors and management of the participating municipalities welcome the implementation of the Blue Drop Certification Programme's assessment initiative. They perceive it as a catalyst to improve the management of drinking water and maintenance of water service infrastructure. From the survey results it is also clear that the majority of participants are in favour of the Blue Drop Certification Programme. All of the respondents (100%) support the Programme since they perceive it as a mechanism to improve the management of drinking water quality and ultimately to ensure safe drinking water. The authors can conclude that for these employees, an intervention such as the Blue Drop Certification Programme has been long overdue.

The research results also show that respondents need the support and involvement of senior management in the management of drinking water. It is therefore safe to conclude that in some municipalities drinking water management is not afforded the attention it deserves by senior managers. It seems that senior management is not fulfilling its oversight role in ensuring safe water in some of these municipalities' geographical areas of responsibility. From the interviews it became clear that the Blue Drop Certification Programme has in some cases motivated the municipal management cadre and political leadership to stand up and give the water treatment occupation the attention it deserves.

The Blue Drop Certification Programme also encourages uniformity in the way drinking water is managed by municipalities in their responsibility areas all over the country. The authors determined that 61% of the respondents had seen an improvement in the management of water services in their municipal areas since the implementation of the programme. The rest have not yet seen any improvement in their municipalities since the implementation of the programme. It is therefore clear that the DWA and other stakeholders have some work to do in ensuring that some of these municipalities work towards complying with drinking water quality regulations.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Although the research findings clearly demonstrate a positive attitude by water service employees who participated in this research towards the Blue Drop Certification Programme, there are certain areas that may require attention from

the relevant government departments and municipalities. The recommendations that follow are based on the findings of the empirical study:

- It is important that water services employees in municipalities should be familiar with the legislation, regulations and policies that govern their functioning. Posters depicting relevant parts of regulations affecting process controllers and their assistants in particular should be developed by the DWA and be made available in all water treatment works.
- Water treatment works employees involved in the treatment of water should be familiarised with the Blue Drop Certification Programme's assessment criteria since they are involved in working towards achieving the Programme's status.
- Blue Drop Certification Programme assessment results should be passed down to the water treatment works employees. The information to process controllers should include details of what went well and what went wrong in their respective potable water treatment works. This will make them feel part of the solution when implementing corrective measures and even when celebrating the achievements of their potable water treatment works.
- The nature and extent of budgeting by municipalities for the water service function should be improved. The water function should be treated as a business in municipalities and be accorded the status it deserves. Funds allocated by the DWA and National Treasury for water services infrastructure should be utilised for the assigned purpose. The responsible departments should ensure that municipalities account for the use of such funds and corrective measures should be considered where the funds are not properly accounted for.
- Politicians responsible for technical services which include water services should be duty-bound to undergo a compulsory induction on drinking water management in order to understand the operation and maintenance of water services infrastructure and water-related legal frameworks. The performance assessment of water or technical managers and political leadership should be linked to the achievement of the Blue Drop Certification Programme status. This will ensure that the municipality also provides the necessary resources to work towards the achievement of this status.

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Determining strategies to manage informal settlements

The case of City of Tshwane Municipality

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ABSTRACT

The African National Congress (ANC) government has achieved much in terms of the sheer number of houses delivered, estimated at over two million nationally. The challenge to provide housing, however, remains daunting. In the face of mounting international pressure to demonstrate progress towards meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), public servants in various spheres of the South African government have employed a range of strategies to assist in achieving set goals. Positive programmes are evident in the Gauteng Province in particular the City of Tshwane Municipality, but actual delivery of housing remains limited, and approaches to the issue of what constitutes an 'informal' settlement are problematic. To date, informal settlements comprise 30-80% of a typical developing world city. The City of Tshwane Municipality is no exception, as it has 59 informal settlements, 35 of which are on private land. Urban growth as a result of an influx of poor people represents a serious administrative challenge. Improving the conditions of the urban poor is critical to social, economic and political stability.

This article seeks to determine if The Service Delivery and Budget Implementation Plan (SDBIP) 2011/12 is the most suited plan for

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implementing the delivery of services of the City of Tshwane Municipality in managing the provision of services such as roads, water, sanitation and electricity in complementing the national and provincial governments in realising socio-economic rights; as provided for in the *Constitution of South Africa, 1996* in terms of sections 184(3) and 7(2) of the Bill of Rights.

INTRODUCTION

Informal settlements are complex, dynamic social systems, which experience continual change. In occupying land informally, residents are often prepared to flout the law in the hope of improving their economic position.

In 2004, the Department of Housing declared to eradicate informal settlements in South Africa by 2014 following the unprecedented housing backlog, proliferation of informal settlements, social exclusion and the inability of municipalities to provide basic infrastructure to the urban poor households. This declaration has not been implemented effectively as evidence to more informal settlements have been established.

Informal settlements comprise of 30-80% of a typical developing world city (UNCHS 1996). Almost 1 billion people or 32% of the world's urban population, live in slums and the majority of them are in the developing world. Moreover, the locus of global poverty is moving to the cities, a process now recognised as the 'urbanization of poverty'. Without concerted action on the part of municipalities, national governments, civil society actors and the international community, the number of slum dwellers is likely to increase in most developing countries.

The growth of urban informal settlements from a government perspective implies planning and control of the location in which these settlements emerges, improving the social and economic conditions in them, and ensuring that residents and neighbouring communities enjoy social justice. This article will determine the informal settlements challenges with specific reference to the City of Tshwane. Furthermore strategies to manage informal settlements will be put forward as recommendations.

GLOBAL PHENOMENON OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

In the United Nations Millennium Declaration 2000, world leaders pledged to tackle this immense challenge as part of goal 7 which is to ensure environmental

sustainability, and specifically target 11 that focus on the setting of the specific goal of achieving significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020. This means addressing not only the needs of slum dwellers for shelter, but also the broader problem of urban poverty, especially unemployment, low incomes and a lack of access to basic urban services.

Dwellings in informal settlements generally lack formal legal titles, and may exhibit irregular development patterns, lack essential public services such as sanitation, and occur on environmentally vulnerable or public land. Whether they are built on private or public land, informal settlements are developed progressively over many years, and some have existed for decades. Such settlements often become recognised legally as part of the regular development of the city - through either official actions or the accretion of rights over time. Accordingly, the definition of informality is imprecise and multidimensional, covering physical, socio-economic, and legal aspects.

For most cities the worsening state of access to shelter and security of tenure result in severe overcrowding, homelessness, and environmental health problems. This global rise of urban poverty and insecure occupancy status take place in a context of accelerated globalisation and structural adjustment policies combining: (i) deregulation measures; (ii) massive government disengagement from the urban and housing sector; and (iii) attempts to integrate informal markets — including land and housing markets — within the sphere of the formal market economy, especially through large-scale land ownership registration and titling programme (United Nations Human Settlements Program UN-Habitat 2003).

These policies, along with the lack of, or inefficiency of a safety-net program and poverty alleviation policies have resulted in increased inequalities in the distribution of wealth and resources at all levels. In November 2010, UN-Habitat (the United Nations Human Settlements Programme) published a report on the state of African cities. The report confirmed that Africa is the fastest urbanising continent in the world and that by 2030 “Africa’s collective population will become 50 percent urban” (UN-Habitat 2010:1). The public sector no longer contributes to the provision of serviced land or housing for low-income groups. Furthermore, the private sector targets its land and housing development activities at high-income and middle-income groups with regular employment and access to formal credit.

As a result, the urban poor and large segments of low- and moderate-income groups have no choice but to rely on informal land and housing markets for access to land and shelter, thus fostering the expansion of irregular settlements in cities. Levels of urbanisation in Africa is making it one of the “most dramatic social phenomena” taking place in Africa since the colonial era (Mabogunje 1990:121). For several years, as Stren (1992:533) has argued, research on

African cities has centered on two main themes namely “their poverty and their rapid rates of growth”. These were also the central messages in the UN-Habitat 2010 report on African cities which highlighted, among other things, the central problem of urban housing provision for the urban poor across the continent. Informal land and housing delivery systems remain the only realistic alternative for meeting the needs of low-income households.

In an increasingly urbanising world, access to land and housing in cities presents significant development challenges. The global assessment of slums undertaken by the UN-Habitat (2010:3) shows that 828 million or 33% of the urban population of developing countries resides in slums. In sub-Saharan Africa, 62% of the urban population resides in such settlements. Such large concentrations of slums in which inhabitants live in inequitable and life-threatening conditions impose an enormous burden on city authorities that are often cash-strapped and lack the institutional and technical capacity to provide even the most basic of urban services. These settlements are also known for their atmosphere of fear and violence (Bloom, Canning and Fink: 2008).

It is in recognition of the challenges posed by the proliferation of slums, that target 7.d of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) seeks to significantly improve the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020 (UN-Habitat 2003). Given that this target is very modest and hardly makes a dent on the magnitude of slums in that it addresses only 12% of current slum dwellers in developing countries, a revision of the slum target has been proposed, whereby in addition to substantially improving the lives of slum dwellers, concerted efforts should be made to provide adequate alternatives to new slum formation by prioritising slum prevention programmes and proactive planning (UN Millennium Project 2005).

The prominence given to urbanisation as a major factor driving the proliferation of slums in Africa could indeed be attributed to the continent’s phenomenal urban transition. In 1950, 14,5% of the population of African countries resided in urban areas; by 2007, the level of urbanisation increased to 38,7% (United Nations 2008). Equally remarkable is the growth in the urban population, which averaged 4,8% between 1950 and 1975. A major consequence of this demographic shift is the urbanisation of poverty - whereby the locus or concentration of poverty is moving from the rural areas to urban centres (UN-Habitat 2003a). In particular, Chen and Ravallion (2007) show that while the level of urbanisation in Africa increased from 29,8% in 1993 to 35,2% in 2002, the urban share of poverty increased from 24,3% to 30,2% within the same period. A notable feature of urban poverty in Africa is that it is increasing faster than national poverty.

While the rapid pace of urbanisation experienced by African countries over the last three decades certainly plays an important role in the prevalence of

slums, there are other economic, social, political, institutional and historical factors whose impacts are not known with a degree of certainty, as they have rarely been the focus of rigorous empirical investigation. Although the UN-Habitat report on slums does an excellent job of identifying other factors apart from urbanisation that drive the formation and expansion of slums, the magnitude or precise manner in which these factors affect slums remains to be investigated using quantitative data.

Concentrations of business and populations in cities generate efficiency and economic gains in some areas and urban centres, while some others are left behind. In those cities and areas that are found lagging, as in the lower income urban areas of the economically stronger nations, stark spatial disparities and socio-economic polarisation are becoming increasingly visible as urban inequality increases.

Communities living in irregular urban settlements are all confronted with the same set of interrelated problems: they have no access or limited access only to basic services, and they have no security of tenure. Their situations are precarious as they usually belong to the poorest segment of the urban population.

SOUTH AFRICAN HUMAN SETTLEMENTS CONTEXT

Informal settlements consist of non-conventional housing built without complying with legal building requirements. These settlements are usually built at the edge of the cities where land is cheap and neglected (Moser and Satterthwaite 2008:9; Mahanga 2002:1289). However, these informal settlements are often better located than the housing developments to which the government intends to relocate them to in identified areas within municipalities. The urban poor usually use salvaged materials like wood, tins, corrugated iron and other materials to build these shelters. Broadly, these crude dwellings mostly lack proper indoor infrastructures, such as water supply, sanitation, drainage, waste disposal and externally proper road access. Urban households live in these poor conditions which increase the spread of contagious diseases (Cairncross 1990:271; Hardoy and Satterthwaite 1990:109). The South African government as many others have failed to ensure that rapid urban growth has been supplemented with investments in services, mainly in the indigent areas (Cairncross 1990:271). The result is an increase in the number of households living in informal settlements without suitable infrastructure. Despite these constraints, the urban poor prefer to live in tactical and in low-to-zero serviced areas with minimal opportunities for survival (Marx 2003:299).

The state of informal settlements in South African is often multiplied by constraints of land costs suitable for housing the urban poor and low-income

groups (Khan 2003:17). Indeed, the lack of land and housing cause many urban poor including migrants to build their own houses in informal settlements in an effort to solve the housing problems by themselves (Yuen 2007; Schlyter 1995:212). The reality is that informal settlements which depict local housing markets and local cultural patterns are here to stay (Mosha 1995:353). Eradication of these settlements through relocation poses challenges of site improvement charges and, bureaucratic breakdown, while corruption may keep people from getting adequate housing (Aldrich and Sandhu 1995:20).

Informal settlements provide housing for the urban poor in South African cities and towns. The current housing that is largely produced by the government through various channels, mostly by the once-off capital subsidies, is primarily unaffordable to the urban poor. The subsidy-linked low-cost housing does not help solve housing problems (UNCHS 1996:239). Low-cost housing demand has always outstripped the traditional systems envisaged by the spheres of government housing policies.

Informal settlements arguably play economic roles in South Africa. Inhabitants of informal settlements often act as a labour pool that contributes to the economic growth of a city and the country. Aldrich and Sandhu (1995:21) assert that the urban poor households subsidise the formal economy as they do not require large amounts of capital for housing and related services. Mncwango (2005:12) and Olufemi (1998:223) have also accepted the worth of informal settlements in providing the urban poor with direct and cheap accommodation. As Godobo (2008:23) has pointed out, informal settlements are where he or she lives, recreates and pro-creates. For many, it is also where they work. Few individuals would volunteer to live in these settlements if they can afford to live in a formal brick and mortar structure. Kapoor (2004:5) assert that poor urban families prefer to live close to work and in communities that consist of people sharing common socio-demographic characteristics.

It is vital to note that most informal settlements' inhabitants migrate from the countryside to flee from rural poverty, to seek relative progress amidst the seeming optimism of cosmopolitan opportunities (Kramer 2006:3). Migrants are attracted mainly to the cities by socio-economic conditions such as the considerable rural-urban gap of living standards instead of the collectivisation in rural areas (Lai 1995:17). The pull factor of better access to socio-economic opportunities contributed to the establishment, if not the permanence, of informal settlements in South Africa. Like in Tanzania, deficiency in housing supply remains a critical problem to cater for this rapid urban expansion (Magigi and Majani 2006:3-24). Ironically, migrants lack the ability to succeed in the cities due to lack of skills, education and decent houses (Yap 1995). These migrants often 'become victims of the city's wrath' and they pose a daunting problem to policymakers in the developing world (Atuahene 2004:1110). The

reality is that migrants frequently live in economically, socially, and politically marginalised urban communities called informal settlements. This lack of skills also affects their ability to sustain their livelihoods.

The post apartheid South African state managed to lift apartheid restrictions which resulted in the promulgation of new urban policy. Legislations, such as the *Housing Act of 1997*, or *Breaking New Ground (BNG): A Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements of 2004* and others were enacted largely to redress apartheid inequalities. As a result, cities are experiencing high population growth, densities, congestion, deteriorating environmental quality and the increasing cost of urban services. 'Migration to urban cities and internal growth of cities exceeded by far the creation of jobs' (Godehart and Vaughan 2008:10). It is very likely that urbanisation rate in South Africa can reach about 75% by 2020 (Berrisford 1998:224).

CHALLENGES OF MANAGING INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

The growth of slums in the last 15 years has been unprecedented. In 1990, there were nearly 715 million slum dwellers in the world. By 2000 – when world leaders set the target of improving the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by 2020 – the slum population had increased to 912 million. Today, there are approximately 998 million slum dwellers in the world. UN-Habitat estimates that, if current trends continue, the slum population will reach 1,4 billion by 2020.

This demographic transition from rural to urban, or urbanisation, has far-reaching consequences. Urbanisation has been associated with overall shifts in the economy, away from agriculture-based activities and towards mass industry, technology and service. High urban densities have reduced transaction costs, made public spending on infrastructure and services more economically viable, and facilitated generation and diffusion of knowledge, all of which have fuelled economic growth. Urbanisation became more rapid as globalisation spread industry and technology to all corners of the world.

The State of the World's Cities Report 2006/7 provides an overview of the state of the world's slums with regard to the five indicators. The following provides a summary of the main findings.

Lack of durable housing

It is estimated that 133 million people living in cities of the developing world lack durable housing. Non-durable or non-permanent housing is more prevalent in some regions than in others; over half the urban population living in non-

permanent houses resides in Asia, while Northern Africa has the least numbers of people living in this kind of housing.

Lack of sufficient living area

Overcrowding is a manifestation of housing inequality and is also a hidden form of homelessness. In 2003, approximately 20 per cent of the developing world's urban population – 401 million people – lived in houses that lacked sufficient living area (with three or more people sharing a bedroom). Two thirds of the developing world's urban population living in overcrowded conditions resides in Asia; half of this group, or 156 million people, reside in Southern Asia. This Report shows how living conditions, including overcrowding and poor ventilation, are related to rates of illness, child mortality and increase in negative social behaviours. It stresses that the risk of disease transmission and multiple infections become substantially higher as the number of people crowded into small, poorly ventilated spaces increases.

Lack of access to improved water

Although official statistics reflect better water coverage in urban areas than in rural areas, various surveys show that in many cities, the quantity, quality and affordability of water in low-income urban settlements falls short of acceptable standards. Improved water provision in the world's urban areas was reported to be as high as 95% in 2002. This statistic, however, presents an overly optimistic picture since "improved" provision of water does not always mean that the provision is safe, sufficient, affordable or easily accessible.

Lack of access to improved sanitation

Over 25% of the developing world's urban population – or 560 million city residents – lack adequate sanitation. Lack of access to an adequate toilet not only violates the dignity of the urban poor, but also affects their health. Every year, hundreds of thousands of people die as a result of living conditions made unhealthy by lack of clean water and sanitation.

Lack of secure tenure

Mass evictions of slum and squatter settlements in various cities in recent years suggest that security of tenure is becoming increasingly precarious, particularly in cities. A global survey in 60 countries found that 6,7 million people had been evicted from their homes between 2000 and 2002, compared with 4,2 million

in the previous two years. Many of these evictions were carried out without legal notice or without following due process.

Improving the tenure of urban households could go a long way in preventing evictions, but operationalising security of tenure for the purpose of global monitoring remains difficult. At present, it is neither possible to obtain household-level data on secure tenure in most countries, nor to produce global comparative data on various institutional aspects of secure tenure, as data on secure tenure is not regularly collected by censuses or household surveys .

Intervening in informal settlements with the objective of upgrading them or merely attempting to ensure that hygienic physical conditions and social justice prevails is an extremely difficult task for an external agent. Community leaders act as gatekeepers, relations with the authorities tend to be informal and therefore unregulated and it is difficult for formal land administration institutions to make deals that are implementable according to (Barry and Rütther 2001:3).

Agreements between communities and municipalities can be overturned on a day-to-day basis, for example the case of the City of Cape Town and Khayelitsha on the enclosing of toilets, due to the complexity of these situations, many upgrading projects have not achieved the results desired by the Department of Local Housing within the municipality. In particular many observers are critical of projects that deliver individual tenure. However, there are also problems associated with using communal forms of tenure (Barry and Rütther 2001:3). Security of tenure is vital in achieving sustainable human settlements that provides for adequate accommodation, livelihoods and infrastructure. Since human activities are attached to land, tenure options (e.g. ownership, use and lease) need to be protected. Most land is controlled and owned by private interests making it difficult to service and less accessible, available and affordable to the poor. This is a national housing crisis as the targeted low-income groups could not afford to fund their own housing (Guitierrez 1995:249). A strategy has been developed to address formalisation of informal settlements on private land.

Access to security of tenure for the urban poor

Access to security of tenure for the urban poor through formal registration and the provision of individual property titles is rarely possible. There are a number of explanations according to Durand-Lasserve (2006:8), including:

- Technical reasons: Assuming (i) that, in a given city, 1 million households are living in informal settlements, and (ii) that tenure regularisation to achieve formal individual land ownership should take no more than 10 years the administration in charge would need to deliver 350 property titles per working day, simply to cope with the existing backlog.

- Economic reasons: The importance of the informal rental sector in most cities in low- and middle-income countries; the limited resources of the households concerned exclude most of them from access to land at market prices; administrative or subsidised prices introduce major distortions into the property market and encourage corruption and illicit practices.

With reference from the previous section, the following example is the current challenges that the Tshwane Municipality are facing with the case of Itireleng community.

In August 2009 the Mayor of the City of Tshwane expressed the need for the temporary allocation of land, next to the Itireleng informal settlement, on which people could build structures until such time as the area could be declared a residential area. The backyard dwellers of Itireleng informal settlement shortly thereafter moved out of the Itireleng informal settlement and onto the neighbouring properties.

An eviction application was brought by the property owners and the City of Tshwane was joined as a party to the proceedings. During the course of the hearing, no arrangements or consideration was given to where the occupiers could be accommodated upon eviction. Despite this an eviction order was granted and the occupiers were forcibly removed. With no alternatives and having been rendered homeless the occupiers simply moved onto the neighbouring property of Skurweplaas.

An application for the occupiers' eviction from this property was brought once again. Although the court was aware that they had been evicted from the neighbouring property of Mooiplaas and undisputed evidence that if evicted the occupiers would be left homeless and be forced to illegally occupy elsewhere, the court granted an eviction order.

The reality is that this scenario is common and results in poor and vulnerable residents moving from one piece of land to another after repeatedly being evicted by court orders. This causes social upheaval and serves as a major cause of homelessness among urban poor. Taking into consideration that basic services such as sanitation and health provision are among services that are neglected when these evictions take place. The question that arises are: How can the City of Tshwane and the municipality manage this process effectively? The following section will discuss strategies in managing informal settlements.

STRATEGIES FOR MANAGING INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

In 2012/11 the City of Tshwane committed itself to continue in striving for service excellence and for a better Tshwane. This was presented in the Service

Delivery and Budget Implementation Plan (SDBIP) of the City of Tshwane for the financial year 2010/11. This SDBIP was developed on the basis of the Council approved fourth revised Integrated Development Plan. The following are strategies employed by the municipality:

Formalisation of informal settlements

It is important to mention that the City of Tshwane is deeply engaged in the formalisation of informal settlements; as a key strategic driver to reverse the frontiers of human settlement and sustainable communities. The key priority is the formalisation of more than 22 settlements through the serviced site and issuing of title deeds to over 10 000 families. This approach will enable the Tshwane Municipality to improve informal settlements and the conditions of living. The formalisation programme is led by the Housing and Sustainable Settlements department, in partnership with City Planning, Roads and Transport, Water and Sanitation and Electricity departments. Durand-Lasserre (2006:12) identifies the following key strategies and recommendations:

Protection against forced evictions is the overriding priority

Protection against forced evictions is a prerequisite for the integration of irregular and informal settlements into urban life. For households living in irregular settlements, security of tenure offers a response to their immediate problem of eviction and forced removal. It means they cannot be evicted by an administrative or court decision simply because they are not the owner of the land or the houses that they occupy, or because they have not entered into a formal agreement with the owners, or do not comply with urban planning and building laws and regulations. It also means recognising and legitimising the existing forms of tenure that prevail among poor communities, and creating space for the poorest populations to improve their quality of life. Security of tenure can be considered the main component of “the right to housing”, and an essential prerequisite for access to full citizenship.

The effective protection of the urban poor against forced evictions depends on local patronage, and political commitments by elected officials, Non-Governmental Organisations, and other civil society organisations. The level of protection provided depends on the balance of political power at the local and national levels.

Preventing market eviction of the urban poor

The urban poor are vulnerable to another form of eviction, less visible than forced evictions, and rarely recorded namely market eviction. This phenomenon

is being observed in all cities, including those in countries that already provide legal or constitutional protection against forced evictions. Market eviction is the result of market pressures exerted on urban low-income settlements usually combined with rapid increases in the housing expenditures of the economically weakest households in the settlements (increase in rents, costs of services, and taxes). Tenure upgrading or provision of urban services in newly regularised informal settlements may result in the departure of the poorest households. The allocation of individual transferable legal rights (such as freehold title) to vulnerable households, without any community controls, is likely to accelerate the market eviction process.

The provision of property titles must be framed over a long-term time horizon

The provision of individual property titles should not be rejected as such. It must be considered as a long-term objective. In many cases, emphasis should be put on intermediate options such as the provision of collective titles for entire informal settlements. The objective is to increase the supply of legal urban land in a range of tenure options (public or private rental, leasehold, freehold), a range of locations, and a range of prices to suit the needs of different socio-economic groups. Experience suggests that legal measures that protect occupancy rights and that guarantee security of tenure, at least for a certain period of time (permit to occupy, long term lease, concession of legal rights of use) are more efficient tools for poverty reduction than the mass allocation of property titles. This is the case in most Indian cities with the issuing of long-term leases, as implemented under the Patta Act of 1984. The extension of land tenure rights over government land, locally known as 'patta', to squatters is undertaken as a welfare measure. Tenure rights can be given on site or in alternate locations on freehold, lease, or license basis. Even though there are cases of group tenure, the granting of individual tenure is the general practice.

Promoting community ownership and group titling is an important option

As noted by UN-Habitat 2003 individual titling is costly, time-consuming and often not sustainable for low-income groups, as the procedure involves full surveying and registration. A way forward is to use group registration, blocks and some form of individualised lease rights managed by groups in conjunction with local authorities." An illustration of such practices can be given in Kenya.

It is estimated that 60% of the urban population is living in unplanned settlements, with no security of tenure. "Community Land Trusts" are one of the

innovative methods for providing residents with reasonable security of tenure. Basic principles are as follows: (i) Land is kept in the settlement under one head title held by trustees; (ii) The community's focus is on resource mobilisation, land acquisition, obtaining official permits, and getting the government and municipalities to provide infrastructure; (iii) Land acquisition costs are reduced by doing away with title surveys for individual plots; (iv) Communities are encouraged to create governance systems that allow members of the community to participate fully in the affairs of the settlement. By retaining ownership of the land in the hands of a group, and allowing members to hold leases from the group title, it is possible to control transfers and discourage speculation.

Explore innovative land management techniques, such as “land sharing”

At the settlement level, innovative land management and allocation procedures and techniques can facilitate tenure regularisation of informal settlements. This can be illustrated by the “land sharing” projects implemented in Thailand during the 1980s and 1990s, and more recently, on a larger scale, in India. The principle is as follows: when the owner of a piece of land that is occupied illegally, usually by squatters who the landowner cannot easily evict, the legal owner agrees to share the property with the informal residents. Occupants will clear part of the occupied land (generally between 1/3 and 1/2 depending on the circumstances), usually the part with the highest commercial value, and return it to the landowner. The remaining part of the land is sold out or leased to the occupants, usually at below market prices. Physical upgrading and increasing population density on this part of the land makes possible the on-site re-housing of the households displaced from land that has been cleared and returned to the owner.

Such techniques do, in principle, enable tenure regularisation to be carried out, while taking into account the interests of both the landowner and the community concerned. However, they require a high level of community organisation, intervention of mediators and other outside groups (such as NGOs), involvement of public administrators and agencies, appropriate financial resources, administrative efficiency, transparency, and political commitment, especially at the local level. Few cities in developing countries can meet all of these conditions.

Land sharing techniques raise two concerns: (i) even when successful on the scale of an informal settlement, large-scale strategies remain a difficult challenge; (ii) because it requires significant financial contributions from beneficiary households, land sharing does not respond to the needs of the poorest segments of the slum dwellers.

Building spatial and information systems and local land registration and records

As emphasised by the World Bank (2001:38), “new land information management systems can supply some kind of early tenure security to a large number of people, especially to informal settlement. The focus is on using the spatial information associated with an appropriate land information management system which is linked to urban service delivery, as source of legal evidence to validate people’s adverse possession claims and/or prevent eviction”. Whenever possible, land records and registration must be carried out by municipal governments, rather than being centralised at the national government level, for both technical and political reasons: identification of rights-holders, negotiation of land-related conflicts, as well as adjudication procedures cannot effectively be carried out by national government agencies. However, whereas records of land rights can be kept by municipalities (as is the case in most tenure regularisation projects), land registration and the delivery of property titles remain prerogatives of central government administrations. Most national bureaucracies — especially in sub-Saharan cities — are reluctant to transfer such responsibilities to local governments. In addition, vested interests in the management and provision of public land reserves are such that few central governments are in a position to impose and enforce such necessary reforms.

CONCLUSION

Informal settlements are a feature of poverty and inherited inequalities in South Africa. This article provided an overview of informal settlements globally and in South Africa with specific reference to Tshwane Municipality. This article identified and explained that security tenure for informal settlements is a social relationship of appropriation and exclusion. Accordingly, security of tenure issues cannot be dealt with in strictly technical terms. Hence a wide range of alternative tenure options should respond to the diversity of the needs of low-income households living in informal settlements.

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Towards results-based developmental public governance in the Cape Town City-region of South Africa

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ABSTRACT

Although the concept of a *functional city-region* is new in South Africa, the significance of results-based urban developmental governance has been internationally recognised and highlighted in South African Cities Network reports. Expectations of effective community engagement and equitable services in the geo-politically heterogeneous Cape Town City-region, second most populous in South Africa, were the subject of an insightful Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development *Territorial Review* (2008a); which has served as the baseline for this developmental urban governance analysis and formative evaluation, using an original public performance model.

In undertaking cross-national action research for this interdisciplinary, mixed- methods study, the goal was to identify significant results-based developmental governance enablers and inhibitors, within a theoretical framework formulated to address the research question, based on exemplary public performance practices. While the research outcome is not conclusive, but is part of a continuing search for effective urban developmental governance modalities, key formative evaluation findings may be summarised as follows:

- The new South African constitutional vision and principles are underpinned by sound developmental policies, regulatory frameworks and institutions;

although urban governance results are often compromised by political complexity, managerial ineffectiveness and lack of accountability; and

- While geo-political volatility has undermined socio-economic cohesion, current initiatives towards an Economic Development Partnership provide a potential platform for resource-effective facilitation of inclusive results-based developmental governance collaboration, within the heterogeneous Cape Town City-region.

INTRODUCTION: URBAN DEVELOPMENTAL GOVERNANCE VISION

“One of the major challenges that have faced the African state since the advent of political independence in the 1960s has been that of establishing and sustaining viable, dependable governance systems and institutions”, declared Ikome (2009:5), Director of the Multilateral Programme at the South African Institute for Global Dialogue.

The first author’s public governance programme evaluation and audit oversight experience over the past three decades has distilled an acute awareness of the fitful progress towards the envisaged democratic dividends which infused the vision and values of the new South African Constitution (RSA 1996). From these professional perspectives, complemented by cross-national research and dialogic practitioner discourse, the problematic South African urban public governance trajectory is analysed and formatively evaluated, with the intent of identifying significant changes in urban socio-economic development through results-based public governance and cost-effective management, in the post-apartheid Cape Town City-region.

During the first decade of the 21st Century, the Southern African sub-continent became the most urbanised in Africa, with 58,7 percent of its people living in city-regions. The population of South Africa, now 61,7 percent urbanised, is projected to reach 66 percent urbanisation by 2025 (UN-Habitat 2010a). The rapid urbanisation of rural-based residents (citizens, as well as immigrants from elsewhere in Africa) who are no longer subject to former urban influx control constraints; and seek enhanced lifestyle opportunities in South Africa’s city-regions, has led to ineffective results-based public governance and inequitable management of urban socio-economic development processes (Soko 2007).

These transformative agendas and societal pressures have contributed to the radical redefinition of South African urban developmental priorities. They have

required responsive, results-based public governance and management skills to meet the great expectations of rapid and equitable development and service provision, in what Correa and Fett (2008) described as the “urban morphology”.

Much of the urban studies literature is silent about the socio-economic and environmental foundations on which urbanisation governance processes are based, in order to optimise the amenities of modern urban life. Notable exceptions in recent urbanism literature include a paper by Mallach (2010) in the Brookings Institution *Metropolitan Policy Program* series, which examined processes of urban decay in America’s major cities. Another was a review of public governance by Andrews (2011:7), highlighting the importance of “*co-productive capacity between communities and government agencies in the urban environment*”.

Urban developmental debates and drivers

Centuries of colonial paternalism and minority rule, followed in the latter half of the 20th Century by socio-economic and geographic segregation of racial groups into separate local authorities and tribal homelands, had shaped the polity and character of South African public governance until the transitional non-racial elections in 1994. Describing the vision which had inspired the ideals and core values of the new Constitution, former political prisoner, Nobel Peace Laureate and President-in-waiting Nelson Mandela spoke of the hoped-for fruits of democratic development, in his Peace Prize acceptance lecture: “*Thus shall we live, because we will have created a society which recognises that all people are born equal, with each entitled in equal measure to life, liberty, prosperity, human rights and good governance*” (Mandela 1993).

The motivation for this study, therefore, is that the vision, values and principles of the new Constitution have been compromised by the processes of redefining the democratic state and re-aligning governance and managerial practices, towards achieving equitable urban developmental results. These have included allegations in the popular media, as well as recognition in public documents of governance tardiness and institutional inefficiency, corruption and lack of managerial accountability amongst politicians and officials. Pronouncements which have stimulated these concerns included:

- “*The curse of common competencies, in the new SA Constitution*” (Steytler 2003:7);
- “*It is often lamented that South African cities are beset by interminable crisis: segregation, inequality, fragmentation, violence, and so on*” (Pieterse 2006:286); and
- “*At the heart of redress is the reduction of poverty and equality; how well we have done is still open to debate*” (Hirsch 2006).

Urban governance dilemmas and disjunctures

The formative evaluation approach adopted in this study seeks to respond to such pronouncements, by reviewing and analysing available evidence regarding the public governance processes and outcomes of *most significant change* (Davies and Dart 2005). This has been undertaken in order to assess how effectively the results-based urban governance strategies for equitable socio-economic development have been translated, through effective public management, into functional reality in the foundational decades of the new South Africa. The research focus was on the rapidly urbanising, geo-politically heterogeneous Cape Town City-region, seeking to determine whether and how results-based public governance modalities might be enhanced.

De Visser (2005, 2009) pointed out that there had for many years been a widely-held view in the Third World that developmental goals were best achieved through a strong central government; but that there was a shift in development orientation towards decentralised governance in the decade prior to 1994. He asserted that *“the 1996 South African Constitution chooses unequivocally to make local government the epicentre of development, and provides it with a strong institutional status”* (2005:1); underscoring the problem of how best to institutionalise and capacitate public governance, in order to promote sustainable urban development efficiently and cost-effectively.

To focus on this problem of the apparent disjuncture between the great expectations and evidence of democratic achievements in results-based urban public governance for social justice, equity and sustainable socio-economic development in the Cape Town City-region of South Africa, it is necessary to define the dimensions of public governance.

PUBLIC GOVERNANCE: POLITY, PROCESSES AND PRAXIS

“Good governance is a precious commodity in the developing world” is the opening statement of the World Peace Foundation Report *The Good Governance Problem* (Rotberg and West 2004:1). Effective public governance is a *transformative process*, reflecting the shift from the former focus on a narrow political framework of the elite, to a broader democratic concept, including social movements. *Governance* means much more than *government*, as Cloete and Rabie (2005) pointed out; while developmental public governance, therefore, may be conceptualised as *“the achievement by a democratic government of the most appropriate developmental policy objectives, to develop its society sustainably”* (Cloete 2001:1).

Public governance goals for urban development and redress?

In an emergent nation-state such as South Africa, the notion of *broad-based sustainable development* is closely aligned with effective public governance, supported by competent public managerial and technical skills. Weaver, Rock and Kusterer (1997) declared that “*the overriding goal of developmental governance is to improve human well-being and to enable human beings to achieve their potential*” (1997:13).

The developmental governance complexities of the Cape Town City-region were the subject of an insightful *Territorial Study* by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (2008a). This territory’s tenfold population growth over the past 50 years indicates its significance as the second-richest city-regional economy in South Africa, with the lowest urban unemployment rate; yet probably containing the highest inequalities of income, health, education and housing in the country (OECD 2008b:13).

Public governance in the early 21st century finds itself in an era of New Public Management or *governance by performance management*, reflected in the assumption that effective hands-on management is the key determinant of public sector outcomes, rather than deregulation and public policy innovation (Lapsley 2009). There is a growing literature which seeks to assess how technology, structure, ethics, performance culture, risk mitigation and management factors combine to underpin results-based public governance (Behn 2001; ICMA 2008; ISPI 2010). Formative evaluation of these urban governance factors in the Cape Town City-region entailed “*collecting data for a period of time, usually during the start-up or pilot phase of a project, to improve implementation, solve unanticipated problems and make sure that participants are progressing toward desired outcomes*” (Patton 1997:69).

Ready to Govern for Reconstruction and Development?

The South African multi-party constitutional negotiations which followed the unbanning of liberation movements in 1990, evinced marked differences in developmental governance visions and democratic constitutional principles; and stimulated vigorous public debate about shared vision and values, priority outcomes and the roles of organs of state in national, provincial and local spheres. Terreblanche reflected in the Human Sciences Research Council’s *2008 State of the Nation* publication on the political economy at the time of democratisation: “*The South African economy was not only in a state of depression, but – as identified by the Reconstruction and Development Programme – it was in a deep-seated structural crisis after decades of segregation*” (Terreblanche

2008:107). It was therefore necessary, he argued, to bring about a fundamental restructuring of the political economy.

Constitutional principles of the Republic of South Africa, 1996

Emerging from protracted multi-party negotiations, an Interim Constitution was adopted in 1993 by 'sufficient consensus' amongst the major parties; and these developmental, democratic values were ultimately enshrined in the 1996 Constitution. Ways in which the results-based urban public governance functionality of these principles, powers and values for the three spheres of co-operative government, within the concurrent and exclusive competences defined in Schedules 4 and 5 of the Constitution (RSA 1996a:143,146) can be enhanced, are reviewed and analysed in this study.

Significant changes, in the context of this formative evaluation, began with several White Paper policy documents, underpinning the regulatory framework for the new South African public polity and developmental governance priorities. These public governance foundations created the basis for reform towards integrated, coherent and representative institutions in the national and provincial spheres, potentially capable of achieving the progressive goals of democratic public governance in a developmental state: *except that municipal government institutions and staff were not defined as part of the Public Service.*

In 1999 the Minister for Provincial and Local Government highlighted the increasing trend of urban in-migration and the rising demands for effective city-regional basic service provision, in a foreword to a series of urban governance policy booklets entitled *Local Government for the 21st Century* (RSA 1999a). The foreword recognised the significance of developmental urban governance, indicating that legislation would create new municipal processes and institutions empowering socio-economic development agencies to address urbanisation challenges: *"an empowered community, working in partnership with their municipality to improve performance and facilitate development is the single most powerful force for change, to build a better future and make the vision of developmental local government a reality"* (RSA 1999a: ii).

Turok and Parnell (2009) highlighted that governance of rapid urbanisation in the developing world was beyond the typical capacity of municipal government; and they explored arguments for a national urban policy, reflecting the *"unique power of the central state and the special circumstances of city-regions in Africa"* (2009:5). Experience in South Africa, they pointed out, illustrated the difficulties of defining a systematic approach to urban growth and governance. Significant changes in public governance tools and regulatory systems were subsequently introduced for use across all three spheres of government. These changes

are analysed below in the Cape Town City-regional context, which Swilling (2010:5,6) described as “an unsustainable mess” with a “remarkably rapid rate of urban change”.

The significance of effective results-based urban developmental governance in South Africa was highlighted by the State of Cities Report *Towards Resilient Cities* (SA Cities Network 2011:3), which recognised that “successful cities are an integral part of the solution to the country’s economic, social and environmental challenges”.

Presidential Progress Reviews

An insightful public governance and management progress assessment entitled *Towards a Fifteen Year Review* (RSA 2008a) was collated by the South African Presidency. This Presidential review provided a frank analysis of uneven progress made towards public governance objectives in the three interdependent spheres of South African co-operative government. Reflecting on the need for more capacity to overcome persistent systemic challenges, the authors of the Fifteen Year Review identified developmental governance deficiencies which arose “not from a shortage of people, but from problems of skills and systems to deploy human and financial resources, particularly in the local government sphere”, where “capacity challenges relating mainly to skills, systems, co-ordination and institutional arrangements” were most frequently evident (RSA 2008a:17).

Complexities of urban public governance in Cape Town City-region

This formative evaluation focusses on the co-operative government modalities of managing rapid, heterogeneous urbanisation and sustainable socio-economic urban development governance in the Cape Town City-region. As described in the *Territorial Review* (OECD 2008a), expectations of community engagement and equitable service delivery in this second most populous city-region in South Africa have been detrimentally affected by ongoing political volatility, despite a relatively stable public service which did not have the need to integrate former homeland institutions; which was an additional transformation hurdle in most other provinces.

The unique demographic features of the Western Cape Province were high-lighted in the Human Sciences Research Council report *The State of the Population in the Western Cape Province* (Marindo, Groenewald and Gaisie 2008). This report used official data sources such as Statistics South Africa with social, cultural, language and climatic profiles supplied by the Department of Social Development. Policy and capacity differentials between the City of Cape

Town and contiguous municipalities, provincial and national jurisdictions were assessed, where they have a bearing on socio-economic developmental change outcomes or results-based public governance improvement.

In analysing the outcomes of South African public governance in the first decade of the 21st Century, the incisive critique offered by a leading Cape Town academic, businessperson and former World Bank executive is pertinent. Ramphela (2008) argued that *“the capacity to deliver public services to poor communities with no other recourse has been sorely lacking in most instances”* (2008:12); and that urban governance transformation changes required at the political and socio-economic levels *“has in some cases led to impatience with consultative processes that are seen as delaying urgently needed urban development”* (2008:116). These governance disjunctures have been shared by several leading South Africans, in the launch of the Citizen Movement for Social Change (CMfSC), a response to what Ndebele (2011) described as a *mounting crisis of civic apathy and failings of democratic mobilisation*.

PROBLEM STATEMENT AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Problem statement

Given the complexity and scale of the South African urban transformation and developmental co-operative government challenges; and the expectations of rapid change towards fulfilment of election promises of equity, employment and *‘a better life for all’*, the problem statement for this study is that the ***available evidence of progress in the post-1994 urban public governance implementation and outcomes in the Cape Town City-region is frequently negative, yet substantially inconclusive in terms of the achievement of sustainable urban reconstruction and development.*** It is therefore imperative to evaluate developmental urban governance progress, analyse root causes and recommend principled, pragmatic steps towards realisation of the Constitutional tenets of *accountability, responsiveness and openness* (RSA 1996a: chapter 1).

Research goals and question

In reviewing the vision and values of the national Constitution (RSA 1996a), the range of public urban governance policies and institutional strategies produced in the first decades of non-racial democracy; it is intended to evaluate Cape Town City-regional public governance and institutional competence.

The explicit goal is to identify results-based urban developmental governance enablers and inhibitors, in addressing the following research question:

- *Evaluated within an exemplary public performance model, how effective have results-based public governance policies, regulatory frameworks, institutional and performance improvement strategies been in achieving socio-economic developmental goals within the co-operative government constitutional context, as evidenced in the heterogeneous, rapidly urbanising Cape Town City-region of South Africa?*

This question leads to the design of a public performance model which is relevant across all three spheres of South African co-operative government. The study seeks to evaluate to what extent the developmental urban public governance principles and practices have promoted *significant change* towards realisation of Constitutional vision and values within the Cape Town City-region.

Research Methodology

The mixed methods (Bamberger, Rao and Woolcock 2010) action research approach (Bjorn and Boulus 2011; Caulley 2008) used in this study has been purposively varied, in analysing the urban social epistemologies of results-based governance, institutional behaviour and *most significant changes* in public policy in the Cape Town City-region of the new South African nation-state. Action research strategies and dialogic interview methodology with a purposive range of City-regional stakeholders were informed by Sayer (1992), Patton (1997, 2002), Fetterman (2001), Davies and Dart (2005); Darlow (2007), Rogers (2009); Daley *et al.* (2010); Oakerson and Parks (2011). The primary goals of this methodology are to create conceptual understanding, mutual learning, in and through critical engagement: especially in the disciplines of urban public governance, civic activism, institutional leadership and management competence; in which the focus, as Hubbard (2006:9) observed, is on *“the empirical nuances of city life”*.

Following Friedman and Rogers (2009), who argued that *“There is Nothing so Theoretical as Good Action Research”*, a key process goal of this urban public governance study has been to provide an accessible and useful developmental governance performance model framework for practitioners, academics, political and community activists, in structured action research. The study also strives to refer to the urban governance policies, practices and papers of South African and international professional or academic institutions, where such inputs add relevance or potential scholarly value.

Systemic analysis of developmental data and urban governance processes has been largely based on the insights of the *Territorial Review of the Cape*

Town City-region (OECD 2008a), *Towards a Fifteen Year Review* (RSA 2008a) findings; *Strengthening African Governance Index* (Rotberg and Gisselquist 2009) indicators and other purposively relevant sources. These data and insights have facilitated integration of the theoretical discourse of results-based public governance and institutional developmental principles into an original public performance model, for pragmatic application to the context of effective socio-economic development in the Cape Town City-region.

SIGNIFICANCE OF CITY-REGIONAL GOVERNANCE STUDIES

Urban developmental governance in many parts of the world reflects a seemingly inexorable gap between conventional municipal approaches and increasing problems of informality, poverty, inequality, rapid in-migration and spatial fragmentation. This is particularly evident in city-regions of the global South, as Watson (2009), Zárate (2010) and UN-HABITAT (2010a) compellingly pointed out; and as Pieterse (2012) argued in terms of *“the conflicting claims and politics of informality which characterise Southern Urbanism”*. Cross-national explications of city-regional governance typologies, forms and functions provide a basis for analysis and assessment of the Cape Town City-regional institutions and developmental challenges.

Urban governance realities, achievements and inhibitors within several major city-regions were benchmarked during the World Urban Forum in Rio de Janeiro in 2010, characterised by the UN-Habitat Executive Director’s projection that *“within two generations, seventy percent of humanity will be living in towns and cities”* (UN-HABITAT 2010b:1). For these cogent and compelling reasons, therefore, the results-based public governance principles, institutional management and urban performance improvement policies and practices in the Cape Town City-regional context are the focus of this study within post-1994 South Africa. This rapidly growing and heterogeneous city-region - the only region to increase its share of national economic output (OECD 2008a:13) - accounts for 8,3% of the South African population and 11,8% of the South African Gross Domestic Product (OECD 2008b:50).

City-regional typologies in Latin America, the Middle East and South Asia have recognised the varied historical, socio-political and economic factors of urban development (AlSayyad 2004). In order to analyse insights and draw conclusions from the Cape Town City-regional public governance experiences and performance improvement aspirations, it is necessary to contextualise them within national, provincial and local developmental strategies and socio-economic challenges of rapid urbanisation. Pieterse (2009:2), former strategic

adviser to the Western Cape Premier, noted that “African metropolitan areas currently have the fastest rate of urbanisation in the Southern hemisphere”.

RESULTS-BASED PUBLIC GOVERNANCE MODEL

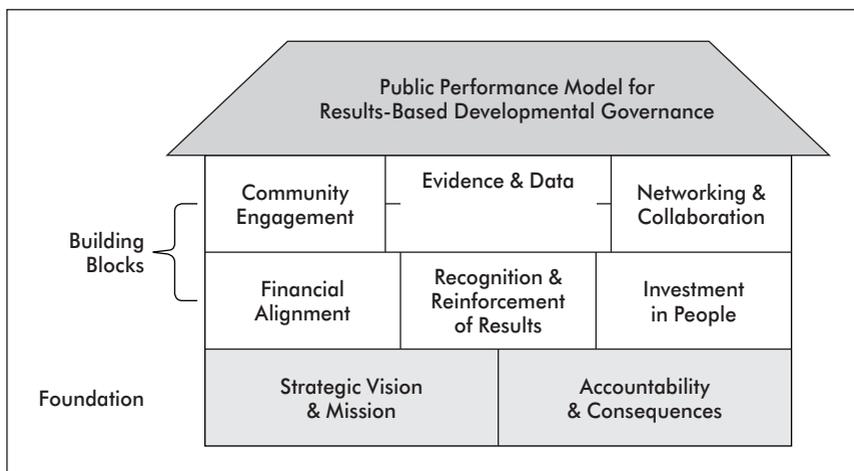
The action research question framed for this study has stimulated wide reflection, scholarly and practitioner discussion and contextual synthesis, leading to the design of an original public performance model, formulated from cross-national exemplary themes of developmental public governance, namely:

- *Strategic Vision and Mission which sets direction and inspires action;*
- *Accountability and consequences for clearly defined results;*
- *Financial alignment of resources with mission, risks and outcomes;*
- *Recognition and reinforcement of effective governance results;*
- *Investment in people, to develop technical and managerial capacity;*
- *Community engagement for democratic empowerment; and*
- *Accessible data and evidence for planning, monitoring and evaluation.*

The **S-A-F-R-I-C-A** model criteria, depicted in Figure 1 below, form a framework based on well-grounded public governance foundations of shared strategic vision and mission, clear accountability for results, and a resilient architecture of effective resource management and maintenance.

In researching and assessing the pragmatic value of this public performance model, literature reviews were enriched by purposive international conference

Figure 4: The S-A-F-R-I-C-A Public Performance Model



participation and dialogic interviews with public governance and urban studies scholars, political leaders, community activists, thought-leading managers and practitioners from a diverse range of institutions and agencies in the global North and South. Performance improvement theories were complemented by professional interactions, programme evaluations and independent audit committee findings in national, provincial and municipal governance.

CITY-REGIONAL GOVERNANCE: BUILDING ON WHAT WORKS?

Developmental data, academic insights and pragmatic assessments have also been informed by institutional evaluations and consulting interventions in all spheres of the South African public sector, *"constantly seeking evidence of what works"*, as Booth (2011) underscores in his *Africa Power and Politics Programme* policy brief. The intent is to review available data, and respond objectively to the research question, in order to analyse the *significant changes* and *results-based evidence* from Cape Town City-regional governance sources.

Most Significant Changes in the new South Africa

Much has changed in the post-apartheid South African urban governance framework and societal milieu, as Ndebele reflected on his *"experience of being home, having arrived back in 1994"* (in Du Toit and Duxtader Eds 2010:55). A facet of that *home-coming experience*, Ndebele explained, involved the policy of the new democratic state to meet basic human needs. Another was a question of *whether the state is now effectively designed to meet the fundamental socio-economic emancipatory purposes*. He expressed *"deep concern that the demands of the new Constitution have not been fulfilled, because of lack of political will and competent management"* (Ndebele 2011).

Constitutional equity principles have been entrenched in legislation and policy; including access to land and housing, education opportunities, job creation, career scope and protocols for the awarding of government contracts. A recent study of urban land release and subsidised housing trends (Urban Landmark 2011) indicated significant state investment in land and infrastructure costs, which may not be sustainable, in seeking to provide housing for all citizens. Analysis of social housing, development results and financial implications in the Western Cape and Gauteng provinces predict positive returns on investment of 6% in the Cape Town City-region, compared with *negative returns* of - 32% in Gauteng (2011:3). *All these significant changes, it needs to be acknowledged, are developmental governance work in progress.*

Three Government Spheres in results-based harmony?

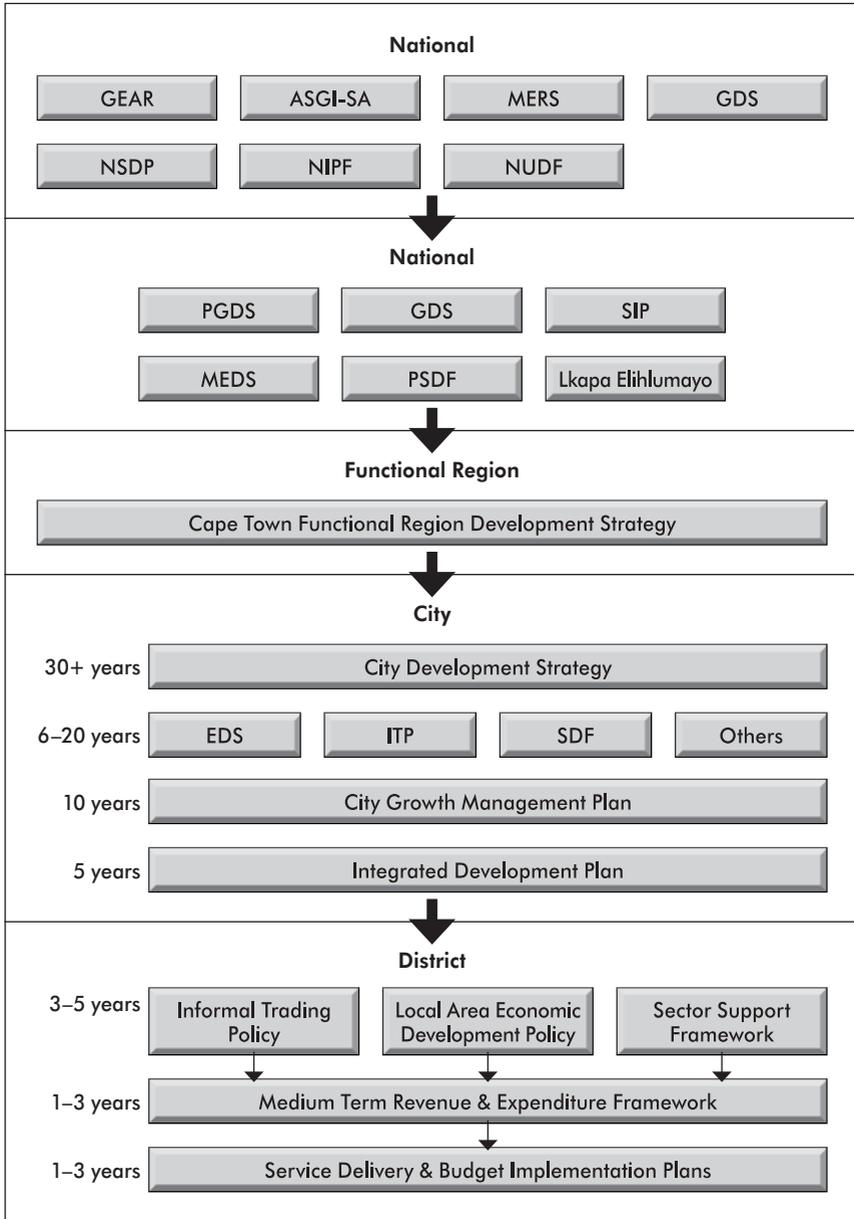
The Constitutional construct of *co-operative government* between three *distinctive, interdependent and inter-related spheres* is has proven problematic, within the different institutional forms, bureaucracy and budget cycles which render public services to citizens in the City-region. The complex intergovernmental policy framework in figure 2 below was depicted in Cape Town's *Economic Development Strategy* (CCT 2010a: 7), often defying effective harmonisation.

Perceptions amongst Cape Town City-regional politicians, officials and community stakeholders about the effectiveness of the three spheres co-operative government system vary significantly-based on ideology, experience and commitment to the quasi-federal Constitutional vision. In the Western Cape 2009/10 *Budget speech* (PGWC 2009a), Provincial Finance Minister Strachan emphasised that "*the Provincial Government's points of departure ... are guided by the national budget principles; to push back the frontiers of poverty and... and to work together to make it happen*" (PGWC 2009a:4).

Similar strategic co-operative principles are not readily evident in the recent Western Cape 2011/12 *Budget speech* (PGWC 2011a) and *Provincial Economic Review and Outlook* (PGWC 2011b); nor are they highlighted in the new *Provincial Strategic Plan* (PGWC 2010a). Governance gaps between the three spheres are evident in references to City-regional spatial planning, social development agency co-operation and provision of equitable services. In fact, Koelble and LiPuma (2010: 585) stated in their study of 18 municipalities across the Eastern and Western Cape, that *the problem of non-delivery is located in a lack of local capacity and unwillingness on the part of the central state to enforce the existing legislative rules on its own operatives in local government*".

In certain Cape Town City-regional developmental governance programmes, however, collaboration towards shared 'public performance model principles' is evident, across the three spheres. A notable example is that of public transport, identified as a key component of City-regional socio-economic mobility and integration. Cronin (2011), national Deputy Minister for Transport; Carlisle (2011), Provincial Minister for Transport and Public Works; and Herron (2011), Cape Town Mayoral Committee Member for Transport, all indicated synergy in problem analysis, strategic goals and intergovernmental relationships. All recognised the need for a well-aligned City-regional public transit system which will integrate apartheid spatial divides, update national *Land Transport Act* (RSA 2009a) licencing and subsidy regulations and effectively devolve public transit accountability and funding to the Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality; so facilitating social cohesion and economic development, as motivated by experienced City executive director Marsden (2011a, 2011b).

Figure 2: Policy Framework for Economic and Human Development Co-ordination



Source: Draft Economic Development Strategy, CCT, 2010a

The *politics of global competitiveness* (Cammack 2006) have increasingly motivated the subordination of political differences and governance challenges highlighted by Kondlo and Maserumule (2010) to shared results-based developmental programmes, in pragmatic commitments to City-regional socio-economic developmental projects. A current example within the expanding Cape Town City-region is the proposed multi-sphere platinum beneficiation and Industrial Development Zone (Wesgro 2011) project in Saldanha Bay Municipality, bringing together City-regional stakeholders to define developmental outcomes, based on the shared situational analysis for results-based governance, stability and competent management by the Saldanha Bay Municipality Mayor, Municipal Manager and Western Cape Department of Local Government (Jager 2011; Scheepers 2012; Barnard 2012).

Economic Development Partnership: Towards an inclusive Cape Town City-regional governance model?

City-regional typologies (Thomas and Robins 2005:9) are seldom perfectly aligned with administrative jurisdictions, yet seek to facilitate strategic developmental planning, results-based governance accountability, equitable resource allocation and systems of collaborative community engagement for urban socio-economic development. In terms of the pragmatic principles and experiential lessons shared by well-informed academics and seasoned hands-on practitioners during the International Society for Performance Improvement (2010), and International City/County Management Association (2011) conferences, it is possible to analyse the viability of the Western Cape *Economic Development Partnership* (EDP) initiative, as a vehicle for results-based socio-economic developmental urban governance in the Cape Town City-region. The inclusion agenda depicted in figure 3 below, from the policy document *Introduction to the Cape Economic Partnership* (PGWC 2011c), provides a framework for such **S-A-F-R-I-C-A** performance model analysis.

Many of the inclusion concepts and solutions envisaged in the Cape Economic Partnership (now renamed *Economic Development Partnership*) discussion paper (PGWC 2011c) are embedded in intergovernmental policy debates within the Cape Town Metropolitan and contiguous municipalities in the City-region. For example, the Updated Growth Scenarios (CCT 2008), draft Economic Development Strategy (CCT 2010a) and the 2007-2012 Integrated Development Plan (CCT 2007) *all underline the importance of economic growth as the primary vehicle through which to address the City-regional development goals of reducing urban poverty and unemployment.*

The vision of socio-economic growth has also sought to integrate *environmental sustainability*, which is identified as one of the key result indicators

Figure 3: Examples of a City-regional Governance Inclusion Agenda



Source: Introduction to the Cape Economic Partnership PGWC 2011c

of the City’s Strategic Development Framework (CCT 2010b). This City-regional partnership platform needs to be based on norms of socio-economic cohesion, strategic planning and objective monitoring and evaluation; as reviewed with Boraine (2010, 2011, 2012), facilitator of the Economic Development Partnership project; and Ishmail (2011), Chief Director: Monitoring and Evaluation in the Department of the Premier.

Several civil society leaders, notably Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) Provincial Secretary and former Cape Town mayoral candidate Ehrenreich (2011, 2012), indicated their concern that no inclusive forum to pursue social cohesion governance goals has yet been announced. They question why the EDP mandate appears to minimise issues of socio-ecological growth and human development equity, for City-regional community co-operation. In this context, the EDP City-regional governance framework, possibly a precursor to a new overarching City-Regional Council of mandated institutional and sectoral

delegates, could give legitimate voice to former Provincial Development Council goals (PGWC 2005); and to socio-economic imperatives reinforced by the *Good Governance Learning Network* (2011).

Skills Development: A Learning Cape?

Recognising the imperative of job creation and human skills development, the Western Cape provincial government had several years ago published a framework for developing a *Human Resources and Skills Development Strategy* in support of national policy (PGWC 2003).

Co-operative government and vocational skills development were expressed as essential elements of building *stronger, cleaner and fairer city-regions* in all trans-national seminars during recent Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2010) and International City/County Management Association (2011) conferences.

In the Western Cape Province and Cape Town City- region, the *Learning Cape Initiative* (LCI) is a positive example of innovative collaboration between Provincial Government, the City and civil society organisations (Barry 2011a, 2011b). The Learning Cape Initiative as an implementation agency of the Provincial Government, grew from the Provincial Development Council and the *Provincial Growth and Development Strategy* (PGWC 2006) processes.

Western Cape Premier Zille relaunched the *Provincial Skills Development Forum* in 2011. In a media statement she commented that while the people of the Western Cape, relative to the other eight provinces, have greater access to internet and computers, a better educated population, excellent school and tertiary institutions and a burgeoning services sector, “the primary purpose of the Provincial Skills Development Forum is to coordinate skills development in the Western Cape, so as to ensure that interventions translate into real opportunities for all citizens” (Zille 2011).

Best-Run Regional Government in the world?

The newly-formulated Provincial Strategic Objectives (PGWC 2010a) exemplify the institutional needs assessments initiated by the Western Cape Provincial government as part of its Modernisation Programme, underpinned by a series of functional Blueprints (PGWC 2009b) aimed at enhancing results-based institutional capacity and co-ordination. Documents assessed and dialogic interviews held with political thought-leaders, senior officials and City-regional decision-makers indicate the intention of co-ordinating these developmental results-based governance processes through all provincial departments, agencies and municipalities within the Cape Town City-region.

Provincial Strategic Objective 12 (PGWC 2011e) of “*Building the best-run regional government in the world*”, was described to the author as “*spectacularly ambitious*” in an anonymous interview with a provincial Minister. This objective’s centrality to the problem statement and research question of this study, coupled with the need for political and executive commitment, credible measurement and co-ordinated public management implementation, justifies collective *empowerment evaluation* (Fetterman 2001) by politicians, professionals and civil society leaders, in order to achieve inclusive results-based City-regional governance indicators and outcomes.

Meyer (2011), Western Cape provincial minister accountable for conceptualisation of the Provincial Modernisation Programme, affirmed the need for a credible set of results-based indicators for Provincial and City-regional governance, which could possibly be adapted from the existing and credible *Index of African Governance* (Rotberg and Gisselquist 2009) set of comparative national data, now known as the *Ibrahim Index of African Governance* (Mo Ibrahim Foundation 2011).

RESULTS-BASED PUBLIC GOVERNANCE IN THE CAPE TOWN CITY-REGION: FORMATIVE EVALUATION INDICATORS

What *significant changes* provide evidence that indicators of the path to achieve sustainable results-based development are realising the *great expectations* of urbanising South Africans for the fruits of inclusive democracy, as defined in the Constitution and evidenced in the heterogeneous Cape Town City-region?

Three relevant indicators of well-grounded nurturing of results-based City-regional public governance practices are analysed and assessed below, summarising a utilisation-focussed formative evaluation of progress towards sustainable urban developmental governance.

Accountability

South African legislation in all three spheres provides clear and unambiguous requirements for institutional and individual *accountability, responsiveness and openness* (RSA 1996a: chapter 1.d). Besides the institutional oversight and results-based mechanisms requiring legislatures in all three spheres to hold their executive arms accountable for their mandates; clarity of job descriptions and performance agreements is required for all officials; although the author has frequently encountered national, provincial and municipal departments in the Cape Town City-region without current, results-based

documents for their staff (Berretti 2011; Carlisle 2011; Coltman 2011; Daniels 2011,2012; Ishmail 2011; Jager 2011; Kabanyane 2011). Accountability for results, linked with appropriate consequences, is ostensibly intrinsic to the public sector performance and development systems. Lack of well co-ordinated results-based institutional governance, integrity and performance management processes within the Cape Town City-region is arguably one of the more significant obstacles to sustainable development, requiring concerted intergovernmental leadership action, for consistent accountability and functionality.

Organisational Effectiveness

Organisation design and managerial competence are the key drivers of institutional development and achievement of strategic vision and mission, as highlighted in the 7-S McKinsey framework *In Search of Excellence* (Peters and Waterman 1982). In the South African public sector, the Department of Public Service and Administration, the autonomous Public Service Commission (RSA 2010) and Auditor-General (AGSA 2011) all provide norms, standards and guidelines for institutional effectiveness, seeking to promote public governance compliance, competence and commitment to effectiveness which will *strengthen constitutional democracy and efficient and effective use of resources*; as stipulated in the Constitution.

Insights to issues of institutional effectiveness are pertinent in *Creating a World-Class City: the Role of People Practices* (CCT 2006): this presentation by Berretti, Executive Director: Corporate Services, reflects the principles which the City management team developed as their plan for shared Council and officials' strategic vision, towards the developmental goal of a *high-performance world-class city* (Berretti 2010, 2011).

Building on this base, the One Cape City-region 2040 campaign (Wright 2012; CCT 2012) seeks to stimulate wider citizen engagement in formulating a 30year City Development Strategy with a long-term City-regional vision, developmental goals and governance interventions.

Within the multi-jurisdictional Cape Town City-region, however, organisational capacity and performance management effectiveness standards vary considerably. Senior City officials Van der Merwe (2011) and Coltman (2011) cited examples of excellent results-based Integrated Development Plans and purposeful performance audit; although Butler (2011), Rabbets (2012) and Dugmore (2012) highlighted the endemic lack of competence in many Local and District municipalities within and adjoining the City-region. They indicated that misalignment of Service Delivery Budget Implementation Plans was often the cause of political-administrative disjuncture and non-

achievement of developmental programme results. These symptoms of lack of inter-governmental effectiveness were also evident in situational reviews with Western Cape provincial financial governance and municipal support officials Hardien (2012) and Barnard (2012).

Technical Competence and Expertise

Evidence of national executive awareness of the urgent need to enhance public sector competence and workplace performance for results-based governance appears in the draft *National Development Plan 2030* (RSA 2011a), published after extensive and innovative public consultation processes. Nine strategic themes for future Prosperity and Equity were proposed to address thirteen key national socio-economic challenges identified in the National Planning Commission's *Diagnostic Review* (RSA 2011b). These results-based themes, relevant to charting a new national developmental governance direction, are predicated on the goal of enhancing public governance competence and performance improvement commitment in all three spheres of a 'capable state'.

Curtailed of 'cadre deployment' of party loyalists is an imperative step towards developing public sector competence, essential for sustainable achievement of these National Planning Commission goals and Constitutional principles (Taylor 2012; Essop 2012).

In analysing the competence and career development practices of 30 national and provincial departments, the Public Service Commission (PSC) Governance Evaluation Report (RSA 2011c) found that while 95% of departments had sound policies in place; these policies had not been translated into better performance, with regard to required job competence profiles and practices. This Governance Evaluation Report concluded that *quality of compliance remained the key issue*. In reviewing these findings, PSC Deputy Director-General Naidoo (2011) argued that *"the challenge facing the Public Service is not a lack of policies and frameworks, but the institutionalisation of systems and a performance culture, to implement required policies and systems"*. A significant observation is made in the PSC Governance Evaluation Report that *"only the Western Cape assesses the impact of skills development on service delivery; which points to a results-based gap in much of the country's human development and performance improvement practices"*. This Western Cape concern for achieving governance results through competent people is also evident in the *Status Report: Management of the Executive Projects Dashboard* (PGWC 2011d); and was also reflected by Provincial Training Institute Director Van Niekerk (2011), regarding the ongoing need to evaluate the effective transfer of provincial officials' learning at the Institute to verify enhanced performance in their departmental workplaces.

CONCLUSION: S-A-F-R-I-C-A PERFORMANCE MODEL REVISITED

Has the original **S-A-F-R-I-C-A** public performance model proved to be a valid and relevant framework, for the objective analysis and formative evaluation of Cape Town City-regional results-based developmental public governance?

While it is recognised that the research is not conclusive, but is part of a continuing search for effective developmental governance answers, the evaluation findings cited earlier provide indicative confirmation that the model has been a relevant instrument for use across the three spheres of government in the geo-political complexity of the Cape Town City-region. In assessing the validity of the seven components of this original public performance model, the model precepts and design were reviewed with professionals and urban governance stakeholders in the dialogic action research processes of this study.

Consolidating these well-informed practitioner perceptions and political leadership insights, the broad response has been that the **S-A-F-R-I-C-A** model is indeed *fit for purpose*, as a pragmatic, reliable framework for planning, analysing and evaluating public governance practices. The following summary of dialogic feedback and observations reflects '*sufficient consensus*' amongst 44 politicians and officials from all three spheres within the City-region.

Strategic Vision and Mission which sets direction and inspires action

With very few exceptions, use of this model in reviewing government documents from all three spheres (departmental plans, audit committee in-year monitoring and annual reports to legislatures) has elicited evidence of efforts to define governance direction. Sometimes complicated by Treasury jargon or by managerial avoidance of specific outcomes – which may not be achievable or measurable – a significant proportion of political leaders and senior officials conceded that sharpened strategies (with clearer accountability, referenced below) would empower City-regional governance stakeholders to define and achieve shared developmental visions, missions and mandates.

Accountability and Consequences for results

This component was agreed by all officials and civil society leaders interviewed, as arguably the most significant in the **S-A-F-R-I-C-A** results-based governance model. Broad consensus indicated that this building block of the model highlights core internal and external governance principles and practices which are too often ignored, according to various Public Service Commission and Auditor-General reports.

Financial alignment of resources with mission, risks and outcomes

Confirmed by several influential interviewees from all spheres, including Finance Minister Gordhan (2011), Provincial Treasury Head Stegmann (2011), Auditor-General Provincial Executive Diedericks (2010), Drakenstein Municipality Mayco Member Combrink (2011) and South African Local Government Association Western Cape Chairman Qually (2011, 2012); the need for performance-based budgeting is an essential step in converting a developmental vision into a realistically aligned financial plan, for community consultation and risk-based management mobilisation of public resources.

Recognition and reinforcement of effective governance results

Binder (2005, 2007) highlighted the lasting value of positive behavioural reinforcement as an effective approach for recognising and promoting replication of excellent results-based management (Exemplary Performance 2009). This positive recognition approach, according to many officials interviewed, has not been typical in the City-regional public sector; although their confirmation of its value was frequently noted. Provincial awards, civic honours and municipal excellence campaigns (RSA 2003c) indicate a growing awareness that good governance practices should indeed be recognised, reinforced and institutionalised.

Investment in people, to develop technical and managerial capacity

Interviews across the City-regional governance spectrum confirmed the relevance and urgency of the need for purposeful skills development and employment equity. Lack of equal education opportunity was cited as possibly the most pervasive legacy of apartheid; and many senior officials and political leaders cited the persistent lack of technical and managerial capacity as a prime reason for non-achievement of development and service delivery goals.

Community engagement for democratic empowerment

Considerable diversity of opinions regarding the relevance of this component was evident, in City-regional dialogic interviews. While politicians agreed that community engagement is essential, few of their diaries indicated that ongoing community consultation events were held or planned. This disregard for democratic empowerment has been part of the difficulty in building effective Ward Committees (University of the Western Cape 2009). Engagement by

officials also varied, relative to their levels and perceived roles. Stakeholder summits, roadshows and community satisfaction surveys were mentioned as methods of engagement, but *empowerment and joint decision-making in a connected community* (Svara and Denhardt 2010) were rare, according to sources in the South African Non-governmental Organisation (Hofmeyr 2009, 2010), Western Cape Community Chest (Jones 2012) and Greater Cape Town Civic Alliance (Jackson 2011, 2012; Swimmer 2012).

Accessible data and evidence for planning, monitoring and evaluation

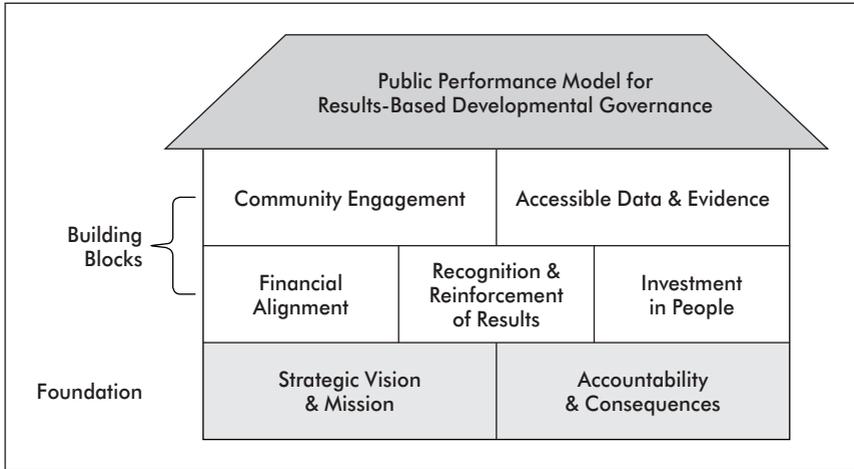
Data-driven planning, monitoring and evaluation were widely recognised by respondents as important building blocks for public performance measurement and reporting. Although the complexity of the Government-wide Monitoring and Evaluation system and the 80 national Development Indicators was noted as *'daunting'* by several Western Cape politicians and officials, the hope was expressed that StatsSA Census 2011 data will enhance the Integrated Development Planning reliability and rigour across the Cape Town City-region (Fast 2012). Similarly, Western Cape provincial political leaders and officials spoke highly of the diagnostic interactions with the National Planning Commission, in the drafting of National Development Plan 2030 (RSA 2011b).

In analysing the findings of stakeholder interviews regarding the relevance and pragmatic value of the seven components of the original public performance model, *an eighth building block clearly emerged*, which would augment the model acronym to **S-A-F-R-I-C-A-N**. The governance practices of **Networking for Collaboration** towards knowledge sharing, co-operative government, ubuntu and community (especially in the multi-cultural Cape Town City-region), are central to effective South African results-based public governance; *hence the addition of the following eighth component to the performance model*.

Networking for Collaboration and Shared Competence

"Together we can do more" has been a popular political slogan in the new South Africa; and several dialogues pointed to how valuable it had been to share knowledge, experience, ideas and plans in forums such as MinMEC, Provincial Co-ordination Forums and District Intergovernmental Forums. Stakeholders from City-regional civil society (Jones 2012; Ehrenreich 2012; Swimmer 2012) as well as governmental agencies (Levin 2011; Wright 2012; Dugmore 2012) indicated that they frequently gain governance insights, shared competence and innovative thinking in collaborative peer networks across sector groupings and administrative boundaries. *The public performance*

Figure 4: The S-A-F-R-I-C-A Public Performance Model



model is therefore enhanced by this further building block, depicted in figure 4, below.

These stakeholder responses, supportive of the Western Cape provincial branding of “*Better Together*”, were made with a view to enhancing mutual understanding, knowledge sharing, cross-cultural perceptions and management competence in statutory compliance or resource constraint challenges, which typically influence cost-effective public governance planning, service delivery innovation and sustainable development.

The **S-A-F-R-I-C-A-N** public performance model is thus invigorated by the inclusion of this component of results-based developmental governance: ***Networking for Collaboration, to optimise information sharing, mutual understanding, intergovernmental alignment and partnerships.***

Derived from a synthesis of trans-national exemplary governance themes and practices, this enhanced public performance model framework is the product of mixed methods action research, relevant to the promotion of results-based public governance in the multi-cultural Cape Town City-regional context; and in similar developmental urban societies in the Global South.

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Contextualising public protests

The case of Khayelitsha

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ABSTRACT

The upsurge in the number of public protests in most South African municipalities, including the City of Cape Town, continues unabated. While public protest is a democratic right, provided for in the Constitution (1996), the persistence of protests and violent nature at municipal level are a cause for concern. The associated violence often leads to the destruction of both public and private property, disruptions in economic activities, loss of lives and severe injuries to innocent victims.

Public protests continues despite the fact that the democratic dispensation ushered in a paradigm geared for transforming local government into a democratic and autonomous sphere of government, with a broad developmental mandate. The new dispensation introduced the “invited spaces” (Integrated Development Plans and Ward Committees) of participation to facilitate authentic and empowering public participation at a municipal level.

The study sought to determine the extent to which the perceived lack of authentic and empowering public participation through the invited spaces contributes to public protests in Khayelitsha. The study indicates that the invited spaces of participation does not instil a sense of trust among the general public with regards to local government’s political will and ability to deliver a developmental local government. The study also indicates that lack of authentic and empowering public participation

opportunities in the decision-making processes alienates the public and leads to public disengagement from the invited spaces of participation. It is during this period of alienation that the public have been inventing own spaces of participation, in the form of public protests demanding that public voices be heard.

INTRODUCTION

As much as apartheid local government was perceived to be illegitimate – particularly by the black population, the democratic order seems to be slipping in the same direction. The current era which is characterised by protests, often violent continues unabated in most South African municipalities, including the City of Cape Town (COCT) (Municipal IQ Protest Monitor 2012). This could be attributed to the “invited spaces” of participation (Ward Committees and Integrated Development Plans) that are not living up to expectations in that they seemingly fail to deliver the envisaged authentic and empowering public participation (Brock, Cornwall and Gaventa 2001:23, Cornwall and Coelho 2007:9). According to Brock *et al.* (2001:23) invited spaces are state sponsored participation forums meant to bring non-state actors to the planning and decision-making processes of the state.

The democratic government most notable steps has been the introduction of what is referred to as the supreme law, the Constitution (1996), *Local Government: Municipal Structures Act* (117 of 1998), the *White Paper on Local Government* (1998) and the *Local Government: Municipal Systems Act* (32 of 2000) to initiate a “developmental orientation” based on authentic and empowering public participation in the municipal affairs (Parnell, Pieterse, Swilling, Woodridge and Van Donk 2002; Van Donk, Swilling, Pieterse and Parnell 2008; Siddle and Koelbe 2012). Authentic and empowering participation entails the creation of participatory spaces in which the participating public, as beneficiaries of a particular programme, project or process can influence, direct, control and own the process (Gwala and Theron 2012:3). The regulatory framework created the new democratic arena in the form of invited spaces which obliges municipalities to provide scope (leverage) for the public to participate in municipal planning and decision-making processes.

In the light of the above, the key concern is whether the invited spaces of participation are able to provide the public with the necessary leverage as envisaged. The article argues that the persistence of public protests indicate

that the invited spaces of participation does not instil a sense of trust among the general public with regards to local government's political will and ability to deliver a developmental local government. This has induced sections of the public to resort to "inventing own spaces" of participation to ensure that its voice is heard (Brock *et al.* 2001:23, Cornwall and Coelho 2007:9). Unlike the invited spaces that are created "from above" by the state, the "invented spaces" are created "from below" by the public through collective or social action, often due to dissatisfaction with the invited spaces (Brock *et al.* 2001:23, Cornwall and Coelho 2007:9).

The lack of political will is as a result of little leverage that the public have over political society (Heller 2009:3), due to municipal authorities' belief that a vote into political office is a "political blank cheque" to alienate the public from its own development and decision-making processes (Ballard 2008:17). The poor performance of the invited spaces put strain on the ideal developmental local government and the four pillars that underpin(s) it, i.e. cultivating citizens through participation in service delivery, good governance, democratising development and fostering economic growth (Schmidt 2008:121, Smith and Vawda 2003:29). The developmental local government pillars are significant in that they advocate for a people centred approach to development and decision-making. This approach propels government policy to give confidence and even support the public's endeavours and ensure that they have meaningful participation in municipal decision-making processes (Korten 1990).

The unrelenting nature of public protests in most municipalities indicate that the state sponsored participatory spaces fail to usher in meaningful democracy, that should ideally bring about a reciprocal relationship, a partnership in learning (Kotze and Kellerman 1997:39). These would enable the public to influence, direct, control and even own development and policy decision-making processes. The authors attribute this to the authority's disdain and reluctance to engage the public in its own space (invented), mainly because the authorities forget that participation and democracy are intricately linked (Booyesen 2009:3). The authorities should also appreciate that "participation only contributes to democracy when it encourages debate and deliberation and even accommodates dissent" (Ballard 2008:17). For this reason, Greenberg and Mathoho (2010:14) caution that if the public feel that the invited spaces are ineffective and partisan, the public will lose hope, disengage and subsequently invent own space to make its voice heard, as the case study of Khayelitsha demonstrated.

Khan and Cranko (2002:271) contend that deliberative democracy and a partnership between authorities and the public will construct a responsive local government that meets basic needs, eradicate poverty and empowers the public. Ultimately, the public will realise its potentials and capabilities for local

self-governance that will lead to “collective/community wisdom” (Atlee 2012:1). If legislation promises the above and the practice delivers something completely opposite, can the public be blamed if it takes the protest route? How then, can the invited spaces become the deliberative platforms for public participation with a people centred development focus? Are the participatory mechanisms appropriately geared to enhance meaningful democracy? Where is the missing link between the invited and invented spaces of participation?

This article hypothesises that, until such time that authentic and empowering public participation is practised at a local government level, public protests will persist. The aim of this article is to determine the extent to which the perceived lack of authentic and empowering public participation in the COCT contributes to public protests in Khayelitsha. This article has five parts. It reviews literature that is relevant to public protests and public participation. It examines the link between the invited and invented spaces of participation. Then the research methodology is presented and data analysis techniques are discussed. The findings are discussed and summarised. The article concludes with the discussion of recommendations.

CONCEPTUALISATION OF PROTESTS

Constructing a definition of protest that will capture its diverse dimensions turns out to be difficult, given a plethora of platforms in which it manifests. By dimensions of protest is meant the scope, extent, indicators, elements and features of protests. Scope and extent of protest comprises of descriptive aspect of the concept, i.e. structural, systemic, political, psychological and economical. The indicators of protest comprises of constative (making a statement that can be said to be true or false) aspects of the concept, i.e. corruption, poverty and unemployment, frustration, non-responsiveness of ward councillors and service delivery backlogs. Lastly, elements and features of protests comprises of action oriented aspects of the concept i.e. protest action may triggered by a grievance, a conviction of wrongdoing or injustice, intention to draw attention and a demand for improvement (Turner 1969:816). The descriptive, constative and action oriented aspects of protest combines to provide a better understanding of the concept and an all-encompassing definition of public protests.

In the same vein, theories that explain protest(s) formations tend to focus on the industrialised economies, whose socio-economic conditions differ from those of the developing countries (Nleya 2011:4). South Africa is nearly a decade into democracy, yet is still characterised by severe inequalities, lack of social transformation, distorted delivery of services which indicates that the remnants of apartheid still remain (Kotze and Taylor 2010:199). The study of

protests in developing countries needs to take these challenges into account, particularly the ones that has introduced democratic governments.

In South Africa, the challenge of public protest is shown in the use of different phrases to describe protests action, i.e. service delivery, community protests, the rebellion of the poor, insurgency, etc. It is, therefore, not surprising that the definitions and the reasons behind protests are explained along these lines and contexts. As a result, new conceptions from which to attribute protests to come to the fore, i.e. “governance deficit” (Van Donk 2012), “paradox of democratisation” (Etzo 2010:564) and a “gulf between theory (participation strategies) and practice” (implementation) (Cooke and Kothari 2001). This study focuses on public protest actions that are directed at local government that often turn violent. This protest action raises grievances with an aim of drawing the attention of local authorities to bring about improvements.

Alexander (2010:26) defines public protest as “locally organised protest that place demands on people who hold or benefit from political power”. This means that protest action is used as a political or a bargaining tool to solicit response from the authorities. Municipal IQ Protest Monitor (2012) defines public protest as any major municipal service delivery protest where the public oppose the pace or quality of service delivery by municipalities. These definitions are narrow in that protests can also be linked to other factors beyond service delivery (Thompson and Nleya 2010). Furthermore, when tested against Turner’s (1969:816) elements and features of protests, fail, as not all the elements are incorporated in the definitions. The Municipal IQ Protest Monitor (2012) definition is qualified by the Multi-Level Government Initiative’s (2012:2) Service Delivery Protests Barometer, to include any issue cited by protesters, whether related to the delivery of municipal services or not, over which the public decide and engage in organised protest activity.

The definition above point out that for public protest to occur there has to be an objection, disapproval or dissent over issues that the public has no power to prevent and avoid. This implies that protest serves to enhance the public’s chance of delivery and transformation “extends the repertoire of participation in democracy” (Booyesen 2009:18). For the purpose of this article, it would suffice to adopt Mchunu’s (2012:105) case study linked definition of protest, where he alludes that public protest is defined as a physical act of demonstrating discontent to the municipal authorities over public concerns, some long-standing, aimed at compelling authorities to accede to public grievances and change the status quo. It is a demand for dignity, acknowledgement of basic human rights and return of power that has been stripped from the public. It is a demand to be able to influence, direct, control and own the development and decision-making processes.

Contributory factors to public protests and attendant violence

Scholars have put forward different empirical work in an attempt to explain the protests phenomenon. Van Donk (2012) and Nleya (2011) argue that perpetual protests in Khayelitsha are exacerbated by COCT's failure to respond effectively to repeated public grievances and their ineffective utilisation of the invited spaces of participation. On the other hand, Allan and Heese (2008), Mathekgga and Buccus (2006:4), Tsheola (2012:164) and Kotze and Taylor (2010:199) assert that the public is venting its anger in protest over unsatisfactory delivery of basic services.

Despite the fact that some scholars argue that linking protests and service delivery is an overstatement (Nleya 2011:4), the irony is that protests are prevalent in areas where services have been delivered (Etzo 2010:564-586). The benchmark data in Statistics SA's 2007 Community Survey, confirm President Zuma's claim that 18 years into democracy, service delivery has improved; as a result, public protests are not a function of the failure of delivery, but rather of its success (Allan and Heese, 2012:1). Therefore attributing public protests to service delivery only, is a myth. Pithouse (2007:3) echoes these sentiments and rejects the notion of attributing protests to service delivery as an economic approach. He argues that "protests are about citizenship, understood as the material benefits of social inclusion ... as well as the right to be taken seriously when thinking and speaking through community organisations".

One strand of empirical work points to the macro-level context paradigm, i.e. Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) and micro-level context paradigm (empowerment, participation, accountability, partnership, and transparency) as causes of protests (Chambers 2005:210, Theron 2009:105, Tsheola 2012:162). The micro-level context paradigm's significance in understanding public protests boils down to the ideal that beneficiary communities can and should be able to influence, direct, control and eventually own the development intervention and decision-making processes (Hickey and Mohan 2004; Gwala and Theron 2012).

Another strand in empirical work typically utilises three aspects of analysis, i.e. political opportunity structure that frame mobilisation tactics and the manner in which protests strategies are constructed as well as framing and resource mobilisation (Thompson and Nleya 2010; Etzo 2010: 566; Mottiar and Bond 2010:18). The theory of relative deprivation as advocated by Gurr (1968) identifies poverty, deprivation and poor living conditions as key triggers for protest action.

Burger's (2009:2) analysis of attendant violence, explains the discrepancy between reality and expectations of humans concerning levels of progress. This

means that slow progress in for example, the delivery of basic services may trigger violent action. Hough (2008:1) echoes Burger's (2009:2) sentiments and states that "the more severe and widespread the deprivation, the greater the possibility of violence". For Mogapi (2011:124) collective violence could be explained along developmental local government failure and is as a result of "unresolved trauma of apartheid and the paradox of democracy".

Furthermore, Bandeira and Higson-Smith's (2011:15), model for collective violence traces the causes of violence by differentiating between three factors that play different roles in the occurrence of collective violence, i.e. root causes, proximate and immediate factors, as depicted in Figure 1 below:

Figure 1: A model for understanding collective action

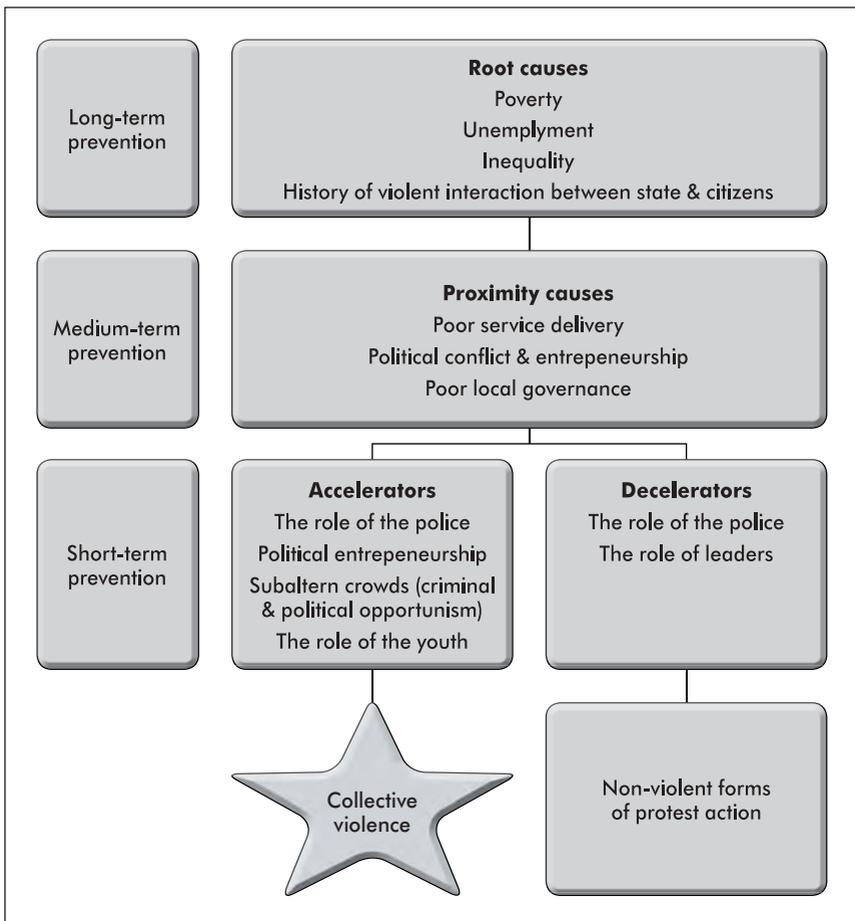
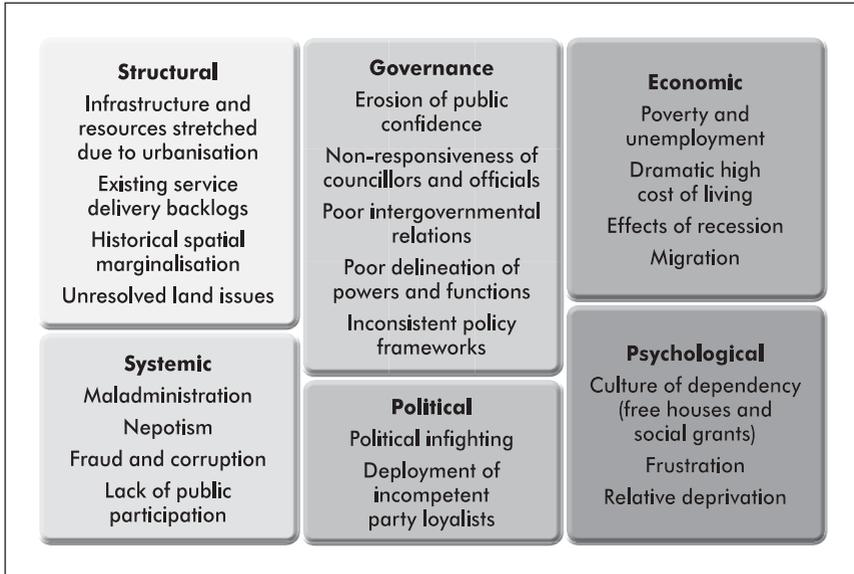


Figure 2: Dimensions of public protests



Source: Mchunu (2012:125)

More broadly, the Local Government Turnaround Strategy (COGTA 2009:19), the Adhoc Committee on Coordinated Oversight on Service Delivery (RSA 2010) and the National Planning Commission (NPC) (2011:365) found that there is a myriad of factors that contribute to protests but concluded that the interface of politics and administration, the quality and frequency of public participation and responsiveness to citizens override all other factors (Mottiar and Bond 2010:18; Van Donk 2012:21).

It is clear that although not all of the above mentioned factors manifest themselves in the run-up to a particular protest, they all have the following dimensions, i.e. structural, systemic, governance, political, economic and psychological (Carrim 2010:1). Figure 1.2 depicts the dimensions of public protests, though the list is not exhaustive.

THE NEED FOR AUTHENTIC AND EMPOWERING PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

The contestation on what constitute public participation, a buzzword (Leal 2010: 89-100) can be attributed to its complex nature which makes it difficult to package as a single principle, thus opening it up to different interpretations

(Cooke and Kothari 2001, Cornwall and Coelho 2007, Theron 2009:115). The increase in the number of protests in Khayelitsha can be attributed to this confusion. Ideally, participatory approaches should seek to make the public central to development and decision-making by encouraging beneficiary participation in interventions that affect them and over which they previously had limited control or influence (Cooke and Kothari 2001:5). However, the available state sponsored participatory spaces (Ward Committees and IDPs) do not instil a sense trust to the participating public due to inability to deliver a developmental local government. This, according to Etzo (2010:564) is indicative of the “limits of the unfinished democratisation and the dysfunction that characterises policy and decision-making at a local government level”.

Against the above backdrop, government resolve to ensure authentic and empowering participation is shown by the introduction of the principle of developmental local government. Developmental local government is local government which is committed to working with the public and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet social, economic and material needs and to improve the quality of the public’s lives (Parnell *et al.* 2002, Van Donk *et al.* 2008, *White Paper on Local Government* 1998). For the above ideal to be achieved the *White Paper on Local Government* (1998) further affirmed the principle of developmental local government as a mechanism to bring about decentralisation and democratisation, as well as instilling a culture of participatory governance in local government. This incomplete democratisation is evident in the two developmental local government dimensions that are discussed below:

Participatory governance dimension

Participatory governance is described as a regulatory framework that allows for co-operation between government and civil society in running public affairs (Institute of Labour Studies 2005 in Friedman 2006:4). The partnership is aimed at building consensus around local government policy and decision-making processes, overcome the municipal inadequacies and reduce information gaps (Edigheji 2006b:2). In essence, participatory governance seeks to encourage active participation of the public, particularly the marginalised in governance matters as one way of enhancing democracy at a local level of governance.

As argued, in South Africa the regulatory framework provides for the establishment of the invited spaces of participation. These are meant to complement and address the shortcomings of representative democracy through the introduction of deliberative democracy (Edigheji 2006:2, Booyesen 2009:4, Govender, Reddy and Pillay 2011:190). In this regard, the invited spaces of participation ought to be utilised as deliberative platforms

to broaden and intensify democracy among the marginalised. However, the reality in the communities indicates that these spaces undermine the principles of developmental local government. The IDP as the “chief democratising instrument” (Pieterse 2002:5) that is expected to distinguish between the apartheid and democratic dispensation falls short of the ideal. As a public participation vehicle (IDP), it is expected that local authorities will ensure the integration of public views and aspirations into an IDP, in line with the provisions of the *Local Government: Municipal Systems Act* of 2000. This seldom happens. The municipal IDPs reinforce a top-down approach. Hence it will tend to be prescriptive and be driven by municipalities, thus excluding the input of the beneficiaries of development from the ensuing development (Harrison 2008:327). It can thus be argued that frustrations caused by the inability of the public to influence, direct, control and even own development and decision-making processes compels the public to invent own spaces of participation within which they find solace.

The above IDP stalemate can be attributed to the confusion around what constitute authentic and empowering public participation. In this regard, Theron (2009:118) argues that what is referred to as public participation in the majority of IDPs, seldom go beyond “involving” and “consulting” the public. The difference of what constitute authentic and empowering public participation and public manipulation lies in the typologies, modes and bands of public participation within which public participation can be conceptualised and put into practice.

Typologies are useful starting points for differentiating degrees and kinds of participation. This is shown by, for example, the Arnstein’s (1969) ladder of public participation that seeks to measure the extent of the public contribution in the public participation process. While Pretty, Guijit, Scoones and Thompson (1995) model demonstrate different conceptions of public participation, Oakley and Marsden’s (1984) model depict ranges or bands of public participation. However, it is important to note that all three models are able to show non-participation and authentic participation as shown in Table 1 below.

Comparing Pretty *et al.*’s (1995) seven typologies and Arnstein’s (1969) ladder of participation against Oakley and Marsden’s (1984) modes of public participation, there is an overlap that can be deduced. An anti-participatory mode can be associated with Arnstein’s (1969) manipulation and Pretty *et al.*’s (1995) passive participation. Manipulation is equated to Arnstein’s (1969) placation, consultation, informing and therapy and Pretty *et al.*’s (1995) functional participation and participation in information giving. Oakley and Marsden’s (1984) incremental mode is similar to Arnstein’s (1969) delegated power and Pretty *et al.*’s (1995) interactive participation. Lastly, authentic public participation is similar to public control and partnership (Arnstein 1969) and Pretty *et al.*’s (1995) self-mobilisation as depicted in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Comparison of Arnstein’s (1969), ladder and Pretty et al.’s (1995) typologies of public participation against Oakley and Marsden’s (1984) modes of public participation

1. Anti-participatory mode	Manipulation	Passive participation
2. Manipulation mode	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Placation • Consultation • Informing • Therapy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Functional participation • Participation in information giving
3. Incremental mode	Delegated power	Interactive participation
4. Authentic public participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public control • Partnership 	Self-mobilisation

Source: Mchunu (2012:56)

The authors argue that in most IDP processes, public participation is concentrated on two modes, i.e. anti-participatory mode and manipulation mode which closely overlaps with the “involvement” and “consultation” strategies often used. This is shown by the fact that most municipalities find it difficult to adhere to the principles of the IDP, which is supposed to be the embodiment of participation in the municipality.

Theron, Ceaser and Davids (2007:8) assert that consultation is promoted in IDP processes, but for some it connotes a pseudo process in which people are asked to give input, but the participation facilitators define both the problem and the solution. This is more so because there is no obligation on the part of a participation facilitator to respond to people’s needs; the responsibility has to be only to consult (Theron *et al.* 2007:8). Consultation explicitly excludes the beneficiaries of development from decision-making (Theron *et al.* 2007:8). The strong interpretation of participation equates participation to empowerment (Theron 2009:119).

Section 72 of the *Local Government: Municipal Structures Act* of 1998 provides for the establishment of Ward Committees to enhance participatory democracy within the local government sphere. In essence, Ward Committees should ideally create a “bridge” between the public, political and administrative structures of municipalities. However, like IDPs, Ward Committees are fraught with problems ranging from politics of representation at Ward Committee level, structural limits to Ward Committee powers and Ward Committees being involved in party politics (Buccus and Hicks (2008:526) and Oldfield (2008:490).

Despite the above shortcomings, the crucial “missing link” in Ward Committees, is the lack of detailed terms of reference and operating procedures which makes Ward Committees suffer credibility in the eyes of the public,

hence protests persist in Khayelitsha (Roefs and Atkinson (2010:6). The lack of clarity on their role leads to further tension with Ward Councillors.

The above-mentioned shortcomings of Ward Committees defeat their good intentions in that, if the public feel that they are ineffective and take political sides, they will lose hope and resort to other means of making their voices heard such as engaging in protests. Unsurprisingly, Oldfield (2008:493) contends that the patience of some public organisations and movements to work within state-driven and controlled participatory processes has withered and oppositional protests tactics have become routine as the Khayelitsha case study demonstrated.

In the light of these critical deficiencies it would be unreasonable to expect the IDPs and Ward Committees to function optimally. This incomplete democratisation is evident in the two invited spaces of participation, which defeats the principles of developmental local government. It can thus be argued that participatory governance have the potential of lead to smoother implementation of state policies, ensure accountability and transparency in governance, as well as to enhance the credibility and sustainability of programmes if properly implemented.

Democratisation dimension

As pointed out, participation and democracy are intricately linked, in clarifying the concept of democratisation, Cornwall (2008:13) differentiates between three components that underpins it, i.e.

- **Franchise** means that both public officials and public representatives should possess the necessary skills and experience i.e. listening, articulating, negotiation and collaboration to be able to increase the number of people to participate in decision-making.
- **Scope** relates to boundaries of public engagement, for example, the public may be part of technical decision-making but cannot have a final say. The public may make use of mass mobilisation tactics to demand the expansion of engagement scope. The last component of democratisation.
- **Authenticity of control** involves demands for decentralisation and power-sharing between government and the public.

It can thus be argued that democratisation requires building a sense of trust and partnership between the invited and invented spaces of participation. In this regard, Pimbert and Wakeford (in Creighton 2005:2) caution that democracy without public deliberation and participation is ultimately meaningless.

In the light of these challenges, participatory spaces need to move beyond the traditional modes of public participation to authentic and empowering

participation modes with a developmental orientation. In other words, now that South African local government has successfully undergone democratic transition and democratic consolidation through the institutionalisation of public participation, what needs to happen is for democracy to be intensified (Heller 2009:2). It is for this reason that Heller (2009:5) declares that “democratic intensification requires striking a delicate balance between the aggregate logic of political society and deliberative logic of civil society”. The latter will bring about broad democracy from which real “community wisdom” will emerge (Atlee 2012:2). Community wisdom will provide the public with the scope to influence, control, direct and own the decision-making processes with the resultant reduction in protests (violent).

The Deliberative Democracy Consortium (2004:3) submit that deliberation is significant in that it yields a shared understanding, substantively better policy recommendations, reduces friction and empowers individual members of the public. The Deliberative Democracy Consortium (2004:3) provides five rationales for deliberation that are in line with the IAP2 (2002) public participation principles:

- Instrumental rationale – public participation in policy formulation and decision-making can minimise public protests in that when the public take part in decision-making also builds capacity for self-reliance and collective action (social capital)
- Substantive rationale – public participation can lead to sustainable decisions particularly if the public’s indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) are incorporated
- Civic rationale – public participation builds public competence in that it enhances pro-social thinking, strengthens citizenship and enables more inclusive civic engagement
- Empowerment rationale – public participation gives greater authority and opportunities to problem-solving which impact on outcomes and also builds capacity of the public
- Social capital rationale – public participation cultivates mutual understanding, builds bonds of trust among the public, decision-makers and governing institutions, and can effect changes in political attitudes and behaviour

Furthermore, Fung (2006:69) states that deliberation allows the participants to share experiences and views within which they discover their interests till the agreement emerge that is valued by all participants. This means that the invited spaces need to move away from the culture of paying “lip service” to adopting a people-centred approach and become deliberative platforms that value the public’s wealth of knowledge and their native wisdom. For this to be achieved there should be collaboration between the invited and invented spaces of participation.

The link between invited and invented spaces of participation

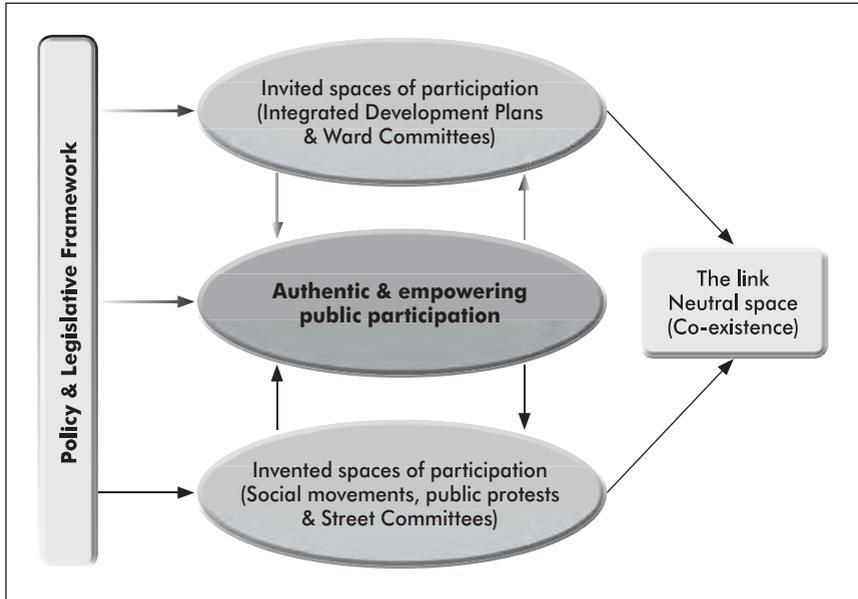
Scholars are unanimous in that the spaces of participation are not as pure as the authorities state, i.e. spaces are shaped by power relations, boundaries, engagement terms and are rights based (Cornwall 2002:26; Gaventa 2006:26; Ballard 2008:19) hence participation remains a contested terrain. Gaventa (2006:26) sees participatory spaces as “opportunities, moments and channels where the public can act to potentially affect policies, discourse, decisions and relationships that affect their lives”. This means that this could either be achieved through the invited and invented spaces of participation.

As argued, the state sponsored participatory mechanisms do not instil a sense of hope to the participating public, mainly because they are not neutral but are meant to control, dominate and exert power over the public. This is to be expected as the spaces are at the authorities “behest and terms” (Ballard 2008:19). This article argues that the public invent own spaces because in invented spaces, the public gains legitimacy of their concerns and a sense of their own power, sites from which they enter invited spaces equipped with the tools of productive engagement (Cornwall 2002:26). This is due to the fact that spaces created to “amplify the marginalised voices” may be co-opted to represent the “powerful” rather than the intended marginalised. Gaventa (2006:27) opines that “those who create it are more likely to have power within it and those who have power in one, may not have so much in another”.

Cornwall (2008:20) points out that inviting the public to participate should be seen as a basic right, one that is fundamental to claiming many other rights. Gaventa (2004:29) concurs and suggests that if the rights and citizenship are attained through agency, not only bestowed by the state, then the right to participate – for example, the right to claim rights – is a prior right, necessary for making other rights real. Gaventa (in Govender *et al.* 2011:194) contends that, the right to participate is probably a more empowered form of engagement than participation by invitation of governments.

In the light of the above, Carrim (2011:1) argues that there is a need for both the invited and invented spaces of participation to co-exist; after all, the invited spaces were not created by the government alone (See figure 3 below). Moreover, it was through the original invented spaces (mass action) that the invited spaces were developed. The reconfiguration of these spaces should ensure, according to Cornwall (2008:60), that the public is allowed to invent own spaces so that they can construct and consolidate positions, gain confidence to raise issues and gain access to a broader constituency of support. In this respect, “the invented spaces should contribute to widening and changing invited spaces for the better and these spaces could in turn be used to invent more space” (Carrim 2011:1). In other words, the public voice must be

Figure 3: The link between the invited and invented spaces



amplified. This therefore calls for what Carrim (2011:1) refer to as “a dialectical relationship between invited and invented spaces”.

Figure 3 below shows the linkage between the invited and invented spaces of participation. It proposes the creation of a neutral space where both spaces will coexist. Policy and legislative framework provides for the creation of both spaces to encourage the practice of authentic and empowering public participation in policy and decision-making processes. Therefore, the creation of a neutral space that will serve as an intermediary between the two spaces could assist in the realisation of a developmental local government.

RESEARCH METHODS

The study was conducted in Khayelitsha which is one of the Sub-Councils of the City of Cape Town. As of 2011, Khayelitsha had a population of 391 749. (COCT 2013:2). Among the townships in Cape Town, Khayelitsha had on several occasions been plagued by protests and has been branded as protests prone.

The study adopted a qualitative research paradigm. Interview guide questions were utilised as a research instrument for both personal interviews and focus group discussions to collect primary data. Two personal interviews were

conducted with the COCT officials and four with Councillors, drawn from the wards that are prone to public protests. Two Ward Councillors from the African National Congress and two Proportional Representative Councillors from the Democratic Alliance were interviewed. The chairpersons of social movements, i.e. Abahlali Basemjondolo and South African National Civics Organisation were also interviewed to obtain a balanced view of the prevailing conditions in Khayelitsha and to minimise bias.

Four focus group discussions comprising of Ward Councillors, Ward Committee members, religious groups, the disabled, local businesses, civic organisations and the general public were conducted. One researcher as an employee of the COCT had an opportunity to conduct observations in the IDP consultation workshops and on how public protests are initiated in Khayelitsha. To augment the interviews, focus group discussions data were collected through analysing and reviewing literature relevant to the study. Primary data were collected over a two month period, February and March 2012.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

- Ward Committee is meant to strengthen the municipal-public relations by bringing government closer to the public thus narrowing the municipal-public void (Department of Provincial and Local Government 2005:11). Ideally, Ward Committee members should have in-depth knowledge and understanding of the public's needs in its area of jurisdiction, but the opposite is happening. Research shows that 98 per cent of the interview respondents and focus group participants are not satisfied with the functioning of the Ward Committees as they felt that Ward Committees alienates the public from development planning and decision-making processes of the municipality. As a result, the public in Khayelitsha disengage from participating in the invited space and use the void to invent own space of participation. The respondents unanimously agreed that Street Committee system is their preferred method of participating, due to sensing Street the Committee as being within close proximity and independent. As participants in a focus group remarked, "we only share our grievances with the Street Committee because we know our grievances will be attended to, even if they fail we get feedback and ourselves as a community we decide on the next course of action"
- Pieterse *et al.* (2008:7) contend that IDPs were meant as platforms for engaging the public with regards to municipal policies and programmes to ensure that the public have a say in decisions that affects their lives. The municipality is obliged to include the public in participation as a legislative

requirement. The City officials, Councillors and social movements alluded to the shortcomings of the IDP processes, that the public in Khayelitsha is being fed information one-sidedly by the COCT, rather than the latter seeking their input. Unsurprisingly, 95 per cent of the respondents and participants felt that the public is invited to participate in IDP planning processes only when the plans and budget have already been concluded. This indicates that the public is called upon to put a stamp of approval for legislation compliance purposes thus denying the public the ability to influence, direct, control and own the development processes.

- The research shows that the majority of interview respondents and focus group participants are agreed on the following factors as being the main contributors to public protest actions:
 - Poverty and lack of employment opportunities that exist in Khayelitsha
 - Lack of proper housing and sanitation facilities for the public in Khayelitsha that remain unresolved
 - Corruption related to and interference by Councillors in the process of allocation of houses
 - The glaring gaps of inequality that exist, while neighbours are visibly leading much better lives
 - The legacy of apartheid that persists (as identified by all Councillors and City officials)
 - The increased competition for limited resources caused by the continuous in-migration or influx to Cape Town of people from other provinces and neighbouring African countries
- The respondents unanimously agree that violent protests are instigated by the police's use of unreasonable levels of force during public protests. The respondents contended that most of the public protests are peaceful, only turning violent in retaliation to the police's use of unnecessary excessive force. The respondents contend that public protests turn violent after being frustrated by the refusal of the authorities to recognise and attend to their demands. This fortifies the realisation that using violence will compel the authorities to attend to their demands. As one respondent pointed out, the usual course of action is "venting anger on anonymous private persons – for when important persons are affected, authorities start panicking and attend to our demands"
- The respondents unanimously agreed that public protest has always been a public participation strategy/tool and should remain so as long as protests are peaceful
- Lastly, the respondents highlighted the notion that public protests can be managed if Ward Councillors are visible and provide constant feedback. The COCT must be pro-active in the execution of its legislative mandate and be quick in responding to the demands of protesters

RECOMMENDATIONS

The functioning of invited spaces of public participation

This research has revealed that the COCT's invited spaces of participation smacks of lip service (pretence) to authentic participation, demonstrate a top-down approach to planning and the public is engaged for compliance purposes. These deprives the public in Khayelitsha of an opportunity to influence, direct, control and own the development process meant for the betterment of their lives. The insufficient inclusion of the public's own priorities, views and aspirations in the final IDP, leaves the public with no alternative but to demand, through public protests, proper inclusion of their views. Mere sourcing of Ward Committee members from community based organisations is insufficient if democracy has to be intensified. The complexity of public problems (economic and social) necessitates that social movements and Street Committees augment the work of Ward Committees. These grassroots community structures seem to be popular in Khayelitsha as compared to Ward Committees.

The recognition and effective utilisation of social movements and community organisations

Public protests in Khayelitsha have been organised under the auspices of the grassroots social movements, such as Abahlali Basemjondolo and Street Committees. As these structures are popular in Khayelitsha, the COCT needs to recognise and utilise these participation structures in order to reach the grass-roots. This will be necessary in order to deepen grass-roots democracy. The COCT must build capacity and empower these structures. This capacity-building must include training regarding the different mandates of the three spheres of government, in terms of powers and functions delegated to each sphere. Training similar to the Ward Committees is desirable for these structures. The COCT must not seek to co-opt these structures but to empower them to play a meaningful role in public participation processes.

Management of public protests

The COCT needs to consider doing the following in order to curb the scale of and mitigate the resentment inherent to violent public protests:

- The COCT need to explore ways for both the invited and invented spaces of participation to co-exist. This will provide for early detection (warning signs) for the levels of frustrations and subsequent protests
- COCT authorities must respond to public demands for relevant information, by providing regular public progress reports

- In the event of a protest already occurring, the COCT need to send top politicians to explain the problems hindering the delivery of services
- The COCT must include the youth in development programmes that emphasise skills development
- A specialised law-enforcement unit must be established to deal with protests. They must be capacitated to address public protests effectively, in order to quell violent protestations, using a minimum of force
- The public need to be educated about policies regulating public protests, with the view of empowering them rather to explore alternative constructive and creative means of engaging municipal authorities
- The COCT should consider educating the public about other possible complaints and dispute resolution mechanisms i.e. the Human Rights Commission, Public Protector and even the court of laws

CONCLUSION

A promise of an authentic and empowering public participation regime remains a “pipe dream” in the majority of South African municipalities including the COCT. The new democratic arena that are meant to provide scope (leverage) for the public to participate in municipal planning and decision-making processes, instead are widening the gap due to the fact that these arenas fall short of the ideal (authentic and empowering public participation), as a result the public invent own spaces for participation from which they find solace.

The article indicated that for protest action to occur there has to be a grievance, a conviction of wrong doing or injustice, an intention to draw the attention and demand improvements to their plight. The public utilise protest action as a political or bargaining tool to solicit response from the authorities.

The article argued that the state sponsored participation tools more than often do not instil a “sense of trust” among the general public with regards to local government’s political will and ability to deliver a “developmental local government”. This lessens the possibilities that ought to enable the beneficiaries of development to *influence, direct, control* and *own* their own development. If the formal structures for public participation for some or other reason (continues) to fail, the intended beneficiaries of participation (often) have no other recourse than protest. More so, if the public realise that protest delivers quick and direct results, then the South African government sits with a major legitimacy challenge.

Thus, a possible solution to this stalemate is for democracy to be intensified, now that the South African local government has successfully undergone democratic transition and democratic consolidation processes. This entails a

change from traditional public participation methods to deliberative democracy and more empowering methods. Deliberation and community wisdom will provide the public with the scope to influence, direct, control, and own the decision-making processes with the resultant reduction in protests (violent).

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