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Editorial

Compiled by C J Auriacombe

Technical Editor

Oil is regarded as the lifeblood of the world economy. In **'The Nascent Oil Industry in Uganda: Exploring its Impact on Ecotourism and Livelihoods'**, D Mwesigwa and Betty Mubangizi argue that oil production has both positive and negative effects. Generally referred to as the 'oil curse', these negative effects have environmental, economic, and societal consequences. Uganda's Albertine Graben (AG) region is known for its biodiversity, which makes it an environmentally sensitive area (Maweje & Bategeka 2013 in Mwesigwa and Mubangizi 2016). The region also holds vast oil and natural gas reserves. Oil exploration has severe implications on the development of natural and human resources, which is likely to affect the economy (Asadi, Suga, Mashoon and Rahimi 2011 and Widiansa, Susanto and Susanto 2014 in Mwesigwa and Mubangizi 2016).

The article presents grassroots communities' perceptions on how the fledgling oil industry could influence the four tenets of ecotourism – environmental conservation, as well as welfare, awareness and education in grassroots communities. "As grassroots communities are most affected by ecotourism and the emerging oil industry, it was vital that their perceptions be captured, analysed and presented within a clearly defined conceptual framework", state the authors. As such, 47 respondents from three sub-counties in close proximity to the oil industry were interviewed. Qualitative data analysis focused on environmental conservation, grassroots education and community welfare.

This survey suggests that Uganda's oil industry could negatively affect grassroots communities – especially in the AG. This includes the possible negative impact on the region's fledgling ecotourism industry. According to the authors, "The country lacks sufficient consideration and examination of the long-term cost-benefit implications of commercial oil production. This makes oil exploration a contentious subject, which affects socio-economic growth, political stability and environmental welfare". The authors propose in-depth research on the socio-economic and environmental impact of oil production in this region. According to the authors, "It is envisaged that the results of this study will guide further research in the area and contribute to the development of much-needed policy and strategic interventions for the oil industry in Uganda".

Public participation is regarded as a viable avenue to enhance South Africa's local democracy and to promote the constitutional values of public administration. In **'The Constitutional Mandate as a Participatory**

Instrument for Service Delivery in South Africa: The Case of iLembe District Municipality, S I Zondi and P S Reddy present empirical findings of a case study that investigated the value of public participation in enhancing service delivery in KwaZulu-Natal's iLembe District Municipality.

Empirical findings were gathered through qualitative and quantitative approaches. In addition, the authors referred to documents on critical areas for immediate intervention, such as aligning municipal operations with legislative imperatives that govern local government, as well as informing citizens about public participation. The research demonstrates that when public participation in municipal affairs is properly constructed and managed, it keeps municipal functions in check; encourages a culture of openness, transparency and consultation; and decreases service delivery protests in local communities.

The findings reveal that local government restructuring and transformation in iLembe District have bolstered local democracy and service delivery. According to the authors, "The quest for improved service delivery has cemented a coherent working relationship between municipal functionaries and the citizens". These findings highlight the need for more coherent understanding of local government operations in district municipalities. The authors argue that comprehensive citizen engagement strategies will contribute to the success of the National Development Plan (NDP), which aims to develop people's capabilities through skills development, as well as delivering public services in an effective, efficient manner. "Improvements in service delivery are imperative to realise human rights and enhance local citizens' quality of life", state the authors. Within this context, the article proposes a normative model to increase public participation and enhance service delivery within the broader perspective of developmental local government in South Africa.

In **'Perceptions of Business Owners on Service Delivery and the Creation of an Enabling Environment by Local Government'** Daniel Meyer, Natanya Meyer and Jan Neethling analyse the perceptions of business owners in the Midvaal Local Municipal area, regarding the creation of an enabling environment and service delivery. Johnson (2004 in Meyer, Meyer and Neethling) contends that it is the responsibility of any government to provide basic services to its businesses and citizens and further emphasises that these services should be provided "... *at the highest level of responsiveness, effectiveness and efficiency*". According to the authors the Midvaal Local Municipality "is one of the best performing municipalities in Gauteng". The Midvaal Local Municipality is one of three municipalities that form the greater Sedibeng District Municipality, located in southern Gauteng. While the Midvaal Local Municipality is one of the top-performing municipalities in the province, the other two, Lesedi and Emfuleni Local Municipalities, struggle with basic service delivery and economic growth (Vyas-Doorgapersad in Meyer, Meyer and Neethling 2016).

According to the authors, “This type of analysis provides the foundation for improved service delivery and policy development and allows for future comparative analysis research into local government”. The research has also placed the relationship between good governance, service delivery and the creation of an enabling environment in the spotlight.

The research highlights that good governance and quality service delivery helps create an enabling environment (Pretorius & Schurink in Meyer, Meyer and Neethling 2016). In addition, the research statistics suggest that if a positive enabling environment is created, the possibility exists that it will lead to economic development (Blakely & Leigh in Meyer, Meyer and Neethling 2016).

A total of 50 business owners were interviewed by means of a quantitative questionnaire. Data was statistically analysed by using descriptive data as well as a chi-square cross tabulation. The results revealed that the general perception of service delivery is above acceptable levels. However, in some categories the business owners were less satisfied about land use and the zoning process and regulations. Overall, the business owners felt that the local government was creating an enabling environment for business to prosper. No significant statistical difference was found regarding perceptions of service delivery and the enabling environment, between small and large businesses in the study area. The authors conclude by providing recommendations to facilitate an enabling local government.

Public Administration syllabus design is a complex process that requires balancing internal perspectives with external demands. In **‘Accommodating Academic Diversity and Autonomy in Public Administration Syllabi’**, Salim Latib focuses on the challenge of designing syllabi that accommodate diverse academic perspectives on the components of postgraduate Public Administration programmes. To date, Public Administration and Management faculties have struggled to find a coherent syllabus framework beyond the ‘generic process’ approach, the ‘systems identification method’ and the listing of modules from a New Public Management (NPM) perspective.

With regard to syllabus design and related change exercises, the author stresses the importance of finding a framework that accommodates diverse perspectives on constitutive components (Wessels 2012 in Latib 2016), facilitates academic autonomy during the learning process and ensures that participants grasp specific programme offerings. “In searching for a design approach that moves beyond an uncomfortable blend of disciplinary and interdisciplinary courses, it is useful to look to wider theory and practice to find a framework that accommodates diversity in demand and in supply”, states the author. To remain relevant for the future, there has to be a certain level of coherence for commonality within Schools and Departments of Public Administration and Management. In addition to mobilising academic delivery within broad syllabi areas, the author proposes

a common set of teaching objectives among postgraduate Public Administration and Management faculties. The author further argues that there should be a focus on literature and learning methodologies that link theory to practice. {Achieng, 2014 #157} Using 'governance' as a frame for macro-theory and 'public value' as the foundation for connecting theory and practice, a broad syllabi framework is proposed to guide autonomous academic offerings.

Through the Government-Wide Monitoring and Evaluation System (GWM&ES), the South African Department of Performance Monitoring and Evaluation (DPME), strives to create a performance-driven management culture. In **'Alternative Organisational Arrangements for Institutionalising the Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) Function within Public Sector Departments'**, Babette Rabie states that the successful implementation of the DPME's mandate depends on appropriate institutional arrangements where monitoring and evaluation (M&E) includes planning, implementation and control functions. The author states that this helps reduce the silo mentality of departments' bureaucratic arrangements.

Various surveys that have reviewed the state of M&E institutionalisation in provincial and/or national departments indicate that progress has been made and that many departments have established dedicated M&E capacity. "However, it also highlights the severe constraints that potentially impede successful institutionalisation" states the author. The purpose of the article is to promote more informed decisions when institutionalising the M&E function within government departments. As such, an overview is provided on the importance of institutionalising the M&E function; the various guidelines from the Presidency and the DPME that informs the purpose, placement, functions and structure of M&E units; and the current status and challenges of M&E units, as reflected in various provincial surveys and the 2013 DPME survey.

This article discusses the various advantages and disadvantages of alternative arrangements, which may offer valuable insight when making decisions on appropriate institutional arrangements. Five options are provided with regard to institutionalising M&E functions within government departments. This includes centralised top-level support, corporate support; M&E units supported by decentralised M&E officers; and a centralised M&E unit within a single-line department and M&E transversal team. In conclusion, the author states that each of these options offers advantages and can be appropriate within a specific context. According to the author, "An informed decision should provide the M&E function with sufficient visibility, align it with other support units and enable it to provide appropriate support and data verification to line departments and service delivery centres of the department".

During the past few decades, there has been lively debate surrounding the role firm-hand leadership (command-and-control, authoritarian leadership

or dictatorship) has played in the rapid economic growth of East-Asian Tiger countries, such as Taiwan, Singapore and South Korea.

In **'A Literature Review of Energy-planning and Decision-making Approaches in the Local Government Sphere'**, Elaine Fouché and Alan Brent provide a synthesis of planning and decision-making literature to inform the development of a framework for local government to facilitate decision-making regarding sustainable energy futures. A literature review was conducted to find approaches that include stakeholder participation which would be conducive to planning a sustainable future. The review investigated how such approaches could be applied to energy-related planning and decision-making within the local government sphere.

The article discusses the main advantages and limitations of each sustainability-focused approach, as well as the factors that need to be considered for effective implementation. This is followed by a general synthesis of the literature. In conclusion, a checklist is provided that can be used to develop an energy-planning and decision-making framework for South Africa's local government sphere. The authors suggest that the checklist can inform the development of an energy-planning and decision-making framework for local government to facilitate mutual understanding of the problem, incorporate all stakeholders' values and, ultimately, provide better trust and acceptance with regard to future energy decisions.

Planning for energy sustainability should be a top priority within South Africa's local government sphere. This is especially important as Eskom, the country's public utility, is struggling to ensure energy supply and climate change is an unavoidable concern.

The advent of the new constitutional dispensation in 1994 heralded significant transformational and governance reform in South Africa. In **'A Critical Analysis of the Approach to Local Economic Development (LED) in South Africa'**, Johan Ackron and Christelle Auriacombe state that the Government White Paper on Local Government of 1998 formally introduced the concepts of local economic development (LED) and of developmental local government into the South African vernacular, consistent with the evolving national *zeitgeist* of the developmental state.

The authors state that, from its inception, South Africa's LED narrative was influenced by complex ideological and welfare considerations, as opposed to sound economic prescript. According to the authors, "LED initiatives have remained largely disjointed and project based, and has failed to harvest the synergies inherent in mutual support and cooperative governance – the latter a fundamental tenet of the South African Constitution" In addition, the authors highlight that there is currently no evidence that South Africa employs systemic methods that are grounded in coherent theories of change and action to determine LED goals.

As such, the authors argue for a fundamental re-conceptualisation and demystification of South Africa's approach to LED. According to the authors, this should be based on "structured integrative engagement within a value chain approach that harnesses cooperative effort across jurisdictions and governmental spheres to support local development that is informed by an internally consistent LED model". The article proposes a generic analytical model based on a theoretical and conceptual framework which lies on a broad cognitive scale of abstraction. "The analytical model is thus extrapolated from a conceptual and contextual framework forged to understand the causal relationships between relevant concepts and processes", state the authors.

Gender equality in human resource provision demands that male and female employees are not discriminated in recruitment, promotion, remuneration, career development and related human resource (HR) activities. The South African Public Sector helps ensure a commitment towards eliminating gender gaps in employment opportunities. In **'Human Resource Provisioning Strategy for Gender Equality within the Department of Correctional Services: The Case of Groenpunt Management Area'**, T M S Nhlapo and Shikha Vyas-Doorgapersad state that human resource (HR) provision is a key component of human resource management (HRM) as it determines HR planning and job analysis.

The article aims to explore these commitments within the Department of Correctional Services (DCS), with the Groenpunt Management Area (GMA) as case study. A qualitative research approach was utilised and interviews were conducted with the GMA's employees. Noting that gender inequality constitutes one of the main obstacles in a patriarchal South African labour market, post-apartheid public services demanded the abolishment of discriminatory employment practices and policies. Despite these strides in the right direction, the authors highlight a need to transform the stereotyped mentality within the DCS. According to the authors, "Existing HR policies need to be reviewed to support an integrated approach to managing HR and incorporating gender equality".

The findings explore the importance of aligning gender equality targets with HR provisioning. The article proposes a classification called Gender Equality in Human Resource Development (GE-HRD) for improvement. In conclusion, the authors state that the DCS needs to invest more in training and development programmes to address female employees' requirements for career development. "Management needs to undergo gender-based training to develop sensitive attitudes towards the needs of both men and women within the workplace". In line with this, the authors state that, "Gender planning in recruitment, placement and promotion procedures will assist the department to mainstream gender equality into HR provisioning".

Rapid urbanisation in post-apartheid South Africa has led to sprawling informal settlements and subsequent informal tenancy in low- and middle-

income residential areas. In **'Dealing with moving targets: Water and Sanitation services in the context of Rapid Urbanisation in South Africa'**, D Sibanda and B N Tapela highlight key issues relating to municipal and plot-level governance, 'formalisation' of tenure and tenancy, capital investment in infrastructure and cost recovery mechanisms.

The article focuses on the following research question: "In the context of rapid urbanisation in post-apartheid South Africa, what is the relationship between land tenure, tenancy and water and sanitation services delivery?" The research includes two case studies in South Africa's Western Cape Province. The one informal settlement, Mshini Wam in Joe Slovo Park, recently underwent upgrading, while Nkanini in Khayelitsha has experienced rapid growth since 2005. According to the authors, "There is a plausible need to develop a clear understanding of the micro-level challenges that formal and informal tenure and tenancy arrangements present". The authors point to the fact that the urban poor, marginalised and vulnerable groups living within low- and middle-income contexts should have equitable access to water and sanitation services.

Given the rapid growth of urban population, official data sources, such as StatsSA, Census reports and demographic projections tend to be inaccurate or outdated. Since delivery targets are in constant flux, relying on these sources results in under-budgeting. While the rapid development of informal settlements has led to visible changes within the urban landscapes, an increase in informal tenancy has been less visible. This is because these tenants tend to be invisible and mobile, often hidden as backyard dwellers or in rooms within formal houses. "As such, robust, multi-scenario planning approaches to water and sanitation services delivery are required", state the authors. The article concludes that institutional responses, particularly with respect to water services development planning and budgeting, lack the robust approach required to deal with 'moving targets' associated with rapid urbanisation. Given the diversity, dynamism and growing significance of informal land tenure and tenancy sectors, the article proposes a multi-scenario-based water services planning.

In **'Administering the Gender Agenda: An African Union Perspective'**, Angelita.Kithatu-Kiweteke and Litha Musyimi-Ogana state that the African Union (AU) plays a key role in setting a continental gender-focused agenda. This article examines how gender equality is operationalised from an African continental perspective, with specific reference to the African Union Commission's (AUC) mandate.

To provide deeper insight, the authors investigate whether the Summit meets parity principle criteria in terms of gender representation, as well as mainstream gender representation in the directorates of continental organs. In addition, the researchers look at member states, as well as regional economic communities' initiatives to promote gender sensitivity within the AUC work

environment. The research findings focus on the AUC strategy to ensure that the AU Heads of State Summit adopts protocols, makes decisions, and commits to gender-sensitive issues. Through the African Common Position on the Post-2015 Development Agenda, the AU has played a key leadership role in shaping sustainable development goals (SDGs).

The document has set the continental agenda for SDGs in general and mainstreamed gender and women's empowerment in particular (African Union 2014a in Kithatu-Kiwেকে and Musyimi-Ogana 2016). In terms of continental gender instruments, the Protocol for African Women compels member states to sign and ratify the document, as well as to provide national measures for gender equality. As 2010–2020 is the AU's decade for women, it has made a specific commitment to secure funding for projects that work within the aforementioned themes. What remains to be seen is whether the momentum will be sustained given the AU's overall funding constraints (Allsion 2014 and Mataboge 2015 in Kithatu-Kiwেকে and Musyimi-Ogana 2016).

Uganda's rural areas have the highest teacher absenteeism rate in the world (Kagolo 2014:22). In **'Does provision of Meals Affect Teachers' Performance? An Empirical Study of Public Primary Schools in the Bugisu Sub-Region in Uganda'** Erisa Kigenyi and Doris Kakuru argue that, "Absenteeism and failure to cover the syllabus are signs of poor teacher performance, which affect the overall academic achievement of pupils at the primary education level". They go on to state that solutions need to be found to remedy this situation.

This article contributes to the existing body of knowledge by examining how provision of meals is related to teachers' performance in public primary schools in Uganda's Bugisu sub-region. Quantitative and qualitative data was collected in 2015 from the districts of Bulambuli, Sironko and Manafwa. The authors conducted ordinary least-squares regression with teachers' performance, as the dependent variable and the findings demonstrate an R Square value of 26.3%. This implies that providing teachers with meals accounts for 26.3% variation in their performance at public primary schools in Bugisu sub-region in Uganda. The findings reveal that providing meals at school has a statistically significant effect on teachers' performance in public primary schools in the Bugisu sub-region. The findings are compared to both local and international empirical studies to suggest policy and managerial recommendations.

To increase teachers' performance, the authors suggest that education policy-makers, implementers and managers should pay more attention to providing teachers with meals at school to address their short-term and hidden food needs while at work. This will improve teachers' physical health and help ensure that they have more time to attend to their academic responsibilities.

Using a qualitative approach, in **'Implementing Small Scale Mining Laws in Ghana: Insights from the Prestea Huni Valley District'**, Alex Osei-Kojo ,

Kwame Asamoah and Emmanuel Yeboah-Assiamah identify the challenges of implementing small scale mining laws in the Prestea Huni Valley District. Their article attempts to answer two questions: To what extent are implementation agencies resourced to implement small scale mining laws in the District; and how does the availability of resources or the lack thereof affect implementation of small scale mining laws in the District?

Data was obtained from stakeholders *inter alia* chiefs, police officers, and local government authorities from the Prestea Huni Valley District Assembly. Semi-structured interviews were used for collecting primary data for the article. The findings show that implementation agencies lack adequate human and logistical resources for effective implementation. According to the authors, "This is aggravated by the problem of corruption, politicisation of the implementation process and cumbersome bureaucratic formalities in acquiring small scale licenses". The article recommends that the government in Ghana should demonstrate commitment to implementation by adequately resourcing implementation agencies and also take steps to remove bureaucratic barriers to acquiring small scale mining licenses.

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The Nascent Oil Industry in Uganda

Exploring its Impact on Ecotourism and Livelihoods

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ABSTRACT

Oil – a scarce resource with an ever-increasing demand is without doubt, the lifeblood of the world economy. Notwithstanding its unquestionable positive contribution to modern civilisation, oil production has negative effects. Generally referred to as the ‘oil curse’, these negative effects have environmental, economic, and societal consequences. The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) encourages member countries to respond to environmental consequences and other socio-economic concerns at international level through macro-level indicators. There is, however, a growing conflict between communities and governments in the rising geopolitics of oil production, and this has the potential of being propelled beyond manageable levels. Food, wood fuel and the general ecosystem are likely to disappear permanently if left to the oil industries, and, without a pristine ecosystem, industrialisation and socio-economic welfare are less likely to thrive. This article discusses the possible impact of the oil industry on ecotourism in the Albertine Graben (AG) of Uganda and seeks to understand the expectations of grassroots communities with regard to the nascent oil industry. A total of 47 respondents were interviewed in three sub-counties in the proximity of the oil industry. Qualitative data analysis focuses on the themes of environmental conservation, grassroots education and community welfare. It is envisaged that the results of this study will guide further research in the area and

contribute to the development of much needed policy and strategic interventions for the oil industry in Uganda.

INTRODUCTION

Oil exploration denotes large-scale oil development processes. In Uganda this exploration occurs in the Albertine Graben (AG), with less than 50% of potential oil wells so far discovered (Kasimbazi 2012:186). The AG holds vast reserves of oil (estimated at billions of barrels) and natural gas. It stretches over 500 km, averaging 45 km in width and covering an area of 23,000 km². The Graben occurs in the northern part of the western arm of the East African Rift Valley, stretching along the western border of Uganda with the Democratic Republic of Congo (Rubondo 2012). The rich biodiversity of the region makes it an environmentally sensitive area (Maweje & Bategeka 2013:2). The process of oil exploration presents severe environmental implications for the development of natural and human resources that are likely to adversely affect the economy (Asadi, Suga, Mashoon and Rahimi 2011:155; Widiansa, Susanto and Susanto 2014:7444). Prior to 2000, little was known about Uganda's oil, but between 2000 and 2005 the licensing and exploration activity increased. By 2006 Uganda confirmed the existence of commercial oil deposits in AG, surveyed by Australia's Hardman Resources and the UK's Tullow Oil companies (Anderson & Browne 2011:374). While there were previous efforts in the 1920s and in 1937 by the Anglo American Investment Company of South Africa, oil exploration is a new venture in Uganda (Kasimbazi 2012:189). Consequently, the country lacks sufficient consideration and examination of the long-term cost-benefit implications of commercial oil production. This makes oil exploration a contentious subject which not only affects socio-economic growth but political stability and environmental welfare as well. Thus in-depth consideration of the socio-economic and environmental impact of oil production in this region is urgently needed. In particular, it is worth exploring how existing livelihood strategies can be nurtured and strengthened rather than be replaced and or displaced by oil production. Specifically, and within the context of this article, it is worth exploring the possible impact of the oil industry on ecotourism which is gradually taking root as a livelihood strategy for the AG – an area of national and international significance owing to its richness in biodiversity. Because grassroots communities are most affected by ecotourism and the nascent oil industry, it was vital that their perceptions be captured, analysed and presented within a clearly defined conceptual framework.

BACKGROUND AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

According to Anderson and Brown (2011:37), oil exploration in Uganda dates back to the 1920s, but it was not until 2006 that it was officially announced that oil had been discovered. Out of the prospective sedimentary basins in Uganda, the AG promised to have the largest reserve of oil, which is why it will be developed first. Currently, there are 10 exploration sites, of which the government of Uganda has licensed five in and around Lake Albert to oil-exploration companies (Kasimbazi 2012:186). The Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development Report indicates that 66 exploration and appraisal wells have been sunk – of which 59 have been successful. Approximately 2.5 billion barrels of oil have been confirmed with 1.5 billion barrels said to be viably recoverable. It is envisaged that in 20 years' time Uganda's oil wells will be the largest oil production sites in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) (Kasimbazi 2012:189); as a result, several companies have been bargaining for years to obtain concession rights. They have proposed exploration and development programmes amounting to several billions of dollars, even though only two companies – TULLOW and China National Offshore Oil Corporation (CNOOC) – have been actively working in the area since 2006 (Ochan 2015). The process of oil exploration has not reached full capacity because of several factors relating to land acquisition along with construction of a refinery and pipeline.

The Uganda-Tanzania Crude Oil Pipeline (UTCOP) is a proposed pipeline to transport crude oil from Uganda's planned oil refinery in Kabaale, Hoima district, to the Indian Ocean port of Tanga, Tanzania (Biryabarema & Ngwanakilala 2016). The oil pipeline would start in Uganda's Western Region and end in Tanzania's coastal town of Tanga – a distance of approximately 1 410 kilometres. In addition, a utility corridor of 110 metres is required for the construction of all infrastructures, comprising the refined petroleum products pipeline, information and communication cables, a dual-carriage highway, and power transmission lines.

Maweje and Bategeka (2013:2) express the hope that a number of projects will be initiated and expanded, such as physical infrastructure in both the transport and energy sectors, along with communities' prospects of changes in social service delivery, growth in infrastructure, employment prospects, and decline in poverty levels. This suggests that the social impact of oil exploration is multifaceted, as it turns around empowerment opportunities and capacity enhancement of local people, especially through education and training of young people, who can offer semi-skilled labour in the oil and gas sector and other secondary sectors like education, farming, agribusiness and construction. While there are greater expectations of the social impact of the project, anecdotal evidence gleaned from newspapers and social media suggests that the fears, needs and anxieties of neighbourhood communities remain unnoticed as a number of opportunities

appear to take precedence among the elite. In addition, the socio-environmental impact, as indicated by the available well correlation, geological modelling and reservoir descriptions, suggest that the biological, physical and social environments will face long-term challenges (Ochan & Amusugut 2012:3). Both the social impact and environmental challenges could affect the sustainability of a number of related sectors, including agriculture and tourism within the AG catchment in the medium- to long-term, unless serious steps are taken to mitigate the challenges or reduce the anticipated impact.

Tourism, in particular, has been one of the fastest growing sectors in the country in recent decades. In the AG region, for example, ecotourism activities such as nature-guided walks, mountaineering, boat cruises, community walks, bird viewing, scenery viewing, canoeing, sport fishing, and game viewing are significant sources of income for the local community (Stone 2015:168). In this study, it is proposed that these activities will be negatively affected by the oil industry and impact not only livelihoods but also the rich biodiversity of the AG. The study draws on Amuquandoh (2010) and analyses ecotourism from three perspectives – notably environmental conservation, grassroots community welfare, and grassroots community education.

Following Obi (2010), this article proposes that commencement of commercial production in the oil fields should be preceded by assessing the impact of the oil industry on ecotourism. Although an environmental impact assessment and environment sensitivity atlas have both been carried out (Rubondo 2012:19), there is still fear that the proposed project – with a number of oil-related activities expected – will displace several homesteads in Kabaale area, affect fishing activities in Lake Albert due to water pollution, and scare away wildlife from Bugoma and other adjacent forest reserves. Studies suggest that building an oil refinery in Hoima is expected to have serious negative consequences for biodiversity – particularly for the forests, wildlife and fish (Ericson 2014:30). Consequently, since the project is situated in an environmentally sensitive location, the AG requires a number of safety measures to counteract these negative impacts (Maweje & Bategeka 2013:2). Given the environmental drive, it is projected that the overall development of the oil fields will need extensive investment – by both companies and the government of Uganda – towards creating conditions that would both promote and enhance aspects of ecotourism (Ochan & Amusugut 2012). Although the investments might not consider, in depth, the expected impact of the oil industry on ecotourism, recognition of and compliance with the enabling legislation could lead to positive contributions to the ecotourism sector.

The International Ecotourism Society (TIES) defines ecotourism as: *“Responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and improves the well-being of local people”*; (TIES 1990). For Donohoe and Needham (2006:193), ecotourism incorporates a synergistic collection of social, ecological and economic dimensions

that reflect a common core idea of an ethics-based approach to tourism. TIES recommends that ecotourism should be about uniting conservation and communities through sustainable travel. As a result, it is suggested that those who implement, participate in and market ecotourism activities ought to adopt the eight principles: (i) minimise physical, social, behavioural, and psychological impacts; (ii) build environmental and cultural awareness and respect; (iii) provide positive experiences for both visitors and hosts; (iv) provide direct financial benefits for conservation; (v) generate financial benefits for local people and the private industry; (vi) deliver memorable interpretative experiences for visitors that help raise sensitivity to host countries' political, environmental, and social climates; (vii) design, construct and operate low-impact facilities; and (viii) recognise the rights and spiritual beliefs of the indigenous people in the community and work in partnership with them to create empowerment (Sebastian & Rajagopalan 2009:6). Ecotourism thus involves responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment, improves the well-being of the local people, and involves interpretation and education.

Against this backdrop, the ecotourism drive in the AG oil-rich region has been about the balance between conserving the environment and raising the well-being of the local people through sustainable livelihoods. It is this equilibrium that should be maintained even amid the proposed growth of the oil industry in the region. To establish the preparedness of the various actors in the region, this study focused on four principles of the co-production/collaborative planning analytical framework as suggested by Watson (2013): (a) environmental conservation; (b) grassroots community welfare; (c) grassroots community awareness; and (d) grassroots community education.

METHODOLOGY

The study used a qualitative survey in which unstructured interviews were administered in order to elicit reliable data in a limited time. Although AG covers five sub-regions – Acholi, Bunyoro, Kigezi, Rwenzori and West Nile – the study concentrated on Bunyoro because of the active oil exploration activities, including the proposed construction of an oil refinery in Kabaale, Hoima, along with an oil pipeline. For the study 15 villages were studied (five in each sub-county) in the district, with participants purposely selected from each of the 15 villages within the proximity of the oil industry. A total of 47 members were individually interviewed; 15 participants were purposely selected from Buseruka, 16 from Kabwoya and 16 from Kyangwali. Although the plan was to balance the number of male and female participants, more males (24; 51%) than females (23; 49%) participated in the study. Some 37% of participants were 18 to 35 years of age, 51% were 35 to 65 years of age, while 12% were 65 years or slightly older. The majority (68%) of participants

were married. With regard to formal education, a substantial proportion (36%) had never attended school; 58% had attained primary-level education, while 4% had attained secondary-level education. Only 2% had completed tertiary and/or university education. Gender differences in education levels were noted – 87% of males and 71% of females had attained formal education.

The choice of participants did not depend on their social status in the community. Random selection was used – except for local leaders who were included purposely due to the need to ‘capture’ more detailed information. Prior consultations were held with local leaders; males and females were given equal opportunity – excluding minors and those below 18 (for ethical purposes). A brief but thorough introduction outlined the study, making it clear that it did not represent any government or NGO programme, that no specific members were targeted, and that no direct relationship existed between the researcher and any oil company. The few participants who were interviewed through phone calls were deemed central to the study – these were mostly civil servants and politicians who could not be met directly at the time of the interviews owing to their busy schedules.

The purpose of the study was to discuss the impact of Uganda’s oil exploration on ecotourism in the AG, from the perspective of the local communities. The four study questions were: (a) What would the impact of oil exploration be on environmental conservation? (b) What would the impact of oil exploration be on grassroots community awareness? (c) What would the impact of oil exploration be on grassroots community welfare? (d) What impact would oil exploration have on education? The questions were semi-structured, with primary, open-ended questions and optional follow-up probing questions. Indeed, supplementary questions were directed to most participants in order to obtain more information from them. All participants were free to share their views candidly and cheerfully – and all responses were written down during the interviews. The key themes were summarised alongside verbatim quotations, and all data was organised, managed, analysed and interpreted thematically. It should be stated that this survey presents an opening to AG and should not be considered as examining an existing form of ecotourism. Instead, it is a stride to a better consideration of the challenge. Additional studies will examine the region, to analyse and corroborate the results.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS: IMPACT OF THE OIL INDUSTRY ON ECOTOURISM AND LIVELIHOODS

In a number of countries, the oil industry impacts in various ways on the socio-economic and cultural lives of the resident communities – such as in the Niger delta of Nigeria or Darfur region in the Sudan (Oluduro & Durojaye 2013:772). In this article, the impact is examined in terms of grassroots communities’ expectations

for ecotourism, by discussing how the oil industry will affect community-based tourism, in particular how it will affect: (a) environmental conservation, (b) grassroots community welfare, and (c) grassroots community education.

Expected impact of the oil industry on environmental conservation

Grassroots communities expressed concerns about the safety of aquatic life and fisheries – one of their sources of livelihood. Participants raised fears about the planned strategies for waste management to be used by oil companies. It was suggested that the building of trenches would contaminate the environment and make it unattractive for visitors interested in scenery viewing, bird viewing and primate walks. They noted that oil companies are apparently building storage pits for waste at some locations. As this is a high rainfall region, the pits are bound to overflow regularly with rainwater, carrying hazardous substances onto the adjacent land and into Lake Albert – with terrible consequences for the environment.

Findings of the study also suggest that grassroots communities are concerned that activities related to oil exploration will lead to air pollution through gas flaring during both the experimental stages and full-scale operation of the oil industry. The blazes, the participants noted, hold predictable pollutants, which contribute to global warming and climate change, and which will produce unfavourable conditions for bird viewing, game watching, and forest and primate walks, if not acted upon. To the AG communities, land is becoming an increasingly scarce and highly sought after resource; participants are worried that they might not be able to find solutions once environmental disasters occur. For example, one participant in Rwengabi village expressed his concern about the gas flares such:

When I look at our beautiful green vegetation, I think that it is going to disappear and our domestic animals will die of starvation; the wild animals will also disappear from the area and several of them will become rare species. Our fresh waters will, most likely, be spoilt by oil pollution and we may no longer have any more dirt-free water for household consumption. This will increase the number of water-borne infections. (Kataike; Key informant)

During the study it was established that AG incorporates a number of national parks and wildlife reserves. A great deal of grassroots environmental conservation is carried out in this natural setting which is ideal for guided nature walks, mountaineering, game viewing and community walks. Findings suggest that a number of grassroots communities find pleasure in the natural habitat, including rare bird and animal species and the dramatic landscapes, particularly in the national parks and areas adjacent to Lake Albert. Tourist attraction sites

include Murchison Falls and Queen Elizabeth National Park. Participants propose that oil exploration activities will impinge on the wildlife and upset the sustainability of the environment.

It was suggested that activities related to oil exploration will disturb the AG catchment area's natural fauna and flora—forcing wildlife to leave their natural habitat, with the result that these animals will start interfering with human living by ruining gardens and other household infrastructure. Participants expressed fears about the oil industry, citing the example of animals like monkeys and baboons that are vulnerable to a number of harmful conditions and will be affected by oil drilling. This, it is anticipated, will have negative consequences for visitors wishing to watch these animals and a number of rare birds. Monkeys and baboons searching for a new habitat that guarantees comfort are likely to go into the homes and gardens of neighbouring communities; this threat is expected to exacerbate the food shortage situation in a number of homesteads.

Regarding awareness of environmental conservation, the findings suggest that a number of participants were unaware of safety measures available for dealing with the consequences of the oil industry in terms of environmental conservation. For example, almost none of the participants in Kyangwali and Kabwoya sub-counties recognised existing environmental conservation measures, whereas two-thirds of the participants in Buseruka sub-county were aware of such measures. This suggests that about half of the grassroots communities have not been exposed to the general guidelines for environmental conservation, even if there are many disparities between households. This further highlights the view that lack of exposure to key guidelines coupled with oil exploration activities will cause additional devastation in the AG.

Regarding contact with the natural environment, the findings indicate how participants suggested that a number of oil discovery sites occur at the shoreline of Lake Albert in the sub-counties of Buseruka, Kabwoya and Kyangwali – consequently their contact with areas around the lake shores such as fishing will be limited. Furthermore, given the controlled contact in specific areas of the game reserve, NEMA and other government agencies need to ensure that oil companies have conducted thorough EIAs prior to commencing with oil exploration. While one of the participants noted that government has conducted an EIA – the findings suggest that there were hardly any explicit parameters cited in the EIA report for managing waste among grassroots communities in AG, including water and drill cuttings that pollute the aquifers beneath the ground. This view corroborates the results of a study conducted by International Alert (2013), which established that there were no parameters for waste management in the national oil sector. A number of oil companies are already dumping waste in gazetted places and there was no clarity as to when NEMA will present the guidelines. This situation suggests lack of adequate consideration in the EIAs of the consequences of oil-

related actions, yet such a deficit affects the agricultural land, fresh water and aquatic life and results in the high cost of recovery initiatives.

Apart from the view that AG is rich in flora, fauna as well as a number of elements of the natural environment – and being home to 10 of Uganda's 22 national parks and game reserves – the region has a number of archaeological and famous sites worthy of state heritage conservation. In addition, shared water resources like Lake Albert, rivers (such as Kafu, Wambabya, Muziizi, Nguse, Rwenkondwa, and Yorodani) and the hot springs at Kibiro and Kitagata with its fertile soils, fish, timber, mountain ranges and minerals – makes AG *an ecological wonder deserving attention*. Study findings further suggested that AG contains valuable mineral resources including salt, cobalt, limestone and copper thus pointing to direct and indirect connections of the oil industry to a number of environmental issues. One of the participants noted that oil exploration is closely related to degradation of the environment due to oil spillage, gas flashing, deforestation, degradation of the general ecology, and other harmful activities linked to the actions of oil companies. Participants in Kitegwa, Nyamasoga and Nyahaira were particularly vexed with the Heritage Oil Company that piled waste on public land in Pirongo – it is feared that if such activities continue, environmental disasters are imminent. The study findings demonstrate that all activities attached to oil exploration in AG have the potential of harming the attractive natural scenery and impinging on the biodiversity – which attracts most tourists to the region – along with degrading the socio-cultural and economic facets of the area. One local council member in Kabwoya sub-county stated that:

Drill cuttings and waste waters are expected to pollute the underground aquifers. Most of the oil exploration activities might result in long-term pollution of watercourses through the release of different substances into the water streams. (Key informant)

Bunyoro region has a high water table, which makes it vulnerable to pollution from oil exploration activities, if they are not dealt with properly. Consequently, findings suggest that burying mud cuttings and waste is expected to pollute water flows and catchment areas – thus disrupting marine life and affecting ecotourism potential. In addition, participants suggest that drill cuttings contain soils that, if piled on the surface, inhibit the growth of indigenous plants. Study findings advocate that community sensitisation programmes at grassroots level, spearheaded by the civil society, are yielding positive results. Grassroots communities need to be mobilised to plant trees, such as fruit trees, around their homesteads, and to reduce tree cutting for charcoal burning and firewood. For example, participants propose that partnerships with oil companies to brace their corporate social responsibility, by supplying tree seedlings (including

eucalyptus, pine, mango, jackfruit and oranges) to grassroots communities within the oil exploration proximity areas, is worthy of consideration.

It can be suggested that grassroots communities in AG are anxious about the outcomes of the expected impact of oil exploration on environmental conservation. In addition, fears have gripped members regarding expected pollution, destruction of the environment, displacement of homesteads; and disturbing of wildlife in the national parks and wildlife reserves –as a result, ecotourism is less likely to flourish. It is advised that sensitisation and mobilisation will facilitate guided nature walks, forest walks, game viewing, primate walks and bird viewing opportunities in AG.

Expected impact of the oil industry on the welfare of grassroots communities

The oil industry is linked to increased international trade – it boosts tourism enterprises and improves exposure to and the growth of foreign exchange and other local revenues. Increased employment opportunities and increased access to physical and social infrastructure forms part of the development of the industry – this development should raise grassroots community welfare and improve opportunities for community-based ecotourism. The findings reveal that the oil industry in AG will generate a stable set of employment opportunities and bring both the skilled and the semi-skilled workers to the region. As a result, participants suggested that the socio-economic benefits of the industry will be restricted and it is uncertain whether a lone industrial facility of this kind, with few secondary but small industries, can accelerate the movement of citizens from the region searching for extra employment opportunities and income. The study findings suggest that ‘youthful’ job seekers will be searching for prospects in vocation-based industries and, as a result, the ICT wave will not only grow but will be used to enhance ecotourism opportunities through e-marketing within and beyond the AG. Participants were of the opinion that grassroots communities are hopeful that the oil industry would lead to better economic prospects, better access to physical infrastructure, and improved social services. They noted that their hope is evidenced by infrastructural developments such as the construction of the Hoima-Kaiso-Tonya road, the building of a mini-hydroelectric power dam at the Wambabya River in Buseruka and the extension of the power line from Kiziranfumbi trading centre to Kabaale under the rural electrification programme.

The study findings advocate that improved transport will boost the scale of ecotourism through ease of access to different attraction sites; however, participants felt that their children were likely to either be left out or be engaged in unskilled jobs, due to lack of essential academic qualifications. The findings of this study, however, suggest that the industry may deepen

Table 1: Expected impact of the oil industry on the welfare of grassroots communities

Suggested impact of the oil industry on the welfare of grassroots communities	Response [%]	
	Yes	No
Investment in child education will increase [p]	87	13
All redundant agricultural land will be utilised for farming [p]	76	24
Exploitation of available and upcoming business opportunities [p]	78	22
Investing in micro-finance enterprises will offset grassroots community welfare and ecotourism in general – rather than focusing on the oil industry per se [p]	69	31
Investments in technical and vocational education will grow [p]	58	42
Customary land will be transformed into leasehold ownership [p]	52	48
Local governments will become more vigilant about oil companies that exploit local communities [p]	50	50
Sensitisation of communities against land grabbing will be enhanced [p]	62	38
Sensitisation of communities on violence against women and children will be prioritised [p]	48	52
Sensitisation of communities about sexual habits that increase sexually transmitted infections (STIs) including HIV and AIDS will increase [p]	78	22
Improved social-service delivery to meet growing demand [p]	62	38
Sensitisation of parents and opinion leaders about school dropouts [p]	40	60
Increased community-level engagement by government leaders [p]	25	75
Development of modern village models as being key to improving the degree of socio-economic development [p]	32	68
Sensitisation of all leaders about the oil industry will increase and contribute towards communities’ welfare [p]	15	85

Source: (Author’s own findings)

poverty in a number of areas within the AG and raise the chances of civil war in Uganda – which will lower grassroots communities’ welfare, deter visitors along with retarding the growth of ecotourism activities such as bird viewing, guided nature walks, forest walks, game viewing and primate walks. On the whole, the study envisages increased employment opportunities, higher incomes, improved access to better road networks, improved access to social amenities, better business openings, compensation for displaced communities

and reduced commodity prices along with an increased number of visitors to AG. While there are doubts too, it is suggested that if the positive expectations are met, grassroots communities' welfare in the AG will raise the level of ecotourism as illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1 illustrates four key impacts that were suggested by most participants: investment in child education, utilisation of all redundant agricultural land, exploitation of available and upcoming business opportunities, and investment in micro-finance enterprises. On the other hand, few participants expect increased investments in technical and vocational education, sensitisation of communities about sexual habits that increase STIs including HIV and AIDS, increased community-level engagement with government, development of modern village models for improving the degree of socio-economic development, or sensitisation of all leaders about the oil industry, aimed to increase and contribute towards communities' welfare.

Expected impact of the oil industry on grassroots community education

Grassroots communities within the AG expect that both positive and negative developments will be realised, as far as grassroots communities' education is concerned. Table 2 summarises the expectations that grassroots communities consider pertinent, as a result of the oil industry.

Table 2 outlines a number of expectations of grassroots community members from the oil industry with regard to education. A number of the participants expect that there will be increased grassroots community sensitisation, at household level, of the value of child education; functional adult literacy programmes at village level will be strengthened; there will be increased availability of information about reproductive health care programmes; hard-to-reach formal schools in far flung rural areas will benefit from quality teachers and scholastic materials; additional construction of school infrastructure in the AG; and better schools and vocational and technical institutes will be constructed and equipped – aimed to enhance the skills-based workforce. From the findings, it can be concluded that grassroots communities have high expectations regarding spinoffs of the oil industry in the area. These expectations focus on six major issues which are:

- *Issue 1* – Strategies towards equalisation of education.
- *Issue 2* – Future school structures will be located within reach of learners.
- *Issue 3* – Leaders and parents will become more committed to prevent or minimise school dropouts.
- *Issue 4* – Local leaders and parents will fight against defilement and all forms of child labour.

Table 2: Expected impact of the oil industry on grassroots community education

Expected impact on grassroots community education	
Positive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased grassroots community sensitisation, at household level, of the value of child education • Strengthening functional adult literacy programmes at village level • Increased availability of information about reproductive health-care programmes • Hard-to-reach formal schools like Buhuka, Kinakyeitaka, Kaseeta, Kaiso and Tonya to benefit from quality teachers and scholastic materials • Additional construction of school infrastructure to be enforced • Scholarships to be offered to needy children to achieve higher and advanced education • Vocational and technical institutes to be built, in order to enhance the skills-based workforce
Negative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inequalities in the education system are likely to worsen the status of poor households • Children will continue to miss school due to poorly planned relocation of families from the oil industry's proximity • The long distance to schools is expected to affect learners' morale and limit the number of young learners from enrolling in the system • The rate of school dropouts is likely to rise due to the increased economic opportunities • Early marriages and/or defilement due to intra-migrations • Child labour is likely to affect school attendance and enrolment • Continuous grassroots community engagement in oil programmes has affected, and will continue to affect, the quality of child performance • Scholarships are likely to be awarded in a discriminatory way against marginalised communities and households.

Source: (Author's own findings)

- *Issue 5* – Grassroots community engagement programmes will be planned better.
- *Issue 6* – Grassroots communities will be represented on the scholarship selection board.

Overall, of all participants reached throughout this survey, about 50% were optimistic, 10% were unsure while 40% were pessimistic about whether the industry will boost ecotourism. These suggestions highlight the view that most residents in AG expect oil exploration to bring about positive changes to the region. Pessimism suggests that based on what has been happening in a number of countries in SSA where grassroots communities have not derived any significant improvement in ecotourism from the oil industry, some participants were concerned that a similar trend will occur in Uganda. The proposal focused on issues such as environmental conservation, grassroots community welfare, grassroots community awareness, and grassroots community education. If the positive expectations are actualised, AG will be transformed in terms of its ecotourism position.

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY AND PRACTICE

This survey suggests that Uganda's oil industry creates substantial concerns for a number of grassroots communities – especially in the AG. These concerns include ecotourism which is not yet a prominent revenue generator, but a symbol of livelihood for both service providers and consumers of services. With the establishment of the oil industry, ecotourism could decrease the consequences of rural poverty and environmental dilapidation in response to available market adjustments. This is feasible because ecotourism is one of the prospects for grassroots communities' support– and its impact is cross-sectoral (Johnson 2010:90). Whereas academics such as Maweje and Bategeka (2013), Obi (2010), and Ericson (2014) have acknowledged the symbiotic relationship between the oil industry and ecotourism, grassroots communities lack adequate concession to embark on such analyses, and yet they are pertinent to communities' desires.

In this survey, an apt definition of ecotourism was posed by the International Ecotourism Society (2015) – “...as the responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment, sustains the welfare of the local people, and involves interpretation and education”. This article presents what grassroots communities expect to be the impact of the oil industry on each of the four tenets of ecotourism: environmental conservation, grassroots community welfare, grassroots community awareness, and grassroots community education. AG's rich biodiversity was of significant concern to ecotourism in this research. The biodiversity in the AG region is manifested in lakes and rivers, hills and mountains with unique flora and fauna, and in the vibrant ecosystems typical of rainforests – all of which are crucial to ecotourism. In addition, the area is rich in cultural traditions of unique music, dance and drama which have been commercialised by the ecotourism industry. Although these issues also relate to community-based tourism, the survey focused on ecotourism as perceived by grassroots communities (Moyini 2006:38).

As experienced in a number of countries, grassroots communities' wishes seldom fit into the commercial outcomes of oil companies (Johnson 2010:92). Proprietors of small-scale and medium-scale enterprises not only develop in harmony with grassroots communities' decision-making practices, but eventually defend a view of themselves as grassroots community patrons. This places grassroots communities at a disadvantage in discussions and could lead to crises. For example, premature judgments about grassroots communities' ecotourism enterprises and lack of proper record keeping of the existing as well as potential prospects for ecotourism enterprises can affect the livelihoods of a number of grassroots communities (Roberts & Tribe 2008:579). One area in which awareness is necessary in grassroots communities is in combined endeavours such as schools, health care facilities and churches – which facilitate

inter-personal transfer of knowledge, skills and values including potential ecotourism opportunities. Nevertheless, such transfer can bring a number of concerns. As a result: (i) grassroots communities' success will depend on the extent to which information is shared and or members accept the progress of ecotourism; (ii) a written etiquette, which can be used to organise an agenda for exchange of ideas and to prevent harmful measures by grassroots communities, is essential (Okello 2003:21); and (iii) an efficient conflict-management approach that can be agreed upon by every community member in the ecotourism sector, is important.

Available literature advocates that a discussion is essential for the oil industry's relationship with ecotourism (Maweje & Bategeka 2013; Obi 2010; Ericson 2014). Without a developed oil industry that values the principles of ecotourism such as environmental conservation, grassroots communities' well-being, community awareness and community education; scholars are challenged in finding and contributing to information on grassroots communities' expectations of the industry's impacts on ecotourism. Scholarly research about the oil industry – in a bid to document information objectively – is often overlooked. This includes problems of random information regarding sustainable grassroots communities' ecotourism potential, consequently, this study found it difficult to access adequate information on the expected impacts (Gu & Poh 2006; Johnson 2010). However, conclusions have been drawn about the inconsistencies in the oil industry *vis-a-vis* ecotourism. One of the concerns raised in the survey is the ability of grassroots communities in the AG to accommodate and assimilate the nascent oil industry.

The study indicates that both consideration and flexibility in the oil industry will enable ecotourism in the AG to flourish. This implies that the major failures of grassroots communities in ecotourism relate to government along with the companies involved in the oil exploration sector, and deserve to be reversed. Thus, it will be important for the oil companies to adjust their operations to connect with the grassroots communities in dealing with the key tenets of socio-economic development including ecotourism. Oil companies will have to factor in their corporate social responsibility programmes in local government development plans, and cooperate with each other at all levels – in order to promote grassroots communities' expectations with particular regard to environmental conservation, raising of grassroots community welfare, and improving grassroots community education.

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The Constitutional Mandate as a Participatory Instrument for Service Delivery in South Africa

The Case of iLembe District Municipality

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ABSTRACT

Since the attainment of democracy in 1994, the practice of public participation has been widely observed as a commitment to enhance South Africa's local democracy and to promote the constitutional values of public administration. This commitment is enshrined in different pieces of the legislation. For example, in terms of Section 152 of the Constitution, municipalities should create opportunities for local communities to participate in local government activities, while Section 195 promotes good governance and stipulates community participation in public policy-making processes as an element for local democracy. Despite this, anecdotal evidence points to dissent and discontent about the level of community participation in policy-making processes. These sentiments appear to be magnified in the local government sphere with municipalities, in the main, bearing the brunt of service delivery protests and disgruntled local communities who believe that their voices are not being heard. This article presents the empirical findings of the study which gauged the value of public participation in enhancing service delivery in iLembe District Municipality in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal. It demonstrates that when public participation in municipal affairs is properly constructed and managed, it will keep municipal functionaries in check; encourage a culture of openness, transparency and consultation, and will decrease service delivery protests in local communities. Improvements in service

delivery are imperative for the realisation of human rights and the enhancement of the quality of life for the local citizenry. It is in this context that this article proposes a normative model for increased public participation and enhanced service delivery in the broader perspective of developmental local government in South Africa. The findings reveal that local government restructuring and transformation in iLembe District have succeeded in enhancing local democracy and service delivery; and that the quest for improved service delivery has cemented a coherent working relationship between municipal functionaries and the citizens. They have advocated a parallel democratic system which can draw maximum benefit for local democracy. However, the empirical survey of this study has documented a number of areas which need immediate intervention, such as housing delivery, progressive alignment of the municipal operations with the legislative imperatives governing local government in South Africa, and shaping community understanding about Integrated Development Planning (IDP) and Local Economic Development (LED) matters. These findings point towards the need for more coherent understanding of local government operations in the District Municipality.

INTRODUCTION

There is a growing emphasis on involving ordinary citizens more definitively and directly in the policy processes that have positive influences in their lives. Open dialogues, deliberations, and citizen engagements are increasingly familiar trends in the current public administration landscape as a means to re-engineer more mutual and collaborative public involvement strategies. This is essential for the well-being of all citizens and a more prosperous country that progressively seeks to eradicate poverty and social exclusion. Comprehensive citizen engagement strategies will contribute to the success of the National Development Plan (NDP) which aims at developing people's capabilities to be able to improve their lives through skills development and the delivery of public services in an effective and efficient manner. With the recent wave of service delivery protests, the capacity of the government for dealing with the triple challenges of development, namely poverty, unemployment and inequality is questionable. The constant battles relating to service delivery at the local sphere necessitate broad public participation mechanisms such as the *'inclusive service delivery and participatory model'*, which is proposed as a recommendation in this article. Empirical findings gathered through qualitative and quantitative

approaches, document critical areas for immediate intervention, such as the progressive alignment of the municipal operations with the legislative imperatives governing local government, bringing constitutionalism at local levels and conscientising citizens about public participation.

BACKGROUND TO PUBLIC PARTICIPATION: THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

Public participation is a democratic process that provides individuals and groups from the community with an opportunity to occupy a meaningful role in government affairs to influence public decisions for the betterment of their socio-political and economic conditions (Holmes 2011:3). The idea of public participation was introduced during the time of Greek city-states, where it became necessary for citizens to influence decisions on development in their communities (Mahamed 2009:26). It is also a system where public concerns and needs are incorporated into governmental and corporate decision-making processes. Further, it provides for two-way communication and active engagement towards the enhancement of decisions that are made by citizens. Kotze (2007:37) contends that the concept may also refer to a people-centred development approach and may refer to the following aspects: involvement, communication, and a new attitude from government or a reciprocal influence. With the introduction of a democratic state in South Africa in 1994, public participation became an instrument for deepening democracy through the variety of formal municipal structures which have a public interest. This is particularly necessary for the realisation of the values of good governance.

According to Creighton (2005:7) public participation is the process by which public concerns, needs, and values are incorporated into governmental and corporate decision-making. It is a two-way communication and interaction, with the overall goal of better decisions that are supported by the public. Creighton (2005:16) notes that among numerous aspects reflected in the definition of public participation, it captures the distribution of power that enables previously disadvantaged groups to contribute towards policy-making processes and to be included in governance matters. Thus, according to this definition, public participation becomes a strategy, by which the poor segments of the populace join in determining how decisions regarding their community development projects are planned and benefits such as community employment opportunities are parcelled out – it is envisaged that through this process the local citizenry can occupy a pivotal role in determining their future aspirations. In addition to the benefits of public participation, Enserink, Connor and Croal (2006:33) observe that it contributes to better analysis of proposals leading to more creative

developments, more sustainable interventions and consequently greater public acceptance and support than would otherwise be the case. In the Australian perspective, as elsewhere in the world, citizen participation in *government* has traditionally centred on measures to facilitate greater public access to information about government, enhance the rights of citizens to be 'consulted' on matters which directly affect them, and ensure that all voices can be heard equally through fair systems of representative democracy (Aulich 2009:45). This is contrary to the prevailing practices in a large number of post-colonial states where leaders are inclined to share power with a small faction of collaborators. In essence, public participation requires collaborative engagements between citizens and authorities to provide conditions which are conducive for local democracy.

CONSTITUTIONAL IMPERATIVES OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Public participation in local government activities is crucial for municipalities to keep in touch with citizens on matters of community development through effective and efficient service delivery systems. Participation is also a key instrument in facilitating local democracy through formal municipal structures. In the South African context, the concept of public participation became relevant with the introduction of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) in 1994, which was aimed at mobilising South African citizens towards the total eradication of repressive systems and social exclusion. It is imperative to note that the RDP was not only concerned with the provision of goods to passive citizenry, but also implied the growing involvement of the population (African National Congress 1994:5). The vision of the RDP was clearly to emancipate people from inequalities of the apartheid regime and to encourage people to be participants in the decision-making processes.

While the RDP has declined in prominence arguably due to resource constraints, the Constitution was both the vehicle and anchor for participative democracy. Aulich (2009) notes that the compiling of the constitutional document was itself a democratic exercise when the South African citizens were invited to provide an input in the compilation of the Constitution by submitting ideas to the constitutional assembly. Approximately 1.9 million people participated in this campaign. Deegan (2002:48) concludes that citizen engagement in the formalisation of the Constitution was both novel and useful. It can therefore be deduced that incorporating public input in the legislature was another move towards including people in democratic processes. The key institutions for participation were the parliamentary portfolio and select committees (Deegan 2002:51). The provincial legislatures were also intended to

be portals for participation. Section 118 of the Constitution requires provinces to engage communities in legislative and other processes of the legislature and its committees (Deegan 2002:33).

In terms of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* (1996), citizen involvement in local government is a fundamental democratic right of citizens and it occupies a key role in facilitating local democracy and promoting values of good governance (transparency, consultation, openness and the rule of law). This belief is further articulated by Ile and Mapuva (2010:30) who state that democratic governance is characterised by the existence of a strong civil society that is able to keep a check on government performance and provide input into policy processes that will enhance good government. Good governance means working in partnership with the public in improving living conditions for local communities. An effective public participation process makes provision for local citizens to influence development agendas and contribute to policy imperatives impacting on municipal management (Local Government: Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000).

Citizens' involvement in their own development initiatives enhances accountability and consultation from policy-makers and it inspires them to be responsive to the needs of communities. This will ultimately assist to stimulate needs for better public services from service providers (Geventa 2004). Given this, the citizens' input in policy-making processes further ensures that their expectations and grounded perspectives inform policy-makers about their needs and how these can be addressed. In this spirit, they can embrace various programmes as their own initiative. Contrary to South Africa's past experiences, where prior to the democratic dispensation, engagement between citizens and government was limited to the state; the democratic government extended governance to the people and embraced a people-driven development approach (South African Human Rights Commission 2006:10). Within this framework, the practice of public participation became a key Constitutional element which required that "people's needs be responded to, and the public must be encouraged to participate in policy making" (Constitution of RSA 1996). It further requires all spheres of government to create mechanisms which would make it easy for people, either as individuals or groups, to participate in government-led initiatives. Within this framework, Section 152 of the Constitution strives to provide accountable leadership at a community level which is responsive to people's needs and which regards the provision of services as a fulfilment of human rights. The Local Government: Municipal Structures Act 117 of 1998 encourages the establishment of ward committees which drive public participation initiatives for local communities.

The above-mentioned constitutional imperatives represent the goals of developmental local government in which municipalities strive to achieve

their constitutional obligation of ensuring a decent quality of life for local communities. It is also imperative to note that public participation is not only concerned with the provision of services, but goes beyond to incorporate issues of policy formulation inclusive of public input. The Local Government: Municipal Systems Act 2000 (Act 32 of 2000) and Local Government: Municipal Structures Act 1998 (Act 117 of 1998) also provide strategies in which the public can be involved in decision-making processes.

The notion and practicality of public participation is further strengthened by its core values which are outlined by Davids, Theron and Maphunye (2006:112) who believe that the public should have a say in decisions impacting on their lives. Davids, Theron and Maphunye (2006:112) further add that the public participation process includes the following:

- The promise that the public's involvement in policy matters will influence decisions in a manner that favours community interests.
- Facilitates the involvement of those potentially affected.
- Outlines to participants how they should participate in policy matters.
- Provides participants with the information they need in order to participate in a meaningful way.

Public participation is essential in the promotion of good governance and assurance of effective and efficient service delivery systems at the local level. According to the Public Service Commission (PSC) (2008:3) the notion of public participation is a building block for a sustainable democracy globally as it creates spaces for open dialogues between citizens and the government.

Williams (2009:103) states that public participation is often driven by socio-economic empowerment that seeks to improve socio-economic and political rights for all, especially for the poor, who have been historically marginalised during the apartheid era in South Africa. In addition, the input of ordinary people in community projects which are intended for their development has become an integral part of democratic exercises. For example, the Local Government: Municipal Systems Act, 2000 (Act 32 of 2000) makes provision for local communities to participate and benefit through LED activities.

Sisks, Ballington and Bollens (2001) cited by Nyalunga (2006:1) state that community participation represents a core meaning of inclusive democracy. The concept became relevant with the advent of democracy in 1994, aimed at addressing imbalances of many decades of alienation under apartheid. The legacy of apartheid entrenched deep social exclusion by creating race-based municipalities which sidelined the participation of African, Indian and Coloured communities in governance affairs. This view is further articulated by Naude (2001:38) cited by Nyalunga (2006) that under apartheid, the local government system was structured to advance the agenda of racial segregation

and suppression of participation by majorities. Willims (2001:109) observed that in terms of participatory democracy, South African history reflects few opportunities for inclusive participation for the marginalised in policy developments, primarily because local government in South Africa had prior to 1994, no inclusive public participation processes in place.

Government's effort for improved service delivery was further recognised through the ushering in of The White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery – which outlined eight Batho Pele principles aimed at 'putting people first in all government activities'. Sangweni (2007:14) describes Batho Pele as "the key directive to the Public Service towards being effective and efficient and responsive to the needs of the citizens and they guide the Public Service on how it should engage with members of the public and provide a platform for the public to participate in the provisioning of services". The framework provides detailed information on the principle of consultation which emphasises the need for citizens to be consulted as recipients of government services and that whenever possible, they should be given a choice about services that are offered (RSA Constitution 1996).

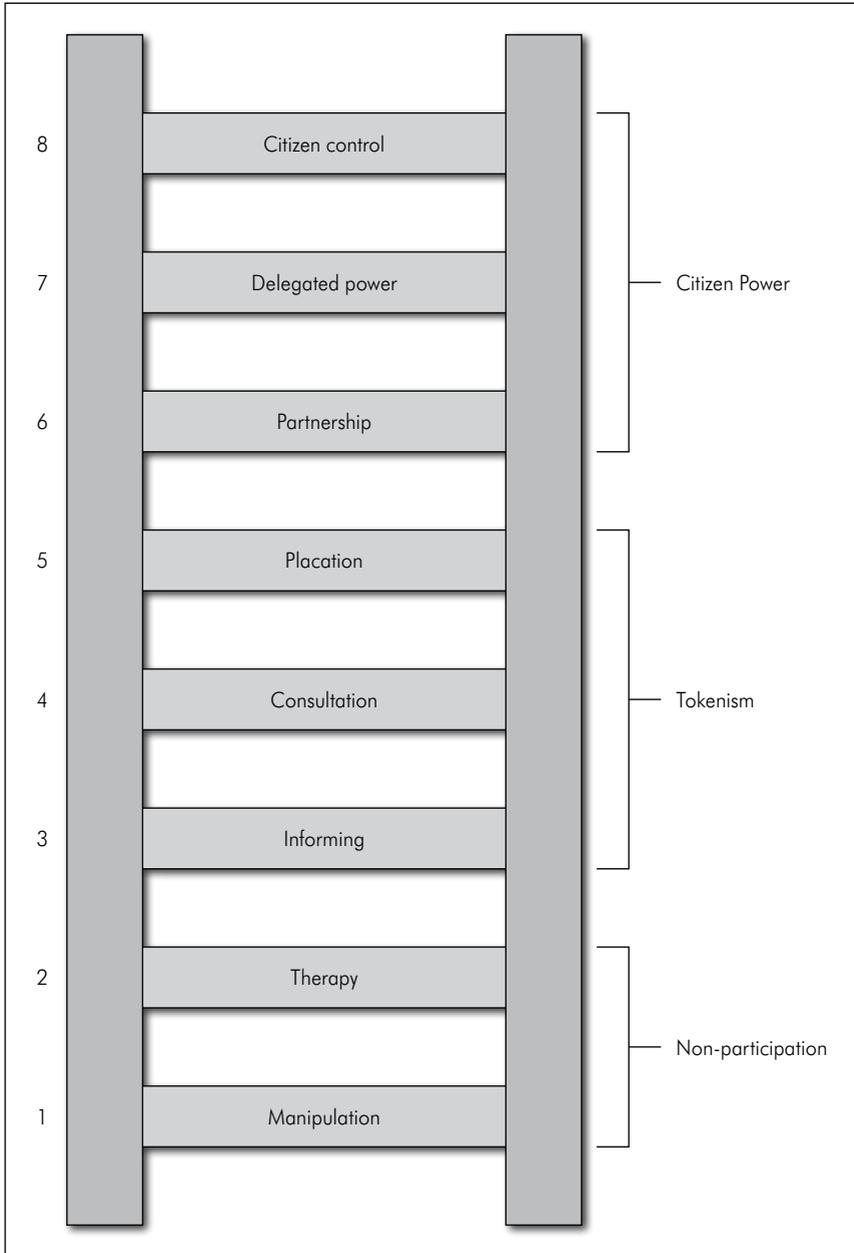
THE THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

The most seminal theoretical work of public participation which has received considerable academic attention was developed by Arnstein (1969). It stems from the recognition that there is a sequence of participation, ranging from therapy or manipulation of citizens, through to consultation and to what is viewed as genuine participation – the one which ought to have elements for effective and efficient service delivery. This is depicted in Figure 1.

The fundamental point in Arnstein's ladder of participation is that community engagement without sufficient decentralisation of power is an empty and frustrating process for ordinary citizens. This has the potential to result in the unequal distribution of resources to communities while at the same time authorities claim all sides are considered in decision-making. In the South African context of local government, this oversight by authorities has on numerous occasions resulted in service delivery protests which symbolises poor communication between the government and ordinary citizens. The framework is also an instrument of power structures in society and how they interact. Specifically, it is a guide to seeing who has power when important decisions are being made (Arnstein 1969:269).

Of significance about Arnstein's ladder of participation is the existence of three levels of citizen engagement (non-participation, tokenism and citizen empowerment) "demonstrating that through empowering citizens, the

Figure 1: A Ladder of Participation



Source: (Adapted from Arnstein 1969)

government has decentralised the decision-making process and given citizens the power to make informed decisions that benefit their local communities" (Ile & Mapuva 2010:32). Knowing these stages makes it possible to cut through the hyperbole to understand the increasingly strident demands for participation from the have-nots as well as the gamut of confusing responses from the power holders. Furthermore, in the South African context, the delivery of services to local communities requires a collective sense of citizen engagement in order to improve the level of communication between municipalities and service users. This is also necessary to set the foundations of good governance in which the values of accountability and expedience prevail.

KEY SERVICE DELIVERY CHALLENGES IN SOUTH AFRICAN MUNICIPALITIES

The South African democratic dispensation in 1994 brought with it not only the necessary citizen participation in political and socio-economic transformation but, also the institutional reforms which were necessary for the overall process of democratic transformation that provided the necessary political inclination at all three spheres of government. Prioritising the delivery of basic services to previously marginalised communities was the primary objective of all government spheres. Despite this substantial effort put into service delivery, the context of service delivery at and by iLembe District Municipality and other municipalities in South Africa remains a particular challenge and, currently, the local government sector can be described as being problematic and portrays a consistent and negative view. Municipalities are unable to deliver services as required; further to this view, with the recent volume of service delivery protests, huge investment in development planning is having less impact than expected (*Mail & Guardian* 2011: Internet source). It should also be noted that these protests are primarily motivated by the problem of poor communication with communities (Managa 2012:5).

There seems to be a vacillating agreement among development practitioners and social activists that service delivery protests have not only been about lack of provision of services, particularly housing, electricity and water but many of these were about failure of local governments to engage ordinary communities in development planning (Botes 2010:4). Botes (2010:4) argues further that, in all case studies of service delivery, there is evidence of poor communication with communities. In this regard, institutional lack of transparency is the single most important reason for the protests. Service delivery protests are further aggravated by a lack of accountability of officials as well as the lack of public participation in choosing the councillors that will represent them (Managa 2012:6).

CHALLENGES IN IMPLEMENTING PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

While South African communities have been empowered through political rights, unemployment, poverty and inequality remains a crucial challenge for most communities. Government strategies have not yet sufficiently materialised to address challenges of development, namely unemployment, poverty and inequality. The NDP has been introduced to deal with such challenges and time will establish whether it is a relevant tool to address them (Managa 2012:23).

Government's inability to deal with issues of service provision contributes to public dissatisfaction and this has the potential to trigger public service delivery protests for the under-resourced communities (Malefane & Ngala 2011). The report by the Inter-Parliamentary Union of South Africa (2011) identified the time factor, poor communication and inequalities in education, as constraints to effective public participation. This is relative to poorer sections of the population especially women in rural areas and those who are unemployed. The report further states that heavy domestic obligations, particularly for women, affect active participation in anything beyond basic survival and the maintenance of livelihood. Deepening exclusion among communities, particularly in the rural areas, combined with structural poverty present an increasingly dynamic threat to the country's economic stability. It is essential that local authorities devise strategies to reach poor communities so that they play a meaningful role in shaping economic prosperities of their localities. Considering their difficult backgrounds, they must be provided with adequate time to prepare submissions about issues of importance pertaining to their community lives. The Good Governance Survey Report (Department of Provincial and Local Government 2007:1) has also noted that in most cases, time for public comments is reduced to a week or less, which prohibits thoughtful input and meaningful participation. Efficient and effective communication strategies and access to media resources are essential for effective citizen engagement. In most cases, the section of the population that has no access to or exposure to media is mainly poor, rural women with little or no education (Yusuf, Daramola, and Jekayinfa 2010). These are the citizens who most need to access their Constitutional rights, yet it is difficult for them to access basic information about community activities, or to participate in the local governance affairs of their communities.

Inequality in education is another disturbing factor which prohibits effective participation for poor communities. The report by the Inter Parliamentary Union of South Africa (2011:3), also regards a literate population as a crucial element for an informed and active citizenry. Therefore, if communities are denied opportunities to access information and communicate appropriately, it becomes difficult for them to participate in local government processes. While acknowledging that public participation is the cornerstone of local democracy

and participatory local governance and that the involvement of communities and community organisations in matters of local government is one of the objects of local government, SALGA (2011) sees municipalities as instruments to be used to enhance active participation of communities in local government affairs.

THE PRACTICE OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION: THE CASE OF ILEMBE DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY

iLembe District Municipality is situated on the east coast of the KwaZulu-Natal Province with a population estimated at 600 000 people and extends over an area of approximately 1 460 km². It comprises four local municipalities, namely Ndwedwe, KwaDukuza, Mandeni and Maphumulo (iLembe District Municipality 2012–2013).

iLembe District Municipality approved a resolution to undertake an intensive public participation strategy that guides the municipality about communication with communities and the provision of services. It also regarded public participation as a key element in the IDP processes of the municipality. All ward communities were invited to provide input in the functioning of the municipality. This is essential for the following:

- Not only to understand community needs, but also to ascertain the *status quo* in respect of services that are provided to the community.
- As part of good governance, the municipality regards public participation as a mechanism for getting to know how communication can be enhanced between the municipality and citizens.
- To understand the challenges of development in the respective wards of the municipality.

This study adopted a mixed method research approach. It was conducted with 88 residents of iLembe District Municipality and 30 municipal officials (the municipal manager, traditional leaders, ward councillors, and members of the ward committees). The main objective of the study was to contribute towards identifying mechanisms that can assist local government in achieving its service delivery mandate. The results of the findings clearly indicate that local government restructuring and transformation in iLembe District has somehow succeeded in enhancing local democracy and service delivery; and that the quest for effective service delivery has cemented coherent working relations between municipal functionaries and the citizens. However, the study has documented a few areas which need immediate intervention, such as the progressive alignment of the municipal operations with local government legislation in South Africa and the need to enhance community understanding

about IDP and LED matters. Table 1 reflects the perceptions of the residents of iLembe District Municipality about the role of public participation in enhancing service delivery and the facilitation of local democracy.

COMMENTS OF THE RESPONDENTS REGARDING EFFECTIVENESS AND EFFICIENCY OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION STRATEGIES OF ILEMBE DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY

The comments of the respondents regarding the practice of public participation in iLembe District Municipality are reflected below:

Table 1: Comments of the respondents regarding the effectiveness and efficiency of public participation strategies of the iLembe District Municipality

Public participation strategies need more improvements:	Frequency	Percent
Total dissatisfaction still needs to be corrected with regard to government operations.	4	4.5
Communities have access to facilities such as clinics, schools and jobs through public participation.	4	4.5
Do not participate in local government affairs as it does not have any benefits.	3	3.4
Community problems are given special priority by the municipality.	1	1.1
Community leaders are not transparent and only support particular individuals.	2	2.3
No cooperation between public and government sectors.	2	2.3
Community has benefitted as infrastructure is gradually improving.	4	4.5
Most facilities are well maintained and encourage open communication about issues that affect the communities.	2	2.3
The communities under iLembe District Municipality have developed to such an extent that it is now attracting tourists.	1	1.1
Not very efficient as transparency and openness is lacking on issues pertaining to employment opportunities.	2	2.3
Meeting agendas are circulated timeously and residents are encouraged to attend meetings and express their opinions about the community issues affecting their lives.	1	1.1
Effective as it encourages participation for all community members.	6	6.8
Community has benefitted with some facilities however they are still insufficient to accommodate all community members.	3	3.4

Public participation strategies need more improvements:	Frequency	Percent
The municipality has a public participation unit which encourages councillors to interact with residents on a regular basis.	6	6.8
Unaware of any developmental plans in the community because public participation is not transparent.	2	2.3
Effective as they need support from public in terms of evaluation and monitoring.	1	1.1
Effective as people in the community work closely with the councillor to ensure that service are delivered to the people.	10	11.4
People are being informed about issues affecting the pace of service delivery.	1	1.1
The municipality does not do anything to empower the community.	1	1.1
Close connection between municipal structures and the community members in all the development projects.	7	8.0
Community is in a good stage of development as infrastructure has been upgraded eg. roads, electricity.	3	3.4
Communities do not participate actively in local government affairs.	1	1.1
Councillors only come to the community when they need votes after that they disappear.	2	2.3
Due to ill health, participation in community affairs is not possible.	1	1.1
System Missing.	18	20.5
Total	88	100.0

Source: (Zondi 2015:160)

As indicated in Table 1, public participation is a concept which encourages citizens to contribute meaningfully in decision-making thus providing opportunities for open dialogues between authorities and citizens on matters of community development. This communication can be regarded as an early warning for public concerns and issues that may affect social stability.

IDP AS A FORUM FOR PUBLIC PARTICIPATION AT ILEMBE DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY

The IDP of iLembe District Municipality provides a forum for the public to participate in local governance affairs. It also reflects a desire among citizens to make inputs in decisions that affect their lives, and an increased need for policy development especially from those involved or affected. Since the ushering in of

a democratic order, public participation processes have generated the energies for communities who were previously excluded to participate more actively in government affairs through legal community structures (iLembe District Municipality 2009–2010:33).

The above discussions have emphasised that public participation is a key aspect in democratic governance and/or local democracy in the sense that it is a vehicle for fair and efficient public service delivery. This is further highlighted by the National Department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA) which states that public involvement has five purposes: 'to give information, to get feedback, to allow comment, to bring in new ideas and to create consensus where possible' (Department of Provincial and Local Government 2007:68).

The iLembe District Municipality's IDP (2009:38) outlines a number of key factors and considerations of citizens and stakeholders in developing the public participation policy. These are explained in the paragraphs below.

- **Public Interest:** By public interest, the IDP of the municipality seeks to understand what is in the best interest of the ordinary citizens with regard to public participation.
- **Effectiveness and Efficiency:** By effectiveness and efficiency, the IDP establishes the criteria of resources allocation in achieving goals and implementation of public participation policies.
- **Consistency:** Consistency refers to the municipal IDP's level of alignment with broader goals and strategies of government, with constitutional regulations of public policy.
- **Fairness and Equity:** The IDP states that public participation policy should create spaces and increase equity of all members and sectors of society. This relates to considerations of public interest.

The iLembe District Municipality's IDP (2009:38) uses the following framework to assess its public participation policy:

- Good Public Participation Policy is socially acceptable. In this way, communities and all stakeholders would feel that the policy reflects their important values, for example equity, fairness, consistency and justice;
- Efficient Public Participation Policy is politically viable, that is, it has sufficient scope, depth and consensus;
- Public Participation Policy is technically correct, that is, it incorporates scientific or technical criteria that have been established to guide or support decisions.

While the theoretical orientation of public participation of iLembe District Municipality in its geographical area of its responsibility is an acceptable

point of departure, the empirical studies indicate a disjuncture between local communities and their local representatives, which, in turn, affects service delivery systems.

WARD COMMITTEES AS A FORUM FOR PUBLIC PARTICIPATION AT ILEMBE DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY

One of the structures which occupy a significant role in promoting public participation at and by iLembe District Municipality is the ward committee system. According to Naidu (2007:1); ward committees are meant to be an advisory body; a representative independent and impartial structure that performs its duties without fear, favour or prejudice.

The Local Government: Municipal Structures Act 1998 (Act 117 of 1998) requires municipalities to establish ward committees to enhance community participation in municipal affairs. Sections 19 (2) and (3) of the Act also directs municipalities towards a new culture of governance that allows representative democracy through participation. In compliance with that legislative requirement, the council of iLembe District Municipality has established ward committees to enhance local democracy and to maximise the social development and economic prosperity of local communities.

In accordance with the recommendations of the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA) (2002:1) on the role of ward committees in promoting community participation, the iLembe District Municipality uses the following methods of civic engagement:

- **Public meetings:** Also known as *Izimbizo*, are regarded as the most common method of public participation. Through this method, the municipality invites the public to attend council meetings. Council meetings are open to the public and the Local Government: Municipal Systems Act of 2000 provides for public notices regarding time, venue and dates of council meetings.
- **Public hearings:** Allows communities to express their views regarding the provision of services and to afford them an opportunity to make their input on municipal management.
- **Consultative sessions:** Since municipalities are tasked with responsibilities to improve social and economic standards of their communities, it is imperative to contact communities on such matters. In this process, communities can own development initiatives in their areas.
- **Report back meetings:** Communities should be informed of decisions taken by the municipality, particularly those which affect their rights and expectations. Representatives, in the form of ward councillors and ward committees, are expected to report back to their communities on their activities.

- **Advisory committees:** The Local Government: Municipal Systems Act (Act 32 of 2000) requires municipalities to establish links with communities in the form of advisory committees, consisting of one person who is not attached to the municipality to advise the council on matters falling within the council's competence.
- **Focus or interest groups:** This is usually in the form of a group of concerned individuals in a community who share the same interest and views on community matters – such as tourism, community development, local economic development, crime prevention strategies, neighbourhood watch etc.
- **Communication:** Efficient communication systems are essential in facilitating participatory governance. It is therefore recommended that municipalities devise strategies for liaising with communities on a regular basis on issues affecting their community lives. They may also form strategic partnerships with various stakeholders in the community.

The ward committee system is an attempt to ensure that democracy not only is the prerogative of the national government, but that citizens have a stake in governance at the local level (Meldon, Kenny and Walsh 2004:209). They are generally the socially constructed structures of which the primary role is to mobilise local communities and engage them on issues of development. This is also noted by Nyalunga (2006:18) who argues that in order for ward committees to be effective and efficient in dealing with community needs, they should comply with the following guiding principles:

- **Links between the community and the council:** Ward committees should provide communities with a space to express their views and complaints.
- **Community resources:** Ward committees should have a good understanding of what resources are available in communities in terms of finance, expertise, skills, new materials, community facilities – volunteers/labour and resources.
- **Support for community structures:** Ward committees should occupy the role of providing the necessary support for the people/groups involved in community structures and activities. This involves affirming people, recognising and acknowledging the value of their contribution in policy development, providing encouragement, being available for people when they want to talk or ask questions.
- **Strategising mobilising agents:** Ward committees should be strategising mobilising agents for both the municipality and the community in the planning and implementation of programmes. They can also play an important role in mobilising partnerships for the development of local projects.
- **External role players:** Ward committees have the role of liaising with external role players on behalf of or for the benefit of their local communities. They should also establish relationships with a variety of people or organisations

and be in a position to use them to effect and facilitate developments in their local communities.

Through working directly with the municipality, ward committees serve as a link which articulates the operations of local government to the citizens, more especially to previously disadvantaged communities.

OTHER FORUMS FOR PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

Sisks *et al.* (2001:33) further outline alternative mechanisms of public participation:

Stakeholder forums

The community policing and IDP forums are essential for quick and ongoing consultation as well as for building partnerships between the community and government.

Community liaison officials

The majority of municipalities use designated personnel who liaise directly with the community on general issues that need the urgent attention of the municipal authorities.

Media

Media fulfils a key role in facilitating public participation, for example notice boards, rates and water bills. This can be used for disseminating information about issues of importance in the community.

Community development workers

The role of community development workers (CDWs) is to facilitate development at community level and to ensure efficient and effective delivery of government services. They dispense advice and help communities to build partnerships with government. They are usually aware of the issues affecting communities (Human Science Research Council 2005:1).

Thus from a local government perspective, the above-mentioned structures play a multi-purpose role of delivering broad services to the communities of iLembe District; mobilise the input of citizens into community planning and development processes, and harness local knowledge and expertise and skills.

Furthermore, the District Municipality has benefitted through these structures in terms of building a sense of place and belonging for local communities.

CURRENT REALITY OF PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE AT ILEMBE DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY

The empirical findings for this article demonstrates that there is a gap between the communities of iLembe District and their local authorities and is contrary to the municipality's public participation policy which emphasises the culture of open dialogue. Services are not delivered to the satisfaction of the communities. This relates to poor supply of piped water, sanitation systems, electricity, housing and infrastructure. Improving civic engagement will promote inclusive participation and actively incorporate public inputs on vital local governance decisions. Communities prefer to engage with what they feel part of. In this way they can value what they help to build. Citizen engagement and local communities are indispensable in attempts to develop a sense of ownership and effective service delivery systems. Consultation and openness are required to facilitate the systems in which services can be streamlined in a more effective and efficient manner. This would help to promote integrated and cooperative planning with all sectors of the local communities. In this regard, comprehensive citizenship and participatory governance would be achieved, thus improving service delivery.

The primary data for this article was obtained through one-on-one interviews with the general public, councillors, municipal officials and community based organisations. The researcher used purposive sampling to identify the research participants. The empirical investigation focuses on public participation and service delivery strategies in iLembe District Municipality. The purpose of the study was to formulate strategies to enhance service delivery and public participation and, through this, to enhance local democracy. The South African legislation on local government emphasises that municipalities have a pivotal role in democratising society and fulfilling a developmental role within the new dispensation. This implies that municipalities must have policies and institutional frameworks that support and sustain the development of local people. Such plans must be geared towards achieving progressive realisation of Vision 2030 of the NDP and fundamental rights of the citizens. Moreover, municipalities must strive within their capacities to promote good governance.

According to Leedy and Ormrod (2010:4–8), research is essentially a thought process, surrounding accumulated facts and data, which seeks to determine what the facts “say” and what the data “means”. Put differently, research is a method of action by means of which people solve problems in an endeavour to extend the boundaries of knowledge. Hence, research encompasses the interpretation

of data which is used to draw conclusions. This idea is also supported by Bailey (1987:32–33) who states that, for research to be undertaken, the correct research methodology must be used, which is best suited to the type of research being done. It is also important to note that the research methodology needs to be based on a philosophical research approach that enables the researcher to formulate key research questions or hypotheses that need to be answered. This study makes use of key research questions to be answered by the study.

With regard to iLembe District Municipality, it can be deduced that the municipality encourages the culture of public participation, which is largely viewed as a democratic process for engaging residents in decision-making, planning and generally allowing them to play an active role in their development and service delivery. However, despite this, the research findings suggest a great need for consultation, transparency and openness from municipal functionaries in dealing with service delivery matters.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the theoretical explanations and empirical findings covered in this article, the following recommendations are proposed:

- **Commitment to public participation:** all municipal functionaries and communities should be exposed to awareness raising campaigns on why public participation is so essential for good governance.
- **Legislation governing public participation:** it is essential to conduct reviews of the state of public participation processes in and by municipalities at regular intervals. This will help to check and evaluate progress made thus far by municipalities in implementing public participation policies.
- **Openness and transparency:** as enshrined in the White Paper on Transforming Public Service, the public should know how local government institutions are structured and operate, and how well they use resources and manage finances. It is anticipated that through active and effective participation, citizens will take advantage of this principle and suggest ways to improve service delivery.
- **Strengthening citizen voice and power:** there should be a well-structured and more inclusive model at a local level which would harness citizens' power and creativity in planning and sustaining services. To a large extent, ordinary citizens are marginalised in the process of municipal service planning and – as the RDP warned – they have become the objects, not the subjects of development. This experience culminates in service delivery protests.
- **Strengthening of community complaint management system:** the National Policy Framework for Public Participation (RSA 2007) suggests the move to

intensify the Community Complaints Management System which seems to be one of the outstanding issues that municipalities ought to already have implemented. The establishment of these systems can assist in enhancing municipal openness and transparency on issues of public interest. This will create a space for communities to record their concerns and views with regard to services provided by municipalities. Regardless of how the system is institutionalised, this Policy Framework (RSA 2007) suggests that the complaint management system should be able to do the following:

- Publicise contact details, especially the telephone number for the public to log their complaints.
- Provide a place in the municipality where the public can report complaints in person.
- Develop standing rules of order that deal in detail with managing community complaints.
- Include clear protocol; of who responds to what kind of complaints, the time frame for this response and a threshold of information that must be given in response to each kind of complaint.

As the African democracy evolves and potentially matures to match that of the developed world, South African municipalities should implement more effective and efficient systems of participatory democracy which represent the voice of the citizens.

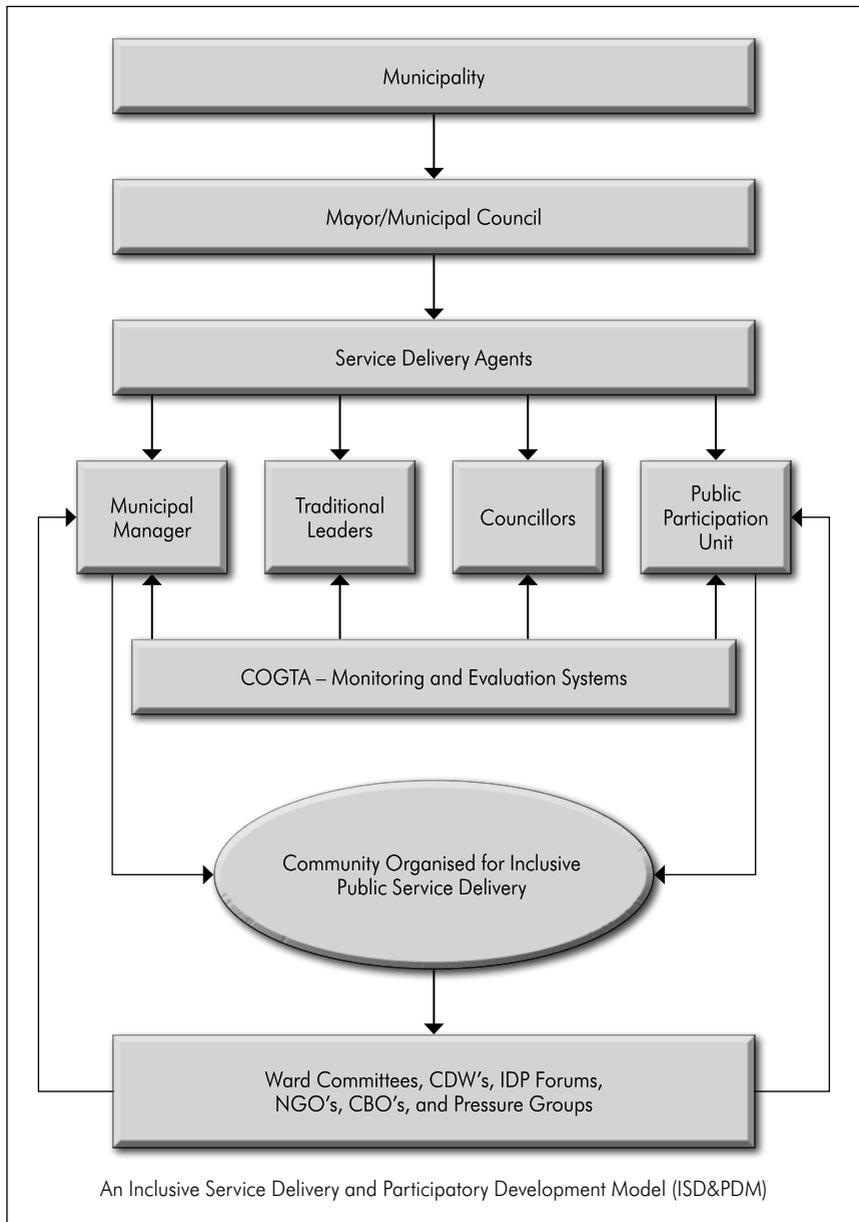
- **Improving public participation and service delivery through the model of Inclusive Service Delivery and Participatory Development (ISD&PD):** in explaining the proposed model below, it is imperative to mention that, because local governments respond to unique needs within the areas they serve, there is no tailor-made model or specific systematic strategy that can be implemented for all municipalities.

The proposed model outlines the plan of action to be adopted in fostering best practices in local government for the enhancement of efficient and effective service delivery and public participation strategies.

TOWARDS A MODEL OF INCLUSIVE SERVICE DELIVERY AND PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT (ISD&PD)

In discussing a proposed model of ISD&PD, it is imperative to mention that, because local governments respond to unique needs within the areas they serve, there is no tailor-made model or specific step-by-step strategy that can be rolled out across the board for all municipalities.

Figure 2: A model of inclusive service delivery and participatory development (ISD&PD)



Source: (Zondi 2015:196)

The ISD&PD model outlines the plan of action to be adopted in fostering best practices in local government for the enhancement of efficient and effective service delivery and public participation strategies. The model proposes the need for close cooperation between municipalities, service delivery agents, municipal managers, traditional leaders, municipal councillors, public participation units, ward committees, CDWs, IDP forums, NGOs and CBOs and communities in the quest for successful provision of services. COGTA should play an increased monitoring oversight role over municipalities. It should ensure that municipalities are well capacitated to deal with issues of service delivery.

The model requires all these parties to work collectively and progressively towards achieving a common goal of inclusive service delivery. This is particularly imperative because the definition of participation needs to accommodate the complexity inherent in participation and power relationships that enables or hinders participation (Meldon *et al.* 2005:5).

In line with participatory democracy, as enshrined in the Local Government: Municipal Systems Act, 2000 (Act 32 of 2000), communities are entitled to involvement in decision-making, where they propose, debate, decide, plan and implement the decisions that affect their lives. This requires communities to be more organised in terms of understanding local government processes.

In the light of constitutional values for good governance, public participation is more than mere consultation but active involvement that moves to more direct forms of influence and control over decisions that affect the lives of local communities.

CONCLUSION

This article has evaluated the role of iLembe District Municipality in enhancing local democracy and service delivery and it outlines the negative implications which accompany the lack of public input in matters of local democracy. In the South African context, the practice of public participation is still in its infancy and exists on a small scale. Public participation is a key democratic cornerstone which should guide the provision of municipal services and grant local citizens an opportunity to influence decisions pertaining to the delivery of services. The authors of this article argue that proper public participation strategies at the municipal level would encourage genuine civic engagement with elected local leaders. This would in turn assist to contain the spread of service delivery protests. This article has highlighted how through the constitutional framework municipalities are obliged to engage citizens in local governance affairs by outlining various mechanisms with which to do this. The practice of good governance by municipalities is another key factor which is not yet fully

instituted and developed at the municipal level. This implies that there is still an obligation resting on public officials to provide spaces for public participation and to incorporate good governance in local government operations to encourage the culture of open dialogue and to foster transparency, consultation, fairness and the rule of law. iLembe District Municipality has been used as a case study to indicate the strides and challenges of the municipality in applying the concept of public participation at the local level.

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Perceptions of Business Owners on Service Delivery and the Creation of an Enabling Environment by Local Government

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ABSTRACT

The 1994 democratic rule and Constitution of 1996 shaped the way in which service delivery would be transformed in South Africa. This was done by developing new structures and policies that would ultimately attempt to create equity and fairness in the provision of services within the municipal sphere to all residents. This article analyses the perceptions of business owners regarding the creation of an enabling environment and service delivery within one of the best performing municipalities in Gauteng: the Midvaal Local Municipal area. A total of 50 business owners were interviewed by means of a quantitative questionnaire. Data were statistically analysed by using descriptive data as well as a chi-square cross tabulation. The results revealed that the general perception of service delivery is above acceptable levels. However, in some categories the business owners were less satisfied regarding land use and zoning process and regulations. Overall, the business owners felt that the local government was creating an enabling environment for business to prosper. No significant statistical difference was found regarding perceptions of service delivery and the enabling environment, between small and large businesses in the study area. This type of analysis provides the foundation for improved service delivery and policy development and allows for

future comparative analysis research into local government. The research has also placed the relationship between good governance, service delivery and the creation of an enabling environment in the spotlight.

INTRODUCTION

The public sector is faced with many new challenges with most probably the most daunting of them all being service delivery (Badenhorst-Weiss & Ambe 2011:453). Good governance with effective service delivery is the foundation for local government to provide an enabling environment for local business to prosper and facilitate economic development (PWC 2010:5; Grootaert, 1998:8). Thindwa (2001:3) defines an enabling environment as follows:

“An enabling environment is a set of cohesive conditions such as bureaucratic, fiscal, legal, informational, cultural and political aspects – that has an impact on the capacity of development actors to engage in the development transformation in an effective and sustained manner”.

South Africa has three levels of government, national, provincial and local. Local government refers to the specific institutions or entities which are created by legislation and is considered the lowest level or closest entity to the general public (Department of Public Services and Administration 2003:2). The Education and Training Unit (ETU) (2012:2) states that local government is an important role player, because it can be seen as the sphere of government which is closest to local businesses and communities. Local governance includes a wide range of services to improve the life of residents, creating the space for democratic participation and a sustainable environment for local development, as well as facilitating the outcomes to enrich the quality of lives of residents (Shah & Shah 2009:2; Williams 2000:10). The provision of basic services could be a very important agent for the reduction of unemployment, inequality and poverty, as well as for strengthening the social capital and infrastructure of the country (National Treasury 2012:196; Narayan 2002:58). This links well with Thindwa's (2001:3) definition as the provision of basic services is a key part of creating an enabling environment in order to create capacity for development and transformation in a sustained manner.

Johnson (2004:77) contends that it is the responsibility of any government to provide basic services to its businesses and citizens and further emphasises that these services should be provided “...at the highest level of responsiveness,

effectiveness and efficiency". Globally, the majority of governments are faced with challenges in service delivery; South Africa is no exception to this (Mpehle 2012:217). This has been demonstrated by the vast amounts of protests against, amongst others, living conditions and lack and quality of service delivery (Swart 2013:1). Research conducted by the Social Change Research Unit of the University of Johannesburg indicated that there has been an annual increase in the number of service delivery protests since 2004 (Grant 2014:1). The reputation of local government's failure to deliver basic services to all citizens, particularly the vulnerable and impoverished groups living in townships, informal and rural areas are noticeable (Richards & Alessandra 2007:1). Manning (2006:23) provides a wider perspective when stating that poor service delivery is not unique to the South African local government environment, but is a global phenomenon.

The Midvaal Local Municipality, one of the three municipalities forming the greater Sedibeng District Municipality, located in Southern Gauteng, is one of the top performing municipalities in the Province. The other two, Lesedi and Emfuleni Local Municipalities, are struggling with basic service delivery and economic growth (Vyas-Doorgapersad 2014:327). According to De Freitas (2013:1) the Midvaal Municipality moved up 10 places in the annual Municipal Productivity Index in 2013, which places it within the top 5 percent of all municipalities in South-Africa. De Freitas (2013:1) further indicates that Midvaal Municipality has performed better during 2013, than the other municipalities in the region in terms of job creation and skills development.

According to the Midvaal Local Municipality (2014:48), one of its main aims is the promotion of business and employment opportunities. According to Rhodes (1996:653), efficient delivery of basic services is important for any local region to grow and prosper. Poor service delivery could restrict the creation of an enabling environment, contributing to high levels of poverty, inequality and unemployment. Governments must therefore focus on improving service delivery and creating enabling environments.

This article provides analyses of the perceptions of formal businesses regarding service delivery and the creation of an enabling environment by the Midvaal Local Municipality.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The three main role players in local economic development are local government, local business and local communities known as the local economic development (LED) triangle (World Bank 2016:1). These role players must have one vision and work together in order to achieve economic development

success (Mountford 2009:2). This theory is supported by the “Big Push” theory (source), which states that accelerated local economic development is possible if all agents (role players) are coordinated with an united vision lead by local government structures. Economic development at the local or regional level is known as Local Economic Development (LED) and is a sub-field of development economics (Meyer-Stamer 2006:14).

LED has as its ultimate goal the economic development of a demarcated region (Blakely & Leigh 2013:72). Van Zyl (1994:3), states that the process of economic development of a specific region includes aspects such as improvement of people’s quality of life, small business development, reduction of poverty, structural and institutional transformation of society in terms of politics, culture and the economy. A well-balanced combination of these aspects could lead to higher levels of productivity, income and choices for people and also the modernisation of the economy. Trousdale (2005:1) defines LED as a participating process where local people, including formal business organisations and local government, from all sectors within a specific area, work together to activate and stimulate local economic activities, with the aim to ensure a resilient and sustainable local economy. Helmsing and Egziabher (2005:2) and Swinburn (2006:3) state that LED is a process in which partnerships between local government, local communities and local business lead to improved management of existing local resources, to increase economic activities in a well-defined geographical territory. According to Swinburn (2006:4) LED is a process whereby public, businesses and non-governmental sectors work collectively as partners to create a better quality of life for local residents through economic development. The LED process needs to assist with the improvement of local institutions and local partnerships through dialog and actions.

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) (2006:4) lists four core features defining the content of LED strategies: high levels of participation by all role players; focused on a specific territory; maximising local resources; and focusing on competitive advantages. Blakely and Leigh (2013:6) states that LED is a process by which local government and local business manage their existing resources and enter into new partnership arrangements to create jobs and stimulate local economic activities. LED success regarding implementation is dependent on a few key issues according to Trousdale (2005:2): local leadership at government and business; the creation of an enabling economic environment by all role players; involvement of youths in development programmes; job creation projects and initiatives; availability of capacity and skills on all levels of the local economy and lastly the improvement in quality of life.

Small business growth is important for economic development, and the coordination of the small business sector through formal organisations are vital

in the process (Crouch & Traxler 1995:7; OECD 2004:12; Clark & Radwan 2010:5; Dubroff 2014:1). According to Kongolo (2010:2288), small business contributes 91 percent of all formal businesses, contributing approximately 57 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP) and providing close to 60 percent of job opportunities in South Africa.

According to Basson (1994:11) the Constitution of 1996 of South Africa seeks to re-order both the legal and social position of the country, ensuring equality, dignity and freedom for all. Furthermore, municipalities are given the responsibility to govern and control the municipal area in an equitable manner, in which the provisions of basic service delivery are ensured, as well as to influence the growth of economic and social development (Ababio, Vyas-Doorgapersad & Mzini 2008:8; South Africa 1996:76). According to Mpehle (2012:124) the Constitution, Sections 26 and 27, places much emphasis on the rights of all citizens regarding access to basic services such as food, health care, social security, education, housing, water and basic information in an equitable manner. Section 195 further state that, *“services should be provided in a fair, impartial, unbiased and equitable manner, in which people’s needs must be responded to, in which the public should be encouraged to participate in policy-making”* (South Africa 1996:99; Pillay 2004:587; Lues 2007:220).

The White Paper on the Transformation of the Public Service of 1995 defines public service delivery as *“the capacity of any local government to deliver basic services to the local communities in an effective, responsive and efficient manner”*. The main objective of the White Paper is the provision of a policy framework which is practical to implement and enhance the participation of citizens and businesses in the decision making process (South Africa 1995; Vyas-Doorgapersad 2009:459). The White Paper states that there are various issues which need to be addressed in the public sector. These include administrative capacity, high productivity, transparency, accountability and quality service delivery (Ncholo 2000:87). Various challenges faced by local government in basic service delivery remain a reality, and often lead to service delivery protests in various parts of the country (Mpehle 2012:125).

The provision of adequate services is a critical role of the public sector. However, many national and sub-national governments, including municipalities, fall short in this regard (Ahmad, Devarajan, Khemani & Shah 2005:2). According to Bachman and MacCleery (2006:1), high quality municipal service delivery ensures economic development of municipalities, while poor levels of service delivery create interruptions and other problems, undermining the quality of life in communities. The decline in economic growth and loss of trust between the citizens and the local government is a direct result of poor service delivery.

According to Duduzile (2015:17), basic service delivery has an immediate and direct effect on the quality of lives of the people in the community, while poor

services and service delivery make it difficult to attract businesses to an area (Kock & Burke 2008:460). Some of the enabling features, as mentioned by Brinkerhoff (2004:4), include the encouragement of free markets and open competition, a democratic system that supports accountability, transparency and responsiveness, low levels of corruption and the presence of social capital and trust.

Such an environment ultimately includes the business environment at the local and national level, encompassing administrative procedures, policies, regulations and the state of public infrastructure (Banerjee & Chau 2004:30). Local government plays a significant role in the creation and attainment of an enabling environment (Edwards & Tsouros 2006:2). Local government can create an enabling environment by improving infrastructure, implementing skills programmes, ensuring law and order, supporting new and existing organisations as well as finding niche export markets (Blakely & Leigh 2013:61; Pretorius & Schurink 2007:21).

According to the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO 2008:6–8) there are various factors contributing to the creation of an enabling environment. These include well maintained road infrastructure, adequate levels of bureaucracy and a functional educational system. Meyer (2014:32) has identified 12 factors that have an influence on the creation of an enabling environment within a local community. These include:

- *The formation of partnerships*: Partnership formation can be defined as local government, the private sector, the non-profit organisations as well as the local communities working together in order to improve the quality of life for all (Marais 2012:49; DeVita *et al.* 2001:1). According to the National Council for Public-Private Partnerships (NCPPP 2015), such a partnership is a contractual arrangement between the private sector entity and the public agency including national, provincial or local governments. Through these diverse arrangements, the assets and skills of the private and public sector are shared in delivering services for the use of the local communities (NCPPP 2015). Creating strong partnerships will enable both the private and public entities to share skills and resources for the benefit of economic development and job creation (Meyer 2014:30).
- *Policies, initiatives, capacity and structures within local government*: The regulations within local government need to be more accommodating in order to promote business development. Investment friendly policies, together with skills and capacity development policies are needed. Local regulations need to be maintained in a manner that promotes business development and skills training (Trousdale 2005:6). Another important aspect that can potentially support local business is to relax business registration and licensing (UNIDO 2008:1). For example to reduce the turn-around time for approval of land use applications from between 12 to 18 months to less than 6 months.

- *Political leadership*: According to Masciulli, Molchanov and Knight (2009:3–4), successful leaders demonstrate the ability to move their thoughts and vision in the directions that are clearly supportive of their “grand design”. Political will requires the ability and courage to challenge all interest groups to commit to the development of long term benefits for all citizens (Todaro & Smith 2011:526). Therefore, strong political leadership, also known as local “champions”, within the community is needed in order to improve the overall economic conditions (Rogerson 2009:51).
- *Social development initiatives and poverty alleviation*: According to the International Labour Organisation (ILO 2014a:2) poverty reduction involves sustainable growth and equality in favour of the poor thus “pro-poor growth”. Changes in laws, regulations, institutions and practices are all necessary in order to eliminate the process of continued low living standards. Improving the quality of life in a community is one of the main aims of local economic development (Blakely & Leigh 2013:2).
- *Economic development initiatives*: In terms of section 152 of the Constitution of 1996 (South Africa 1996:74), local government is required to ensure local economic development activities are implemented. Human, Lochner and Botes (2008:52) argue that the creation of new businesses is needed in order to achieve high local economic growth. Locality is important in order to determine the level of competitive advantages, comparative advantages as well as formal business support. According to the Department of Economic Development (South Africa 2015a:1), economic policy development is important to address aspects such as the coordination and implementation of the New Growth Path (NGP). The NGP is a vision and framework developed for economic policy by the South African government as a driver of the country’s job strategy (Patel 2011:1).
- *Infrastructure development*: The Presidency (2014:34) declared that infrastructure development will ensure job creation, skills development and capacity building within the country. In this respect, a well maintained infrastructure system includes proper road conditions, water and sewer networks as well as energy generation. Well-developed infrastructure system provided by government with capacity allows, for the establishment of an enabling environment for local business to prosper. If such capacity does not exist local economic development and local business could not achieve growth.
- *The development of human resources*: Marketing, entrepreneurial development, a skilled labour force and the protection of workers are needed in order to balance the flexible labour regulations in a country and subsequently, the development of human capital may lead to a better formal economy within the various sectors (Davis 2004:11).

- *The development of entrepreneurship and SMME's*: The development of small enterprises may assist in strengthening the entrepreneurial management skills of any organisation. The ILO (2014b) states that the growth of Small to Medium and Micro Size Enterprises (SMME's) can be attributed to capacity building, fostering the adoption of good workplace practices, as well as training resources within an organisation. Therefore, local government should provide an enabling environment for people to open new businesses.
- *Access to transport and opportunities*: Transport infrastructure is regarded as important for promoting development and growth (Banerjee, Duflo & Qian 2012:35). According to Banerjee *et al.* (2012:35) this belief is based on the fact that historical infrastructure and construction, such as railways, exercised a major influence on rapid economic growth. Transportation can enhance economic growth and increase the local customer base for services, such as shopping malls, educational facilities, medical facilities and rural transportation (Brown 2011:7). Better access to markets, transport, as well as Information and Communications Technology (ICT), allows for increased economic opportunities within the area managed by the local government (Sibisi 2009:9). Access to better transport facilities contributes greatly towards the development of an area (Blakely & Leigh 2013:63).
- *Safety and security*: Crime prevention is another important factor for the creation of an enabling environment. High levels of crime negatively impact on society, local businesses and the environment (South Africa 2015b:18). According to Todaro and Smith (2011:546), addressing the problem of corruption would ensure public trust and lower levels of private gain. In addition to this, as society grows wealthier, good governance needs to be maintained within the population.
- *Agricultural development actions*: The agricultural sector is a major generator of employment as one of the job drivers of the NGP that also assists in poverty reduction and food security (CIDA 2009:2; The Presidency 2012:219). Access to land ownership through land reform projects, provides poor beneficiaries with an opportunity to break the cycle of poverty (IFAD 2001:2). Emerging, as well as commercial farmers, need to be supported by means of access to finance, infrastructure development such as irrigation systems, research regarding export opportunities, and new market identification and incentives (De Satge 2010:12).
- *Environmental and spatial development actions*: Clean, quality physical environments attract economic development where sound environmental management is practised (CIDA 2009:3; Koven & Lyons 2003:52; The Presidency 2012:4). Spatial planning is based on the strategic planning process, and is therefore vision-based, giving direction in local economic planning (LED). Economic development planning must be integrated with

spatial planning, which will ensure the spatial and geographic grounding of economic activities at optimal localities within a region. Spatial planning is integrative in nature and aims to ensure integrated land use planning to address spatial imbalances of the past, assist in the creation of enabling environments, improve economic rural-urban linkages through development corridors, ensure compact urban areas, support active participation, and ensure sustainable environments with a sense of place and viable local communities (Meyer 2014:285). Spatial planning initiatives must attempt to create integration of institutions and other planning activities such as economic and social planning. Spatial planning needs to provide direction to, and a long-term developmental vision for, a local area (Blakely and Bradshaw 2002:56).

In terms of the creation of an enabling environment, LED enables the communities to improve their economic status as well as improving their overall living standards. It is therefore essential that local government identifies the relevant needs of local communities.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Objectives of the study and research questions

The purpose of this article is to analyse the perceptions of business owners regarding the creation of an enabling environment and service delivery within one of the best performing municipalities in Gauteng: the Midvaal Local Municipal area. This municipality was specifically selected as the focus area of this study due to the municipality's good performance over the last decade and has a proven track record of good governance and better performing socio-economic indicators than the Emfuleni and Lesedi Municipalities also within the same district (Global Insight 2016). From the main purpose of the study, the following research questions were investigated:

- Which factors are the municipality contributing to the creation of an enabling environment?
- What are the general service delivery perceptions of the business owners within the study area?

Research design

The methodology utilised a quantitative study approach. Primary data were collected using a structured questionnaire. The questions mainly addressed local businesses' perceptions on service delivery and the factors which contributed

to the creation of an enabling environment by local government. Formal businesses in the Midvaal Local Municipal area were the main participants of the study. The research design followed a positivist approach. This paradigm is adopted for the study as the role of the researcher will be partial to data collection and interpretation (Remenyi *et al.* 1998:32). By using a positivist approach, quantifiable observations, in this case through questionnaires, will be statistically analysed. This will result in an empirical view of the knowledge that results from human experience, but reported in purely in an empirical manner. Following this approach ensures that the researcher remains objective towards the study and independent from the actual research (Collins 2010:38).

Research area

The Midvaal Local Municipality forms part of the Sedibeng District Municipality and is located to the south of Johannesburg. The area was selected as the study area because this municipality has constantly performed well in Gauteng province in terms of service delivery. The municipality is ranked 6th in South Africa according to the Municipal Productivity Index (Moriarty 2015:1). The municipality is a Category B municipality as defined in the Local Government: Municipal Systems Act (No. 32 of 2000). These can be defined as municipalities that are not part of a metropolitan municipality or a district municipality (Meyer 2013:30). The total geographical area measures 1 728 square kilometres, housing an estimated population of 95 301 people (StatsSA 2011). Table 1 presents a summary of key socio-economic statistics of the three municipalities in this region. From the table it is clear that the socio-economic indicators of the Midvaal municipal area are far more favourable than those of the other two municipalities in the region especially with regard to human development index (HDI).

Table 1: Comparison of key socio-economic statistics for Midvaal, Emfuleni and Lesedi Local municipalities

Economic variable	Midvaal		Emfuleni		Lesedi	
	2000	2014	2000	2014	2000	2014
HDI	0.65	0.71	0.61	0.66	0.58	0.64
Number of people below poverty line (%)	36.7	28.5	56.6	42.9	58.5	41.5
Unemployment (%)	12.9	24.8	34.9	44.0	24.9	35.1
GDP annual growth (1996 to 2014) (%)	–	3.0	–	2.6	–	2.8

Source: (Global Insight 2016)

Measuring instrument, sample and data collection method

A self-administered questionnaire was designed to gather information. Its main sections included the following: general background information on the business, public services perceptions and the factors contributing to the creation of an enabling environment. A five-point Likert scale, where 1=very poor, 2=poor, 3=acceptable, 4=good and 5=very good, was used for two parts of the questionnaire – public service delivery aspects (5 items) and enabling environment factors (12 items). This was to obtain the level of agreement business owners reported with certain statements regarding the research topic (Uebersax 2006:3).

The survey sample comprised 50 businesses from the study area located in the Meyerton central business district (CBD) and the industrial district, since a large number of businesses in Midvaal are located in these areas. Businesses were randomly selected for the survey. The data from the survey was analysed using SPSS. Although the questionnaire was designed in a self-administering format, trained fieldworkers made appointments with the business owners and discussed or explained any uncertainty or confusion regarding the specific question asked. All questionnaires were collected within a period of two weeks.

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

This section contains the general background information of the business owners; the descriptive statistics regarding the service delivery perceptions and the factors for the creation of an enabling environment. A cross tabulation was conducted to determine whether a significant difference exists between perceptions of small businesses and larger businesses in the study area.

General Background information

The aim of this section is to analyse the general information of the various enterprises including the highest level of education, gender and age of the owner. Table 2 depicts this information.

As indicated in Table 2, most of the business owners who were part of the survey, were between the ages of 40 and 49 (36%). A total of 66 percent of all business owners were between 30 to 49 years with none under 30 years. This could mean that these owners were relatively mature. The majority were males (66%). Such proprietors are relatively well educated as most of them had attained a certificate, diploma or degree (66%), although a total of 34 percent had only received high school education up to Grade 12. Table 3 indicates the sector, size and period of existence of the businesses.

Table 2: Age, gender and level of education of business owners

Age	Percent	Gender	Percent	Education	Percent
30–39	30	Female	34	High School (Grade 12)	34
40–49	36	Male	66	Certificate/Diploma	46
50–59	22			Degree	16
60 and above	12			Master’s Degree	2
				PhD	2

Source: (Author’s own information)

Table 3: Sector, size and period of existence of businesses

Sector	Percent	Size	Percent	Existence	Percent
Mining	2	Micro/Small (0 – 50 employees)	70	1–10 years	24
Manufacturing	26	Medium/Large (51 – 200 employees)	30	Longer than 10 years	76
Retail	38				
Finance	4				
Services sector	28				
Trade	2				

Source: (Author’s own information)

As shown in Table 3, most of the businesses in the survey operate within the retail (38%), services (28%) and manufacturing (26%) sectors. The majority of the businesses in the survey are classified as small (70%), while 30 percent were considered medium to large businesses. This is a normal ratio between small and larger businesses for a specific region. Most of the businesses have been in existence longer than 10 years (76%), while only 24 percent were between 1 and 10 years old. This gives an indication that the businesses are relatively well established and stable.

Factors for the creation of an enabling environment

Table 4 presents the factors contributing to the creation of an enabling environment, providing the calculated values for the minimum, maximum, mean and standard deviation. As may be observed, each factor was ranked

Table 4: Factors contributing to the creation of an enabling environment and differences in perceptions (small versus larger businesses)

Enabling Environment Factors (ranking in brackets)	Total Mean*	Standard Deviation	Size	Mean	Chi-square (Pearson's Value)
Leadership (1)	3.46	1.014	Small	3.486	0.772
			Large	3.400	
Structures, capacity and policies (2)	3.42	1.051	Small	3.571	0.553
			Large	3.066	
Poverty alleviation and social development (3)	3.40	1.293	Small	3.229	0.518
			Large	3.800	
Economic development initiatives (4)	3.40	1.116	Small	3.314	0.236
			Large	3.600	
Partnership formation (5)	3.38	1.398	Small	3.571	0.436
			Large	2.933	
Improvement of access and transport (6)	3.30	1.216	Small	3.429	0.015**
			Large	3.000	
Infrastructure plans (7)	3.18	1.350	Small	3.171	0.450
			Large	3.200	
Human resources development (8)	3.12	1.042	Small	3.114	0.724
			Large	3.133	
Environmental and spatial plans (9)	3.02	1.515	Small	3.171	0.221
			Large	2.667	
Entrepreneurship development (10)	2.80	1.245	Small	2.829	0.970
			Large	2.733	
Agricultural development (11)	2.76	1.152	Small	2.686	0.870
			Large	2.933	
Safety and security (12)	2.65	1.282	Small	2.857	0.505
			Large	2.600	
*N=50, Min=1, Max=5 **Significance level < 0.05					

Source: (Author's dataset)

using the mean (maximum 5). The factor with the highest mean recorded is leadership with a score of 3.46. The other factors that also had significantly high means are structures and policies (mean=3.42), poverty alleviation and social development (mean=3.40), economic development initiatives (means=3.40), and partnership formation (mean=3.38). The factors that recorded significant lower means are entrepreneurship development (mean=2.800), agricultural development (mean=2.760) and safety and security (mean=2.650). It should, however, be mentioned that all factors have a mean of above 2.5, indicating above average overall achievement of creation of an enabling environment in the municipal area. The average score as allocated for the 12 factors was 3.17.

These results indicate that more attention is required for entrepreneurship development (ILO 2014b) and more focus should be placed on agricultural development, while safety and security (Todaro & Smith 2011:546) needs additional attention within the municipal area. Furthermore, an additional analysis was performed to evaluate if there was any significant statistical difference, in perceptions, between small and large businesses. This was achieved using the Pearson Chi-square test for interpretation as indicated in Table 4. It was found that no overall significant statistical difference exists between the perceptions of small and larger businesses regarding the creation of an enabling environment. Just one of the twelve factors was found to have a significant difference of perception between small and large businesses: the improvement of access to transport. The perceptions of small business owners yielded an average mean score of 3.22 (maximum of 5), compared to the average mean score for larger businesses of 3.08. This suggests that small businesses had a slightly higher positive score, regarding the perception of the creation of an enabling environment by local government, than that of large businesses in the study area.

Service delivery perceptions

The general service delivery perceptions of the business owners within the study area were also measured. Overall, the business owners considered the level of service delivery above average, scoring an average of 3.980 out of a maximum of 5. Table 5 indicates the service delivery perceptions for the different factors in the study area. The categories which were used within this section included the owners' perceptions concerning: water availability and sewerage provision, electricity supply, roads provision and maintenance, correctness of municipal accounts as well as planning and zoning regulations.

Water and sewer provision scored the highest mean (4.360), secondly correctness of municipal accounts (4.120) and thirdly, electricity supply (3.740). The business owners felt that roads provision and maintenance, as well as land

Table 5: Service delivery perceptions for the different factors

Factor (ranking in brackets)	Mean*	Standard deviation
Water availability and sewer provision (1)	4.360	0.875
Electricity supply (3)	3.740	1.046
Roads provision and maintenance (4)	3.560	1.248
Municipal accounts (2)	4.120	0.982
Land use planning and zoning regulations (5)	3.180	1.335
*N=50, Min=1, Max=5		

Source: (Author's dataset)

use planning and zoning regulations, could improve in the study area although both factors still scored well above average. Table 6 shows the cross-tabulation and Chi-square tests in the differences of service delivery perceptions within the Midvaal Local Municipality between small and medium/large businesses.

As may be noticed in Table 6, a total of 34 percent of the small businesses perceived that service delivery within the study area was excellent, while 20 percent of the medium to larger businesses felt that service delivery was very good within the municipal area. It may be concluded that most of the smaller businesses tend to have a more positive perception towards service delivery than the larger businesses. The Pearson chi-square test with a p-value of 0.354 nevertheless indicates that there is no significant statistical difference between the perceptions of the two groups.

From the literature review and the statistical analysis, the case study of the Midvaal Local Municipality indicates that good governance, and therefore effective service delivery, will make a significant contribution to the creation

Table 6: Difference of general perceptions on service delivery between small and large businesses

Size of the business operated in	Poor	Below Acceptable	Acceptable	Excellent	Pearson Chi-square Value
Small	0 (0)*	3 (8.6)	20 (57.1)	12 (34.3)	0.354**
Large	1 (6.7)	1 (6.7)	10 (66.7)	3 (20.0)	
*% in brackets **Significance level < 0					

Source: (Author's dataset)

of an enabling environment and eventually economic development. Table 1 provides a clear indication of how good governance, service delivery and the creation of an enabling environment leads to economic development. Midvaal Municipality with its proven track record of good governance has much better socio-economic indicators than the Emfuleni and Lesedi Municipalities.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

The overall purpose of the study was to analyse the perceptions of local business owners regarding the level of service delivery and the creation of an enabling environment by the relevant local government. This research is relevant in that the majority of municipalities in South Africa are struggling to provide an enabling environment and to deliver services at an acceptable level (Swart 2013:2). This poor service delivery also impacts negatively on the potential of local government to provide an enabling environment for local businesses to prosper. Midvaal Local Municipality was specifically selected as the focus area of this study due to the municipality's good performance over the last decade.

The research indicated that good governance and quality service delivery assists in the creation of an enabling environment (Pretorius & Schurink 2007:19). In addition, the statistics in the research suggest that if a positive enabling environment is created, the possibility exists that it will lead to economic development (Blakely & Leigh 2013). It is interesting to note that local business owners were more than satisfied with local service delivery of essential services and rated the level of service delivery as "good". Regarding the creation of an enabling environment, the majority of the local business owners also agreed that the municipality is providing an "acceptable" level of enabling environment with a score of 3.17 (maximum score was 5). This is an excellent rating taking into account the state of local government in South Africa, with frequent service delivery protest marches countrywide (Swart 2013:1; Badenhorst-Weiss & Ambe 2011:453; Grant 2014:1).

Local business owners rated leadership as the most important enabling factor, implemented well by the municipality, while safety and security were the worst implemented of all 12 of the factors. In the statistical analysis, no significant difference was found in the perceptions of small and larger businesses.

The following recommendations are listed as best practice principles as found in the study area:

- Local government should prioritise economic development as one of its main priorities, with business development and support and the creation of job opportunities as the objectives.

- A balance should be allowed between pro-developmental and pro-poor initiatives in order to allow both the formal business sector and the informal sector to prosper. For example the marketing of formal businesses and provision of permanent structures for informal traders.
- Partnership formation between the local government, businesses and the community is important and should be strengthened in order for local government to be aware of possible problematic areas as well as the active engagement of structures and policies. Partnerships could be strengthened through formal public-private forums such as LED forums with specific projects being implemented.
- Active leadership and “local champions” comprise the most important factor for any local government to succeed. Governments should promote political stability and leadership. Unstable political environments do affect local economies negatively.
- Structures and policies within the local government should be directed towards sustaining economic growth; in other words, such a government should aim to improve employment opportunities, extending infrastructure capacity as well as improving the capacity for growth in both the formal and the informal sector.

The recommendations provided could assist local governments to assess their level of service delivery and the creation of an enabling environment. It may well also assist in allowing comparative assessments of municipalities in South Africa and aid re-assessment of local developmental policy and priorities. Future research should include comparative studies of various local municipalities in rural and urban South Africa.

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Accommodating Academic Diversity and Autonomy in Public Administration Syllabi¹

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ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the challenge of designing syllabi ² that accommodate a diversity of academic perspectives on the components of postgraduate Public Administration programmes. It is advanced that, to do this, we need to move beyond the constraints embodied in Public Administration as a discipline or as a multidisciplinary endeavour, towards 'governance' and 'public value' related constructs. Using 'governance' as a frame for macro-theory and 'public value' as the foundation for connecting theory and practice, a broad syllabi framework is proposed for guiding autonomous academic offerings. The syllabi areas are linked to disciplines and interdisciplinary descriptions that have emerged historically. Outside of mobilisation for academic delivery within broad syllabi areas, the best that can be done for a commonality of teaching objectives between postgraduate Public Administration and Management faculty is to encourage the use of literature and learning methodologies that link theory to practice. {Achieng, 2014 #157}

INTRODUCTION

Public Administration incorporates the perspective of a relationship between theory based reflections and the world of practice (Fenger and Homburg 2011:385; Kuye 2005:525). How this theory-practice link is encapsulated in designed syllabus components is contingent on individual academic outlook and syllabi defining authority relationships in each institution. The approach of those involved in syllabus design is often to use recognised standards, such as those established by the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and

Administration (NASPAA) (Wessels 2012:162; Van Dijk and Thornhill 2011:7). Alternatively, syllabi may be derived from the dominant political discourse.³ No matter the design approach, there probably could never be full consensus by academics on the study foci that would be relevant for purposes of syllabi design both now and in the future (Denhardt 2001:527).

The challenge for those leading syllabus design and related change exercises is to find a frame that accommodates diversity of perspective on the constitutive components (Wessels 2012:163), the academic autonomy exercised in the learning process and the certainty required by participants on programme offerings. In searching for a design approach that moves beyond an uncomfortable blend of disciplinary and interdisciplinary courses, it is useful to look to wider theory and practice to find a framework that accommodates diversity in demand and in supply. An outline is provided of the syllabus design challenges embodied in Public Administration. This is done with a view towards putting forward a framework that accommodates the tension in design between broader theory exposure and the ongoing pressures for workplace relevance.

THE SYLLABUS DESIGN CHALLENGE

The practice of syllabus design in postgraduate level Public Administration programmes, as with other fields, is reflected by the desire on the part of Universities to establish formal binding contracts, often in the form of University Senate or Faculty Rules and Standing Orders, on the syllabus components that will be delivered to students. It is meant to serve as a framework for securing some level of formal legal authority over a curriculum that will be designed in detail by academics. It also then shapes the literature and knowledge resources that would be used in the learning process. Defined syllabus components further serve to communicate programme relevance for sponsorship and accreditation of specific programmes (Fornaciari and Dean 2014:709).

The discipline of Public Administration has historically favoured a 'bureaucratic ethos', embracing values such as efficiency, effectiveness, expertise and loyalty (Nabatchi, Goerdel and Peffer 2011:i35). While there might well be variations in application across geographical contexts, the dominant approach in the discipline is on the internal operational aspects of 'administration' as separate to politics and wider social processes. In South Africa, this internal orientation was embodied in the earlier 'generic administrative processes' approach and the more recent 'public management' orientation to the discipline and hence to the design of a syllabus (Marais 1994:103). The criticism of such operationally focused approaches, including those variants that seek to define public and private practices as the same, is that they fail to relate institutional

practices to a wider 'democratic ethos' (Nabatchi, Goerdel and Peffer 2011:i36) and to the larger social, political, cultural and economic environment. Cameron (2008) has persuasively argued that the discipline remains dominated by an internal management focus rather than a broad social science knowledge-based approach (in Auriacombe 2008:vi).

One reaction to the weakness in an internal practice focused syllabus has been to move towards multidisciplinary offerings, giving rise to postgraduate qualifications that are constitutive of components offered by different disciplinary departments at universities. In some parts of the world, such as in Europe, the change is captured as one where 'degrees in Public Administration have disappeared' (Jones 2012:130), but the academic title remains as a framework for arranging specific disciplinary offerings (Fenwick and McMillan 2014:7). The danger of moving away from an operationally focused syllabus towards a multidisciplinary option is a complete separation of reflections and real world practice in the pedagogical process. In some countries, such as the United Kingdom, this approach was prevalent and reflected in institutions offering traditional academic subjects, for example, politics, sociology, and philosophy; followed by 'a sandwich placement year in which to learn how to apply the academic skills in the workplace' (Jones 2012:125).

The challenge for syllabus design is to secure the link between theory and practice without succumbing to the temptation of either separating theory or practice modules, or designing practice oriented capstone type projects or internships that seek to facilitate the integration of disciplinary knowledge and the world of practice. To some the link between practice and theory within the pedagogical process is the essence of Public Administration as a discipline or as a professionally focused field of study (Abel 2009). Abel (2009:157) argues that a singular pedagogy for Public Administration would assist in shaping how people 'make decisions and act under conditions of greater uncertainty', especially considering that 'our students must learn how to thrive on chaos; to make rapid decisions based on incomplete and biased information; to resolve novel situations as apprehensive parties clamour to secure their interests; and to collaborate with a team of fellow bureaucrats as they identify, share, and master a situation that is filtered through a fog of quasi-accurate information'.

Public Administration as a framework either for organising disciplinary based syllabus components or for establishing interdisciplinary content areas appears to be struggling to find a balance between focus and diversity, and between theory and practice (Barberis 2012:90). One approach to overcome the struggle is to shape the syllabus to conform to prevailing perspectives, as in the 'developmental state' discourse proposed by Wessels (2012:170) or the 'competence domains' for a developmental public service suggested by De Wet and Van der Waldt (2013:57). The problem with a syllabus shaped to a

prevailing discourse is that there are always persuasive alternative paradigms on the knowledge and practices that would be important for shaping service delivery in the public domain (McLennan 2007:12). In a substantive analysis of the larger questions in 'Public Administration and Management circulation' Van der Waldt (2012:106) indicates that a uniform curriculum is not feasible or advisable. This may well be based on recognising that Public Administration as a construct or discipline has perhaps not succeeded in establishing focus. It is also a pragmatic approach for encouraging diversity among Universities and niche syllabus consensus between faculties in particular institutions. The challenge nevertheless remains, what would be the basis for agreement on the niche focus of an institution? The difficulty for delivery is also the propensity to engage in constant syllabus change processes to conform to new dominating perspectives. A process that takes up valuable academic time and is often subject to further transformation needs a point of apparent syllabus consensus. It would then be prudent to extend the search for a framework that accommodates diversity, by looking at other constructs within broader development discourse. A framework that is capable of accommodating a diversity of views on the role of the public sphere in the prosperity of societies, on the strategies to be used to improve the performance of public institutions and on the knowledge and skills needed to enhance the proficiency of individuals who work therein.

GOVERNANCE AS A FRAMEWORK

Even as governance is prone to divergent definition, there appears to be a level of consensus on its centrality for national prosperity and the performance of public institutions (Carothers and De Gramont 2013). The possibility of governance providing an avenue for reflecting on the parameters of Public Administration as a discipline was raised by George H. Fredrickson in 2002. He nevertheless felt that 'governance' was not always useful as it lacked precision (in Fenwick and McMillan 2014:169). Van der Waldt (2014a) responds to the definitional challenge by proposing an integrative framework and by placing 'public governance' as a trans-disciplinary terrain of knowledge production. The challenge for any definition and concomitant framework is whether it is comprehensive enough to be valuable for explanatory purposes, but not so broad that it attempts to explain everything (Fenwick and McMillan 2014:169).

In its original construction, 'governance' was directed at explaining the practice of social steering (Peters and Pierre 1998:225). It has since evolved, within public sector deliberations, to refer to the exercise of building and managing state institutions for the delivery of public value. The effective trigger for a technical state centred perspective of governance was the World Bank

publication; *'Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth'*. In line with the non-political approach of the Bank, the report focused on issues of corruption, implementation inefficiencies and the lack of accountability. Its prescriptions emphasise institutional reforms, inclusive of better financial management, reform of state institutions, privatisation and economic deregulation. The state centric economic approach of the World Bank has been criticised by many within African civil society and academia. The overarching perspectives were, that the good governance programme, as it emerged from the World Bank, was in essence an attempt to transfer western liberal economic approaches to African countries with little regard to context and political reality (Kjaer 2014:24).

The criticism of the World Bank institutional approach to governance gave rise to perspectives on governance that incorporates concerns with politics and the exercise of power, as in the definition by Hyden (1999): *Governance is the stewardship of formal and informal political rules of the game. Governance refers to those measures that involve setting the rules for the exercise of power and the settling of conflicts over such rules* (Quoted in Kjaer 2014:24). Such a definition invariably brings into focus issues of democratic elections, participation, the rule of law and human rights, as has been the focus of civil society concerns in Africa. For many, the term 'governance' also implied recognising that the delivery of public services goes beyond institutions of state (Mkandawire 2007:681) and is inclusive of the work that unfolds within a wider set of institutions that are broadly established to serve a public purpose, including voluntary and not for profit institutions. Using governance in a broader manner serves to incorporate a focus on all institutions serving a public purpose and is hence a step beyond the fixation with state institutions implied by Public Administration (Peters and Pierre 1998).

Van der Walt (2014a) draws on Jun (1996) to propose a more inclusive 'systems' inspired model for knowledge construction in Public Governance. Based on which, it is proposed that Public Governance incorporates interactions between four identifiable systems in governance: government, economic, political and social systems. Van der Walt (2014a) demonstrates the value of the systems perspective by 'unpacking' the system of government, into various units of analysis and related terrains of knowledge. The limitation of the initial systems proposed by Jun (1996) and related expansion by Van der Walt (2014a) is the temptation to expand these continuously to include other equally relevant systems, such as the ecological system, the technological system, the cultural system. A deeper unpacking of each would create further uncertainty on which units of analysis would be relevant. The 'working' Public Governance concept put forward by Van der Walt (2014a) may well be comprehensive, but loses value for syllabi, as it attempts to explain everything. Even as the four systems

identified seem reasonable and overarching, there is no conceptual justification for these and hence the focus for study and syllabus.

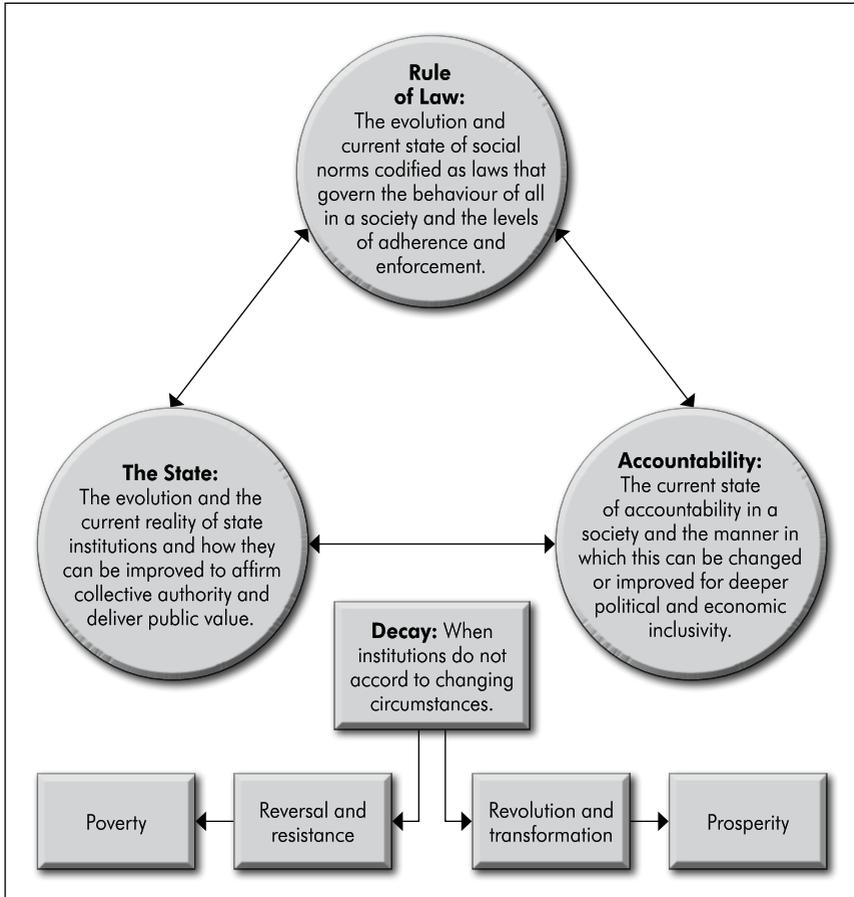
Inspiration for a more focused and inclusive 'governance' construct that would be relevant for reflections on the public sphere in all societies and hence for syllabi, comes from the analytical model that Francis Fukuyama uses in *The Origins of Political Order* (2011) and in *Political Order and Political Decay* (2014). According to Fukuyama (2011 and 2014), societies that achieve a higher level of success, do so on the basis of the evolved maturity of three institutional systems, namely, the state, rule of law, and accountability. The rationale for these institutional systems is Fukuyama's (2011) historical analysis of the appearance and growth of human societies from bands, tribes, and chiefdoms to states. The 'general framework' of Fukuyama has empirical roots and is predicated on both understanding the historical evolution of these institutions and systems and how they can be changed through deliberate choice and design. Drawing from Fukuyama (2011 and 2014) the framework can be cast as a governance conceptual triangle on the current state of a particular political order and the interventions that would increase prosperity for all within the society.

Societies that get it right and prosper have succeeded in having a state sector that is fit for purpose, accountability that secures inclusivity and a legal system that is predicated on rule of law. Decay and the possibility of change set in when institutions are not fit for expected purpose or do not meet new realities and transformative pressures (Fukuyama 2011:7). Even though change is complex and subject to a range of contingencies, it is not improbable to conceive of interventions that lead to better institutions and hence higher levels of prosperity; an exercise described as 'getting to Denmark' by Fukuyama (2011:14). Successful societies are the ones that are able to combine all three sets of institutions in a stable balance, the achievement of which represents the miracle of modern society (Fukuyama 2011:16). To appreciate governance interventions that would be relevant for a better future, we would then need to understand how these three sets of institutions have evolved society and the manner in which they can be transformed within context.

To use the general framework of Fukuyama (2011 and 2014) for syllabus purposes implies a concept of 'governance' that is focused on the three institutional systems that are essential for the prosperity of nations. Drawing from Fukuyama (2011)⁵ these may be constructed as follows for syllabus purposes:

- *The Rule of Law*: Public policy, law and regulatory systems that have evolved within and across societies and the manner in which authority is exercised and adherence achieved.
- *Accountability*: The formal and informal distribution of power and its impact on inclusivity in the use and distribution of resources for development and equity in the society.

Figure 1: Governance conceptual triangle



Source: (Adapted from Fukuyama 2011 and 2014).

- *The State:* The manner in which collective authority is operationally secured and public value is delivered for collective coexistence.

The value of using the three institutions as the terrain of exploration is that, outside of emphasising the primacy of politics and institutions for development, there is no direct or overt ideological expression within each. Each area can be explored from a liberal, radical or anti-colonial Africanist perspective and hence we need not engage in constant changes as new political or development discourses emerge, on power distribution, on the nature of how accountability should be exercised or the role of public institutions established for collective

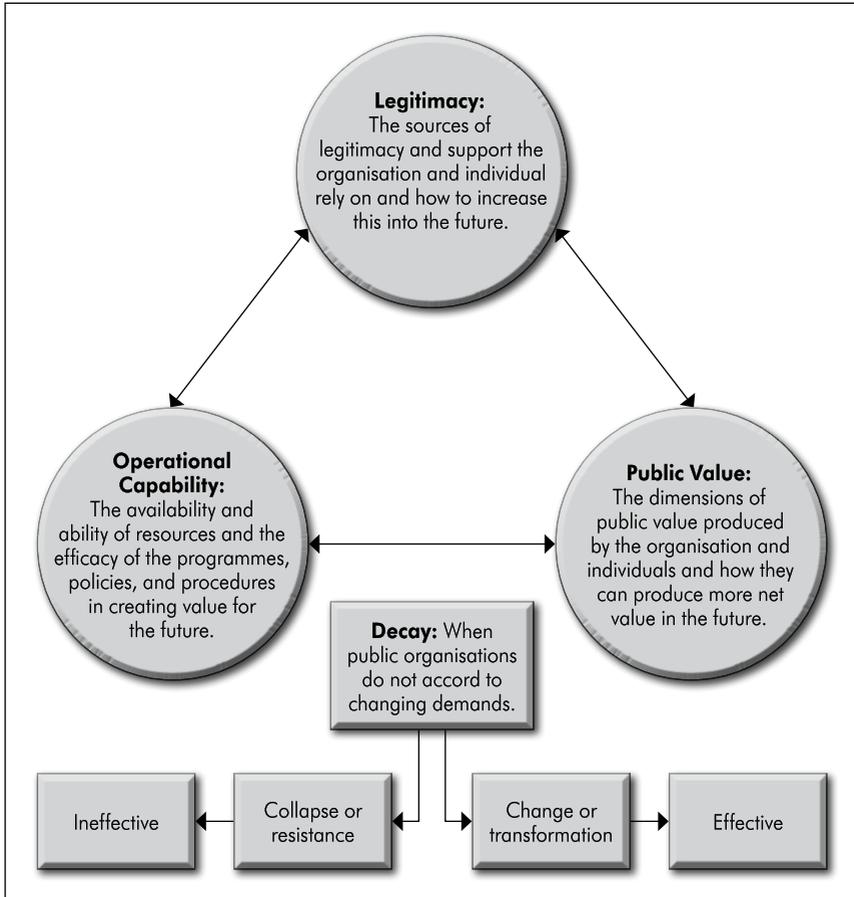
co-existence. Each of the areas in the conceptual framework points towards disciplinary knowledge and hence assists in establishing the continuing importance of wider reflective knowledge for individuals working within public domain institutions. The first terrain of reflective knowledge points towards the importance of law and political science, the second to sociology and economics and, the third to psychology, engineering and related disciplines. In all, history, anthropology and philosophy continue to have immense relevance.

There are those who believe that disciplinary knowledge should not be tempered with pressures to link it with practice, as this would dilute the importance of theory (Barberis 2012:90). If we subscribe to such a view then Public Administration would be nothing more than an organising framework for multi-disciplinary study. We would not have to look any further than providing a compressed offering in each of the above stated disciplinary areas, with the hope that application would unfold in the world of practice. Even though the 'governance' construct, as outlined, provides a basis for reflection on developments in wider society and hence assists in shifting from an internal bureaucratic ethos in the design of syllabi, it does not really establish the foundations for what would be needed to link disciplinary knowledge to the performance of public institutions and to the proficiency of individuals working or planning to work in the public domain. To do this, we need to link the wider 'governance' construct to a perspective that is focused on institutions and individuals. The 'public value' literature and, in particular, the writings of Moore (1995 and 2013) provide immensely valuable connectors between wider governance reflections and more specific operational level reflections on acting in the real world.

PUBLIC VALUE AS PRACTICALITY

Mark Moore is credited with the initial conception of public value in his 1995 book, *Creating Public Value*, (Moore 1995). The concept has since grown in popularity across the world and has found resonance with Public Managers. It represents, for many, a welcome departure from New Public Management (NPM) and the ravages of the neo-liberal paradigm which sought to weaken the state in favour of the primacy of the market (Rhodes and Wanna 2007:406–7). In *Creating Public Value* (1995) and in *Recognising Public Value* (2013), Moore proposes that a good public value creating strategy for public institutions has to meet three tests. Firstly, it has to make a plausible claim that the envisioned purposes of an institution are publicly valuable. Secondly, it has to command legitimacy and support from those who authorise and finance the activity. Thirdly, it has to be operationally achievable. In applying the framework on

Figure 2: Public Value conceptual triangle



Source: (Adapted from Moore 1995 and 2013).

the work of public institutions, Moore (2013) casts the three tests as a strategic triangle for managing public value and the performance of institutions.

Legitimacy refers to the authority environment that shapes what gets done and the practices that are deemed appropriate for the delivery of public value. It includes the legal frameworks, policies and regulations that shape what institutions and individuals can and cannot do in delivering value. Legitimacy is drawn from the specific legislative and authority environment that the institution has to function within and from which it is able to draw the required support for intervention deemed appropriate. Public value refers to what value an institution produces for the public. Operational capacity refers to the

implementation capabilities, including human, financial and operations, needed to materially produce the desired public value. It also involves the leadership capability to translate what has been approved and planned into actual public value outcomes (Moore 2013). Taken to the level of individual proficiency within public institutions the strategic triangle, as adapted from Moore (2013), would imply the following for curriculum purposes:

- *Legitimacy and Support*: The legal and institutional sources of support for delivering public value and the modalities of how this can be enhanced for the future.
- *Public Value*: The dimensions of public value to be produced and the strategic interventions required for the production of more net value in the future.
- *Operational Capabilities*: The delivery of public value through the effective and efficient use of implementation resources and the creation of organisational systems and procedures.

The utility of the framework for consideration on curriculum design is that it allows for reflection on practically focused content areas that would be relevant for those working within public institutions. It is furthermore predicated on the simple notion that those working within public institutions have to manage upwards, outwards and downwards. In this context it provides a useful basis for linking wider disciplinary theory into a coherent framework for the organisation of postgraduate Public Administration programmes.

LINKING THE FRAMEWORK, THE PRACTICE AND SYLLABUS

Fukuyama (2011 and 2014) and Moore (1995 and 2013) both contend with the nature of the democratic state and the role of public institutions to the success of society, albeit at different conceptual levels. While putting forward distinct frameworks, there is a degree of coherence between the key elements of the two frameworks. Accountability is enhanced through definitions of what constitutes public value at a particular point in time. Rule of law is affirmed when institutions function on the basis of expressed policies and under the framework of authority that most often finds expression in established laws. The state and the wider set of public institutions function optimally when there is reflection on the substance of how they are organised and the manner in which delivery of public goods unfold. In essence, this would mean that all individuals leading or managing within public institutions would need to engage upwards to authority, outwards to society and downwards into institutions.

The links between ‘governance’ and ‘public value’ as articulated here is further summarised in Table 1.

Table 1: Governance and Public Value Linked

Management	Conceptual Level and Focus	Governance	Public Value
		Global and Societal Level	Institutional and individual Level
Upwards	Rule of Law and Legitimacy	Public policy, law and regulatory systems that have evolved within and across societies and the manner in which authority is exercised and adherence achieved.	The legal and institutional sources of support for delivering public value and the modalities of how this can be enhanced for the future.
Outwards	Accountability and Public Value	The formal and informal distribution of power and its impact on inclusivity in the use and distribution of resources for development and equity in the society.	The dimensions of public value to be produced and the strategic interventions required for the production of more net value in the future.
Downwards	The State and Operational Capability	The manner in which collective authority is operationally secured and public value is delivered for collective coexistence.	The delivery of public value through the effective and efficient use of implementation resources and the creation of organisational systems and procedures.

Source: (Adapted from Fukuyama 2011 and 2014; Moore 1995 and 2013).

Taken together, the ‘governance’ triangle and the ‘public value’ triangle allow us to generate a descriptor of curriculum areas that would be relevant at a postgraduate level. As words used are often vital for wider communication and to mobilise participation, it is important that the descriptors appeal to both academics and prospective participants and their sponsors. Hence, they are adjusted and reflected, for syllabi purposes, as follows:

- *Governance and Policy:* Public policy, law and regulatory systems that have evolved within and across societies and the manner in which authority is exercised and adherence achieved. The legal and institutional sources of support for delivering public value and the modalities of how this can be enhanced for the future.
- *Development and Society:* The formal and informal distribution of power and its impact on inclusivity in the use and distribution of resources for development and equity in society. The dimensions of public value to be

produced and the strategic interventions required for the production of more net value in the future.

- *Delivery and Implementation:* The manner in which collective authority is operationally secured and public value is delivered for collective coexistence. The delivery of public value through the effective and efficient use of implementation resources and the creation of organisational systems and procedures.

The utility of the framework is that it serves to establish a link between macro societal-wide reflections and more institutional level considerations. It allows for the bringing together of those who believe that high level theory and reflection is fundamental to positive action within institutions and those who have a primary interest in learning that this would be meaningful for those who have to engage in active practices within public institutions. To make this approach work, it is important to establish the connectors with existing disciplinary based descriptions and those that have emerged from efforts to define public administration specific content descriptors.

BUILDING COMMONALITY AMID DIVERSITY AND AUTONOMY

In an ideal world, Public Administration academics would engage constantly and openly to secure optimal agreement on the substance of the knowledge and skills necessary for people to work effectively in public institutions. They would also then coordinate to ensure syllabi flow and progression from one syllabus area to another. In practice, academics will testify to the reality that such agreements, outside of some level of imposed syllabus structure, are very difficult to forge and even when forged, there is very little that can be done to control what actually unfolds in interaction between participants and academics.

Autonomy is often jealously guarded and academics generally want to, or invariably do, engage participants on the basis of their perspectives and views on society and the knowledge they think is necessary for success. Most would revert to sharing knowledge within their own disciplinary areas or terrains of research focus. Complete autonomy would in practice give rise to courses that fit individual perceptions and may give rise to a mash of curricula descriptions that fit particular disciplines or that tend towards Public Administration type descriptors. As a step towards encouraging a framework for commonality, amid diversity, academic autonomy and mobility on the part of those seeking careers within public domain institutions, Table 2 links the curricular descriptors that emerge from the framework, the disciplines they are linked with and some of the

more generic Public Administration specific curricular descriptors. The listing of disciplines and Public Administration descriptors is illustrative rather than exhaustive. The disciplines are broadly the dominant conventional University disciplines that fit each of the syllabus areas. The Public Administration descriptors are a selective extraction from a list compiled by Wessels (2012:169) of preferred topics for postgraduate study identified by a selection of South African university based schools and departments of Public Administration and Management. The functional area descriptors are those identified by the Standards Generating Body (SGB) of Public Administration and Management in 1998, as listed by Van der Waldt (2012:105).

Table 2: Syllabus Areas linked to Disciplines, Public Administration and Functional Descriptors

Syllabus Areas	Relevant Disciplines	Public Administration Descriptors	Functional Area Descriptors
<i>Governance and Policy</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Philosophy Political Science History Law 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> International and national politics Ethics (guiding values) Intergovernmental relations Policy formulation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Policy Analysis and Management Inter-Governmental Relations Public Management Ethics Public Administration and Management history, theory and research
<i>Development and Society</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sociology Economics Development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Effective planning Social entrepreneurship Sustainable development Economics Civil society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Development Management Disaster Management
<i>Delivery and Implementation</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Psychology Management Engineering Finance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Organisational development Public Financial administration Human resource management Leadership Performance Management 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Financial Management and Procurement Public Organisational Development and Management Managing Public Service Delivery Human Resource Management Information, Knowledge, Communication and Technology Management

Source: (Adapted from Wessels 2012:169; Van der Waldt 2012:105)

The central point of Table 2 is that, for participants to be effective in any public institutions, they would need to engage in theory and practice linked courses in all three syllabus areas. The words 'management' or 'administration' are not used as they tend to create the impression that the link between theory and practice is only relevant for some areas. Actual syllabi offerings in each area may emanate from academic peer-engagements and may well vary from institution to institution. The perspective articulated here is that some exposure to the relevant disciplines identified in each syllabus area is vital for building the required theoretical grounding for higher levels of applied engagement and problem solving. This linkage among disciplines and the relevant hierarchy between identified disciplines is captured fittingly by Van der Waldt (2014a:74). Doing this at a postgraduate level and in a much more compressed manner brings into focus actual curriculum choices and associate academic peer processes, and the inter-, multi- and trans-disciplinary approaches that would be relevant (Van der Waldt 2014b:188). Hewlett (2016:188) provides an extensive discussion of the complexities of doing this and concludes that it '... requires an understanding of curriculum as selection and organisation of knowledge from within disciplines and, in the case of applied disciplinary fields, from workplace practice'.

Sector and functional area specific engagements would, in this context, arise only after initial grounding in the core Governance and Public Value syllabus areas, through more focused electives in, for example, Monitoring and Evaluation, Media and Communications, and other tertiary disciplines, such as Security, Education, Agriculture, Health and International Development. Early specialisation and the creation of sector specific programmes often limit participant mobility within the wider sector and may overwhelm postgraduate academic schools and departments of Public Administration and Management.

Missing from the analysis is specific skill areas that are essential for functioning in public institutions. These include leadership, team work, negotiations, communications and a collection of very specific skills related to the overall development of individuals. Even as many Schools and Departments now offer courses in such areas, with associated literature, it is not evident that these would be fully relevant as curricular areas, beyond vocational type offerings (Barberis 2012:89), within a postgraduate academic setting. Such skills should ideally be deliberate products of the learning process where the link is made between knowledge and practice. In other words, in each area participants should ideally be forced to reflect on what the theory or related concepts would mean as they exercise leadership and engage in management practices. These should not be taken for granted within individual offerings as very often this is what many participants desire as they reflect back on the world of practice and as they affirm their eagerness to transit to a profession. There needs to be a delicate balance between conceptual reflections and how these can inform operational actions within institutions.

An area of further skills development, which appears to have permeated schools and departments, is the quantitative skills of participants. Statistics is often established as a specific curriculum area for the purposes of ensuring that participants work with both qualitative and quantitative data and evidence. In this instance, an introductory statistical skills oriented programme might well be useful. These are better advanced if those who engaged in the core curriculum areas integrate the use of quantitative data as with other specific abilities. Specific skill focused modules, such as in research methods, would nevertheless remain necessary if the participants are expected to produce research reports and if such skills are deemed essential for future practice. Such skills development courses should however not be conflated with substantive courses directed at enhancing capacities across the three identified curricula areas.

Academics, by the nature of their work, very often sit in a world far removed from actual practice. They are more inclined towards engaging in theory and leaving future practice to participants. Outside of being instructive on content in each syllabi area, the best that can be done to bridge that gap is to influence the learning process by encouraging academics to use teaching case studies and other methodologies that facilitate dialogue and learning that straddles theory and practice. In building for the future, emphasis should be placed on pedagogical approaches, rather than on attempting to control the content which is actually delivered. Constant syllabus tinkering tends to engage academics in futile coordinative exercises which detract from their core intellectual, research and service responsibilities.

CONCLUSION

Public Administration syllabus design is a complex process that requires balancing internal perspectives with external demands. Within such a process, there needs to be recognition of both the authority that is affirmed through dominant discourse and the ever present alternatives on the knowledge and capabilities required for action within public institutions. Outside of a framework that is accommodative of diversity and multiple demands, it may well be impossible to facilitate delivery in a manner that assures value for those attending postgraduate Public Administration programmes. In South Africa, Public Administration and Management faculties have struggled to find a framework for syllabus coherence beyond the 'generic process' approach, the 'systems identification method' and the listing of modules from a New Public Management (NPM) perspective. To remain relevant for the future, there has to be some level of coherence for commonality within Schools and Departments of Public Administration and Management.

This article has argued that curriculum coherence can be achieved by drawing on governance and public value constructs. Using the ‘governance’ conceptual triangle and the ‘public value’ triangle to inform a future syllabus design strategy may only be the first step in a process which should ideally include reflections on the academic capacities required and on the internal peer processes that would facilitate a fit between articulated syllabi and what unfolds in the learning process. The most important challenge in all of this is accepting the reality that we often do not have all the answers on which reflections and practices would be best for the future of the field and the manner in which public institutions function. Just as we may be tempted to accept that an external focus over an internal bureaucratic focus may be better in design, we may well confront instrumental demands that push us towards a more internal focus. Having a coherent framework can nevertheless serve to establish a broad consensus on the public value to be served on the back of divergent internal and external demands.

NOTES

1. In the drafting of this article, I have benefited from interactions with colleagues at the School of Governance at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am also grateful to Professor Gerrit van der Waldt from the University of the North-West for the extensive peer-comments, guidance and further readings made available during construction of this article. I bear full responsibility for the views expressed and they do not necessarily represent the curriculum perspectives of the Wits School of Governance or the University.
2. Syllabi and syllabus are used to denote the courses or modules which are the constitutive elements of a postgraduate public administration programme. The National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration uses ‘curriculum components’ to refer to those areas that ‘develop student competencies that are consistent with programme mission. See www.naspaa.org/.
3. See for example J.S. Wessels’ (2012) linking of a Master’s in Public Administration curriculum to the construct of a Developmental State in South Africa.
4. For a detailed discussion on the value and challenges embodied in practicum experiences see Sprague and Percy (2014).
5. It is important to recognise that Francis Fukuyama (2013) himself defines governance as ‘government’s ability to make and enforce rules, and deliver services, regardless of whether government is democratic or not’.

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Alternative Organisational Arrangements for Institutionalising the Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) Function within Public Sector Departments

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ABSTRACT

The South African Department of Performance Monitoring and Evaluation (DPME), through the Government-Wide M&E System (GWM&ES), wishes to instil in all public service departments a performance-driven management culture that produces accurate monitoring and evaluation (M&E) information for decision making and accountability purposes. The successful implementation of the DPME's mandate depends on appropriate institutional arrangements that integrate the M&E function with the planning, implementation and control functions, thereby reducing the silo mentality instilled by the bureaucratic arrangements of departments.

The purpose of the article is to promote more informed decisions when institutionalising the M&E function within government departments. An overview is provided of the importance of institutionalising the M&E function; the various guidelines from the Presidency and the DPME that informs the purpose, placement, functions and structure of M&E units; and the current status and challenges of M&E units as reflected in various provincial surveys and the 2013 DPME survey. Five alternative options for institutionalising the M&E function within the organisation are derived, namely a centralised top-level M&E Unit, a centralised corporate support M&E Unit, a centralised M&E unit supported by decentralised M&E officers, a centralised M&E unit within a single line department and the M&E transversal team.

The article concludes that each of these options offer advantages and can be appropriate within a specific context. An informed decision should

provide the M&E function with sufficient visibility, align it with other support units and enable it to provide appropriate support and data verification to line departments and service delivery centres of the department.

THE IMPORTANCE OF INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE M&E FUNCTION

There is an ever expanding body of research that gives recognition to the importance of effective institutionalisation of M&E arrangements at central government, political and organisational levels (Kusek & Rist 2004; Mackay 2006; Mackay 2007; Morra Imas and Rist 2009; Görgens and Kusek 2009; UNICEF 2009; Gaarder and Briceno 2010; Acevedo, Rivera, Lima and Hwang 2010; The World Bank Nuts and Bolts of M&E Systems Newsletters 2010–2014; De Coning and Rabie 2014; Jacob, Speer & Furubo 2015). Institutionalisation is the process through which patterns and structures are established, internalised and embedded in an organisational setting and broader environment to ensure predictable and sustainable behaviour (Dobson in De Coning and Rabie 2014:252). Institutionalisation ensures that ad hoc evaluation efforts within an organisation are coordinated into more formal and systematic approaches that better serves the purposes of evaluation in supporting the organisation's performance (Gaarder and Briceno 2010:4).

Mackay (2007:23–24) regards the successful institutionalisation of M&E as the establishment of a well-functioning M&E system that emphasise the utilisation of M&E information for improved performance through the generation of good quality information and appropriate formalised arrangements. It therefore takes into consideration the permanent arrangements or systems whereby evaluation initiatives are commissioned to different evaluators and that ensures that M&E data is used (Jacob *et al.* 2015:10). Institutionalising M&E ensures the sustainable generation and utilisation of M&E information, delinked from unavoidable changes in the strategic management or political heads of a public organisation, by mainstreaming M&E into the planning and management processes of an organisation (Mackay 2007:24; Mackay 2009:170; Rabie and Goldman 2014:2–3) and appointing appropriate and dedicated personnel to the function (De Coning and Rabie 2014:255–257, 280; Görgens and Kusek 2009:57–87).

Given the transversal nature of evaluations and the multi-sectoral nature of public sector programmes, institutional arrangements may span across traditional organisational boundaries. The M&E function can be established as part of an existing unit (such as planning or quality control), as a free-standing

dedicated M&E unit, or contracted out (Gorgens & Kusek, 2009:65; Jacob *et al.* 2015:10; Mackay 2007:59).

Görgens and Kusek (2009:65–67) sets out the advantages and disadvantages of alternative M&E arrangements, including both internal options and contracted out arrangements (see also De Coning and Rabie 2014:265). Given the various disadvantages of contracted out arrangements, De Coning and Rabie (2014:255) gives preference to the establishment of appropriate M&E capacity within the organisation. Internal units are better situated to ensure that information from the M&E systems are used for decision making purposes while supporting cultural and value changes essential for a results driven organisation.

THE NEED FOR M&E SYSTEMS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN PUBLIC SECTOR

Commencing with the 2005 SONA at which then President Mbeki committed the South African government to regularly report on the implementation of its programmes, the GWM&ES (2007), the Treasury's Framework for Programme Performance (National Treasury 2007), and the South African Statistical Quality Assessment Framework (SASQAF) guidelines (Stats SA 2008, Stats SA 2010) provide the foundation for a government-wide monitoring and evaluation (M&E) system throughout all government departments. The 2007 Government-wide M&E System (GWM&ES) was established as an “apex-level information system which draws from the component systems in the framework to deliver useful M&E products for its users” (the Presidency 2007:9). The Framework “seeks to embed a management system within public sector organisations which articulates with other internal management systems (such as planning, budgeting and reporting systems)” (the Presidency 2007:8).

To provide information to the GWM&ES, responsibility for M&E needs to be cascaded throughout the organisation, from the political and executive heads to the programme managers, dedicated M&E units and accounting officers (the Presidency 2007:20). Departments should capacitate line managers with generic M&E skills and the ability to set up and manage an M&E system, and establish (where needed) dedicated M&E units that provided specialist skills and support to the organisation (the Presidency 2009:20–22).

In support of the above, the Treasury framework states that “performance information is key to effective management, including planning, budgeting, implementation, monitoring and reporting” (National Treasury 2007:1). Responsibility for the establishment, maintenance and use of performance information resides with a range of officials who capture, collate and verify data; line managers who should establish and maintain performance information

processes and systems for their areas of responsibility; and the accounting officers that should maintain an overall system to manage performance information (National Treasury 2007:13). This requires of each organisation to appropriately position the responsibilities for managing performance information, linked to other management functions (National Treasury 2007:13–14).

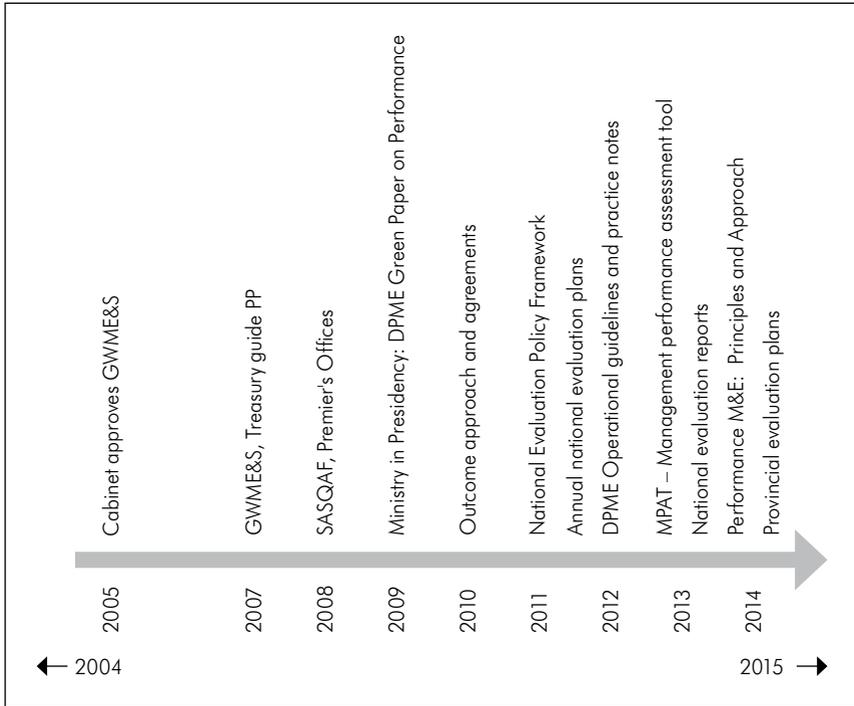
The final element of the GWM&ES is the South African Statistical Quality Assessment Framework (SASQAF) that enables the decentralised production of quality statistics by all government departments and organs of state in accordance with the requirements of the 1999 Statistics Act. The Framework specifies not only the minimum standards for quality statistics across eight identified dimensions of quality, but also specifies minimum institutional and organisational conditions as prerequisites of quality data. This includes the need for skilled staff at programme level, a dedicated statistics unit and data quality management as a core job requirement for all staff members (Stats SA 2010:9,13).

To further the aims of the GWM&ES, the new Department for Performance Monitoring and Evaluation (DPME) was established in 2009. Its core mandate is reflected in the Green Paper on Improving Government Performance (2009) that provides the framework for committed monitoring and evaluation systems, with specific emphasis not only on implementation monitoring, but also on the evaluation of the outcomes of government programmes (the Presidency 2009). The 2010 Outcome Approach and initial twelve Outcome Agreements paved the way towards the detailed National Evaluation Framework (2011) that “seeks to ensure that credible and objective evidence from evaluation is used in planning, budgeting, organisational improvement, policy review, as well as on-going programme and project management, to improve performance.” (The Presidency DPME 2011:iii) The framework requires departments to ensure the availability of adequate financial and human resources for evaluation and that “the results of evaluations are used to inform planning and budget decisions, as well as general decision-making processes” (the Presidency DPME 2011:15).

Figure 1 depicts the expanding range of policies and frameworks that supports the GWM&ES in the aim of creating a performance orientated management system in the South African public service.

The various documents emphasise that importance of establishing appropriate institutional arrangements that may integrate the M&E function with the existing planning, implementation and control functions of government departments. However, despite the strong policy commitment to government M&E systems and practices, actual practice in departments are characterised by financial and human resource constraints that impede effective implementation (refer to the various surveys presented later in this article). Where departments have established M&E units, the function is often not well integrated with the related planning, implementation and control functions of public departments

Figure 1: South Africa's policies for M&E in government



Source: (Author's own work)

that are core users of the performance information generated through M&E. This silo mentality directly opposes the integrated management nature of the GWM&ES and limits the potential contribution of M&E in strategic and operational decisions.

To promote the institutionalisation of dedicated M&E units in government departments, the DPME has drafted a series of practice guidelines. An overview of these guidelines is provided in the next section.

THE PRESIDENCY AND DPME GUIDELINES ON THE PLACEMENT, ROLE AND STRUCTURE OF M&E UNITS

The establishment of dedicated M&E support for the GWM&ES is guided firstly by *“The Role of Premier’s Offices in Government-wide Monitoring and Evaluation: A Good Practice Guide July 2008”* that, based on a review of practices in the provincial governments, outlined the role of the Premier’s Office in province-wide

M&E as part of the implementation of the GWM&E framework (the Presidency 2008:1). The Premier's Offices Guideline is further supported by various practice notes that offer further practical guidance in the institutionalisation of the M&E function. The DPME Guideline 3.1.3 (2012a) is critical in consolidating the *Content Focus of the Offices of the Premier in M&E* while DPME Guideline 3.1.5 (2012b) offers generic guidance on the *Functions of an M&E Component in National Government Departments*. DPME Guideline 3.1.6 (2013b) provides guidance on the *Generic Functions of Monitoring and Evaluation Components in the Offices of the Premier*, with DPME Guideline 3.1.7 (2013c) providing a framework for the *Generic roles and organisational design considerations for M&E components in provincial government departments*.

In compiling the Premier's Offices Guideline, the M&E Unit in the Office of the President surveyed the status of M&E in the nine Provincial offices, finding that some evaluation capacity existed in the Premier's offices and in many line departments. However, the survey listed common constraints to institutionalising M&E as a lack of capacity and personnel, budget constraints, lack of availability of accurate data and challenges in meeting reporting deadlines. It also reported on a lack of understanding of the M&E role and function, the lack of coordination of evaluation and research, resistance and lack of cooperation with the M&E function, insufficient direction and support from the Presidency and Treasury and a lack of authority or rank due to structural arrangements (the Presidency 2008:13–15).

The Premier's Offices Guideline therefore determined that, to ensure that M&E findings feed into critical and strategic thinking, M&E cannot be managed as a "back office administrative function" (the Presidency 2008:19). Monitoring and formative assessments had to be institutionalised to enable a solid foundation for a culture of evaluative reflection and continuous learning (the Presidency 2008:20, 26). Appropriate arrangements were those that promoted the use of M&E data to support strategic decisions and learning rather than monitoring for administrative compliance purposes.

Based on the emergent practices and reported challenges found in the survey (see the Presidency 2008:25) the Premier's Offices Guideline offers basic guidelines for the placement, role and structure of M&E units in the Offices of the Premier, if appropriate to the context.

Placement

The survey reported that the established M&E units often are not taken seriously and often are not sufficiently elevated in their placement within the organisational structure to fulfil their strategic imperative (the Presidency 2008:28). The GWM&ES (the Presidency 2007:17) states that the optimal

organisational design will differ from organisation to organisation, but that the decision should ensure sufficient visibility and authority so that M&E findings may inform decision making and resource allocation. The Premier's Offices and subsequent DPME guidelines recommend that M&E units are linked closely or placed within the Head of Department and Director-General as the transferred mandate of this office will assist the M&E unit to integrate and do quality control of information from various branches (the Presidency 2008:36; DPME 2012(b):8). It also ensures that information from monitoring and evaluation is seriously considered during decision making (the Presidency 2008:36).

While this arrangement emphasises the important link between planning and M&E, the guideline warns against scope creep where the M&E unit usurps existing planning divisions (the Presidency 2008:27). Instead, strong links between evaluation and planning functions may enable the M&E unit to provide technical support, where relevant, to ensure SMART indicators and targets in strategic and annual plans and appropriate business processes to collect information required for accurate M&E reporting (the Presidency 2008:27; DPME 2012(b):3–4, 7). The size of the department may influence the decision of either placing the planning and M&E function together in one unit, or as two separate units, whereas the potential transversal role of a department may also warrant the establishment of decentralised M&E units within individual branches of the organisation (DPME 2012(b):7, 8). Links should be established with the knowledge management and information technology functions (the Presidency 2008:28 with clear role divisions between the M&E unit and the internal audit, finance and human resource management units of the department (DPME 2012(b):2).

The guidelines provide useful considerations, but expects of departments to perform a full diagnostic analysis of planning and data flow within the organisation to inform the decision of appropriate placement. Unfortunately, if this was not recognised and completed before the establishment of the unit, changing the organisational structure at a later stage requires an extended approval process by the Department of Public Service and Administration.

Role

The M&E unit needs to consolidate M&E reports from various departments and local governments to reflect on budgetary performance, human resource utilisation and the realisation of planned targets in the sector or against a delivery agreement outcome for coordinating departments (the Presidency 2008:25, DPME 2012(a):1, DPME 2012(b):3,4). While the responsibility for financial performance at provincial level is shared with the Provincial Treasury, the M&E unit in the Premier's Office should focus on consolidating

non-financial data reflecting service delivery outputs and impacts (the Presidency 2008:25). Additional roles for M&E units include coordination of the implementation of the Management Performance Assessment Tool (MPAT); frontline service delivery (for departments that deliver services directly to the public); citizen-based monitoring; and monitoring of public entities (DPME 2013(a):5–6; DPME 2013(b):6–7).

The M&E unit should develop and manage a provincial or departmental M&E strategy that builds demand for M&E and a M&E framework supported by appropriate information technology and information management systems (the Presidency 2008: 38; DPME 2012(a):2; DPME 2012(b):3,6; DPME 2013(b):4) that adheres to the metadata standards proposed in the SASQAF (DPME 2013(b):9).

As M&E directly depends on effective planning and clear performance indicators and targets, a key challenge for the M&E unit is to support the departmental planning function to enable accurate and high integrity M&E reporting (DPME 2012(a):2). M&E information should feed into planning processes and ensure corrective action where necessary (DPME 2013(a):6). It should also inform policy prioritisation (the Presidency 2008:26,38; DPME 2012(b):7) as well as budget decisions to enable evaluation of programmes (DPME 2013(b):9).

Other roles include the verification of the accuracy and integrity of reported data (DPME 2012(a):2; DPME 2012(b):4), reducing the reporting burden of departments (DPME 2012(b):6), coordinating monitoring data from service delivery programmes (DPME 2012(b):5), carrying out design evaluations (DPME 2013(b):9) and overseeing outsourced specialised evaluations (the Presidency 2008:26) that may form part of the Provincial Evaluation Plan (DPME 2013(b):9).

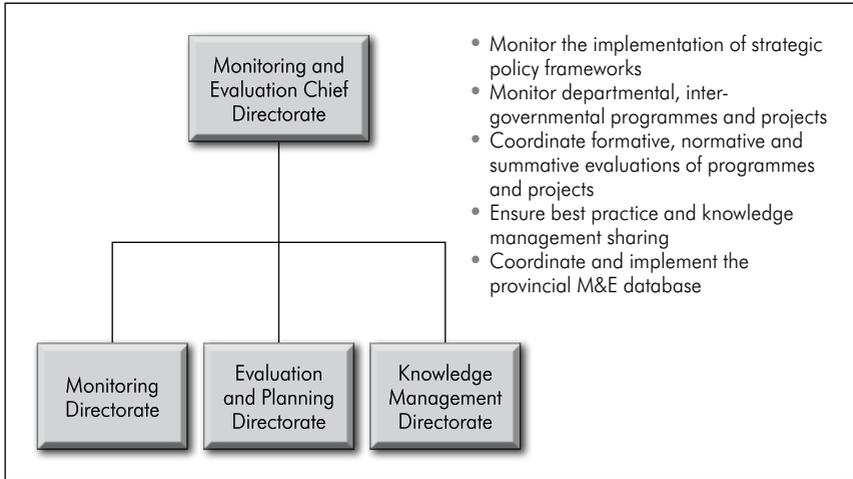
While agreeing that these are typical roles of an M&E unit, the guidelines fail to indicate ‘core functions’ to those departments with very limited capacity within their M&E units.

Structure

To ensure sufficient capacity for these roles, the Guideline advocates an *M&E unit structure* that comprises a Monitoring and Evaluation chief directorate supported by three directorates dedicated to (a) Monitoring, (b) Evaluation, and (c) Planning and Knowledge Management (the Presidency 2008:28–30).

The 2012 and 2013 DPME practice notes did not offer alternative staffing arrangement, but the National Evaluation Framework emphasised that departments should “ensure there are specific structures within the organisation entrusted with the evaluation role, and with the required skills”. It was however more vague in prescribing the nature of the M&E function, stating that it “could be an M&E Unit, a research unit, or a policy unit.” (the Presidency 2009:18)

Figure 2: Recommended M&E structure for government departments



Source: (The Presidency 2008:30)

While the Guidelines focus primarily on M&E units, the importance of line managers in supporting ongoing M&E activities at programme and project level is also emphasised (DPME 2012(b):2, the Presidency 2008:38). The 2014 Performance M&E: Principles and Approach (the Presidency 2014) again emphasises the important M&E responsibility of all programme managers, a role that will require further emphasis to overcome the current staffing limitations of M&E units.

The Guidelines reflect the high expectation that the DPME places on M&E units within the government departments to feed information to the GWM&ES as a top-level information system. The successful implementation of the many roles expected of the M&E unit depends on the placement of the M&E unit within the organisational structure, as well as the appropriate staffing of the unit. Since 2008, only a few departments have managed to implement the generic proposed structure of the Premier's Offices Guideline. The next section of this article reflects on the current state of the M&E function in many government departments and the challenges faced by M&E units as obtained from the DPME 2013 Survey.

ADOPTED ARRANGEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

Several surveys have been undertaken since 2007 to capture the state of M&E arrangements in South African government departments. The surveys provide

relevant snapshots of these arrangements at the particular point in time, but also serve to highlight the challenges faced by M&E units and departments in institutionalising the function. This section reflects on some lessons learned from five of these surveys.

Presidency 2008

In 2008, the Presidency, with support from the World Bank, undertook a review of the state of M&E practices in government departments and the Offices of the Premier. The results from the Offices of the Premier are summarised in Appendix 1 of *The Role of Premiers' Offices in Government-wide Monitoring and Evaluation: A Good Practice Guide July 2008* (see the Presidency 2008:44–51). It describes the existing institutional arrangements, M&E processes, M&E systems and M&E tools and methodologies that prevailed in the Offices of the Premier in 2008. A related M&E readiness assessment snapshot survey obtained similar information from members of the then M&E Forum. This baseline assessment informed the development of the GWM&ES and supportive policy frameworks to promote the institutionalisation of M&E in the South African public sector. While the results of the survey revealed the existence of 'pockets' of good practices, it also reported that insufficient staff complements, inadequate budgets and dependency on other departments for data impeded optimal institutionalisation (the Presidency 2008:47).

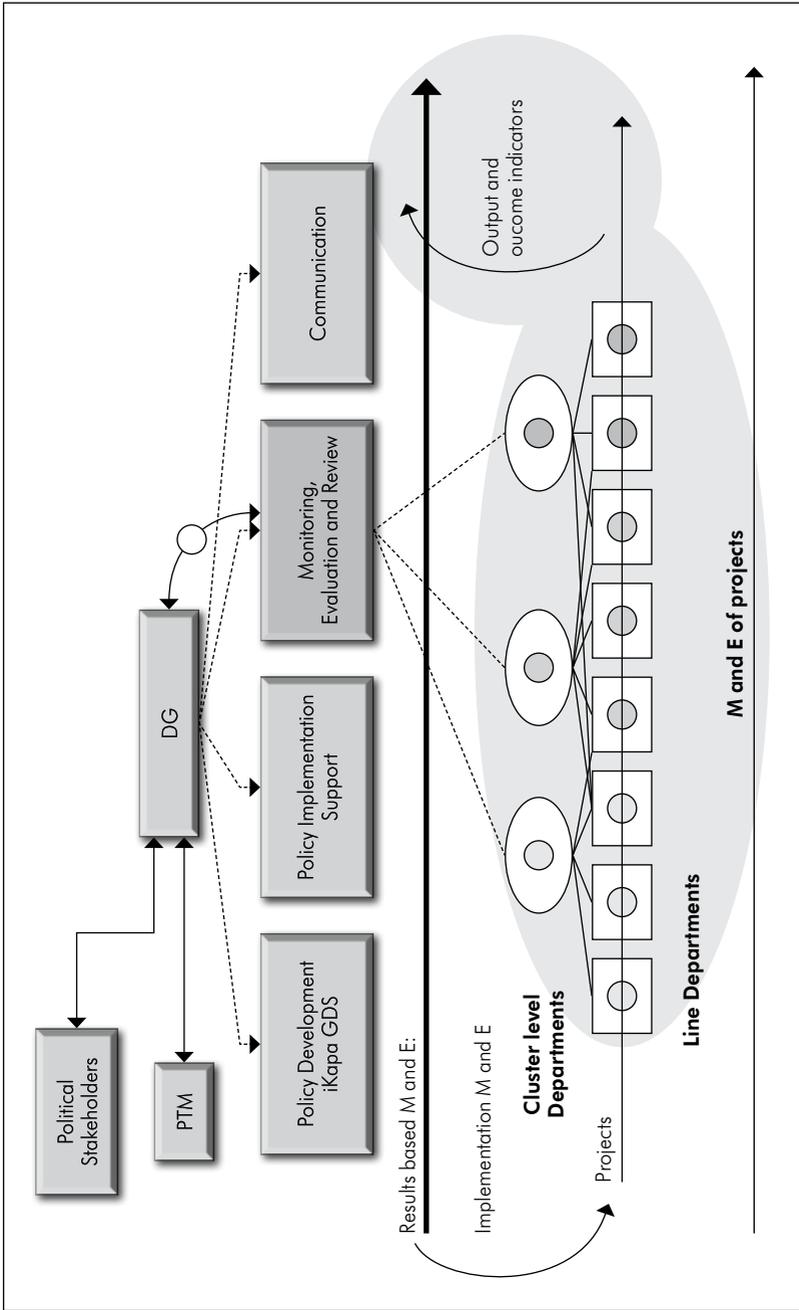
Western Cape 2009

The macro institutional arrangement for M&E in the Western Cape Provincial Government in 2009 presented in the *Provincial-wide Monitoring and Evaluation Framework* (PGWC 2009a:25) shows M&E headed by an elevated Chief Director for Monitoring, Evaluation and Review who reports directly to the DG with horizontal links to the Chief Directorates for Policy Development, Implementation Support and Communication. The Chief Directorate had top-down links with the persons responsible for M&E cluster and line departments (see Figure 3).

The *Provincial-wide Monitoring and Evaluation Strategy* (PGWC 2009b) emphasised the important role of the Provincial-wide M&E Forum to facilitate M&E reporting requirements and ensure integrated and coherent M&E on both implementation and strategic result level. The Forum is further supported by an M&E reference group with members from Stats SA, various universities, the South African Monitoring and Evaluation Association (SAMEA) and UN Population Development (PGWC 2009b:18).

In 2009 the Provincial Government of the Western Cape Department of the Premier undertook the Provincial-wide Monitoring and Evaluation System

Figure 3: Institutional arrangements in 2009 for M&E in the Western Cape Provincial Government



Source: (PGWC 2009b:25)

Readiness Assessment to assess the current institutional practices and the readiness of the Provincial Government Western Cape departments (DOP & SALRU 2010:13). The survey obtained inputs from the 11 provincial departments and found that, with the exception of one department, all departments had either a conceptual framework or an M&E strategy and an M&E Framework in place (DOP & SALRU 2010:19).

Free State 2012

The Office of the Premier, with the assistance of the World Bank, assessed the State of Province-wide M&E in the Free State Provincial Government in 2012. It assessed the organisational structure post establishment in ten provincial departments and found that, all departments, with the exception of one, had approved macro structures for M&E, though only some of the posts had been filled in most of them at the time of the survey. The roles performed by the various M&E units within their departments included M&E of non-financial performance; strategic planning; collecting of data and conducting research; management of performance information; and service delivery improvement (Office of the Premier. Free State Provincial Government, 2012).

In 2013 the Office of the Premier drafted a *PME Branch Guideline 1* that outlined the generic roles and organisational design considerations with regard to performance monitoring and evaluation components in provincial government departments. The guideline presents the role of departmental management in monitoring, the roles of a central performance M&E unit, organisational design considerations for M&E units and the importance of defined institutional roles and responsibilities between the legislative and executive authorities, departmental accounting officers, programme managers, line managers, officials and the M&E units (Office of the Premier. Free State Provincial Government, 2013).

KwaZulu-Natal 2012

The 2012 *Domestication of Millennium Development Goals Outcome Evaluation* provides some reflection on the Monitoring and Evaluation capacity in KwaZulu-Natal. The report found an increase in the number of M&E staff in most departments in the province between 2009 and 2012 (Habtemichael 2012:xiv-xv). It found, however, that most M&E units were not strategically positioned to enable efficient data collection from programme managers to contribute to planning, decision making and policy development (Habtemichael 2012:xv). Flow of information was slowed by the lack of M&E capacity, especially at municipal level, as well as prolonged

M&E post vacancies. KZN line department managers cited the most pressing impediments to effective M&E implementation as the lack of human capacity; partnerships; M&E Plan; financial allocation in terms of work required; periodic surveys; departmental databases; and dedicated evaluation and research (Habtemichael 2012:xviii–xix).

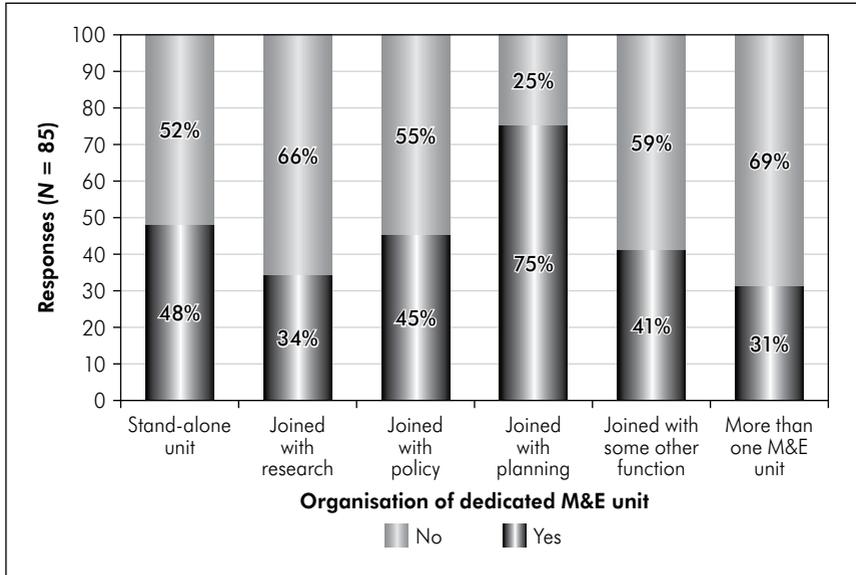
Department Performance Monitoring and Evaluation 2013

The most comprehensive and representative survey on the state and use of M&E systems in national and provincial government departments was conducted in 2013 by the DPME in collaboration with the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ). The responses of senior managers and M&E specialists from 96 departments were included in the survey (Umlaw and Chitepo 2015:1–2). The survey focused on four components, (1) the presence of key features in the enabling environment that enables M&E; (2) the state of indicators and information planning; (3) reporting procedures; and (4) the link between policy and planning and use of M&E information. The findings in the full report well warrant a reading, and only some of the findings are highlighted here.

The majority of departments (89%) had a dedicated unit for M&E staffed by senior officials, with a post allocation of 10 persons or more. However, these posts had been filled in only a third of the departments and only forty percent of departments had a dedicated budget for evaluation (Umlaw and Chitepo 2015:3–4). Figure 4 depicts the linkages between the M&E unit and related planning and research units. The institutional linkages correspond with the response of 72% of departments that indicated full integration between M&E and reporting and 61% that indicated full integration with planning. Only 26% and 20% reported full integration with policy development and budgeting respectively (Umlaw and Chitepo 2015:5).

The survey did not investigate the roles performed by the M&E unit, but did reflect on the role of line managers in M&E. Although 54% indicated that it is the shared responsibility of all managers and the M&E unit, the 45% of responses who indicated that M&E is the responsibility of the M&E unit is perhaps indicative that the establishment of a M&E unit may have the unintended consequence of divorcing this management responsibility from all line managers (DPME 2013:6). The survey concluded that many of the challenges faced by the M&E unit are attributable to limitations in the broader organisational environment, including lack of shared understanding of the purpose and importance of M&E; accountability systems that emphasise internal control; and the planning guidelines that give preference to activities and outputs rather than outcomes and results (Umlaw and Chitepo 2015:6).

Figure 4: Institutional arrangement for the M&E unit



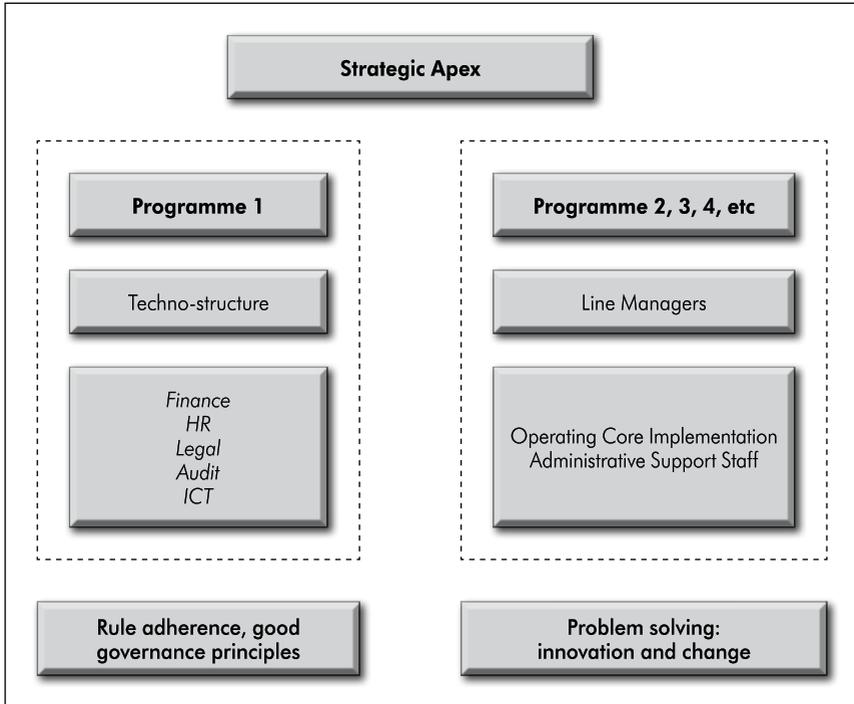
Source: (Umlaw and Chitepo 2015:4)

The evaluation implementation constraints in the 2013 DPME survey are affirmed by the Management Performance Assessment Tool (MPAT) that found most departments without evaluation capacity. The *Evaluation and Research Update 25* (see DPME 2016) also predicts that, given the constrained fiscal environment, these challenges will remain and will slow the growth in evaluation practice. The update emphasises the importance of platforms where information and learning may be shared for departments with limited capacity to draw from the experience of other departments.

The various surveys show similar challenges faced by M&E units in government departments and may indicate that the proposed structure and roles reflected in the DPME guidelines may not be feasible in the existing context. The successful institutionalisation of the M&E function is further exacerbated by the extended process of obtaining approval from the Department of Public Service and Administration for proposed changes to organisational structures. In this context it is even more important that government departments carefully consider alternative M&E institutional options to ensure well-informed decisions about the placement of the M&E function and the roles of dedicated M&E units.

The next section presents an overview of five alternative options for institutionalising the M&E function within the organisation, with an overview of the associated advantages and disadvantages of each option.

Figure 5: Example of a bureaucratic organisational structure



Source: (Author's own work)

ALTERNATIVE INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS WITHIN THE ORGANISATON

While M&E is an inherent management function, managers often get caught up in implementation crises and spend insufficient time on reflecting and planning. The establishment of an M&E unit offers dedicated M&E capacity to the organisation. However, an unintended consequence of such a unit is that managers may divorce themselves from their inherent M&E responsibilities and regard this as the sole responsibility of the M&E unit (see the Presidency 2014). It is important to ensure that organisational arrangements support a clear division of mandate between programme managers, the M&E unit and other support units of the organisation. Once the function and mandate of the M&E unit is delimited, the ideal placement of the unit within the organogram can be determined.

In studying the DPME guidelines and information from the various surveys, five alternative institutional options for placement of a dedicated M&E unit

and the broad implications of each option may be deduced. It is important to note that the options are all equally viable and appropriate, depending on the organisation and the functions to be performed by the M&E unit. Further insights derived from extended interaction with M&E practitioners during training courses presented from 2007 to 2013 informs the presentation of the advantages and disadvantages of each of these options.

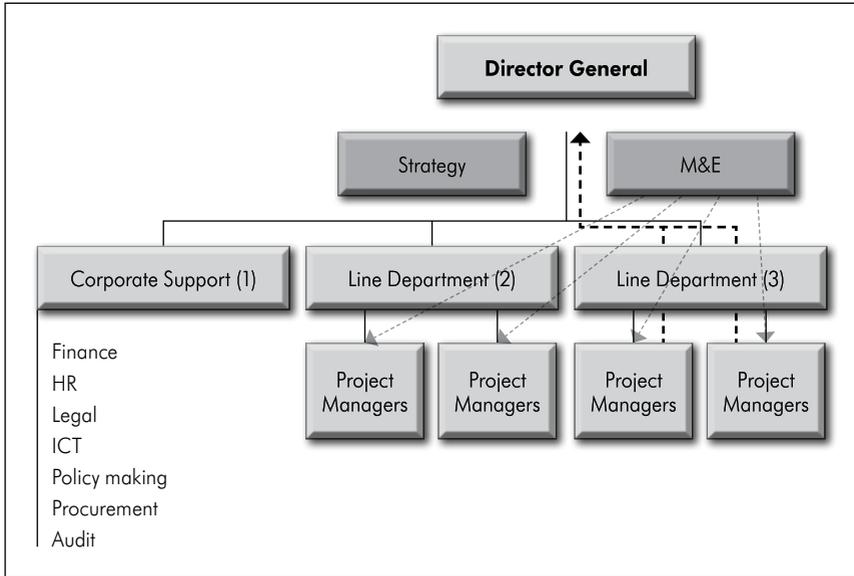
Before presenting these options, it is useful to consider the bureaucratic organisational nature of most large government departments, adapted from the original depiction of Henry Mintzberg (See Lunenburg 2012:2). Figure 5 presents a department as three rectangles, with the strategic apex (top management) at the top, connected through a series of line managers to the core implementation staff and supported by transversal technocratic support, typically referred to as 'programme 1' in strategic documents.

Units within the techno-structure provide highly specialised support and assistance to line departments to ensure adherence to the relevant policies and legislation that govern the work of departments. Adherence to rules is necessary to ensure that the department complies with general good governance principles, but often may restrict the problem-solving innovation choices of line managers tasked with 'getting the job done'. This difference in perspective should be considered when deciding where to place the M&E unit. Further factors may include the availability of M&E expertise within the organisation; the physical proximity of staff location between head and field offices; the degree of specialisation of line departments; and the oversight responsibilities of the department over other service delivery partners.

Option 1: Top-level centralised M&E Unit

With this option, the M&E unit is placed high in the bureaucratic authority structure of the organisation (e.g. in the Head of the Department's office), reporting directly to the top strategic manager of the organisation (See Figure 6). The creation of a top, centralised unit within the organogram lends symbolic support to the importance of the function. Its placement transfers the bureaucratic authority invested in the strategic apex to the M&E unit, which may be used to expedite responses to requested data from line managers and programme staff. Its placement within the strategic apex allows it to focus on strategic issues; direct access to the key decision makers enables it to influence decisions and also prevent data distortion through short reporting lines to the departmental head. Finally, the M&E unit derives a degree of independence in adopting an oversight role over the line functions of the organisation and it is more likely to include both positive and negative aspects in its reports as it is not performance bound to the success of a particular programme.

Figure 6: Possible placement of a top central M&E Unit



Source: (Author's own work)

Disadvantages of this option is that, while the unit is closely linked to strategic planning, it may become divorced from other corporate support functions like finance, policy making and legal services that should inform and receive inputs from M&E, as well as critical links with information and communication technology and audit that play crucial roles with data management and data verification. Its placement at the top level, rather than as a support unit as in programme 1, may also create the perception that M&E is a 'policing' function, or it may become a compliance function, especially when reporting is only bottom-up with little top-down feedback on the utilisation of the data. Where this perception exists, data may be filtered by the various bureaucratic ranks to present more favourable results to the M&E unit, with subsequent decisions then based on invalid data. Centralisation of M&E capacity may lead to a weaker wide-dispersed M&E culture, poor indicators and limitations in data credibility and validity in line departments. This increases the amount of time and money needed by the M&E unit to do data verification. When line departments are highly specialised, the centralised unit may not have the necessary understanding of the area to make meaningful suggestions to indicators and data collection procedures.

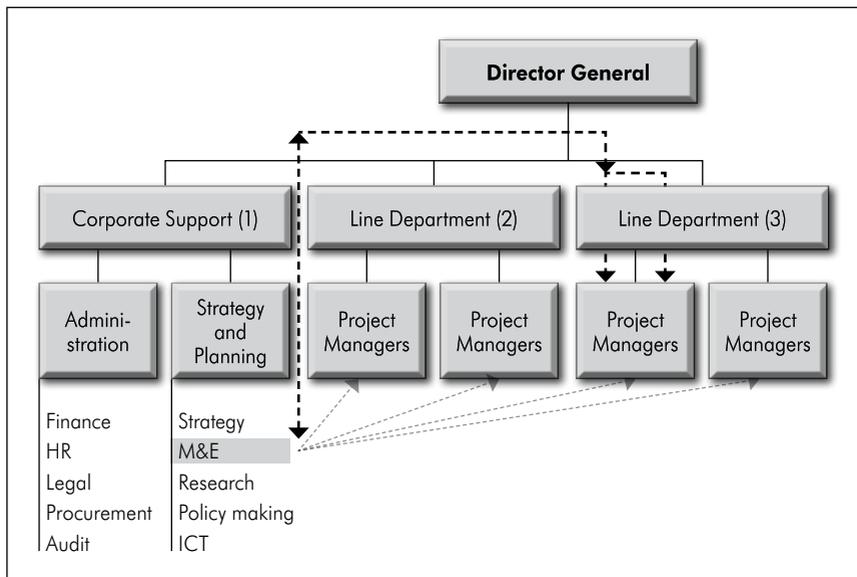
This option may work better in departments where staff is physically located together as this improves communication and enables the M&E unit to support line departments more regularly, thereby creating greater M&E awareness and

capacity throughout the organisation. It is also more appropriate in organisations with a traditional ‘command and control’ culture that responds well to top-down instruction. Finally, this option works better for ‘service delivery’ departments where the mandate and scope of the organisation is more delimited than in governance departments where the work of respective line departments is highly specialised and unique.

Option 2: Centralised support function M&E Unit

With this option, a centralised M&E still creates dedicated capacity for M&E, but is placed (often reporting to the same manager) with other corporate support functions, such as planning, budgeting, policy making, knowledge management and ICT that enables better synergy and coordination between these units (see Figure 7). The involvement of the M&E unit in the work of the other support functions may improve the accuracy and efficiency of monitoring the end products of these units. Its placement as a support function alleviates the perception of M&E as a ‘policing’ function, as it is now part of the corporate support team and on a more equal organisational level with the programme managers. This may ensure greater focus on M&E as a performance improvement and learning function, rather than a punitive control and compliance function.

Figure 7: Possible placement of a centralised support function M&E Unit



Source: (Author’s own work)

The greatest disadvantage of this unit is that its placement on a lower bureaucratic level weakens the relative authority of the unit and may lead to delays in information requested from programme managers, especially when programme managers are appointed at a higher level than the M&E unit staff. To obtain information, the M&E official may need to direct requests for information upwards through the hierarchical chain of command to the head of corporate support, who may relay the request horizontally to the head of the line department, to convey downward through the hierarchical chain of command to the relevant programme manager(s). Feedback follows the same lengthy pathway, again offering opportunities for the delay and distortion of information before it reaches the M&E unit. While the blue lines assume direct communication and support by the M&E unit to the line departments, this is realised only when the work of the M&E unit is regarded as valuable by the line managers and a support, rather than a compliance relationship is established with the M&E unit. The placement of the M&E unit on an 'equal' departmental level can help to build a more colloquial and less intimidating relationship than the top-down relationship presented in option 1. However, in absence of this relationship, the M&E unit may come to be regarded as a powerless policing function. As before, centralisation of M&E capacity may weaken a shared M&E culture in line departments and increase the amount of time needed for data verification, which may become very complicated if the line departments perform highly specialised activities.

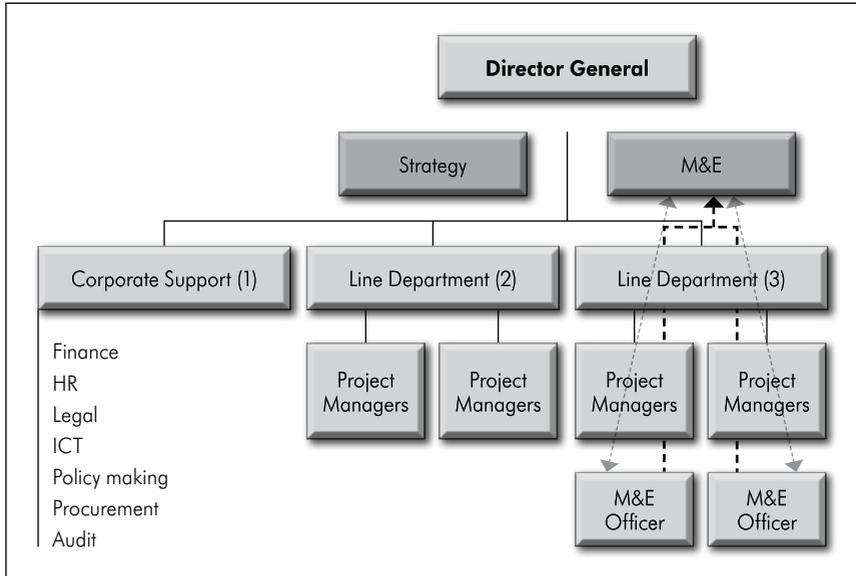
This option is relevant to departments with a limited number of M&E specialists, as the central placement of the unit ensures that available expertise is shared equally by all line departments. It would also be useful when service delivery sites are physically dispersed, as the M&E unit may be placed at head office and serve all sites from this central location. Where there is some distance between service delivery sites and the M&E unit, more time and effort should be directed towards data verification.

Option 3: Central M&E unit with decentralised M&E officers

With this option, an M&E official is appointed within each line department, reporting either to the line manager of the unit only, or reporting to both the line manager and a separate M&E unit placed either at the top or within the corporate support branch (see Figure 8). Dispersing M&E capacity throughout the line departments strengthens the quality of monitoring data and ensures that indicators are appropriate and relevant to programmes. The M&E officer can focus on the operational data needs of the implementation team and provide them with immediate information that enables quick corrective action.

A key disadvantage of this option is that it requires sufficient M&E expertise to allow dedicated support to each programme, a luxury currently not available

Figure 8: Central M&E unit with decentralised M&E officers



Source: (Author's own work)

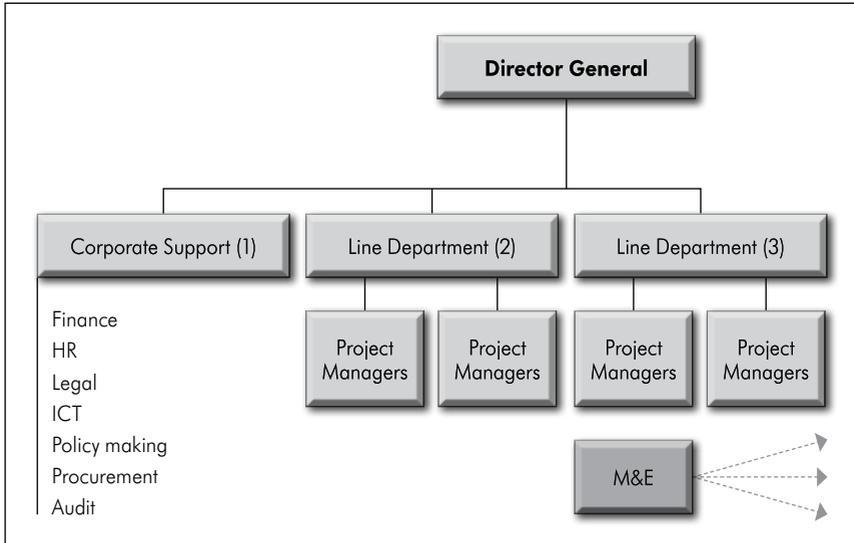
to most government departments. Another disadvantage is that the M&E officer may develop allegiance to the programme function, which may skew their neutrality during monitoring and evaluation activities. The M&E officer may also be used to augment implementation capacity and M&E responsibilities may become neglected. Dual reporting lines to both the head of the line department as well as the M&E unit may complicate allocation of time to different responsibilities. It may also subject the M&E official to counter-productive dynamics of organisational politics whereby the official may be requested to withhold certain information from the other manager.

Despite resource constraints, this option is vital for departments characterised by a high degree of specialisation in the work of various line departments – a typical situation in governance and policy-making departments.

Option 4: Centralised M&E unit within a single line department

This option sees the establishment of a centralised M&E unit placed lower in the hierarchy and reporting to a line manager (see Figure 9). The purpose of the unit is to report on the work of internal or external front-line service delivery staff or implementation agencies. Its establishment and placement ensures dedicated attention to the M&E oversight responsibilities of the department.

Figure 9: Centralised M&E unit within a single line department



Source: (Author's own work)

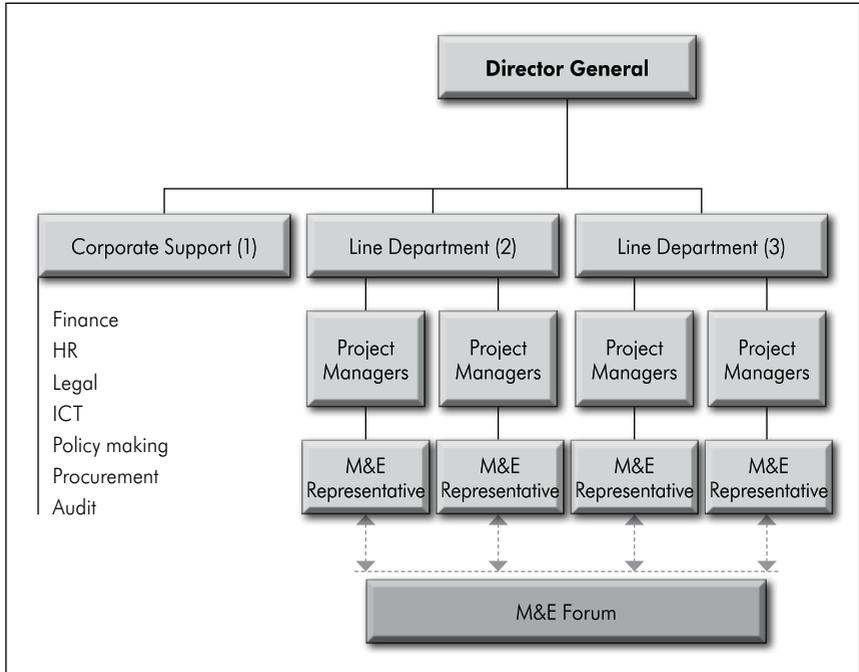
The low placement of the unit and lack of direct communication lines to other strategic planning and support units places this option in a weak position with regard to supporting internal performance decisions of the department. It is therefore important to communicate the purpose and mandate of this M&E unit clearly, as other line departments may incorrectly assume that the establishment of an M&E unit signifies additional internal M&E support and capacity and therefore decreases their own M&E responsibilities. The establishment of the oversight M&E unit does not preclude the establishment of an internal performance focused M&E unit as presented in options 1 and 2 of this article.

This option is important for service delivery departments to give effect to frontline service delivery M&E responsibilities as specified in the DPME guidelines. It is also critical for oversight departments that deliver services through service delivery partners and agencies.

Option 5: The M&E transversal team

A final intermediate alternative in organisations with limited M&E resources (staff, budget and time) is to establish cross-functional teams where implementation staff from each line department is assigned to represent the line department in a transversal 'evaluation task team' or M&E forum. The advantages of the transversal task team are the opportunity to peer review performance drivers and

Figure 10: M&E Transversal team



Source: (Author's own work)

impediments across the various programmes, and to learn and transfer lessons between various line departments. While each M&E representative is performance bound to a specific programme, a degree of objectivity is obtained by the 'outsider' perspective of other M&E representatives from other programmes. This option requires limited top-level buy-in and is quick to implement.

The disadvantages of this option is that it is a loosely coordinated structure with limited authority to determine its own mandate and priorities, as the formalised M&E units are able to do. The M&E forum is not institutionally connected to strategic decision makers or other planning and support units of the department to whom useful recommendations may be offered from the findings of the forum. The dual responsibilities of staff may limit the time available for meticulous evaluation as it is traded off against implementation needs, especially as secondary departments may have poor ownership for the initiative or poor M&E capacity. This option also offers less continuity as staff assigned to the task team may change regularly with shifting implementation priorities.

This option is particularly useful if the organisation does not have the capacity and top-level buy-in to permanently assign staff to an independent

M&E unit. However, the work of the M&E forum will benefit tremendously from some top-down endorsement to ensure that implementation staff are afforded time to participate in the forum and to create opportunities where findings and recommendations from the forum may be informally presented to decision makers and other units who may benefit from these observations. This will promote the usefulness of the forum's work and create sustained momentum.

As each option offer advantages and trade-offs, decision-makers need to consider what would add best value within the organisation's context and the particular functions assigned to the M&E unit. The conclusion of this article offers some organisational contextual factors that should be considered during decision making.

CONCLUSION

This article has presented alternative options for institutionalising the M&E function in government departments. The Presidency and DPME guidelines offer departments guidance in terms of the placement and role of these units, with somewhat unrealistic initial expectations on the proposed structure of these units, given capacity constraints in many departments. The various surveys that have reviewed the state of M&E institutionalisation in various provincial and/or national departments indicate that progress has been made and that many departments have established dedicated M&E capacity. However, it also highlights the severe constraints that potentially impede successful institutionalisation.

The DPME guidelines are not prescriptive and allow departments to adopt any of the above presented options, acknowledging that the optimal structure will differ between organisations (the Presidency 2007:17). The final decision should be informed by the role of the M&E unit and the context of the organisation, with consideration of the advantages and disadvantages discussed in this article. The final choice should be informed by the following considerations:

- The M&E function must have sufficient visibility within the organisation (the Presidency 2007:17).
- There are institutionalised links between M&E and strategic planning, budgeting, policy making, auditing and information and communication technology support, and the programme staff responsible for evaluation (see also the Presidency 2007:18, De Coning and Rabie 2014:267–272). Roles and mandates between the various support units should be clear while avoiding a silo mentality which limits synergy between the units; duplication of effort; and the non-efficient use of limited support resources.
- Placement of the function must support the core purpose and function of the unit to either become a strategy-level support function, a corporate support

function, an implementation support function or an oversight and service delivery control support function.

- The physical scope of control of the department in terms of field sites and service delivery sites and the ability of the M&E function to support and verify data from each site should inform the degree of centralisation or decentralisation.
- Similar to the above, departments with a high degree of specialisation in the respective line departments should rather adopt a decentralised option to ensure sufficient contextual understanding to support the programme effectively.
- Organisations with a strong top-down hierarchical command and control nature may respond better to the M&E unit if the unit is placed at the strategic apex, whereas organisations with a strong social-learning and experimental culture may respond better to a unit placed within the corporate support branch (De Coning and Rabie 2014:266).
- Organisations with limited M&E experts should opt for a centralised unit, but the unit should actively pursue buy-in and commitment to M&E at the strategic and implementation levels of the organisation.

This article discussed the various advantages and disadvantages of alternative arrangements which may offer valuable insight when taking decisions on appropriate institutional arrangements. These arrangements do not only enhance the value and usefulness of the M&E function to the department, but furthers the aim of the GWM&ES to embed an M&E system in departments that articulates with other management systems.

NOTES

1. The important link between planning and M&E is also observed in the 2014 name change of the DPME, from Department: Performance Monitoring and Evaluation to Department: Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation, emphasising again the important relationship between these functions.
2. The Management Performance Assessment Tool provides a framework of standards and good practices to promote good management practice in departments through regular assessment.

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A Literature Review of Energy-planning and Decision-making Approaches in the Local Government Sphere

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ABSTRACT

Planning for energy sustainability should be a top priority for local governments, especially in a time when the South African electricity public utility, Eskom, is struggling to ensure supply and climate change is an unavoidable concern. This article provides a synthesis of planning and decision-making literature in order to inform the development of a framework for local government to facilitate decision-making regarding sustainable energy futures. For effective planning and decision-making it is argued that the involvement of all stakeholders is vital, mainly due to the complexity of today's sustainability problems, which are embedded in social, economic, political and environmental contexts. Hence, a detailed analysis of current approaches inclusive of stakeholder participation elicited the current advantages, limitations and factors regarding the successful implementation of participatory approaches. From the review, a checklist of the factors necessary for the successful development and implementation of a participatory approach was compiled. The authors suggest that the checklist can inform the development of an energy-planning and decision-making framework for local government to facilitate mutual understanding of the problem, incorporate all stakeholders' values and, ultimately, provide better trust and acceptance of future energy decisions.

INTRODUCTION

The mandate of South African local government, as set out in the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, Act 108 of 1996 in Section 152, is “to ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner”, “to promote social and economic development” and “to promote a safe and healthy environment” (South Africa 1996:1331 (2)). One way of providing services to communities sustainably, while promoting economic development and a healthy environment, is to plan and implement sustainable energy futures.

However, energy systems are complex, as they are interconnected and embedded in social, economic, political and environmental contexts. Due to the interdependency of the many factors affecting these energy systems, it cannot be resolved in isolation (Head 2014:666) and stakeholders need to be part of the process. It is argued that sophisticated and predictive models alone will not ensure a move to a sustainable future (Ravera, Hubacek, Reed & Tarrasón 2011:434). This is even more so if public servants are not applying critical thinking for the purposes of energy planning, and hence do not fully interpret the results of predictive models. It is important to consider different stakeholders’ perceptions and future visions (Tan, Bowmer & Mackenzie 2012:3). The process adopted should ensure “significant shifts in thinking” (Rickards, Wiseman, Edwards & Biggs 2014:642), which require new integrated approaches that should combine a broad range of stakeholders and actors from different societal groups (Quist & Vergragt 2006:1028). In a democracy such as South Africa, community participation is not new and forms part of South African and local government policies (Sinxadi & Campbell 2015:373). Madumo (2014:3) argues that public participation is an essential element for a democracy, and shows the many advantages it could have in a South African setting.

In the literature, the practice of involving stakeholders in an intervention is called a participatory process or approach. For the purposes of this article the term ‘approach’ is defined as a way of doing something, which can be a tool, a technique, a method, or a combination thereof. A number of reviews have been done on approaches related to energy planning and other environmental issues (Løken 2007:1584; Mendoza & Martins 2006:1; Pohekar & Ramachandran 2004:365; Reed 2008:2417; Wang, Jing, Zhang & Zhao 2009:2263). While most of these authors focused on a specific approach or decision-making framework, the reviews generally lack consideration of key interaction protocols on stakeholder participation. In order to develop a framework for stakeholder participation and decision-making in the local government sphere, an understanding of different participatory approaches had to be elicited. In order to find approaches inclusive of stakeholder participation that could be conducive

to planning a sustainable future, a literature review was conducted. The review asked the question of how such approaches could be applied specifically to energy-related planning and decision-making in the local government sphere. The main advantages and limitations of each approach, as well as the factors that need to be considered for effective implementation, are discussed in this article. A general synthesis of the literature follows and finally, a checklist is given that can be used to develop an energy-planning and decision-making framework for the local government sphere, or municipalities, in South Africa.

METHODOLOGY

Research methodology and literature selection

For this article a literature review of local and international peer-reviewed articles published between 2009 and 2015 was conducted. A selection of approaches inclusive of stakeholder participation applied to environmental management issues was reviewed. A structured and transparent procedure was followed through defining the research questions, conducting a literature search and screening, synthesising and reporting the results, and finally discussing the research findings.

Table 1: Keywords used in literature search

Environmental management	Techniques	Stakeholder participation
energy sustainability low carbon development sustainable energy strateg* low carbon strateg* sustainable development plan sustainable energy plan climate change mitigation climate change adaptation energy policy environmental management environmental plan environmental problem water management	Systems science systems thinking mind map adaptive systems theory soft systems soft systems methodology systems intelligence complex problem solving Other techniques scenario planning multi criteria multi-attribute social multi-criteria evaluation analytical hierarchy process value-based structured decision* hypocognition post-normal science	participat* stakeholder engagement expert opinion public participat* deliberation stakeholder* communit* Geographical coverage cit* green cit* town municipal* local government

Source: (Author's own search results)

The review was qualitative and exploratory in nature and answered the following primary research questions: Which approaches inclusive of stakeholder participation have been applied in the past seven years to environmental management issues at a regional, city or community level? Which factors will guide the development and implementation of an approach inclusive of stakeholder participation and how can these factors be utilised in a developing country such as South Africa?

A predefined procedure was followed to identify the literature included in the review. The procedure reduced the impact of the review authors' bias, promoted transparency of methods and processes and reduced the potential for duplication, as recommended by the Collaboration for Environmental Evidence (2013:online). For the initial search a keyword search was completed in the Scopus and Web of Science Core Collection databases. The extracted studies matched a broad range of keywords, as shown in Table 1. The wildcard symbol (*) was included to search for variations in terminology (e.g. strateg* found strategy and strategies).

Review procedure and results

The initial keyword search resulted in 591 articles. These 591 articles were reduced based on the exclusion criteria given in Table 2. As a result, 200 articles from Scopus and 53 articles from the Web of Science Core Collection were found. These 253 articles were further screened, using a title search, based on the applicability to the study, which specifically focused on approaches inclusive of stakeholder participation applied to environmental management issues. An abstract analysis was then conducted on the remaining 129 articles to include national and international studies that applied approaches inclusive of stakeholder participation to specific sectors, such as the energy sector and the water-management sector, or to the problem of climate change and sustainable development in general. The main reason for including approaches applied in the field of water management was to acknowledge the challenges and opportunities that exist regarding the water energy nexus – a prominent theme in South Africa currently. Also, the application of approaches in the field of water management has been wide, which has not been the case with other sectors, such as transportation. The review aimed at developing an energy-planning and decision-making framework for sustainable energy futures and therefore the authors excluded the other sectors, such as flood management, forest management, land use, sediment management, transport, urban planning and waste management. The abstract analysis resulted in a selection of 38 peer-reviewed articles.

Through inductive reasoning and the use of codes, six themes emerged from the screening and detailed content analysis. These six themes were used to

Table 2: Inclusion and exclusion criteria used for refinement of search terms

Criteria	Included	Excluded	Number of articles
Matched searched string	Yes	No	591
Selected period	2009–2015 only	Any other periods	253 after refinement
Type	Articles, conference proceedings	Reviews (initially excluded), books, book chapters	
Geographical coverage	Community, town/city, regional	National, global	
Subject area	All other subject areas	Agriculture, arts, computer science, economics, health, business, mathematics, medical, pharmacy, veterinarian	
Language	English	Lithuanian, German, Slovene, Spanish	
Application/sector	Energy, climate change, sustainable development, water management	Flood management, forest management, land use, sediment management, transport, urban planning, waste management	129 after applicability to study and then 38 after abstract analysis
Participatory	Participatory approach followed	N/A	

Source: (Author's search criteria)

categorise the articles into six groups of approaches inclusive of stakeholder participation, namely:

1. participatory techniques,
2. multi-criteria decision analysis (MCDA),
3. systems approaches,
4. scenario planning,
5. adaptive management, and
6. integrated approaches; as shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Articles selected for review

Categorisation of approaches (number of articles)	References	Sector (number of articles)
Participatory techniques (9)	Alvial-Palavicino, Garrido-Echeverría, Jiménez-Estévez, Reyes and Palma-Behnke (2011), Gaudreau and Gibson (2010), Pidgeon, Demski, Butler, Parkhill and Spence (2014), Retallick and Schott (2014), Sara and Baud (2014), Sherman and Ford (2014), Tan <i>et al.</i> (2012), Wesselink, Paavola, Fritsch and Renn (2011) and Westling, Sharp, Rychlewski and Carrozza (2014)	Climate change (1), energy (3), sustainable development (1), water management (4)
MCDA (8)	Buchholz, Rametsteiner, Volk and Luzadis (2009), Chowdhury and Zaman (2009), Kropp and Lein (2013), Magee and Scerri (2012), Mutikanga, Sharma and Vairavamoorthy (2011), Peris, García-Melón, Gómez-Navarro and Calabuig (2013), Sánchez-Lozano, Henggeler Antunes, García-Cascales and Dias (2014) and Sa-nguanduan and Nitivattananon (2011)	Energy (2), sustainable development (3), water management (3)
Systems approach (4)	Mavrommati, Biithas and Panayiotidis (2013), Sušnik, Vamvakeridou-Lyroudia, Savi and Kapelan (2012), Sušnik, Molina, Vamvakeridou-Lyroudia, Savi and Kapelan (2013) and Watkin, Kemp, Williams and Harwood (2012)	Energy (1), water management (3)
Scenario planning (4)	Fünfgeld and McEvoy (2014), Johnson <i>et al.</i> (2012), Ravera <i>et al.</i> (2011) and Rickards <i>et al.</i> (2014)	Climate change (2), sustainable development (2)
Adaptive management (6)	Evans and Karvonen (2014), Fratini, Geldof, Kluck and Mikkelsen (2012), Haasnoot, Kwakkel, Walker and ter Maat (2013), Head (2014), Serrao-Neumann, Harman and Low Choy (2013) and Wise <i>et al.</i> (2014)	Climate change (5), water management (1)
Integrated approaches (7)	Madani and Lund (2011), Munaretto, Siciliano and Turvani (2014), Pearson, Coggan, Proctor and Smith (2009), Ribas (2014), Straton, Jackson, Marinoni, Proctor and Woodward (2010), Susskind (2010) and Withycombe Keeler, Wiek, White and Sampson (2015)	Climate change (1), sustainable development (1), water management (5)

Source: (Author's selection)

RESEARCH FINDINGS

The what and why of stakeholder participation

To plan for a sustainable energy future, it is argued that approaches inclusive of stakeholder participation should be used in the local government sphere. Reed (2008:2418) defines participation “as a process where individuals, groups and organisations choose to take an active role in making decisions that affect them”. This definition focuses on stakeholder participation. Freeman (cited in Reed

Table 4: Matrix of some participatory techniques with their degree of involvement

Participatory technique	Information	Consultation	Collaboration	Co-decision	Empowerment
Newsletter	X				
Report	X				
Presentation, public hearing	X	X	X		
Internet webpage	X	X			
Interview, questionnaire and survey	X	X	X		
Field visit and interaction	X	X	X		
Workshop		X	X	X	X
Participatory mapping			X	X	X
Focus group discussion			X	X	X
Citizen jury		X	X	X	X
Geospatial / decision-support system	X	X	X	X	
Cognitive map	X	X	X		
Role playing			X	X	X
Multi-criteria analysis			X	X	
Scenario analysis		X	X	X	X
Consensus conference		X	X	X	X

Source: (Luyet *et al.* 2012:215)

2008:2418) states that stakeholders are “those who are affected by or can affect a decision”. Stakeholder participation covers a broad spectrum of interaction, which stems from Arnstein’s (1969:216–224) ladder of citizen participation.

The modes or degrees of participation evolved since its first introduction by Arnstein (1969:217). Tan *et al.* (2012:6) describe the modes of participation as information provision, consultation, collaboration and citizen control. Luyet, Schlaepfer, Parlange and Buttler (2012:215) refined citizen control and use co-decision and empowerment as the next degrees of involvement. Luyet *et al.* (2012:215) synthesised a list of participatory techniques into a matrix showing each participatory technique with its degree of involvement. This matrix (as shown in Table 4) is an important tool that can be used to select specific interventions when conducting research. It shows that no single participatory technique covers all degrees of involvement. If it is believed that stakeholder participation is important for the planning process, a combination of these techniques should then be chosen. The selection of techniques is specific to a given context and culture. The matrix of Luyet *et al.* (2012:215) can play an integral part in the selection of specific participatory techniques for a context-specific approach. However, the selection of participatory techniques without a good rationale for why participation is chosen could result in a non-productive, time-consuming and expensive process, where stakeholders leave feeling frustrated and confused.

The benefits and limitations of applying approaches inclusive of stakeholder participation

The keyword search revealed a wide range of approaches inclusive of stakeholder participation, which has been inductively categorised into the six groups of Table 3. A detailed analysis of these approaches revealed many advantages and limitations in their applications. An interesting observation was how some studies combined different techniques and methods into an integrated approach to overcome some of the limitations of a single approach.

Application of participatory techniques

Participatory techniques include interviews, questionnaires, surveys, field visits, focus group discussions, workshops, participatory mapping, or a combination of these techniques. As described by Luyet *et al.* (2012:215), the main rationales for using these participatory techniques are to share information, to consult and, sometimes, to collaborate with the selected stakeholders.

Social learning is one of the main advantages that stem from the application of participatory techniques (Gaudreau & Gibson 2010:233; Georgopoulou, Lallas & Papagiannakis 1997:42; Johnson *et al.* 2012; Pahl-Wostl 2009:354;

Reed *et al.* 2010; Tan *et al.* 2012:3). The interaction between the decision-maker and the public builds a common understanding of the uncertainty within the project (Ravera *et al.* 2011:451). Furthermore, the establishment of two-way communication ensures that stakeholders learn from each other. Stakeholder values (Ravera *et al.* 2011:451) and the interconnectedness of factors (Gaudreau & Gibson 2010:233) related to the socio-environmental system are better understood.

Using participatory techniques enables researchers to reveal and analyse the interconnectedness of elements within the operation and the larger ecosystem (Gaudreau & Gibson 2010:233). These linkages between the different factors enable the recognition of complexity. A combination of methods is also useful, especially where stakeholder input is needed. Pidgeon *et al.* (2014:13607) regard interviews and workshops as being useful in gaining deeper insights into the reasons behind people's choices, which will not always be possible using a questionnaire on its own. Participatory techniques allow the capturing of citizens' values within the decisions made, which produces more "democratic, legitimate and equitable outcomes" (Retallack & Schott 2014:361).

Planned participatory techniques can kick-start ongoing collaboration, which is needed for adaptive management. Retallack and Schott (2014:354) see culture as both an input and an outcome of a value-based approach and view the engagement with the public not as a once-off exercise, but as an ongoing process. This ongoing engagement is becoming increasingly important in today's times of uncertainty. Sara and Baud (2014:522) acknowledge that these ongoing engagements enable agreements on collaborative action over time.

The main limitation to be taken into account with participatory techniques is their comprehensiveness. Participatory techniques are resource-intensive, meaning they are time-consuming and expensive (Gaudreau & Gibson 2010:236; Pidgeon *et al.* 2014:13612; Retallack & Schott 2014:353). The time spent on building relationships and establishing trust among stakeholders should not be underestimated. Considerable engagements with stakeholders are needed, especially if one wants stakeholders to become familiar with new technologies, such as renewable energy technologies (Alvial-Palavicino *et al.* 2011:322; Ravera *et al.* 2011:445).

Application of multi-criteria decision analysis

MCDA is a tool that assists the decision-maker in selecting a satisfying alternative from a number of alternatives evaluated against multiple quantitative and qualitative criteria. The reviews done on MCDA methods over the past decade (Løken 2007:1584; Mardani, Jusoh, Zavadskas, Cavallaro & Khalifah 2015:13937; Mendoza & Martins 2006:1; Wang *et al.* 2009:2263) concluded that MCDA offers a suitable planning and decision-making framework.

Mendoza and Martins (2006:19) argue that the decision-analysis process should be more integrated and transparent through the inclusion of stakeholders as part of the decision process and through a combination of different methods. Løken (2007:1593) shows that MCDA studies on local energy systems are limited and argues that “planning tools that can evaluate and analyse alternative energy carriers in mutual combination will give some benefits”. Wang *et al.* (2009:2276) and Mardani *et al.* (2015:13959) observe that the analytical hierarchy process is the most widely used as a comprehensive method for energy decision-making.

The advantages of MCDA include generating a common understanding among stakeholders and decision-makers; the combination of quantitative data and qualitative criteria for decision-making (Buchholz, Volk & Luzadis 2007:492; Ribas 2014:3998); the development of a tractable, audible and transparent process (Kropp & Lein 2013:134; Mardani *et al.* 2015:13948; Peris *et al.* 2013:350); and its ease of use and understanding (Sa-nguanduan & Nititvattananon 2011:148), especially for non-technical users. A common understanding among stakeholders leads to the acceptance of decisions taken and builds a strong knowledge base that is useful when future decisions need to be taken (Mutikanga *et al.* 2011:3966). MCDA approaches have shown potential to guide stakeholders to find and agree on sustainable solutions and to handle the trade-offs between multiple criteria and conflicting values (Giampietro, Mayumi & Munda 2006:83; Mutikanga *et al.* 2011:3966). This approach provides insight into priorities, sensitivities, diverse values and knowledge of the various stakeholders involved (Giampietro *et al.* 2006:77). Buchholz *et al.* (2009:6090) suggest that structuring the problem, assisting in the identification of the least robust and/or most uncertain components applicable to the system and integrating stakeholders into the decision process could help overcome the implementation barriers of projects.

Some of the main critics of MCDA approaches argue that such approaches may be prone to manipulation, are very technocratic and may provide a false sense of accuracy. Straton *et al.* (2010:145) see the averaging of criteria weights as one of the main limitations of MCDA, especially when “one is seeking to understand and probe the sources of difference”. The aggregation of each option to a single weighted average value results in important information being invisible. “[O]pportunities for individuals to learn about and discuss the issues and points of difference” (Straton *et al.* 2010:145) could be missed, or could lead to a debate on the aggregation procedure with the consequence that the proposed decision is not accepted. Mutikanga *et al.* (2011:3967) suggest that it is “critical that an appropriate non-compensatory aggregation method is selected for solving such decision problems”.

MCDA takes time, which also results in high costs. The time and costs are related to consensus building and the creation of a common understanding

between stakeholders. The synthesis of literature shows that MCDA could be a valuable tool for planning a sustainable energy future in the local government sphere. One of the questions is how to incorporate the complex nature of these future energy systems, and here a systems approach might be beneficial.

Application of systems approaches

Two specific techniques following a systems approach were distinguished in the review, namely soft systems modelling (SSM) and systems dynamics modelling (SDM), referred to as the soft and hard approaches respectively in systems science (Maani & Cavana 2007:22). These soft and hard approaches are seen as complementary and mutually enforcing.

SSM aims to represent the real world in a conceptual model, which shows interconnected human and organisational factors in the way they are perceived by stakeholders (Checkland 1981:14). A three-step approach can be followed: the identification of the problem, the development of conceptual models and the use of these conceptual models to stimulate thinking. Jay Forrester, an American pioneering and systems scientist, was the first to introduce SDM in his book *Industrial Dynamics* (Forrester 1961) in order to develop and simulate a systems structure. The aim of SDM is to study complex feedback-driven systems in which non-linearity usually plays a key role (Sušnik *et al.* 2012:291). The model simulates the causal loops in a dynamic way over a specified period. The starting point is always a qualitative conceptual model of the causal processes operating in a given system.

SSM allows stakeholders to discuss perceptions and values, which inform the development of a collaborative problem and its possible solutions (Watkin *et al.* 2012:1220). The approach can also be used as a conflict-management tool in order to develop sustainable solutions. With SDM, the researcher can develop and test scenarios as part of a participatory technique, especially when involving non-specialist stakeholders. The model is easy to use and the aid of graphical development environments adds to the user-friendliness of the model (Sušnik *et al.* 2012:292, 2013:821).

The applications of a systems approach, especially for environmental management issues, are limited. The limited applications are attributable to the lack of systematic rigour for practical applications, and it is proposed that a framework for decision-making underpinned by systems thinking be used (Davidson & Venning 2011:226). Another limitation is that a systems approach does not reflect why or how a decision is made. Further research, or a combination with another approach, is needed to fully grasp the complexity of the decision-making process (Mavrommati *et al.* 2013:7249). SDM is not explicitly spatially based. The model mainly “focuses rather on broad-scale system behaviour patterns than on fine-scale accurate physical representation”

(Sušnik *et al.* 2013:821). This limitation of the time steps of the model asks for the model to be used in conjunction with more detailed energy models.

To overcome these limitations, a systems approach or a framework underpinned by systems thinking could provide more benefits when it is combined with or incorporated as part of another method or technique (Davidson & Venning 2011:225; Sušnik *et al.* 2013:820).

Application of scenario planning

Scenario planning is a method for exploring plausible alternative futures, as part of a workshop-style meeting, in order to provide assistance in the face of uncertain and volatile futures (Susskind 2010:227). The approach is applicable to the complex socio-ecological problems of today. Scenarios are narratives deliberately crafted to describe multiple plausible futures in order to improve understanding and decision-making (Johnson *et al.* 2012). Perhaps what scenarios do best is to help expand the understanding of future risks by systematically exploring plausible futures whose risks have not yet been considered or thought about strategically. Through understanding these risks, appropriate decisions or responses can be made when a given future unfolds. Scenario planning is valued as an appropriate alternative to conventional predictive decision-making tools, such as cost-benefit analysis, which is recognised as imperfect under uncertainty. Scenario planning is valued as an opportunity to change people's knowledge, perceptions and subsequent decisions. The process facilitates stakeholders to think through the complexity and uncertainty of the specific context (Fünfgeld & McEvoy 2014:606). It can also enable creative thinking among participants, especially with complex problems such as climate change (Ravera *et al.* 2011:451; Rickards *et al.* 2014:654).

Although it has many benefits, scenario planning also has some limitations, one of which is its time-consuming nature. After establishing a relationship of trust, it remains a timely matter to overcome cognitive challenges, such as combining different forms of knowledge. It is evident that people are struggling to think long-term, systematically and imaginatively (Rickards *et al.* 2014:652). Another major shortcoming of scenario planning is the disconnect between the main objective of the approach and the noticeable impact on subsequent decisions. It is not always evident whether the appropriate decisions are taken when a specific future unfolds. It is reported that scenario planning projects have a weak influence on subsequent adaptation decision-making (Rickards *et al.* 2014:653). Adaptation plays a prominent role when addressing complex problems, as seen in the application of adaptive management and adaptive governance approaches (Evans & Karvonen 2014:413; Fratini *et al.* 2012:317; Haasnoot *et al.* 2013:485; Head 2014:663; Serrao-Neumann *et al.* 2013:440; Wise *et al.* 2014:325).

Application of adaptive management

Adaptive management is seen as a modern way of governance that is needed in today's times of complexity and uncertainty. Where the traditional view of governance was to predict and control, the new way of governing ensures adaptability and the inclusion of stakeholders in identifying problems and opportunities. The main advantage of utilising this approach is that the new paradigm stimulates planners, with other stakeholders, to include adaptation over time in their strategic plans (Evans & Karvonen 2014:427; Fratini *et al.* 2012:329; Haasnoot *et al.* 2013:495). It further provides insight into different possible options, lock-ins and path dependencies. This dynamic adaptive plan can further prepare stakeholders for change and surprise, as it is a constructive way to address the insecurities arising from uncertainty, complexity and divergence (Haasnoot *et al.* 2013:496; Head 2014:673; Serrao-Neumann *et al.* 2013:459). The inclusiveness of the approach further allows for building planning and problem-solving capacity. One of the main limitations of such an adaptive management approach is the practical difficulties. The approach requires careful planning, management and support, which is challenging for local governments due to the lack of necessary skills and resources to manage and plan for sustainable development problems (Serrao-Neumann *et al.* 2013:447).

Application of integrated approaches

The combination of different approaches, such as participatory techniques, systems thinking, MCDA and scenario planning, is becoming more usual, especially within social sciences research (Pidgeon *et al.* 2014:13607). Without going into the detail of each integrated approach within their specific contexts, the main advantages of the integrated approaches can be summarised as social learning and the combination of qualitative and quantitative information within the approach. Straton *et al.* (2010:161) point out the importance of "community participation and the role such processes can play in providing information to stakeholders, dispelling some unhelpful myths, and coalescing opinion about important criteria and the way forward". The creation of tension between qualitative and quantitative thinking stimulates more agile, strategic thinking about the future (Olabisi *et al.* 2010:2687). Using a combination of different approaches, such as citizen jury with MCDA, provides a means to present trade-offs in a transparent and structured way (Straton *et al.* 2010:146). Proctor and Drechsler (2006:169) combine deliberative processes and MCDA in a new technique called "deliberative multi-criteria evaluation" (DMCE). The benefit of DMCE is that the multi-criteria technique provides a transparent and clear structure for the problem, while the deliberative process enables stakeholder learning and deliberation (Stagl 2007:53; Wittmer, Rauschmayer & Klauer

2006:5). Using scenario planning with a DMCE process is also beneficial because it assists with the settling of long-standing conflicts and ensures that a richer set of information can be captured and that the outputs of the MCDA process are balanced by the narrative (Straton *et al.* 2010:146). Although successful in application, the integrated approaches also face many challenges, to a large extent aligned with the challenges of the other approaches discussed in this article. The factors that are necessary to overcome these challenges and to ensure successful implementation of the approaches are discussed next.

Factors to guide the implementation of an approach inclusive of stakeholder participation

Thus far, it has been seen that approaches inclusive of stakeholder participation can be beneficial when planning a sustainable energy future within a complex context. The inclusion of stakeholders does not come without difficulties and, for this reason, some factors to guide the successful implementation of these approaches, have been elicited from the review.

Systems thinking is a key component of the social learning process, because individuals are better able to adjust their own mental models when they understand the multiple facets of an issue, and in the process build an understanding of other's viewpoints (Davidson & Venning 2011:217). An important factor to consider is not necessarily the specific methods chosen within the approach, but how a holistic approach could be followed.

It is important to analyse and select the relevant stakeholders that should be included in the process. These selected stakeholders need to be diverse (Johnson *et al.* 2012), which is sometimes difficult, especially when working with small groups. The inclusion of stakeholders from many disciplines may lead to a trade-off between the depth of analysis and the breadth and inclusiveness of the approach (Ravera *et al.* 2011:451). It is cautioned that participatory approaches, if not carried out correctly, may lead to further resistance and mistrust among stakeholders (Ravera *et al.* 2011:452). For this reason, careful consideration is needed as to when and how stakeholders should be involved (Luyet *et al.* 2012:218; Reed 2008:2422). The rationale for participation should also be communicated from the start (Wesselink *et al.* 2011:2699).

Strong mandates and political support are needed for the successful implementation of participatory approaches (Sara & Baud 2014:521). If possible, the approach should be part of existing policy development or change processes; otherwise, inclusions are unlikely to be incorporated (Wesselink *et al.* 2011:2699). Mutikanga *et al.* (2011:3966) point out that mobilising decision-makers for brainstorming sessions away from their work environment could be a difficult task, which might become easier if there is political support.

Good facilitation skills are necessary for the approaches inclusive of stakeholder participation, especially when structured workshops and focus group discussions are conducted. Conflict management (Johnson *et al.* 2012; Sara & Baud 2014:522) and the establishment of rules (Luyet *et al.* 2012:214) are key factors to be recognised and handled effectively. The role of the researcher should also be considered and communicated. The researcher should accept the role of being a participant in the process and proactively guide processes along topics of discussion, and not control processes to get desired information (Ravera *et al.* 2011:452).

Participation should include reflexivity and realism (Wesselink *et al.* 2011:2699; Westling *et al.* 2014:443). Reflexivity is a useful lens through which to question stakeholders' understanding of usable knowledge for implementation, the different understanding of collaboration and the extent to which decisions are made (Westling *et al.* 2014:443). The methodology of action research provides a solid platform from which such reflection can take place (Ravera *et al.* 2011:452; Riel 2010–2016:online). For a successful learning experience, the importance of building personal relationships should not be underestimated. Building relationships takes time and a considerable amount of effort (Reed 2008:2427). "A fair, equal and transparent process that promotes equity, learning, trust and respect" (Luyet *et al.* 2012:214) should be a key principle for successful participation.

By following the guidelines stated above, the eight key elements for best practice participatory processes of Reed (2008:2418) and the principles for ideal deliberative procedures (Retallack & Schott 2014:353) may result in the successful implementation of a participatory approach. These guidelines, with a good understanding of the specific advantages and limitations of the different approaches, provided a solid knowledge base to compile a checklist to ensure successful implementation of a participatory approach (see Table 5). This checklist can also be used to inform the development of an energy-planning and decision-making framework for local government in a developing country such as South Africa.

Table 5: Checklist to ensure successful development and implementation of a participatory approach

No.	What	Possible how	Yes/No/Unsure
1.	Follow a holistic approach (Davidson & Venning 2011:226; Sušnik <i>et al.</i> 2013:838).	Inclusion of SSM or other systems thinking method as part of the approach	
2.	Select a diverse group of stakeholders to participate from the start (Johnson <i>et al.</i> 2012; Ravera <i>et al.</i> 2011:451; Reed 2008:2423).	Stakeholder mapping/analyses; personal invitations	

No.	What	Possible how	Yes/No/Unsure
3.	Carefully consider how to involve the stakeholders (Luyet <i>et al.</i> 2012:215; Ravera <i>et al.</i> 2011:452; Reed 2008:2424; Wesselink <i>et al.</i> 2011:2699).	Individual interviews/ group interviews/ stakeholder workshops/ focus group discussions	
4.	Ensure that a strong mandate and political support are provided (Sara & Baud 2014:521; Wesselink <i>et al.</i> 2011:2699).	Top-down communication of initiative; part of existing policy development or change process	
5.	Provide good facilitation skills (Reed 2008:2425).	Appointment of knowledgeable and experienced facilitator	
6.	Communicate rationale for participation and agree on clear objectives from the start (Reed 2008:2424; Wesselink <i>et al.</i> 2011:2699).	Communication strategy	
7.	Communicate role of the researcher (Ravera <i>et al.</i> 2011:452).	Communication strategy	
8.	Establish rules from the start (Luyet <i>et al.</i> 2012:214).	Communication strategy	
9.	Ensure that the consequences of the process for decision making are clear to all participants at the start of the deliberation process (Retallack & Schott 2014:353).	Communication strategy	
10.	Include reflexivity and realism as part of the process (Ravera <i>et al.</i> 2011:452; Riel 2010–2016:online; Wesselink <i>et al.</i> 2011:2699; Westling <i>et al.</i> 2014:443).	Evaluation form and discussion after each session	
11.	Underpin process by a philosophy that emphasises empowerment, equity, trust and learning (Luyet <i>et al.</i> 2012:216; Reed 2008:2426).	Clear communication of open and transparent process	
12.	Select and tailor methods to the decision-making context, types of participants and level of engagement (Reed 2008:2424).	Comparison of different methods	
13.	Ensure that local and scientific knowledge are integrated (Reed 2008:2425).	Integrated approach followed	
14.	Institutionalise participation (Reed 2008:2426).	Empowerment of local government management; formalisation of the process	

No.	What	Possible how	Yes/No/Unsure
15.	Make participation free and voluntary. Consideration of proposals is not constrained by the authority of prior norms or requirements (Cohen 1997, cited in Retallack & Schott 2014:353).	Rules during intervention (link to 8)	
16.	Only exercise force of the better argument (Cohen 1997, cited in Retallack & Schott 2014:353).	Rules during intervention (link to 8)	
17.	Ensure parties are formally and substantively equal in voice and access to agenda (Cohen 1997, cited in Retallack & Schott 2014:353).	Rules during intervention (link to 8)	
18.	Ensure approach aims to arrive at a rationally motivated consensus (Cohen 1997, cited in Retallack & Schott 2014:353).	Rules during intervention (link to 8)	

Source: (Author's checklist)

CONCLUSION

Municipalities have a vital role to play in ensuring that problems with regard to a sustainable future are addressed. However, this is not a simple task due to the many interconnected socio-economic, technical, environmental and political factors that should be simultaneously addressed when planning for a sustainable future. Furthermore, the heterogeneity of local governmental management practices is vast and consideration of different cultures, contexts and institutional settings is crucial.

With a specific focus on a sustainable energy future, it is clear that the planning and implementation of a future energy system are part of a complex process, and hence approaches to how municipalities can plan for a sustainable energy future have been elicited from the literature. These approaches are inclusive of stakeholder involvement, as it is argued that it is crucial to involve those directly affecting or being affected by the problem. The approaches found were grouped into six categories: 1) participatory techniques, 2) MCDA, 3) systems approaches, 4) scenario planning, 5) adaptive management, and 6) integrated approaches. Through an analysis of the advantages and limitations of these approaches it became clear that no single approach is perfect and, as a result, many integrated approaches are emerging in literature. The selection of specific techniques within such an integrated approach remains context-

specific. However, the factors for successful implementation of a participatory approach elicited in this review can provide a solid checklist when planning an intervention with a municipality, as given in Table 5.

Integrating the factors for the successful implementation of a participatory approach, with the degrees of stakeholder involvement, provides a solid knowledge base for future research, which is to develop and test an energy-planning and decision-making framework for the local government sphere. Such a framework needs to take into consideration the heterogeneity of local contexts, ensure effective facilitation of stakeholder participation and deliver on many levels, including at grassroots level. A holistic approach needs to be followed, all degrees of stakeholder involvement must be addressed, information needs to be developed and shared, a mutual understanding of the context and problem at hand should be established, critical and creative thinking should be encouraged, decision options should be evaluated against multiple and community-owned criteria and the implementation plans should be evaluated against a predefined set of objectives. Future research should focus on developing a conceptual energy-planning and decision-making framework and applying the framework to different local contexts through case studies in order to validate the framework and to test its appropriateness in enabling a sustainable energy future in the local government sphere.

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A Critical Analysis of the Approach to Local Economic Development (LED) in South Africa

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ABSTRACT

The advent of the new constitutional dispensation in 1994 heralded significant transformational and governance reform in South Africa. In particular the Government White Paper on Local Government of 1998 formally introduced the concepts of local economic development (LED) and of developmental local government into the South African vernacular, consistent with the evolving national *zeitgeist* of the developmental state. LED therefore had its genesis in, and was from the start in effect largely consigned by statute to the local government sphere – in the South African context arguably the governmental sphere least equipped to deal with it. From the inception the narrative of LED in South Africa was influenced less by sound economic prescript than by a complex of ideological and welfare considerations.

It has been observed that typically in practice, “...(l)ocal economic development is a highly complex matter, and there is no clear conceptual model available that incorporates all of its potentially important dimensions” (Smoke 1997). There currently is no evidence of the employment in South Africa of systematic methods in the determination of LED goal sets that are informed by coherent theories of change and of action.

The article argues for a fundamental re-conceptualisation and demystification of South Africa’s approach to LED based on *structured integrative engagement* within a value chain approach that harnesses cooperative effort across jurisdictions and governmental spheres in

support of local development that is informed by an internally consistent LED model. The concepts and praxis related to LED are complex and multidimensional. The article proposes a generic analytical model based on a theoretical and conceptual framework which lies on a broad cognitive scale of abstraction. The analytical model is thus extrapolated from a conceptual and contextual framework forged to understand the causal relationships between relevant concepts and processes. The article does not pretend to perform an exhaustive evaluation of LED praxis in South Africa. Rather, it provides a critical heuristic analysis of selected relevant features of the theories of change and of action underpinning approaches to LED in South Africa based on the proposed analytical model. The article reflects the finding that potentially significant elements of South Africa's theories of change and of action insofar as LED is concerned have long remained unsettled.

INTRODUCTION

With the emergence of a preoccupation with LED as a component of South Africa's post-transformation development approach, a plethora of policy papers deriving from various government sources attempting to lend impetus to and operationalise the as yet amorphous concept of LED has compounded confusion and arguably further frustrated the purpose. Though the conceptualisation of LED has matured and morphed over time, the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) in 2009 found that a lack of common understanding of the meaning and role of LED and of LED processes constituted a major obstacle to effective LED in South Africa. SALGA also found that many LED strategies were not grounded in economics and were poorly integrated with other programmes. Indeed, the operative conception of LED has focused largely on community participation, arguably at the cost of cohesion, internal economic consistency and unity of economic developmental purpose. LED initiatives have remained largely disjointed and project-based, and have failed to harvest the synergies inherent in mutual support and cooperative governance – the latter a fundamental tenet of the South African Constitution.

Although it had been debated since before the advent of the new constitutional dispensation in South Africa, LED was first formally introduced into the South African public governance lexicon and canvassed as a developmental tool in 1998 (Republic of South Africa 1998). Yet more than a decade later a study of the state of local government in South Africa in 2009

found LED had been erratic and that "...(p)lans for local economic development, fostering investment, special projects and alignment to national priority policies such as detailed in the MTSF (Medium Term Strategic Framework) are additional responsibilities that many municipalities are unable to respond to effectively..."(SALGA 2009:36). In a separate report specifically on the state of LED in South Africa SALGA determined in 2010 the following key issues in LED praxis in South Africa with specific reference to the local government sphere (SALGA 2010:11):

- A lack of common understanding of the role of LED and LED processes;
- An increasing urban-rural divide in LED processes and practices;
- The practical spatial constraints of economic planning at a very local level;
- A less-than-effective working relationship between provinces, districts and local authorities;
- A lack of effective LED "networks" in many areas;
- The inability of many local authorities to clearly define an LED strategy within the broader IDP process; and
- A lack of planning resources and capacity.

Anecdotal evidence derived by the authors from extensive interaction in the training of officials in local authorities charged with LED responsibilities suggests that these problems generally still persist, despite the enactment of regulatory requirements obliging compliance and a plethora of guidelines. This begs the question – why?

In 2010 a National Planning Commission was established in South Africa to bring about cohesion and a measure of congruence in national development policy and approach. This represented a significant step toward achieving a measure of coherence and central direction. In 2011 the Commission diagnosed the nine primary challenges still facing the country as follows (National Planning Commission 2011):

- Too few people work;
- The quality of school education for black people is poor;
- Infrastructure is poorly located, inadequate and under-maintained;
- Spatial divides hobble inclusive development;
- The economy is unsustainably resource intensive;
- The public health system cannot meet demand or sustain quality;
- Public services are uneven and often of poor quality;
- Corruption levels are high; and
- South Africa remains a divided society.

LED remains explicitly an instrument to address these problems. Nevertheless its implementation remains problematic.

ANALYTICAL MODEL UNDERPINNING THE NEXUS BETWEEN THE THEORETICAL PARADIGM AND PRAXIS OF LED IN SOUTH AFRICA

A theoretical framework is important to obtain clarity about the relationships between elements or issues in a given phenomenon (Ravitch and Riggan 2011). After a thorough theoretical exploration a conceptual framework emerges, which reveals the scope of concepts, assumptions, expectations, beliefs, and theories that supports and informs the investigation at hand. Such a theoretical framework or “idea context” (Miles and Huberman 1994:440), should be based on theories that embody the existing corpus of knowledge on the phenomena under investigation.

Conceptual frameworks are products of qualitative processes of theorisation (Jabareen 2009:49) and can be according to Levering (2002:38) regarded as a network of interrelated concepts that, when combined, provide a comprehensive understanding and “soft interpretation” of a phenomenon. Rather than offering theoretical explanations, conceptual frameworks provide understanding, are indeterminist, and do not enable prediction of outcomes (Levering 2002:38). Conceptual frameworks are built on ontological, epistemological, and methodological assumptions, and each concept within a conceptual framework plays an ontological and epistemological role (Guba and Lincoln 2005).

In order to facilitate analyses, an analytical model emerges from a conceptual and theoretical framework. An analytical model can be constructed by means of concept “mapping” (Miles and Huberman 1994:133). Concept mapping can take *inter alia* the form of an abstract framework that maps the relationships between concepts, and/or the form of a causal network of variables or influences (Miles and Huberman 1994:133, 249).

An analytical model should be useful for purposes of scientific investigation, and is most applicable for variance mapping in studies of complex social phenomena. Analytical models generally reveal patterns and causal relationships between variances or variables. As such analytical frameworks include research instrumentation, possible solution patterns, a model, and a method for grouping complex information (Imenda 2014:187). An analytical model maps the potential dimensions or vantage points that researchers can use in their analyses (Hasna 2007:48). Conceptual and analytical frameworks flow from the epistemological paradigm a researcher applies when examining a given research problem. Such frameworks also establish a structure that guides the research.

The authors had to consider higher-level complexities regarding the design of both a conceptual and analytical framework as basis for analysing

the interrelationship between the theoretical paradigm and praxis of LED in South Africa. Tewdwr-Jones (2002) developed an analytical model convenient for analysing the LED paradigm and praxis in terms of the three elements to inform the planning of deliberate action in the public space. These elements are:

- **The aims to be achieved** – these generally are derived from a disaggregation and distillation of political manifestos, social mores and other imperatives. In developmental contexts in particular the policy space is generally heavily goal-laden. The major challenges often encountered in deriving clear policy aims are adequacy (does the goal set cover all the issues considered important), and internal consistency and coherence as the lack of an explicit conceptual model of the intervention frequently constrains the formulation of coherent goal sets, in the process compromising from the start the efficiency and effectiveness of policy.
- **The methods by which aims are to be achieved.** Stakeholders' implicit and explicit assumptions on what interventions are envisaged and why the problem is expected to respond to such interventions is necessary for the planning of coherent deliberate action. Programme theory provides, through such tools as causal logic modelling and outcome- and strategic mapping, the means of constructing appropriate intervention methodology (Chen 2004:248; Chen 2005; Funnell & Rogers 2011). Such approaches are also consistent with the value chain-theoretic approach proposed by Porter (1985). They provide not only a deliberative means for developing LED interventions to activate focused change, but also as noted above a convenient model for analysing the LED paradigm and LED praxis in South Africa by distinguishing between:
 - i. Theory of Change (conceptual theory) reflecting the change paradigm – the process by which change is envisaged to come about; and
 - ii. Theory of Action (action theory) reflecting the action paradigm – how interventions are to be best constructed to activate the change process.
- **“Social criticism”** or how actors and processes should be called to account. This encompasses the performance management of interventions and the ongoing interrogation of the validity and appropriateness of the theory of change itself. Performance management has been defined as comprising (United States 2016):
 - i. Planning work and setting expectations;
 - ii. Continually monitoring performance;
 - iii. Developing the capacity to perform;
 - iv. Periodically evaluating performance in a summary fashion; and
 - v. Rewarding good performance.

THE EVIDENT METHODOLOGY OF CHANGE

As noted above, it is not the intention of the article to pretend to perform an exhaustive evaluation of LED praxis in South Africa, but rather to provide a critical heuristic analysis of selected features based on the above generic analytical model. In particular it engages with relevant aspects of the theories of change and of action underpinning approaches to LED in South Africa.

Development aims to be achieved—a first step toward a programme-theoretical approach to development

The environments in which development practitioners operate are typically goal-laden, with numerous competing ends deriving from development agendas. A number of tools have been suggested to assist in rationalising development goal sets. Strategy mapping processes for example explicitly interrogate how organisations propose to create value by connecting objectives in explicit cause-effect relationships (Kaplan & Norton 2000). These comprise value chains (Porter 1985) explicitly linking interventions to one another and to strategic goals. As noted above, it is suggested in the analysis that follows that potentially significant elements of South Africa's theories of change and of action insofar as LED is concerned have long remained unsettled.

Locating South Africa's Macro-Development Paradigm as a Constituent of the Theory of Change

Faced with the challenges of reconstruction and development following the adoption of a new democratic constitutional dispensation after the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), negotiations of 1994, South Africa has affirmed its commitment to development in all spheres of its natural life. This imperative to "improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person" is enjoined in the preamble to the Constitution (Republic of South Africa 1994). The broad parameters within which the developmental purpose is to be pursued are established in the Bill of Rights comprising Chapter 2 of the Constitution. At various junctures since the accession of the African National Congress (ANC) to government following the elections of 1994, and spurred by the relative success perceived to have been achieved by the model elsewhere, the notion of a "developmental state" has surfaced as a vehicle for furthering developmental purpose in South Africa. It has been suggested that the notion has, in fact, become a unifying project within the governing alliance (Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA) 2010). It was also explicitly extended to the realm of local government in the White Paper on Local Government which

appeared in 1998 and which defined “developmental local government” as “... local government committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs, and improve the quality of their lives...” (Republic of South Africa 1998). As will be suggested *seriatim*, this has set the local government sphere on a developmental path that has had implications for the interpretation and praxis of LED in South Africa.

There has, however, been significant divergence of views on the construction to be placed upon the as yet relatively amorphous notion of the “developmental state” that is a recurring theme in the national developmental debate in South Africa. This divergence has also reflected in a degree of confusion of roles and responsibilities in promoting LED. To some the imperative of the developmental state has come to represent an admission of critical weaknesses in governance that has failed to prioritise economic development and to mobilise a broad base of resources and support, combined with a preoccupation with industrialisation with insufficient diversification of the economic base ((The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) 2005). To others it represents a response to the perceived neo-liberal approach epitomised by the so-called Washington Consensus, itself a loose compendium of essentially structurally regulatory policies that appeared in late 1989 to command some currency for application in Latin America at the time (Institute for International Economics 2004 in Auriacombe & Ackron 2015:78). These policy reforms, comprising the “Washington Consensus” and originally rendered as a list of 10 heads of policy, generally envisaged a more facilitative and less prescriptive and interventionist stance on the part of government and included such provisions for example as (Institute for International Economics 2004 in Auriacombe & Ackron 2015:78):

- “Redirecting (public) expenditure from politically sensitive areas (that)... receive more resources than their economic return can justify... toward neglected fields with high economic returns and the potential to improve income distribution, such as primary health and education, and infrastructure”;
- “(Unified) exchange rate(s)...at a level sufficiently competitive to induce a rapid growth in non-traditional exports”;
- “Barriers impeding the entry of foreign [direct investment] should be abolished...”;
- “Privatization of state-owned enterprises”; and
- A legal system providing “...secure property rights without excessive costs and (making) these available to the informal sector”.

The pursuit of enhanced economic competitiveness formed an important centrepiece of the approach, to be enabled mainly through human resources

development (education and training) and infrastructure investment. Contemporary World Bank policies also shied away from “selective interventions” on the part of the state, proposing such neutral facilitative interventions as infrastructure development and the development of a skilled and healthy workforce through education and training together with essentially institutional interventions to ensure contract enforcement and the protection of property rights, effective regulation, private capital formation and the expansion of financial markets (World Bank 2005).

But if the compendium of policies initially advanced by Williamson as the “Washington Consensus” was loose, the body of response characterising the notion of the so-called “developmental state” initially coined by Chalmers Johnson arguably appears in important respects even less coherent. Johnson initially envisaged the developmental state as characterised essentially by (Johnson 1999:38–39):

- “...a small, inexpensive but elite state bureaucracy staffed by the best managerial talent available in the system...”;
- “...a political system in which the bureaucracy is given sufficient scope to take initiative and operate efficiently...; and
- “...a perfection of market-conforming methods of state intervention in the economy”.

This appears to be a far cry indeed from the current expanding governmental monolith erected in South Africa to serve a developmental purpose under the mantle of a “developmental state”.

Where Johnson (1999) had conceived the developmental state as characterised by focused state intervention to achieve economic development as its primary goal through mobilisation of resources within an explicitly capitalist paradigm, others sought for example to broaden its focus into such areas as equitable development, sustainable development, and democratic development not necessarily as means to an economic end, but as ends in themselves (Stiglitz 2004; Leftwich 1995). Whereas some would go so far even as to equate the essential developmental state with direct intervention in business decision-making, state ownership of the means of production or command of the economic high ground, others would suggest a more nuanced, interventionist role limited essentially to selected direct interventions in both macro- and micro-economic planning (Marwala 2009). The establishment of a National Planning Commission in May 2010, to develop a long-term vision and strategic plan for South Africa and to rally the nation around a common set of objectives and priorities to drive development over the longer term, is consistent with the notion of a stronger, more structured and central role for government at least at the helm of state planning and the determination of the way forward

for the country. Yet others would posit the developmental state as somewhere in the middle between the far left and the far right and characterised in essence by the ability of the state to “drive development by guiding capital toward new activities while maintaining broad-based support, including the support of workers” ((The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) 2005).

That the notion of the developmental state provides a home to so many diverse interpretations arguably erodes its value as a determinant of coherent deliberate action toward the achievement of development aims in accordance with the requirements of programme theory. Indeed, the modalities of its interpretation and implementation are crucial to the definition of coherent and internally consistent approaches for example to LED and other developmental imperatives that flow from it. South Africa’s National Development Plan makes reference in its executive summary to the priority of “...building a capable and developmental state...” (National Planning Commission 2012a:16) and to a “...developmental state [that] builds the capabilities of people to improve their own lives, while intervening to correct historical inequalities. Neither government nor the market can develop the necessary capabilities on their own...” (National Planning Commission 2012a:17). However, it does so without defining the term other than to observe that “...(a) developmental state tackles the root causes of poverty and inequality. A South African developmental state will intervene to support and guide development so that benefits accrue across society (especially to the poor), and build consensus so that long-term national interest trumps short-term, sectional concerns” (National Planning Commission 2012a:44). The reader is left substantially at large to infer a construction of the core notion of the “developmental state” in the South African context. The preoccupation of South Africa’s Public Service Commission with the Far Eastern experience in which “developmental states”, characterised by “ideological capacity (with)... political leaders that are driven by a developmentalist nationalist ideology” (Public Service Commission 2014), has been perceived to have contributed to rapid economic development, provides a further small dimension to the (evolving) construction of the as yet largely amorphous notion in the South African context.

South Africa’s National Development Plan reflects the need to build a capable and professional developmental state (National Planning Commission 2012b:407 *et seq*). The Public Service Commission also opines:

“...A key feature of a developmental state is strong institutions, especially an efficient and effective bureaucracy. Its institutions (organisational structures and rules) enable a developmental state to act authoritatively and in a binding fashion to achieve its goals and objectives. One of the main institutional attributes of a developmental state is its ‘autonomy’. Indicators of autonomy include meritocratic recruitment, career paths for public servants, insulation

of bureaucratic elites from direct political pressure (which also speaks to the administrative political interface), and the existence of a 'super-ministry/ coordinating ministry' managed by professional and competent public servants. A professional, prestige-laden and competent public service is one of the main determinants of the capacity of a developmental state, and it is its key driver of success. These institutional characteristics underline the technical and organisational capacities of developmental states, such as those in Asia and they account for their superior development performance that has been celebrated across the globe. That East Asian Developmental States, including Japan, South Korea and Singapore, have become developed economies is largely due to the quality of these states' institutions in general and their Public Services in particular. Similarly, that Brazil, China and Malaysia are among the fastest developing economies and have removed millions of people from poverty within a generation is primarily due to their capable public services. The fact that China is the factory of the world and will soon become its largest economy is primarily because of the quality of the Chinese Public Service" (Public Service Commission 2014).

But, apart from some measure of congruence around the need for sound and capable institutions of public governance in keeping with a more direct interventionist role on the part of the state, a unified and more comprehensive definitive notion of the "developmental state" for South Africa as yet remains largely elusive. The need for improved efficiency and capacity where a more direct interventionist role is envisaged for the state would, however, seem self-evident. But at a deeper level the suitability in the South African context of constructions of the notion of the developmental state that have been concluded in different contexts elsewhere in the world to have provided successful development paradigms has been challenged. It has been suggested that whereas South Africa at present in key respects constitutes a transfer welfare state, neither the East-African, the present transfer of welfare, nor the liberal state paradigms can sustainably address South Africa's challenges of unemployment, inequality and poverty going forward. A social investment state, founded on human resource investment and increased absorption in skilled and more lucrative employment, and predicated upon improved efficiency and performance of the public sector is indicated (Burger 2014). In addressing particularly the replicability of the conditions precedent for a successful developmental state modelled after the style of those of East Asia in particular it has been observed that "...(w)hile some aspects of this model (for instance, greater political insulation of economic policy makers) could reasonably be achieved in African countries, the extensive co-ordinated economic interventions of the East Asian states are well beyond the administrative faculties of most African governments" (Mkandawire 1996).

Notably, the basic macro-paradigm for South Africa thus remains as yet in key respects undefined and unsettled. This has potential implications for the LED mandate and the achievement of a *structured integrative approach* to local economic development that harnesses all available synergies. That an element of central direction is required seems clear. It is the nature and measure of that direction, and the capacity of the state to undertake a role in it, that remains at issue. The appointment in May 2010 of the National Planning Commission heralded a significant and concerted attempt to achieve coherence in development policy and approach and, provided that a *structured integrative approach* is followed, provides potentially decisive leverage for revitalising and refocusing flagging and as yet relatively unrequited LED effort.

South Africa's local economic development paradigm has evolved through a number of iterations over the years. Where initially, though avowedly "economic", it was characterised by a strong, explicitly pro-poor social welfare bias, and located as a community development function essentially within the welfare sector, it has now evolved to a more comprehensive economic approach, albeit arguably one still narrowly focused on communities as closed entities substantially in isolation rather than on communities within their more comprehensive open economic context. The initial LED Guidelines issued by government in 2000 (Republic of South Africa 2000a) reflected a rejection of earlier market- and primarily industrial investment-driven development policy based on subsidisation. In de-emphasising the market the approach had, however, arguably removed itself substantially from the "economic" milieu. The early guidelines identified a number of imperatives as pillars of the new "LED" approach namely: community development, the development of human capital, improved provision of municipal services, the reduction of "leakages" from local economies and the retention (and, where necessary, protection) of local economic activities (Bond 2002). LED was promoted essentially as a "bottom up" approach which tended further to suggest "new local economics" and to miss the essential fact that often solutions to community developmental challenges are not to be found in those communities but require integrated solutions and engagement across many jurisdictions outside of those communities. The "bottom-up" approach therefore may be argued to have had the effect of fragmenting the LED initiative that should in fact have been integrated from the start. It also tended to suggest a role for municipalities in parochial economic development for which they were inadequately capacitated and for which in fact they were not constitutionally mandated. The year 2000 also saw the enactment of legislation enshrining in statute the policy principles reflected in the earlier White Paper on Local Government and enjoining municipalities to engage in integrated development planning and to produce Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) (Republic of South Africa 2000b:36–46)

regulated to contain an explicit LED component. A problem was, however, that these provisions appeared in local government legislation, fortifying the notion in the bureaucratic mind that LED was a local government matter and arguably further alienating it from the larger economic fabric and cementing it as a largely parochial community activity. An IDP is in fact defined in the relevant statute as "...a single, inclusive and strategic plan for the development of the municipality..." (Republic of South Africa 2000b:36). However, the nuance of interpretation of the term "municipality" whether as an "entity" (*the municipality*) or as a "geographic area" (*the municipal area*) as defined in Chapter I of the Act is most often missed. IDPs and their associated LED strategies are narrowly viewed to be proprietary plans for and by the local government, frequently not recognising or engaging with activities of other agencies, or external influences, affecting the municipal area and its residents, or indeed the local economy. Likewise, departments and other agencies in the national sphere in particular, but also in the provincial sphere, do not participate sufficiently actively in integrated development planning activities. The results frequently are "integrated" development plans that are anything but "integrated".

Further LED guidelines appeared in 2001 (Republic of South Africa 2001) and a draft LED policy appeared in 2002 (Republic of South Africa 2002). In 2003 Meyer-Stamer (2003a:5) observed that "...in South Africa, LED is a mandatory task of local government. However, there is no clear concept and no consistent pattern of implementation...". Similar findings on the state of confusion prevailing in the interpretation of an LED paradigm were also expressed by others at this time. A study led by Rhodes University found in 2005 that "...(t)here is a need to ...arrive at an acceptable series of definitions of just what is meant by key terms such as: LED, pro-poor LED, pro-growth LED and pro-poor growth /inclusive LED. Given the lack of consensus about these terms nationally and internationally, consensus is clearly needed..." (Rhodes University 2005:87). Further LED guidelines appeared in 2005 (Republic of South Africa 2005) and 2006 (Republic of South Africa 2006a).

But a shift in emphasis was indeed taking place away from the earlier narrow communo-centric, pro-poor view toward a more comprehensive and inclusive developmental approach that embraced local "community" economies as elements or building blocks of an integrated economic developmental ecology. Economic growth and poverty eradication were key preoccupations of the 2005 guidelines (Republic of South Africa 2005) while by 2006 the emphasis had shifted explicitly to "stimulating and developing sustainable local economies" (Republic of South Africa 2006a). More nuanced perspectives such as those of Meyer-Stamer (2003b) regarding more effective LED in South Africa, and as summarised as follows by Meyer (2014:5), were increasingly evident in the evolving avowed LED intent, if not in its execution:

“...the creation of a clear distinction between LED and community development initiatives, refrain to solve problems by throwing money to the problem, ongoing analysis of local economic sectors and address market failures, stimulate entrepreneurship and business development, maximize existing local resources such as finance, natural resources, and human skills by the utilisation of mentors, identify and implement “quick wins” projects and creation of a strong partnership between public and private sectors...”.

Indeed, the approach to LED has finally evolved to a point where it “... is concerned with creating robust and inclusive local economies that exploit local opportunities, address local needs and contribute to natural development objectives such as economic growth and poverty eradication...” (Meyer 2014:5). The nuance shift appears, however, not to have been effectively communicated to all practitioners in the LED value chain, many of whom are insufficiently capacitated for such a process. Blair and Carroll (2009:250), in supporting a nuanced approach as between “welfare” and “economics” in community development, observe: “...Communities that tilt too far in favour of programs that assist the poor at the expense of wealthier population cohorts face the destabilising prospect of attracting more poor and discouraging wealthier residents.... (On the other hand) state and local governments may seek to attract businesses and wealthy residents at the expense of low income groups. A race to the bottom can develop in which benefits to low-income groups are reduced to make the area more attractive for more affluent groups...”. Blakely and Leigh (2010:329–356) draw a significant distinction between “community development” and “community economic development”, the latter itself an element of a more comprehensive notion of “local economic development”. Where community development traditionally focuses on a broad range of development issues, “...community economic development focuses on the neighbourhood scale of socioeconomic transformation in a distressed locality. Community economic development seeks to improve conditions within a geographic area that is populated by the disadvantaged and unable to control its socioeconomic direction or resources... Development efforts...within the neighbourhood may very well need to focus on strengthening linkages external to the neighbourhood. Strengthening those linkages often entails the economic side of community development...” (Blakely & Leigh 2010:329). By this measure it seems that what in the South African development paradigm had for over a decade passed for “local economic development” was in fact the more limited notion of “community development” or “community economic development”, with a relatively unstructured approach to, and de-emphasis of, the building and strengthening of economic linkages. This approach manifested in an emphasis on “popular participation” and the designation in the main of Community Development Officers (so-called CDOs), with a

welfare rather than an economic background, to perform the LED role in the local government sphere.

South Africa's National Spatial Development Perspective that appeared in 2006 further informed the apparent catharsis in thinking regarding the LED paradigm in South Africa (Republic of South Africa 2006b:70–90). This national policy perspective on spatial development explicitly recognised that a disjuncture existed between the needs of communities on the one hand and the potential of those communities to address and sustainably satisfy those needs *in situ* on the other, and provided a more explicitly regional rationale for economic development with which the prevailing “LED” approach had to come to terms. The national perspective had been preceded by a pioneering initiative in similar vein in the Western Cape to perform a matrix mapping of the growth potential of towns in the province and their developmental needs that also suggested a more spatially nuanced and widely strategic approach to LED (Western Cape 2004). It was increasingly evident that LED involved a great deal more than the comparatively banal parochial conception of “...local government committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs, and improve the quality of their lives...” as envisaged in the 1998 White Paper and still a stubbornly pervasive theme in conventional LED thinking. In reality, as suggested by Blair and Carroll (2009:89–130), LED is a proposition within the wider context of regional development and needs to be informed by that body of knowledge. Local economies are largely open systems, interacting dynamically with the wider regional contexts in which they are located. A parochial view of LED frustrates such perspectives. National legislation providing for example for the establishment of industrial development zones (IDZs) in South Africa (Republic of South Africa 1993) and special economic zones (SEZs) (Republic of South Africa 2014) have direct LED implications for communities and are thus, in an informed and comprehensive LED paradigm, integral elements of nuanced LED strategy and practice that admits all available means to optimise interventions in support of development in local communities, irrespective of whether or not they fall within local government mandates or indeed originate within local communities.

Locating South Africa's Theory of Action in Local Economic Development

That local government has a role in LED is generally not in doubt. However, what seems to be a problem is the assignment of roles in LED and the commensurate capacitation of government in accordance with those roles. Blair and Carroll (2009:249) observe:

“The role of government in economic development goes beyond subsidies and tax abatements that directly affect business decisions. An equal or more important role is performing a number of traditional tasks well, creating the overall atmosphere that encourages economic development. Accordingly local economic development (LED) officials are involved in a wide variety of local governance issues...”

Indeed, the potential impact of local government actions on the local economy generally goes far beyond the direct effect of its comparatively limited explicitly “economic” functions. From its inception LED in South Africa was synonymous with local government. Yet the Constitution (Republic of South Africa 1994) in Section 156 assigns only a relatively limited number of explicitly “economic” functions to the local government sphere. A common problem is encountered with the uncritical and insufficiently nuanced interpretation of the local government mandate and particularly of the provisions of Section 152 of the Constitution dealing with the objects of local government. These “objects” are often erroneously interpreted as “functions”, fortifying the impression that local government is comprehensively responsible for the promotion of economic development, a role for which it is insufficiently capacitated. The National Planning Commission in regard to the interpretation of local government mandates also had cause to observe (National Planning Commission 2011:24): “...A lack of clarity about the powers and functions of local government exacerbates the financial problems faced by municipalities and is a critical factor impeding progress in service provision. This has led to municipalities being saddled with a burden of “unfunded mandates” in areas such as housing, libraries, roads, water treatment and other infrastructure...”

The White Paper of 1998 in Section B explicitly addresses as follows the nuanced role of local government in LED (Republic of South Africa 1998):

“...Through its traditional responsibilities (service delivery and regulation), local government exerts a great influence over the social and economic well-being of local communities. Each year municipalities collect a large sum in rates, user charges and fees. They employ thousands of people throughout the country. In many cases they are responsible for the price and quality of water, electricity and roads, and they control the use and development of land. In parts of the country they own substantial amounts of land. They purchase goods and services and pay salaries, and therefore contribute to the flow of money in the local economy. They set the agenda for local politics, and the way they operate gives strong signals to their own residents and to prospective migrants or investors. These functions give local government a great influence over local economies. Municipalities therefore need to have a clear vision for the local economy, and work in partnership with local business to maximise job creation and investment. Local government is not directly responsible for creating jobs. Rather, it is responsible for taking active

steps to ensure that the overall economic and social conditions of the locality are conducive to the creation of employment opportunities. Provision of basic household infrastructure is the central contribution made by local government to social and economic development...".

In 2005 it had been opined that, "...The recognition of LED as a function has mostly come from IDPs, not from a formal allocation of functions and indeed this is not recognised in Schedules 4 and 5 of the Constitution which define the functions of provincial and local government..." (Rhodes University 2005:87). A similar theme is developed in paragraphs 28–30 of the LED guidelines of 2005 (Republic of South Africa 2005):

"Whilst the Constitution (1996) places a great responsibility upon municipalities to facilitate LED, the schedule in the Constitution that lists the functions of municipalities does not include LED...it is envisaged that municipalities play a connector role in respect of LED whereby they draw on resources locked in a range of different government support instruments into their localities...The idea is not for municipalities to run programmes themselves but to focus on establishing forums to build partnerships and to network with a range of stakeholders...Finally LED should not be viewed only as a programme but everything that a municipality does impacts on the local economy...For example, procurement policies can be structured to address the use of local labour, and all infrastructure development should reflect positively on the development of the local economy, whatever its purpose..."(Republic of South Africa 2005).

In short, the powers and functions of local government assigned in Section 156 of the Constitution should be exercised in a way calculated to have the maximum impact on the social development of communities, addressing the needs of the poor, and the growth of the local economy. LED as such is not a function of local government, nor does it imply the assumption of additional functions by local government. Rather, it requires a more economically informed and nuanced approach to the exercise of the functions explicitly assigned to local government in terms of the Constitution in such a way as optimally to support the development of robust local economies as a sustainable basis for improved community prosperity.

These nuances of interpretation of the role of local government in LED appear largely to have been missed. Indeed the authors' experience has been that few officials in the local sphere charged with LED have engaged at all critically with the relevant source documentation or the operative LED paradigms and approaches to LED as reflected in the various guidelines. Instead, LED strategies and interventions in the local sphere remain significantly detached and disjointed, determined by whim, fiat or expediency rather than by coherent economic rationale, and with a prevailing parochial *ad hoc* project bias. Whereas municipalities are required in terms of the White Paper on Local

Government of 1998 to play a “connector” role in LED, with the exception possibly of the larger metropolitan local authorities currently comprising nine out of a total of 267 local authorities in South Africa few local authorities as yet can muster the necessary insight and capacity adequately to interpret and perform that role. In 2005 the question had already been asked in relation to the LED responsibilities placed upon municipalities “...whether many local governments are actually in a position to assume such responsibility given the nature of the applied constraints which they face?” (Rhodes University 2005:81). This key fatal deficiency arguably has had, and continues to have, significant implications for the efficacy of LED as an instrument for development in South Africa. Statutorily, in terms of Section 27 of the Local Government: Municipal Systems Act, 2000 (Act 32 of 2000), district municipalities are enjoined to inform the approach to integrated development planning of Category B municipalities comprising their districts (Republic of South Africa 2000b:39), but this most frequently is not comprehensive and district municipalities themselves are capacity constrained. The National Planning Commission had cause in 2011 to observe that “...(o)utside the metros, the two-tier structure of local government is not working as efficiently as the policy makers had intended. This is primarily because the districts have inadequate financial, human and physical resources to play their intended planning and coordination roles” (National Planning Commission 2011:24).

In response to the perceived incapacity of local authorities to engage optimally in LED a tool was developed in 2009 to assess the LED “maturity” of local authorities against fixed criteria (SALGA 2013). This tool was intended to be implemented in both the local and provincial spheres in order to attempt to identify and target specific LED implementation capacity deficiencies. After initially being rolled out in Gauteng, it was employed in Mpumalanga and parts of the Eastern Cape. In 2012 the Western Cape Department of Economic Development and Tourism (DEDAT) began using the tool to inform their support of LED (SALGA 2013). The value of the tool will, however, ultimately depend on the employment of a suitably contextualised and appropriately nuanced South African LED paradigm to inform the maturity metric.

The roles of the various public sector agencies in LED in South Africa have been summarised as follows (SA LED Network 2016):

- **National government:** Coordination of public policies and investment programmes. A National LED forum exists for the purpose.
- **Provincial Government:**
 - i. Coordination–Provincial LED forums should be established to mirror the national forum in the provinces;
 - ii. Resource allocation in accordance with the requirements of municipal IDPs; and

- iii. LED capacity building and LED support to municipalities.
- **Local Government:** Creation of a favourable environment for LED through a partnership between business, community interests and municipal government.
- **Government Agencies:** The Small Enterprise Development Agency (SEDA) and the Sector Education and Training Agencies (SETAs) responsible for capacity building are specifically identified as potential role players in LED.
- **Foreign Donor Agencies:** Foreign funding is regarded as particularly significant in LED interventions.
- **Local Economic development Agencies (LEDAs):** Such agencies take various forms and are established in the local government LED space for specific LED purposes.

While the organisational links of the LED value chain are thus present, anecdotal evidence suggests that the institutional linkages across jurisdictions by way of strategic mapping and systematic structured engagement along LED value chains connecting these links are as yet largely absent. Problems of integration are compounded by deficiencies in integrated development planning processes in the municipal sphere that retain a largely parochial focus and still produce municipal IDPs that are not “integrated”.

In diagnosing the root of the problem frustrating the performance of the public sector in the wake of transformation, inevitably also reflected in part in South Africa’s legacy of performance against the LED imperative, the National Planning Commission has observed that “...policies designed to improve the representivity of the public service work best when accompanied by effective management, training and recruitment processes. Where management structures do not operate effectively, the need to focus on improving staff skills through mentoring and training is neglected...At the local government level, past practices of engaging professional institutes in the training, selection and development of senior managers have diminished, while bodies like the Institute of Municipal Finance Officers and Municipal Engineers have little influence over appointments to critical positions. The result has been a reduction in the number of professionals available to the state, and a looming crisis in the generational reproduction of professional expertise as the ageing cohorts continue to leave the system. This skills deficit has an adverse impact not only on frontline service delivery...but also on the ability of government to engage in long-term planning (and)... coordination across institutions...” (National Planning Commission 2011:23). To the extent that effective LED requires value chain linkages across many jurisdictions and governmental spheres, the cumulative effect of inadequate performance at multiple points along the LED value chain on LED outcomes stands to be significant.

Correcting these problems presents a particular challenge. Andrews, Pritchett and Woolcock (2012) have warned against the dangers of “isomorphic mimicry”

in the form of cosmetic interventions to achieve sustained improvement in public performance resulting in a flow of development resources and legitimacy without demonstrated improvement in performance, thereby undermining the impetus for effective action to build state capacity. A consequence of such false initiatives is what they term "...capability traps in which state capability stagnates, or even deteriorates, over long periods of time even though governments remain engaged in developmental rhetoric" (Andrews *et al.* 2012:1) They propose a process of Problem-driven Iterative Adaptation (PDIA) involving:

- Finding local solutions to locally-nominated and defined performance challenges as opposed to transplanting preconceived and packaged "best practice" solutions;
- Creating an authorising environment for decision-making that encourages positive deviance and experimentation as opposed to compliance;
- Establishment of tight feedback loops to facilitate rapid experiential learning rather than reliance on formal *ex-post* evaluations; and
- Broad engagement to test viability, legitimacy and relevance of innovation rather than sole reliance on "top-down" innovation by external experts.

It appears that South Africa's LED initiative may well be caught up in just such a "capability trap" requiring decisive multi-dimensional intervention at a number of points and levels in the value chain.

"SOCIAL CRITICISM"-TOWARDS PERFORMANCE MANAGEMENT OF LED

Rabie and Cloete (2013) have remarked on the emergence of evidence-based decision-making as the prevailing international paradigm for policy analysis and -management. However, the amorphous nature of many, if not most, formal LED programmes and interventions render the analysis of performance, if not the achievement of performance itself, problematic. Indeed, it has been observed that "...LED is often conducted in a pragmatic and *ad-hoc* way that makes monitoring and evaluation difficult..." (GTZ & Mesopartner 2008). In the absence of value-chain analysis and a strategically mapped approach *ex ante* to LED intervention, *ex post* "outcome mining" generally is resorted to as a reference basis in evaluating LED performance. Rabie and Cloete (2013) have suggested such a scheme of generic outcome indicators for measuring LED results.

In 2005 it had been observed of LED in South Africa that, "...Monitoring and evaluation (was) weakly developed and often not applied, poverty targets are not always in place and many municipalities are not able to fully ascertain the impact of their actions..." (Rhodes University 2005:81). Anecdotal evidence

suggests that after the passage of a further decade performance management of LED in South Africa still remains problematic. In general *inter alia* the following deficiencies still present on a case-by-case basis in the municipal sphere:

- Inadequate identification of outcomes to be achieved;
- Lack of a logical progression of cause and effect through intermediate stages of intervention toward desired outcomes i.e. lack of a clear theory of change;
- Inadequate indicator development corresponding to outcomes and intermediate outputs and objectives;
- Inadequate process planning rendering the definition of appropriate indicators of process efficiency problematic i.e. lack of a clear theory of action;
- Inexplicit role definition and assignment of responsibilities along value chains and across governmental and other spheres and jurisdictions towards LED outcomes;
- Inadequate resource planning rendering the determination of resourcing efficiencies problematic; and
- Economic naïveté and insufficient economic insight constraining capacity to generate appropriate LED intervention strategies and to construct coherent value chains for their implementation.

CONCLUSION

With the pronouncements in the White Paper on Local Government of 1998 South Africa embarked on an ambitious journey in LED. But the achievement of its objects have arguably been frustrated by unsettled and parochial paradigms, the lack of a *structured integrative approach* to LED that recognises its dividends as the shared outcome of a complex of deliberate, mutually supportive actions across governmental spheres and jurisdictions, and by ancillary problems such as deficiencies in integrated development planning processes and lack of capacity of key role players at multiple points in the LED process. To the extent that a flow of development resources and legitimacy into the LED approach in South Africa over two decades, despite continual evaluation and diagnosis, as yet has not delivered the level of cohesion and focus in performance across jurisdictions necessary for its realisation, it appears that South Africa may well be caught in a capability trap from which only deliberate and concerted action on a number of fronts will release it.

NOTE

Ackron, J.C. Comparative Perspective of the Policy and Praxis of Local Economic Development in South Africa and Rwanda. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis. Johannesburg: University of Johannesburg.

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Human Resource Provisioning Strategy for Gender Equality within the Department of Correctional Services

The Case of Groenpunt Management Area

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ABSTRACT

Human resource (HR) provision is a component of human resource management (HRM) that determines HR planning and job analysis. Gender equality in human resource provision demands that male and female employees are not discriminated in recruitment, promotion, remuneration, career development and related human resource (HR) activities. Therefore, the South African Public Sector helps ensure a commitment towards eliminating gender gaps in employment opportunities. Furthermore, it helps mainstream the gender perspective in HR processes through implementation of the Employment Equity Act (Act 55 of 1998) and South Africa's National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality, 2000. The article aims to explore these commitments within the Department of Correctional Services, with reference to the Groenpunt Management Area (GMA) as case study. A qualitative research approach was utilised and interviews were conducted with GMA's employees. The findings explore the challenge regarding an alignment between gender equality targets and the HR provisioning. The article proposes a classification called Gender Equality in Human Resource Development (GE-HRD) for improvement.

INTRODUCTION

Human resources are the most significant investment for any organisation to achieve its institutional vision and mission. Bendix (cited in Akunnusi 2008:25) therefore emphasises that effective HRM has become a key cornerstone to achieve institutional goals. As such, the development and utilisation of human resources require strategic considerations in business plans. Furthermore, the term HRM focuses on pursuing a strategic approach to managing both male and female employees on an equal basis.

Noting that gender inequality constitutes one of the main obstacles in a patriarchal South African labour market, post-apartheid public services demanded to abolish discriminatory employment practices and policies. The White Paper on Affirmative Action is a testimony of government's commitment to the transformation of the Public Service and institutions, so that employment practices are underpinned by equity and equality. The importance of gender equality is referred to in the Public Service Act of 1994, Labour Relations Act 66 of 1995, Basic Conditions of Employment Act 75 of 1997, Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998, Correctional Services Act 111 of 1998, Public Service Regulation, 2001, White Paper on Corrections in South Africa, 2005, Human Resource Development Policy, 2009, Public Service Human Resource Planning Strategic Framework, Vision 2015. These policies underscore the importance of complying with other transformation-based legislative frameworks. Despite these strides in the right direction, there is a need to review the Department of Correctional Services' (DCS) existing HR policies to support an integrated approach to managing HR and incorporating gender equality.

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

One of an organisation's most valuable assets is its human resources. "Human resources and the potential they possess are key drivers for an organization's success" (Haslinda 2009:1). Therefore, HRM is "the management of work and people towards the desired ends is a fundamental activity in any organization in which human beings are employed" (Boxall, Purcell and Wright 2007:01).

Human Resource Development (HRD) is a consecutive process of HR planning, job analysis, recruitment, selection, placement and incorporation (Nieman and Bennet 2002:258). For effective human resource development in South Africa, the "Human Resource Development Strategy for the Public Service (HRDS) is steered by the Department of Public Service and Administration (DPSA) with the objective of developing the capacity of all public servants in

enhancing service delivery” (DPSA 2008:5 in Bartlett 2011:13). In addition, the Human Resource Development Policy of 2009 states that human resources provisioning is one of the cornerstones of effective HRM. It provides an effective platform for an organisation’s HR functions, such as career management, staff development and training, organisational development, management of diversity, as well as gender equality in the workplace.

According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO 2003:1), gender refers to “the roles and responsibilities of men and women that are created in our families, our societies and our cultures.” The concept of gender also includes certain expectations pertaining to the characteristics, aptitudes and likely behaviour of both women and men (femininity and masculinity). A professional environment requires transformative thinking. Practitioners, researchers and academics need to emphasise that, “gender is not something we are born with, and not something we have, but something we do (West and Zimmerman 1987) – something we perform (Butler 1990)” (cited in Penelope and McConnell- Ginet Undated:1).

In essence, the concept of gender equality focuses on the fact that “all human beings are free to develop their personal abilities and make choices without the limitations set by strict gender roles” (Holzner, Neuhold and Weiss-Gänger 2010:6). It also includes change in institutions and social relations where gender inequalities still form part of the status quo.

Gender equality cannot be achieved in isolation from other fundamental challenges within the DCS. For example, training and development of staff should be prioritised; the career path of women to become managers or strategic decision-makers need to be institutionalised. “Organisational development or sustainability is possible when there is adequate human resource capacity. Public institutions use scarce resources, both human and material, to produce outputs for consumption by their clients or customers in order to achieve valued outcomes” (Van der Waldt 2004:39). It is against this background that the DCS must ensure that recruited human resources complement the equity ratio as set out in the Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In terms of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* of 1996, gender equality is a constitutional human right. It “guarantees equality before the law and prohibits discrimination based on sex or gender” (RSA 1996). Therefore, women should have the same status as men in both personal and professional levels. Achieving gender equality is “supported by a framework of policies and mechanisms that include a National Gender Policy Framework and a Ministry

for Women, Children and People with Disabilities" (World Health Organisation: Regional Office for Africa 2014:1).

Goko (2013:1) states that the government is trying to enforce compliance with gender transformation in the private and public sectors via legislation. In terms of the Women Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill of 2013, all the government departments and private companies should appoint women that fill "a minimum of 50% of all senior and top-management positions" (Ramalho 2014:2). Ultimately, this aims to balance gender equality. Women deserve to be appointed and elevated to decision-making positions, contrary to the norm of being confined to decision-implementing positions.

The current study is based on various theoretical perspectives, such as gender role and feminist theories. The gender role theory underpins the sociological construction of gender roles that are regulated by social norms and expectations. Hence, "viewing gender as the product of socialisation" (Surujlal and Vyas-Doorgapersad 2015:3). Lorber's viewpoints (1994 in Bussey and Bandura 1999:677) substantiate this viewpoint. The researcher states that, "sociologically oriented theories emphasise the social construction of gender roles mainly at the institutional level." Liberal philosophies in feminist theories direct women to achieve social, economic and political empowerment. These philosophies are reflected in the "equity approach" (Buthelezi 2001:41) that demands equity in personal and professional aspects; "the efficiency approach" (Buthelezi 2001:43) that encourage women to partake in economically driven development activities; and "the empowerment approach" (Moser 1989 in Govender and Vyas-Doorgapersad 2013:107), that is the "transformation of gender relations into gender planning" (Wieringa 1994 in Vyas-Doorgapersad 2015:123).

The article utilises the Mainstreaming Gender Equality (MGE) approach, also commonly referred to as gender mainstreaming. The approach originated in 1995 during the Fourth United Nations Conference on Women in Beijing, China. Gender mainstreaming "ensures that all gender issues are addressed and integrated in all levels of society, politics, and programmes" (<https://cn2collins.wordpress.com>). In this article, the Mainstream Gender Equality approach aims to bring equal opportunities in HR programmes within the Department of Correctional Services (DCS).

GENDER INEQUALITY IN HUMAN RESOURCE PRACTICES

In terms of HR processes, gender equality focuses on "the fair and equal treatment of males and females and whether unfair discrimination based on gender was perceived in the organisation" (McMillan-Capehart 2005:44). Policy frameworks reflect the key aspects of gender equality. The White Paper on the

Transformation of the Public Service (WPTPS) of 1995 (in Chabikuli, Blaauw, Gilson and Schneider 2005:108) sets the following priorities at the workplace: “transforming service delivery to meet basic needs and redress past imbalances” to all employees, as well as employment conditions and labour relations to all.

In addition, the White Paper on Human Resource Management in the Public Service (WPHRMPS) of 1997 in (Chabikuli *et al.* 2005:109) introduces a set of values that include fairness and equity as gender-based equality at the workplace and “outlines the need for a change in management culture.” The Affirmative Action in the Employment Equity Act of 1998 supports these frameworks. Importantly, the Act aims to achieve equity within the workplace” (RSA 1998). This can be realised by promoting equal opportunities, fair treatment, as well as and affirmative action measures that redress the employment-based discrimination against historically disadvantaged groups of society.

These legislative frameworks are meant to ensure equitable representation in the workplace (RSA 1998) to regulate the South African Public Service. Holli, Magnusson and Ronnblom (2005:148) maintain that “the commitment to achieving gender equality has motivated South Africa to accede to regional and international instruments promoting gender equality” and to integrate gender considerations into South Africa Public Service policies and programmes. The promulgation of the Women Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill of 2013 gave effect to Section 9 of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* of 1996. This specific section emphasises the appointment, representation and participation of women in decision-making processes, positions and structures. These policy documents intend to monitor and evaluate the implementation of relevant policies that promote gender equality within the public sector. In addition, equality-related legislative frameworks and equality programmes are in place to facilitate gender equality within the South African Public Service.

The situation still remains challenging despite these initiatives. The literature review of gender inequalities in HR practices, procedures and policies reveals that discrimination hampers women’s opportunities for better career options and restricts their promotion prospects at the workplace. Peterson and Morgan (1995:329–330) emphasise that discrimination in HR policies are reflected “where women are differentially allocated to occupations and establishments that pay lower wages. This process may involve discrimination partly through differential access to occupations and establishments, that is, the matching process at the point of hire, and partly through subsequent promotions.”

Blau and DeVaro (2007:113) elaborate by stating that “women have lower probabilities of promotion and expected promotion than men but that there is essentially no gender difference in wage growth with or without promotions”. In their study, Eagly and Carli (2007:2) support this discrimination by concluding that “women receive promotions less frequently than men and women’s

promotions at the higher level are less likely than men's within organisations". As such, the "workplace has sometimes been referred to as an inhospitable place for women due to the multiple forms of gender inequalities present" (Stamarski and Hing 2015:1401). As such, there are demands to "reformulate workplace conduct" (Abrams 1991:1039). To a large extent, the nature of gender-based discrimination can "largely be attributed to HR policies and HR-related decision-making. Furthermore, when employees interact with organisational decision makers during HR practices, or when they are told the outcomes of HR-related decisions, they may experience personal discrimination (Stamarski and Hing 2015:1402). This is often in the form of gender-based comments.

The review of the official documents also explores the challenging situation within the South African workplace. *Gender Mainstreaming Initiative in the Public Service*, a report published by the Public Service Commission (PSC) (2006) states that "empowerment of women is not happening in any significant or meaningful way in departments. Apart from general policies and practices that affect all staff, there are no specific programmes that recognise women as a separate interest group with specific interests and needs. This includes issues related to recruitment, training and addressing the practical needs of women" (PSC 2006:13).

Notably, gender mainstreaming is excluded from any departmental planning, monitoring and budgeting processes, apart from ensuring that employment equity targets are met (PSC 2006:14). A situation analysis that the DPSA conducted in 2006 supports this situation. The findings, which were published as *Public Sector Project: A Strategic Framework for Gender Equality within the Public Service (2006–2015)*, state that, "in March 2005, the public service workforce stood at 1 073 033 employees, showing a net increase of 29 336 employees from December 2004. Of these figures, Blacks represented 86.5% of the workforce, while women represented 53.3%." (DPSA 2006:7). In terms of women in management as tallied during 31 March 2005, women constituted 53.3% of the Public Service workforce but only constituted 29% of senior management positions (DPSA 2006:8).

With regard to professional occupations, gender statistics indicate that while there are 64.8% women in the professional occupational category, they tend to be concentrated at the lower levels of the occupational category (DPSA 2006:8). The latest report on *Annual Report on Employment Equity in the Public Service 2013/2014* (DPSA 2014) further raises this concern. The report stresses that males still have better representation in the strategic decision-making positions compared to their female counterparts. According to DPSA statistics (2014:13), women mostly occupy "lower levels where earnings and power to influence decisions are equally less. This pattern could also indicate that it is easier for women to be recruited at entry levels than at higher levels, or that although it is

easier for women to enter the Public Service at lower levels.” Undeniably, this affects women’s promotion to higher management positions.

This is a challenging situation for the South African Public Service at large. In 2006, the Public Service Commission employed an initiative to conduct a survey within all national and provincial departments. This resulted in the report, *Gender Mainstreaming Initiatives in the Public Service*. The aim was to gather information regarding “what was being done in the public service to change the historically patriarchal work environment to one that was conducive to the employment, retention and empowerment of women for gender equality. A key finding of the report was that there was no common understanding of gender mainstreaming in the public service” (PSC 2006:4).

The PSC did not conduct a follow-up study to assess whether departments have implemented the stated recommendations or prepared action plans to deal with the concerns raised in the report. This highlights a lack of commitment in the public sector to improve the gender parity at work place. This is reflected in the 2014 MasterCard Index of Women’s Advancement initiative, which states “gender inequality towards women at work remains. The overall index score of 73.5 means South African women at work are still not equal to men, as a score of 100 indicates gender equality” (Hearne 2014:1).

CONTEXTUAL FRAMEWORK: DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES: GROENPUNT MANAGEMENT AREA

The DCS’s HR provisioning strategy states that, “equity should be approached not merely in terms of numbers but in terms of the provision of training and deployment in a manner that will transform social relations between races/cultural groups, men and women, the disabled, young and old within the Department” (DCS 2005:59). This strategy, along with related documents such as HRD strategies, strategic plans, annual reports and workplace skill plans were reviewed to assess the implementation of HR provisioning strategies and gender equality in GMS as case study. The Groenpunt Management Area covers the Free State and Northern Cape regions. Employees’ training needs are registered with the HRD component within the GMA. The training and development is conducted through funds that component manager manages (refer DCS Annual Report 2014).

A study was conducted at the GMA to obtain an overview of HR provisioning challenges and the impact it has on gender equality within the organisation. A qualitative research approach was utilised to collect data from GMA employees. The qualitative research aimed “to describe the meanings and challenges experienced as result of utilising and implementing certain

programmes, practices or processes” (Mertens 2010:225). Using convenient sampling, interviews were conducted with employees/correctional officers (total of 60:30 male and 30 female) at GMA. Standardisation was validated by administering a structured set of questions to all respondents. The responses were captured on a spreadsheet and an inductive approach (Cote, Salmela and Russell 1995 in Vyas-Doorgapersad and Surujlal 2014:270) was employed to interpret the content of the data. The sampling frame cannot generalise the situation as absolute. To gain a more holistic approach to challenges within the GMA, primary responses are complemented with secondary sources via a literature review, which includes annual reports, workplace skills plans and HR documents to substantiate the responses.

Human Resource Provisioning

Through the researchers’ observation (primary findings) and available records (secondary findings) from the DCS’ HR reports (2008–2014; also refer Nhlapo 2010), shortfalls in the implementation of human resource development policy 2009, which affect the provisioning aspect, by Correctional Services at Groenpunt were identified. These include:

- a lack of training opportunities to existing employees;
- an inadequate post-training assessment procedures affecting the right placement of the new correctional officials; and
- a dominance of organisational needs over employees’ career development.

According to Brown and Sitzmann (2011:1), training positively influences “individual and organisational performance through changes in employees’ knowledge, skills, attitudes and motivation.” It is imperative to identify gender-based training needs and requirements for establishing career-path for male and female employees, and harnessing their promotion opportunities.” However, this statement is contradictory the responses received, whereby 40% respondents agree and 35% disagree that there is an HR provisioning strategy for gender equality within GMA, while 25% of respondents were unaware of any such gender-based HR policy¹. The responses resonate with Griffin’s viewpoints (1990:214), who states that, “appropriate human resources are required to implement strategies.” Undeniably, the GMA needs to have the right kind of people trained in the appropriate manner in order to carry out strategic plans. However, the mixed responses highlight that there is a challenge regarding an alignment between gender equality targets and HR provisioning. Nonetheless, it is important to note that, due to high percentage of male prisoners within GMA, it is impractical to appoint female employees to avoid embarrassing situations that may occur during searching, and dealing with daily human needs.

Gender Equality

According to Workplace Skills Plan 2014/2015 of the DCS Free State and Northern Cape Region, on 01 January 2015 the staff population of GMA comprise of 1 038 employees. The total number of male employees is 767 (562 Africans, 80 Whites, 125 Coloureds and no Asians). In total, there are 271 female employees (248 Africans, 20 Whites, three Coloureds, and no Asians). These statistics reflect the fact that males dominate within the GMA workforce. This statement concurs with the responses received, whereby 40% respondents agree and 40% disagree that there are gender equality measures to attract and retain efficient employees, while 20% respondents are unaware of such measures. In total, 20% of respondents agree and 50% disagree that there is a direct link between an HR provisioning strategy and gender-based succession, while 30% is unaware of such alignment. In addition, 55% of respondents agree and 40% disagree that the gender-based succession measures offer opportunities for women to be promoted, while 5% is unaware of such measures within the GMA².

These mixed responses highlight a challenging environment and historical background where the DCS is male dominated. Notably, there is still a similar mentality, which results in gender-biased appointments. Furthermore, this is reflected in the issues of recruiting and retaining personnel who are responsible for assessing offenders and delivering rehabilitation interventions. The professionals who are recruited remain in the service for a short time, as the DCS offers fewer benefits than the private sector. This leads to a high turnover in both the professional and functional divisions.

From 01 April 2014 to 31 March 2015, about 49 correctional officials resigned, 18 officials retired; and nine were dismissed. Notably, 75 male employees and only one female employee left/exited the GMA (GMA: Workplace Skills Plan Report 2014/2015). This highlights the fact that it is difficult for female correctional officers to get better job opportunities. As such, they are compelled to work within the same organisation with restricted career opportunities.

In addition, this situation is reflected in skills development. In 2014, the GMA organised various training courses. A majority of male staff members (454) have received training as opposed to only 193 female staff members to serve their portfolios effectively. The training courses offered include frontline staff training, unit management, computer training, culture and work ethics, personal finance management training, disciplinary code and procedure, grievance procedure, tactical training, gang management, occupational health and safety, etc. These training initiatives aim to ensure that officials are well equipped to become high-quality correctional officials (GMA: Workplace Skills Development Report 2014/2015).

Under the learnership initiatives, entry-level learners are appointed and enrolled at DCS training colleges and complete a SETA learnership agreement. Thereafter, they are placed within the different management areas where they perform a range of delegated tasks. According to the GMA: Workplace Skills Plan 2014/2015, during the 2014/2015 financial year, 25 male and nine female learners were placed within the GMA. These statistics reflect the discrepancy between the number of male and female employees who received capacity-building training, which highlights a lack of gender balance. In addition, this influences appointments to certain positions that require intense training and an understanding of delegated tasks. The empirical data is supported by the fact that the DCS faced an employment equity investigative hearing conducted by the Commission for Gender Equality (CGE) at Braamfontein in 2010. The issues regarding gender inequality formed the basis of the probing discussion. In terms of gender parity, the Minister of Correctional Services, Sibusiso Ndebele, ensured speedy corrective measures to improve the DCS's HR provisioning aspects (recruitment, appointment, training, learnerships, in-service training and promotion) (RSA: Department of Communications 2015:1).

THE WAY FORWARD

According to Human (1996: 46) South Africa “has a strong patriarchal attitude” where male counterparts question female managers’ capabilities. This stereotyped mentality hinders the institution of workplace-based gender equality measures. Discrimination and sexism is vocal within the GMA. Based on the recorded challenges (as perceptions of personnel at GMA), Gender Equality in Human Resource Development (GE-HRD), a gender equality classification system, is proposed. Table 1 outlines the system.

Table 1: Gender Equality in Human Resource Development (GE-HRD)

INSTITUTIONAL LEVEL
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Establish gender equality policies. ● Incorporate gender equality in Employment Equity (EE) policy. ● Introduce gender-based attraction and retention policy. ● Formulate gender-based succession plan. ● Institute a gender equality committee/ gender desk/ gender equality forum.
DEPARTMENTAL LEVEL
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Facilitate diversity management workshops. ● Introduce gender-based job descriptions/specifications for certain positions. ● Identify gender-based training/skills development needs. ● Implement gender-based performance measurements based on the departmental portfolios.

INDIVIDUAL LEVEL

- Attend appropriate skills development programmes.
- Participate in performance management sessions.
- Identify areas of further education.
- Attend empowerment sessions.

Source: Author

Collaborative strategic efforts at institutional, departmental and individual levels play a crucial role in the challenges regarding gender equality at the GMA. The following needs to be implemented fulfilling the aims of 'mainstream gender equality' approach utilised as a theoretical scaffold for this study:

Institutional level: The South African Public Service needs to improve gender relations. Nonetheless, according to the Public Sector Project: A Strategic Framework for Gender Equality within the Public Service (2006–2015), the “challenge is to ensure that South Africa’s macro-economic strategy promotes economic growth and sufficiently addresses the differential impact of macroeconomic policy on various groups of people depending on class, race, age, gender, location and disability” (DPSA 2006: 6). The National Employment Equity Plan of 2001 emphasised that, “the South African Public Service needs to address systematic inequalities and unfair discrimination in practices, processes and attitudes and transform its service and composition to meet the needs of the people of South Africa and to reflect the demographics of the country. The South African Public Service needs to promote equality and eliminate unfair discrimination as basic prerequisite to the effective delivery of public services.” Importantly, DCS needs to ensure that gender equality policies are implemented, as well as aim to institutionalise EE within the workplace. This implementation also demands that an attraction and retention policy is in place to appoint women and men on merit and establish their career-pathing through succession planning. According to the data extrapolated in the article, women are not considered for strategic portfolios within the GMA due to a lack of leadership capabilities. The DCS needs to learn best practice lessons from other countries to fill the capacity gaps for improvement. The National School of Corrections in America produced graduates in 1994 who established the Association of Women Executives in Corrections (AWEC) in 1995. The aim of AWEC is to develop leadership skills and provide appropriate training to women correctional officers for their career progression. AWEC believes that, “developing women as executive leaders will enhance the effectiveness of the correctional field” (AWEC 2010:2).

It is crucial that the Minister of Correctional Services takes action to create such an association in South Africa. In addition, the DCS can establish a gender equality committee, gender desk or gender equality forum to identify women

who demand capacity-building and make provision to advance their careers through the association.

Departmental level: There is a demand of gender-based capacity-building at departmental level with adequate allocation of resources for skills development and women empowerment. Research conducted in America by Smith and Loomis (2013:472) concurs that, “relying explicitly on those assumptions about gender performance, Title VII has gifted female correctional workers with the ability to supervise both male and female inmates.” The data of the current study has found that, as is the case in the DCS, there are gender disparities at the GMA with regard to delegation of tasks. There are several tasks within GMA where female employees are restricted. One example is that security cells where male criminals are detained can be dangerous for a particular ‘gender’. An area of further research is to explore the need to incorporate military-style training that develops physical, psychological and emotional strength. The impact of such training can thereafter be measured in due time.

Individual level: The DCS needs to motivate and encourage personnel to participate in training, further education and empowerment sessions. Female correctional workers need to understand the dangers of their working environment and to take precautionary measures accordingly. In an empirical-based article, “Uncomfortable Places, Close Spaces,” Smith (2012 in Smith and Loomis 2013:500) suggests that female correctional workers should undertake training that “could address the reality of women’s work in correctional environments, and the impact of mass incarceration on their work and social prospects.” This nature of training is crucial for a “gender perspective approach” (Vyas-Doorgapersad 2013: 16) at individual level where women gain competence on the management of responsibilities.

Improvements are therefore required at a micro level (organisation) and macro level (country). At an organisational level, female correctional officers should be considered as part of the HR element, “because they are competent, knowledgeable and dedicated. South Africa has one of the most liberal constitutions in the world and, in theory, women do not need to fight for freedom or equality or against oppression anymore” (Mufweba 2003:15). The DCS’s strategic vision should consider that “diversity management is a competency” (Sinclair 2000:246). It “is a process which aims to create a supportive organisational environment where every employee, with his/her own similarities and differences, has the opportunity to contribute to the strategic and competitive advantage of the business” (Sinclair 2000:237–246). Importantly, the aforementioned should be complemented with enhanced employee morale and improved organisational productivity.

Furthermore, it is imperative that EE and affirmative action (AA) policies incorporate diversity issues. At country level, an analysis of 20 years of

democratic governance in South Africa (DPSA 2006:5) indicates that “these challenges which face the country have been translated into national priorities. All of these priorities have compelling gender dimensions which need to be addressed if the country is to advance towards women’s empowerment and gender equality.”

CONCLUDING REMARKS

There is a need to transform the stereotyped mentality within the DCS. The Department needs to invest more in training and development programmes to address female employees’ requirements for career development. Management needs to undergo gender-based training to develop sensitive attitudes towards the needs of both men and women within the workplace. In terms of HRM, female employees need to be appreciated and given recognition. Gender planning in recruitment, placement and promotion procedures will assist the department to mainstream gender equality into HR provisioning.

Epilogue: For South Africa to evolve as a country free of sexism, unfair discrimination, racism and gender inequality, there is a need of paradigm shift in social thinking, government processes and political will.

NOTES

1 and 2 The respondents who stated their responses as ‘agree’ are in managerial positions. They are involved in the implementation of the HR provisioning strategy. Hence, they had access to relevant information. The respondents who are not involved in such discussions and implementation processes stated their responses as ‘disagree’ or ‘not aware’.

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‘Dealing with moving targets’

Water and Sanitation services in the context of Rapid Urbanisation in South Africa

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ABSTRACT

Rapid urbanisation in post-apartheid South Africa has led to sprawling informal settlements and informal tenancy in low- and middle-income residential areas. This situation is placing strain on the infrastructural and institutional capacity of water services. Apart from concerns about dwindling achievements made towards meeting Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) pertaining to water and sanitation services, the lack of quality service delivery has led to violent social protests. Drawing from two case studies spread across South Africa’s Western Cape Province, this article highlights key issues relating to municipal and plot-level governance, ‘formalisation’ of tenure and tenancy, capital investment in infrastructure and cost recovery mechanisms.

The article concludes that institutional responses, particularly with respect to water services development planning and budgeting, lack the robust approach required to deal with ‘moving targets’ associated with rapid urbanisation. Given the diversity, dynamism and growing significance of informal land tenure and tenancy sectors, the article proposes a multi-scenario based water services planning.

INTRODUCTION

Rapid urbanisation in post-apartheid South Africa has led to a number of challenges relating to providing water and sanitation services to the urban poor.

Since 1994, many low- and middle-income residential areas have developed into a complex mixture of formal, informal and/or 'extra-legal' land tenure and tenancy arrangements, which influence the density and distribution of population. While the rapid development of informal settlements has led to visible changes to urban landscapes, an increase in informal tenancy have been less visible. This is because these tenants tend to be invisible and mobile, often hidden as backyard dwellers or in rooms within formal houses.

The South African Local Government Association (SALGA) (2013:2) characterises the tenancy sub-sector as one of the most successful, efficient and pervasive accommodation delivery systems in South Africa. Of the 2.4-million South African households that rent their primary accommodation, 850 000 (35%) occupy small-scale private rental units. This equates to approximately 10% of all South African households. Contrary to popular belief, 53% of all small-scale rental units are formally constructed (houses, flats or rooms), while the balance (47%) consists of backyard.

Rubin and Gardner (2013:1–2) note that the fastest-growing sub-sector within the small-scale private rental sector is houses, flats and rooms built on properties with existing dwellings. These showed a growth rate of 83% between 2002 and 2006 (Rubin & Gardner 2013:1–2). During the same period, the average delivery of formal, small-scale private rental units was 33 500 units per annum, also without direct state support. In terms of quantifiable finance, currently the South African tenancy sector is estimated to be generating a rental income in excess of R420-million per month or just over R5-billion annually. The majority of landlords are unemployed and rely on their rental income to cover their expenses. In the townships, many are elderly women with little or no other source of income. Notably, it is important to examine these findings from a water and sanitation perspective.

At the plot level, the glowing achievements by the tenancy sector may not necessarily translate into an equivalent broadening of equity in terms of access to water and sanitation services. According to Scott (2011:116), one cannot assume that the mere presence of a toilet on the plot means the tenants have access to it. In certain tenancy scenarios, nation-wide inequities pertaining to access to water and sanitation services are likely reproduced at plot level. This is in direct contrast to the objective of reducing disparities that were inherited from the country's former racially oriented political economy. There is a plausible need to develop a clear understanding of the micro-level challenges to formal and informal tenure and tenancy arrangements present. Specifically, the urban poor, marginalised and vulnerable groups living within low and middle-income contexts should have equitable access to water and sanitation services.

This article commences from the premise that water and sanitation service delivery issues prevailing in South Africa's urban working class residential

areas are a result of South Africa's historical political economy, contemporary governance and drivers such as rapid urbanisation and de-agricarisation (Tapela 2013:28). As such, the article focuses on the following research question: "In the context of rapid urbanisation in post-apartheid South Africa, what is the relationship between land tenure, tenancy and water and sanitation services delivery?"

The study used primary and secondary data sources to develop clear understandings of links between land tenure, tenancy and water services delivery in selected informal settlements in the Cape Town metropolitan area. A literature review was combined with quantitative and qualitative primary data collection methods, such as questionnaire surveys, focus group discussions, semi-structured interviews, as well as key respondent interviews. The case studies formed part of larger nation-wide survey. As such, a rapid appraisal approach was adopted for primary data collection, while findings were triangulated.

For the purposes of this article, the researchers chose two informal settlements that fall within the Cape Town metropolitan area. The one informal settlement, Mshini Wam in Joe Slovo Park, recently underwent upgrading, while Nkanini in Khayelitsha has experienced rapid growth since 2005. The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) (Scoones1998:4) formed the key analytical framework. From that perspective, the resilience of informal settlement dwellers' financial, social, physical, natural and human assets and livelihood strategies were examined in relation to these households' interface with institutional contexts and arrangements for water and sanitation services delivery.

IMPERATIVES FOR SECURE AND EQUITABLE ACCESS TO WATER AND SANITATION SERVICES IN SOUTH AFRICA

It is accepted that access to clean and reliable water and sanitation plays a key role in the public health system. Although this is well recognised internationally, insufficient advances have been made in Africa and some parts of Asia to improve access to water and sanitation.

In South Africa, repressive apartheid laws and racial segregation created a macro-economic policy challenge for the new democratically elected government in 1994. The ANC-led government pledged to eradicate huge backlogs in social services by embarking on major policy reforms. In 1994, Prof Kader Asmal, the former minister of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF), observed that for many black South Africans, it was not so much that 'the well had run dry' under apartheid, but that the wells had been commandeered through an economic doctrine based on skin colour (DWAF 2004:3). Thus,

black South Africans' rights to health, development and dignity were ignored (DWA 2004:3). Several significant institutional frameworks were adopted to redress the status quo.

The White Paper on Water Supply and Sanitation of 1994 (South Africa 1994:2) set out to ensure that all South Africans have access to basic water supply and sanitation services. Basic water supply is defined as a standpipe supplying 25 litres per capita per day within 200-metres of the household and with a minimum flow of 10-litres per second (DWA 2004:8). This became the Reconstruction and Development Programme's (RDP) standard for water services provision. The standard was later amended to include interruptions of less than 48 hours and a cumulative interruption time of less than 15 days per year, as well as potable standards, as highlighted in South African National Standards (SANS) 241 (DWA 2013:22). However, the targets that were set in 1994 to eradicate at least basic levels of water supply and sanitation within seven years was not achieved (Department of Human Settlements 2012:18).

After realising that many of the households that received water and sanitation could not afford to pay for services rendered, the Free Basic Services Policy (2000) was adopted in 2001 (DWA 2004:8). The policy was based on a national transfer to subsidise the costs of providing water and sanitation to the poorer segments of society. It is reported that by 2003, almost 27.7-million people were benefitting from the Free Basic Services Policy (DWA 2004:8,9).

In 2003, Cabinet approved the Strategic Framework for Water Services, which aimed to ensure that, "all South Africans have access to a functional basic water supply facility by 2008" and that "all South Africans have access to functional basic sanitation facilities by 2010". Subsequently, structural changes were implemented. The Water Service Authorities (WSAs) are now directly responsible for delivering water and sanitation services by using their own revenue, the Municipal Infrastructure Grant (MIG) for capital costs and the Equitable Share Allocation (ESA) for operation and maintenance costs (DHS 2012:18; DWA 2013:22).

Despite these new targets, a new set of challenges arose. This included the shift of functions, inadequate resources, as well as insufficient bulk and internal water and sewerage reticulation infrastructure (DHS 2012:25). In addition, there were shortcomings in the design and construction of infrastructure and a lack of capacity. Moreover, most informal settlements were located on unsuitable terrain (DHS 2012:18). Nonetheless, South Africa's MDG Country Report of 2010, stated the 93% of the total population had access to improved drinking water supply by 2010. Furthermore, the report stated that the country had surpassed the MDG of halving the proportion of people without sustainable water by 2005. According to the 2011 National Census, South Africa has a total population of 51.77-million people, with over 30 000 settlements (StatsSA

2012:14). In light of this, government's achievements to broaden access to water and sanitation might appear to be significant. However, official reports continue to be characterised by a contradictory socio-political milieu between both the historically privileged and disadvantaged – irrespective of socio-economic class, colour or creed.

The failure to meet water and sanitation targets for 2008 and 2010 respectively, did not stop the Department of Water and Sanitation (DWS) and its partners to set a second target. According to the Department of Water Affairs (DWA) (Undated:iii), while the department was satisfied with achieving the MDGs, many South Africans still lacked access to basic water and sanitation services. Therefore, the department set out to ensure full access by 2014 (DWA Undated:iii). This target has not been met and millions of South Africans still lack access to basic services. Within this context, the study intends to discuss ways in which urban land tenure and tenancy affect water (and sanitation) service delivery, mainly in working-class informal, and to some extent formal, residential areas.

It is a given fact that South Africa is a water-scarce country, with significant spatial and temporal variations in the distribution of rainfall. Despite this, one of the most notable water security challenges do not pertain to natural water scarcity, but to social water scarcity (Tapela 2012:29). The absolute number of households that are served with water connections has improved significantly since 1994. However, population growth and the subsequent spike in the number of households, as well as people relocating from rural to urban areas, has meant that the proportion of urban households without effective on-site services (yard or house connection) has mostly remained static at an average of approximately 21% of households (DWA Undated:49). These households still fail to benefit from the basic right of access to water.

Unabated urbanisation has given rise to the 'mushrooming' of informal settlements and tenancy. Undeniably, this has left a dent on official perspectives pertaining to achievements in urban water and related services delivery. The UN-Habitat (2003:6) states that in sub-Saharan Africa, urbanisation is stressing infrastructural and institutional capacity. Africa's growing cities and towns are characterised by a proliferation of informal settlements, which has led to poverty, overcrowding, low access to water and sanitation, lack of secure tenure and poor housing quality (UN-Habitat 2003:6–7). The South African context is more complex due to a history of exclusion and separation, as well as the changing complexity of civil society mobilisation and political engagements.

The South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) (SAIRR 2013:680) states that, between 1996 and 2011, the number of households who live in informal settlements has risen by just over 500 000. This equates to 93 informal houses per day (SAIRR 2013:680). Due to rapid urbanisation in South Africa,

there are currently 2 700 informal settlements in the country that are formally recognised by the Department of Human Settlements (DoHS) (South African Institute of Race Relations 2013:680). The existing 1.2-million non-backyard informal dwellings are located in these informal settlements. In addition, of the 2 700 informal settlements, the government has identified 1 100 settlements for upgrading. However, only 206 of these had been formalised by June 2011 (SAIRR 2013:680).

Against the backdrop of poor access to water services, a report on the State of Non-Revenue Water in South Africa (McKenzie *et al.* 2012:5) reveals that 1 580-million cubic metres of water per annum is unaccounted for in South Africa's municipalities. This is almost one third of the total water supplied. The estimated financial value of this loss per year is around R7-billion (McKenzie *et al.* 2012:5). Reasons such as poor payment and water loss due to aged infrastructure play a significant role. However, there is strong reason to believe that a significant proportion of water that is unaccounted for water could be consumed in informal settlements or informal tenancy settings, such as formal settlements with backyard and/or in-house dwellers. The actual population in these areas is unknown. This implies that there are bound to be shortfalls pertaining to water and sanitation services delivery.

CASE STUDIES OF NKANINI AND MSHINIWAM INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

Geographical and historical background

Nkanini and MshiniWam Informal Settlements are located in Cape Town, within the Western Cape Province. MshiniWam is located less than 10 km north of Cape Town's city centre, while Nkanini is located 35 km south of the central business district (CBD). The former settlement is therefore located closer to commercial and industrial areas, which provide desired employment opportunities. The case studies were selected for two main reasons. Firstly, both examples are relatively new informal settlements that have had violent social protests during their short histories. Secondly, while MshiniWam residents have opted for an institutionalised approach to resolving service delivery challenges, Nkanini's have relied mostly on non-institutionalised options. This contrast provides a useful lens for examining the unfolding relationship between land tenure, tenancy and water services delivery in Cape Town's changing informal urban water economy contexts.

MshiniWam is situated in a small township enclave called Joe Slovo Park within the high-income suburb of Milnerton. The township was established

as a new project site for the Worcester Polytechnic Institute's (WPI, United States) Cape Town Project Centre (Hennings *et al.* 2012:2), whose students sought to help find solutions for sustainable housing. While reports state that MshiniWam has a population of about 497 people (Hennings *et al.* 2012:2), a more recent field survey shows that there has been a remarkable population increase due to in-migration. The informal settlement recently underwent a re-blocking process, which aimed to de-densify the area and create spaces between most informal dwellings. A civil society organisation (CSO) called the Community Organisation Resource Centre (CORC), in partnership with the Cape Metropolitan Council (the Municipality of the City of Cape Town) and the Informal Settlement Network (ISN) undertook the re-blocking process.

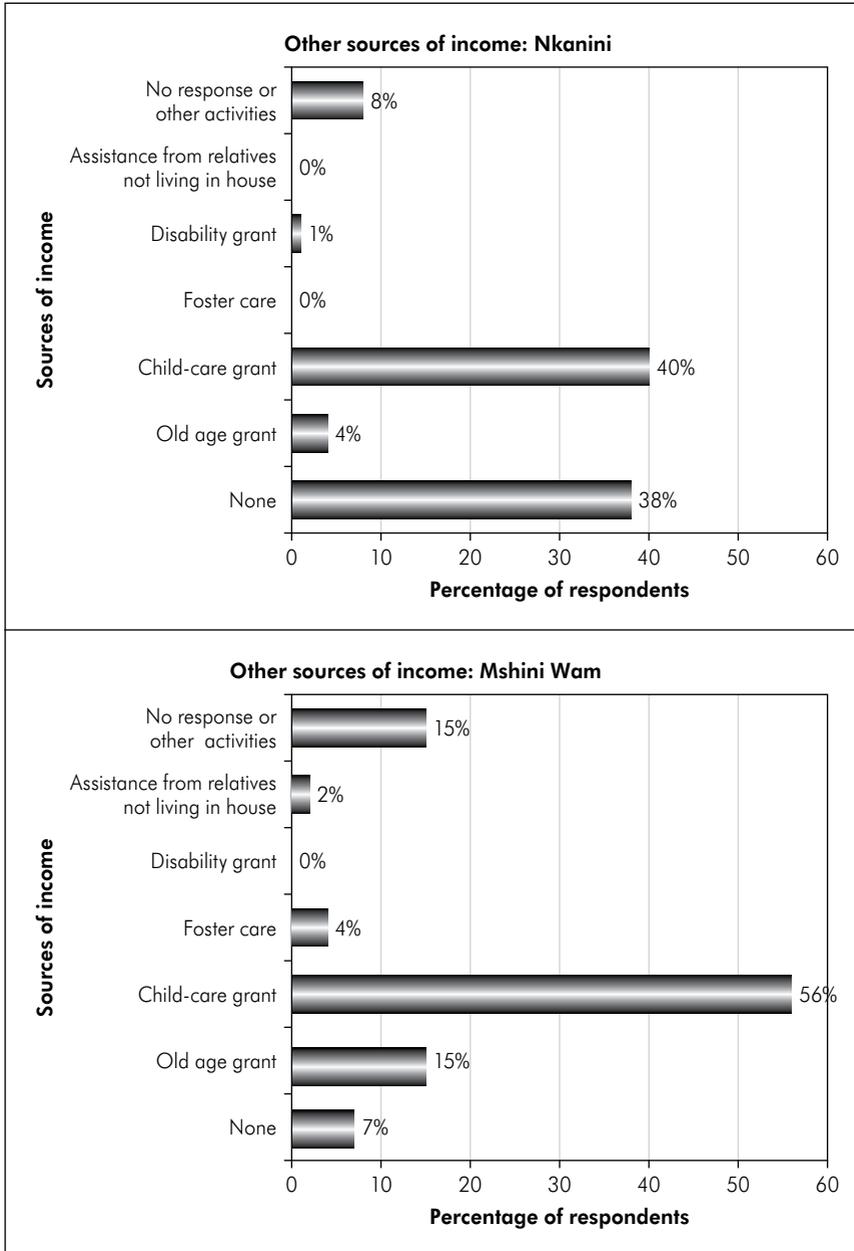
Conversely, Nkanini is situated on the periphery of Khayelitsha, a low-income township close to the N2 highway to the north and False Bay to the south. This informal settlement has had very little outside assistance from civil society organisation and development agencies. People started settling in the area in October 2003. For the first month after the initial settlement, there were only 30 shacks and the City of Cape Town threatened to demolish them (Marx and Royston 2007:12). When the shacks were not demolished, other people saw this as a signal to follow suit. Subsequently, a number of people moved to the site December 2003. Since then, almost 16% of households have sold their shacks for an average price of R1 350 (Marx and Royston 2007:12).

While population figures for Nkanini have yet to be ascertained, the Khayelitsha Population Register Update, which is a collaborative project involving community organisations and government departments, estimates that in 2005 the population was 406 779 (Maverick 2006:49). By contrast, the DWA's Water Services Information System (WSNIS) database indicates that, in 2010, Khayelitsha had a total population of 325 897 people (Umthawelanga 2011:2). As such, official records grossly under-represent the township's actual population. Currently, Khayelitsha's population is estimated to be approximately 1.2-million residents (Umthawelanga 2011:2). The data discrepancies point to difficulties in determining a true population size within local contexts. This can be ascribed to rapid urbanisation and, in particular, the growth of informal settlements and formally established townships.

Socio-economic profiles

Given the relatively high levels of unemployment in both settlements, a substantial number of respondents were involved in other livelihood activities such as rental income, car wash businesses, *spaza* shops (i.e. tuck shops), *tshisanyama* (roasting meat for sale) and hawkers (Graph 1). The differences between the two settlements could be ascribed to factors such as the distance

Figure 1: Sources of Income in Nkanini and MshiniWam–2014



Source: Author

from employment sources and education levels. The highest level of education for most of the residents of Nkanini was primary school, while the residents of MshiniWam had mostly secondary and primary school education.

Land tenure and tenancy profiles

The majority of respondents in both informal settlements lived in informal housing. All respondents in Nkanini lived in shacks that were constructed within informal plots, which varied in shape and size. Most of the plots had more than five dwelling structures, which were made of building materials ranging from bricks and metal-roofing sheets, to wood, chipboard and plastic. Some of structures were rented out to tenants. Prior to the re-blocking process, MshiniWam had similar tenure and tenancy housing arrangements.

Ownership of housing structures

In Nkanini, 96% of the respondents indicated that they owned the structures in which they lived. Only 2% said they are staying with a boyfriend. Another 2% indicated that they stayed in their parents' houses, who might be staying in Eastern Cape or who have benefitted from RAP housing. On the other hand, MshiniWam presents a different picture. Table 1 shows that 76.1% owns the dwellings in which they stay. Only 11 of the 46 respondents rent their dwellings.

Table 1: Ownership of structures in MshiniWam

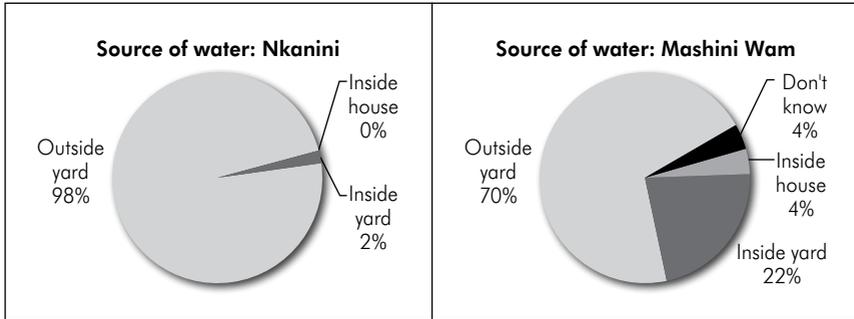
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Own	35	76.1	76.1	76.1
Rent	11	23.9	23.9	100.0
Total	46	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author

Water and sanitation sources

The majority of respondents indicated that their water sources were located outside the yard. In Nkanini, for example, 98% of the respondents access their water from community taps located outside the yard. The situation in MshiniWam is slightly different, as only 70% of the respondents have to access water outside their plot/yard, while 4% had access to water inside the house.

Figure 2: Sources of Water



Source: Author

The situation is similar, or slightly worse, with regard to sanitation facilities. In Nkanini, many respondents showed the researchers 'buckets' that they used for ablution purposes. The City of Cape Town refers to these so-called 'buckets' as portable flush toilets. Chemical toilets were located far from certain plots and it was dangerous to use them at night. Some residents pointed out that the chemical toilets supplied by the City of Cape Town were always dirty that they avoided using them. MshiniWam has a slightly different scenario. Sanitation facilities are closer to housing structures, owing to relocking that CORC had carried out in partnership with the community and other stakeholders (Image 1).

Payment of water bills

In Nkanini, none of the respondents paid their water bills. This could be ascribed to the fact that there are no water management devices (WMDs) since there are

Image 1: Mshini Wam – 2013: Location of toilet structures in a re-blocked section



Source: Photo by author

Image 2: Portable flush toilets in Nkanini



Source: Photo by Author

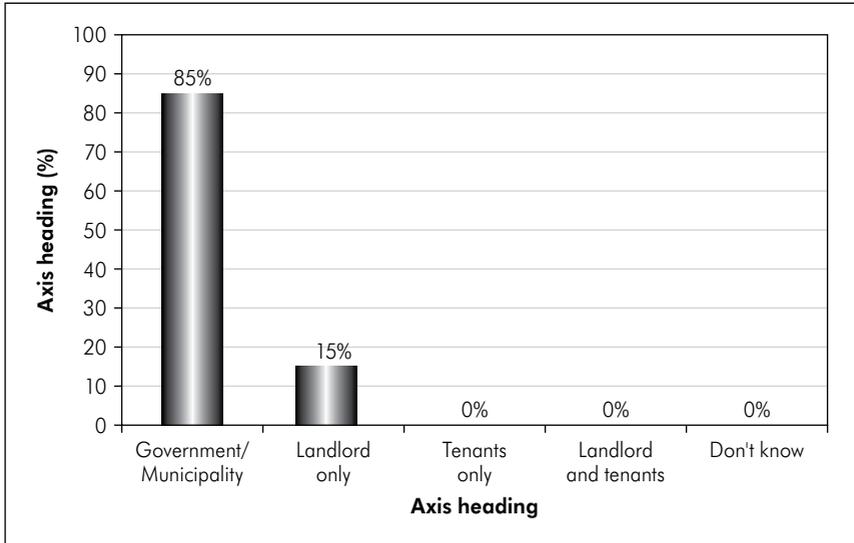
community taps. On the other hand, 65% of the respondents in MshiniWam indicated that they did not pay for water bills, 23% stated that they paid water bills, while the rest did not respond to the question.

Rate of access

Over 80% of the respondents in Nkanini are not satisfied with water and sanitation services. Only 17% of all respondents in Nkanini seem to be satisfied with water sanitation services. Although they have access to water, most residents of Nkanini are not happy that community taps are far from their plots, as they have to walk through a maze of informal dwellings to access water. In addition, many taps are broken and they are not repaired in time.

On the other hand, MshiniWam residents are slightly better off. Around 36% of the respondents said they were not satisfied with their access to water and sanitation. The researchers noted that most of the satisfied respondents lived in the re-blocked section. One of the major successes of MshiniWam's re-blocking is that residents have water and sanitation services closer to their housing structures. In addition, stronger structures were provided for sanitation purposes.

Figure 3: Investing in water and sanitation infrastructure



Source: Author

Investment in water and sanitation infrastructure

Due to profound backlogs in housing and services delivery, it is crucial that residents invest in services that affect them directly. In Nkanini, 92% of the respondents indicated that they have never spent any money on water and sanitation. Only 2% indicated that they had spent between R500 to R1 000 in water- and sanitation-related infrastructure. A further 2% had spent less than R500 on water- and infrastructure-related infrastructure. Certain MshiniWam respondents stated that water and sanitation costs were shared between the owner and tenants.

As shown in Figure 3, the majority of MshiniWam's respondents indicated that the government or municipality was responsible for providing water and sanitation infrastructure. Only 15% felt that the landlords were responsible for investing in, and providing such services.

Participation in government and community projects

It is important to promote participation in community and government projects to promote sense of empowerment and ownership of the project. Tradition development literature (De Beer and Swanepoel 1998:6; Esman 1991:125; Sen 1999:8–9) emphasises the importance of participation in development

projects and interventions. In both sites, there seems to be a high degree of respondent participation relating to issues that affect their lives. The majority of the respondents indicated that they at least knew their local councilor, although they felt that the councilors were sometimes too busy to meet them. In line with this, the researchers also struggled to arrange meetings with local councilors for both sites. One respondent pointed out the MshiniWam councilor in fact lived in Table View, another suburb in Cape Town. This was surprising, given the long distance between the two areas.

Interestingly, 44% of the respondents were of the opinion that local government officials were handling their issues well. This is a far cry from the violent protests that frequently affect the area. Only 22% of the respondents felt that the service was bad.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The article concludes that institutional responses, particularly with respect to water services development planning and budgeting, have lacked the robustness required to deal with 'moving targets' that are associated with rapid urbanisation. Undeniably, the pre-democracy era left a legacy post-1994, as government continues to grapple with a rapid increase in informal settlements and tenancy. What is lacking, however, are innovative ways to deal with these unfolding scenarios. Integrated development plans (IDPs), which are five-year development plans that local governments are mandated to adopt, often fail to consider the rampant pace of urbanisation. However, due to financial resource constraints within central government, there have been limited fiscus allocations to local government.

Government's unfolding regulatory framework for the water sector acknowledges that more effective water pricing and cost recovery mechanisms are critical. However, in reality, the majority of informal settlement dwellers and tenants are unemployed and might not have the financial resources to pay for water and sanitation services. As such, it is imperative to explore financing alternatives for low-income groups who stay in the formal settlements.

One respondent felt the need for the local government to provide start-up projects in water-insecure informal settlements, which would finance the incremental upgrading of informal settlements. In the respondent's view, the social, human and financial capital deriving from successful *stokvels* (i.e. savings clubs) could form the basis of home-grown small, medium, and micro enterprises (SMMEs) that perform functions. These functions can include cleaning chemical toilets and upgrading infrastructure, which are done through costly tenders to externally based service providers. These provide valuable

insights, but need to be tempered with the realisation that neighbourhoods, communities and individuals have diverse characteristics and interests. A participatory, flexible approach – on a case-by-case basis – would seem to be a more feasible option than a one-size-fits-all design approach to resolving the financial challenges associated with delivery challenges in informal water and sanitation economies.

Given the rapid growth of urban population, official data sources, such as StatsSA, Census reports and demographic projections, tend to be inaccurate or outdated. Since delivery targets are in constant flux, relying on these sources results in under-budgeting. As such, robust, multi-scenario planning approaches to water and sanitation services delivery are required. The MshiniWam case study demonstrates that re-blocking can play a crucial role in gathering feasible data relating to informal settlements. The participatory, hands-on method helps ensure that all key stakeholders – including residents and authorities – develop a shared understanding of both service delivery challenges and proposed solutions. However, a broader-ranging roll-out of the re-blocking approach, however, requires a commitment to invest significant resources in building trust and consensus, as well as mobilising the support and participation of multiple role players, such as local government, civil society, the private sector and, in some contexts, legitimate traditional leadership.

The lack of tenure security has a negative impact on both public and private investment in water and sanitation infrastructure. In addition, informal tenancy presents challenges to municipalities' ability to intervene in contractual arrangements between tenants and landlords. Given the diversity, dynamism and growing significance of informal land tenure and tenancy sectors, the article proposes a multi-scenario-based water services planning and delivery approach that takes into account the unfolding urban landscape and livelihoods.

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Administering the Gender Agenda

An African Union Perspective

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ABSTRACT

The important call for gender equality and the empowerment of women was the third Millennium Development Goal (MDG) that countries could use to measure socio-economic development. This target should have been met by 2015. Gender should be viewed as a cross-cutting issue in society that affects both women and men. The newly adopted Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) reiterate this issue and emphasise the strategic importance of gender. Countries have adopted and ratified instruments to guide a national effort to empower women in all spheres of society.

The African Union (AU) plays a critical role in setting a continental gender-focused agenda. As a body, the AU's primary aim is to foster unity among African states and to encourage political, social and economic relations with the rest of the world. In order to improve the lives of Africans, the AU has issued protocols for member states to support this purpose.

This article examines how gender equality is operationalised from an African continental perspective, with specific reference to the work of the African Union Commission (AUC). The findings will focus on how the continental body ensures that the AU Heads of State Summit adopts protocols, make decisions and commit to gender-sensitive issues. Furthermore, the article will investigate whether the summit meets parity principle criteria in terms of gender representation, as well as a mainstream gender representation in directorates of the continental organs. In addition the researchers will look at member states, and regional economic communities' initiatives to promote gender sensitivity within the AUC work environment.

INTRODUCTION

The MDGs adopted in 2000 represent a universally agreed clarion call to tackle socio-economic challenges and address existing disparities and injustices by including gender equality and the empowerment of women. The adoption of the third MDG, and subsequent implementation, gave countries a gender barometer that could help measure socio-economic development – a target that should have been met by 2015. Importantly gender should be viewed as a cross-cutting societal issue that affects both women and men. The failure to achieve this goal has led to a dual gender mainstreaming approach to approach, as specified in the recently adopted SDGs:

The fifth SDG is a standalone goal that aims to achieve gender equality and women empowerment, as well as mainstreaming gender in the rest of the SDGs. United Nations (UN) member countries adopted these goals 2015 to guide an inter-nation effort to empower women within all spheres. Undeniably, gender equality and women's empowerment are critical development imperatives. At a continental level, gender equality is a basic human right and is enshrined as a principle under Section 4(L) of the African Union Constitutive Act (African Union 2000:7). Thus, promoting gender equality can be an effective vehicle to achieve economic efficiency, which could lead to other key development objectives.

In many ways African women form the backbone of the continent's economy. They contribute over 60% of agriculture output; about 20% of formal labour; and almost 100% of domestic labour, which includes child bearing and rearing, as well as home-based care for family members with HIV/AIDS. Studies show that sub-Saharan Africa would have almost doubled its annual growth between 1960 and 1992 if it had closed the gender gap in schooling at the pace of East Asia. In addition, empirical evidence also shows that educating women saves lives (Akyeampong and Fofack 2013:6). Women remain environmental custodians, family mentors and vectors of societal and indigenous knowledge. Yet women lack basic services such as health and education; are often not served by physical infrastructure (roads, railways, electricity, telecommunication and information and communication technology (ICT)); and are completely underserved in terms of financial infrastructure (United Nations Department for Economic Affairs (UNDESA) 2015:168–169).

Since the majority of women in Africa are migrating from rural and urban areas, they seldom have access to land, capital, skilled labour or technology. As such, they often find themselves marginalised from the mainstream economy and formal sector. These women are relegated to the informal sector. Due to necessity, they tend to operate in groups or small community cooperatives instead of playing a central role in decision making, resource allocation,

participating in industrial and commercial activities and benefitting from the economy at large.

To date, the majority women of Africa, like elsewhere, have not been included as full, equal and effective stakeholders in critical political and socio-economic processes that influence their lives (UNDESA 2015:121, 122, 136). Women in Africa, for example, continue to have less access to education than men. They have less employment and advancement opportunities, while their role and contribution to national and continental development processes is not always recognised or fully rewarded. Women continue to be conspicuously absent from crucial decision-making positions. Subsequently, women's participation in business, agriculture, leadership falls way below the expected targets, while women's health remains unacceptable (Akyeampong and Fofack 2013:6, 8). Although women bear the brunt of conflict, they are generally excluded and do not play a prominent role in peace negotiations. Furthermore, they have not played a significant role in other initiatives in this arena (African Union 2013:7).

The AU has played key a leadership role in shaping the development of the global SDGs, through the African Common Position on the Post-2015 Development Agenda. Notably, the document has set the continental agenda for SDGs in general and mainstreamed gender and women's empowerment (African Union 2014a:4).The body's primary priority is to foster unity among African states and champion the continent's political, social and economic relations with the rest of the world. Subsequently, the AU has adopted the African Charter for Human and Peoples' Rights and the Protocol to the African Charter for Human and Peoples' Rights for the Rights of Women in Africa to specifically promote African women's rights (African Union 2009:1).

This article presents a qualitative assessment of the AU's gender agenda. It involves a desktop study of gender policies and programmes of the continental body to promote gender equality and the advancement of women. The primary aim is to place the spotlight on the continental gender agenda.

CONTEXTUALISING THE GENDER AGENDA

The concept of gender focuses on women and men. This is important because policies and programmes affect women and men differently. In addition, the position of men in society presents an important context for understanding women's position, and vice versa (UNECE 2010:1). The relationship between boys and girls as well as men and women bear heavily on how women can engage with society from a political, social and economic perspective. Thus, it is imperative to first understand the gendered roles of women and men in society and how this underpins policies and programmes that govern society.

The following theories seek to influence gender from a planning, analysis and mainstreaming perspective.

In the 1990s, the international community committed to building momentum with regard to gender equality and empowering women through the Gender and Development (GAD) approach. This momentum was drawn from powerful women movements that fueled the drive towards gender equality and sustainable development. This initiative replaced the integration of Women in Development (WID) approach of the 1980s (Musymi-Ogana 2000:8; 2015: 58,59). Gender analysis and planning constitutes the technical aspect. The policy process within the developmental sphere is not only political and developmental. The contexts within which these processes take place is culturally focused and are often steeped in tradition. This fact is acknowledged in most of the existing gender frameworks. According to Kabeer (1994), the Social Relations Framework underpins the importance of reframing the analysis by including individual experiences of inequality and power differentials in order to understand the systemic causes and structures of gender inequalities. Therefore, the need to implement gender-sensitive policies and practices is informed by the general global context and specific regional, national and local contexts.

Gender planning and analysis

The purpose of gender planning is to ensure policy outcomes through systematic and inclusive processes. There is a wide variety of globally applied gender planning frameworks, which include the Harvard Gender Analysis Framework, Gender Equality and Empowerment Framework, Gender Planning in the Third World and Social Relations approach. In the Harvard Analytical Framework, information is collected from the community and households for gender analysis. This is then used to describe who is responsible for each activity, who has access and control of resources and which aspects influence gender roles. In this case, households are often used as the basic unit of analysis in, for example, poverty measures. This framework-based gender analysis plays a key to help policy makers understand and make an economic case for allocating development resources to both women and men.

According to March, Smyth and Mukhopadhyay (1999:93–95), Sara Longwe's Gender Equality and Empowerment Framework is a popular way to conceptualise the empowerment process of within the African context through a sequence of measurable actions. The tool highlights the ascending levels of gender equality. The levels are not linear in nature, but are rather conceptualised as reinforcing structure. This path can be used as a frame of reference for progressive steps towards increasing equality. This starts with

meeting basic welfare needs and progresses to an increased focus on equality controlling means production. The model is explicitly political in nature and links women's inequality and poverty to structural oppression. As such, women need to be empowered from an equality, material and financial perspective. The tool examines a programme, such as a health or education intervention, to assess how it influences the five levels of empowerment negatively, positively or neutrally. It postulates that an ascending level of equality can be tracked and assessed over time whether a programme or intervention is progressing or regressing (March, Smyth and Mukhopadhyay 1999:98).

The Gender Planning Framework consists of planning tools, procedures, and components. Important gender planning tools include identifying gender roles, assessing gender needs and collecting disaggregated data at the household level. Gender planning procedures involve diagnosing the gender problem; formulating gender objectives and procedures for monitoring and evaluation; gender-based consultation and participation; and identifying an entry strategy. Capacity building is necessary to ensure that policy is transformed into practice (Moser 1993:87).

Naila Kabeer developed the Social Relations Framework to assess how gender discrimination and inequalities are created, maintained and reproduced in institutions such as households, communities, markets and states. The key objective is to involve women in their own development solutions. As such, it is a political rather than a technical or informational solution. Social relations shape the roles, resources, rights and responsibilities that people access and claim. With a focus on project development and planning purposes, the aim is to assess how institutions reproduce inequalities through social relations and to understand the cross-cutting nature of inequalities within and across institutions.

This framework has been useful in re-framing the analysis from individual inequality experiences and power differentials in order to understand the systemic causes and structures of gender inequalities. This deeper analysis can then inform policy or programme planning and guide social change interventions and larger advocacy efforts. Secondly, identifying spaces where inequalities are constructed and reproduced allows for a dynamic analysis of gender relations (March, Smyth and Mukhopadhyay 1999:78).

Gender mainstreaming on the global platform

The response to the UN Gender Agenda could either be seen as contradictory or complementary. Podems (2010) states that various issues arise when feminism is compared to gender mainstreaming and analytic techniques. Although through the WID approach the gender agenda sought to increase the

productivity of women, the impact or burden that is placed on women was not scrutinised. The WID approach did not challenge the status of patriarchy in development. As such, it failed to unpack the various categories of women, and instead viewed women as a homogenous group. Secondly, the approach taken by the GAD approach acknowledges the importance of highlighting gender as a policy, planning and developmental issue. Furthermore, it aims to address the representation of women at those levels, while tacking patriarchy. Undeniably, patriarchy often obstructs women's access and participation in the developmental process and denies them representation and control of production-related factors.

The GAD approach is motivated by the need for economic development. It is driven by development partners, rather than the feminist movement. Furthermore, it presents a critical view, which argues that development cannot be achieved without 50% of the world's population constituting of women and girls. Although critics of GAD have an underlying assumption that women share male resources, feminists do not necessarily see it that way. Rather, they are of the opinion that women are simply demanding their share. Finally, the biased and reflexive nature of feminism is perceived to complement more descriptive gendered approaches (Podems 2010: 8–9). Within the UN, feminists who fight against institutional and societal bias and barriers to advance gender equality have spearheaded advancements in gender architecture (Sandler and Rao 2012:560)

Finally, within the global arena, it is important that the gender equality architecture should be at the heart of UN reforms. Rao (2006:4) highlights the following specific issues that continue to perpetuate the ineffectiveness of UN gender machinery: there is a limited number of champions in the corridors of power in local, national and supra level; there remains insufficient implementation of commitments such as the third MDG; there has been a steady erosion of political champions at a global level; and fiscal resources for gender equality remain limited. Due to limited support by mainstream UN agencies, there continues to be limited implementation.

To counteract this, it was proposed that a new women-specific entity be mandated to work across the entire UN system. The entity has three functions: policy-setting responsibilities; authority to ensure accountability from the rest of the UN agencies; and a field presence to conduct and shape operational activities of the global agency. The autonomous entity has high-level leadership; universal country presence; and adequate resources to work towards gender equality and empowering women (Rao 2006:5). The United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment (UN Women) is a culmination of UN reform that was launched in 2011. For the first time in history, it is currently headed by an African woman, Dr Pumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka. Although gender

planning, analysis and mainstreaming theories promote a gender-sensitive approach to empowering women, this remains a daunting within the global arena. This situation is reflected by the prolonged reform efforts to support gender sensitivity within the global entity.

INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS FOR GENDER EQUALITY

The United Nations' commitment to gender equality can be traced to the 1948 United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. Since then, global instruments have been adopted such as: the Convention the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) adopted by UN member states in 1979; the Vienna Declaration on Human Rights (1983); the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies (1985); the Beijing Platform of Action (1995), the outcome of the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) (1994) and the Millennium Declaration and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (2000) (African Union 2009:2).

The UN has also reached important milestones. For example, 1974 was declared as the International Year of Women. This was globally celebrated by women and culminated in the First World Conference on Women (FWCW) that was held in Mexico City, Mexico. This was then followed by the declaration of UN Decade for Women (1975–1985) (African Union 2009:2 and Musyimi-Ogana 2000:3). Furthermore, the adoption of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 1325 was a landmark step that politically legitimises women's role and participation in peace, security in conflict and post-conflict management. The resolution contains actions for gender mainstreaming in humanitarian and peacekeeping operations, as well as Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) (United Nations Security Council 2000:2–3). As an international instrument, Resolution 1325 has already become a powerful tool that has been domesticated by the AU (African Union Commission 2013a:18 and Musyimi-Ogana 2015:94–97).

During the past 30 years, AU member states have been actively involved in UN conferences and have helped shape the debate on women's empowerment and gender equality. This started with the FWCW, followed by the Second World Conference on Women (SWCW) in the Copenhagen, Denmark in 1980, the Third World Conference on Women (TWCW) in Nairobi, Kenya in 1985 and the Fourth World Conference on Women (FWCW) in Beijing, China in 1995 (Musyimi-Ogana 2000:3–7). While these conferences have contributed to strengthening the legal, economic, social and political dimensions of the role of women, the world is still far from achieving gender equality. While each of

these global conferences gave birth to powerful recognition of the crucial role of rural and urban women at family, community and national levels, specific contribution to development has not yet been recognised.

The following section will focus on the gender agenda of the AU as a continental oversight entity.

CONTEXTUALISING THE AFRICAN UNION

The transformation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to the AU did not happen overnight. The global environment, continental realities and new thinking around the advent of the new millennium all called for Africa's engagement with itself, which paved the way for the birth of AU.

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU)

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was founded in 1963, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The OAU was initiated by 31 African states that had already secured political freedom from colonialism, with an objective to liberate and fully secure political freedom for African countries that were still oppressed. At the time, the OAU focused on waging a liberation struggle to free African states that were still suppressed by colonialism and apartheid. This was done by supporting liberation movements in the occupied African territories between 1963 and 1994, where after apartheid came to an end (Organisation of African Unity 1963: Article II (d)). In their quest for unity African countries worked towards economic and social development under the banner of the OAU. Furthermore, they spearheaded various initiatives and made substantial progress in many areas that paved the way for the establishment of the AU. Noteworthy initiatives include:

- The Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) and the Final Act of Lagos (1980): This overarching policy aimed to establish programmes and strategies to facilitate self-reliant development and cooperation among African countries.
- The African Charter on Human and People's Rights (Nairobi 1981) and the Grand Bay Declaration and Plan of Action on Human rights: The OAU adopted these two instruments to promote human rights across the continent. The Human Rights Charter led to the establishment of the African Human Rights Commission in Banjul, The Gambia.
- Africa's Priority Programme for Economic recovery (APPER) (1985): This emergency programme was designed to address the development crisis of the 1980s, in the wake of drought and famine that had engulfed the continent and the crippling effect of Africa's external indebtedness.

- OAU Declaration on the Political and Socio-Economic Situation in Africa and the Fundamental Changes taking place in the World (1990): This declaration underscored Africa's resolve to determine the continent's destiny and to address the challenges that hampered peace, democracy and security.
- The Charter on Popular Participation adopted in 1990: This charter highlighted the OAU's renewed focus on placing African citizens at the centre of development and decision-making.
- The Treaty establishing the African Economic Community (AEC) (1991): commonly known as the Abuja Treaty, it seeks to create the AEC through six stages culminating in an African Common Market using the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) as building blocks. The Treaty has been in operation since 1994.
- The Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution (1993): This is a practical expression of African leadership's determination to find solutions to conflict, as well as promote peace, security and stability in Africa.
- Cairo Agenda for Action (1995): This programme was developed to re-launch Africa's political, economic and social development.
- African Common Position on Africa's External Debt Crisis (1997): This strategy aimed to address the continent's external debt crisis.
- The Algiers decision on Unconstitutional Changes of Government (1999) and the Lome Declaration on the framework for an OAU Response to Unconstitutional Changes (2000).
- The 2000 Solemn Declaration on the Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation: It aimed to establish the fundamental principles for promoting democracy and good governance across the continent.
- Responses to specific challenges, where the continental body has initiated collective action to protect the environment, fight international terrorism, combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis or deal with humanitarian issues, such as refugees and displaced persons, landmines, small and light weapons.
- The Constitutive Act of the African Union: This was adopted in 2000 at the Lome Summit (Togo) and entered into force in 2001.
- The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD): The AU adopted this initiative at the Lusaka Summit (2001).

Some of the main shortcomings of the OAU were the absence of commitment to empower and protect African women from a range of cultural, traditional and patriarchal gender discrimination practices embedded in African cultures. Subsequently, the OAU could not stand up to protect women and girls whose rights were abused. This was particularly the case during the post-independence

politically motivated civil wars that killed, maimed, displaced and condemned African people, which led to millions of refugees. Women and girls in particular bore the brunt of these human rights violations. One of the main differences between the OAU and AU is the way the AU embraces women's empowerment and gender equality, as enshrined in Article 4L of the AU Constitutive Act (African Union 2000:7).

Establishment of the African Union

In July 1999, the Assembly decided to convene an extraordinary session to expedite the process of economic and political integration on the continent. Four summits were held, which led to the official launch of the AU as successor to OAU.

- The Sirte Extraordinary Session (1999) decided to establish an African Union
- The Lome Summit (2000) adopted the Constitutive Act of the Union.
- The Lusaka Summit (2001) drew the roadmap for the implementation of the AU.
- The Durban Summit (2002) launched the AU and convened the first assembly of the Heads of States of the African Union.

The new organisation was launched in June 2002 in Durban, South Africa, at the Inaugural Summit which adopted the AU Constitutive Act. The last Summit of the OAU was the Lusaka Zambia Summit in June 2001, which also adopted the NEPAD initiative (African Union 2002).

Vision of the African Union

The vision of the AU is, "An integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, **driven** by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in the global arena."

This vision of a new forward-looking, dynamic and integrated Africa also embraced gender equality as a principle. It is seen as a long-term endeavour to realise equality through relentless struggle on several fronts. Furthermore, it encapsulates a gender-sensitive social development agenda (African Union 2015:2). The OAU achieved its 1963 mandate when African states fully secured political freedom from colonialism by 1994 when South Africa gained democratic independence. Through its Constitutive Act, the AU's current focus is to organise and drive Africa's development and integration, as discussed below.

The African Union's objectives

- To achieve greater unity and solidarity between the African countries and its people;

- To defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its member states;
- To accelerate the continent's political and socio-economic integration;
- To promote and defend Africa's common positions on issues of interest to the continent and its peoples;
- To encourage international cooperation, taking due account of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
- To promote peace, security and stability on the continent;
- To promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance;
- To promote and protect human rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and other relevant human rights instruments;
- To establish the necessary conditions that enable the continent to play its rightful role in the global economy and in international negotiations;
- To promote sustainable development on an economic, social and cultural level, as well as the integration of African economies;
- To promote co-operation in all fields of human activity to raise African people's living standards;
- To coordinate and harmonise the policies between the existing and future regional economic communities to attain the AU's objectives gradually;
- To advance the development of the continent by promoting research in all fields, with a particular focus on science and technology; and
- To work with relevant international partners to eradicate preventable diseases and promote good health on the continent.

Importantly, promoting gender equality is one of the AU's key principles. This requires that the continental body always maintains a gendered lens to implement its mandate (African Union 2000:7).

Assembly of Heads of States and Government decisions on gender

The Assembly of Heads of States and Government of the AU has committed to gender equality and women's empowerment. Subsequently, they have made important decisions to advance the agenda for inclusivity. This includes Article 4(L) of the Constitutive Act (2000) that enshrines the Gender Equality Principle; the Protocol to the Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003); the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (SDGEA) (2004); the AU Gender Policy (January 2009); the Declaration of 2010–2020 as the African Women's Decade (July 2009); creating the Fund for African Women (Jan 2010); and creating the High-Level Panel on Gender

(July 2014). During the last decade, the AUC has used the Women, Gender and Development Directorate (WGDD) as a vehicle to operationalise these decisions and develop frameworks for their implementation.

AFRICAN UNION GENDER FRAMEWORKS

According to the Status Report by the WGDD the transformation of the OAU into the AU, saw gender and women issues move from the periphery to the center of the AU agenda in general, and that of the AUC (African Union 2014b: 3). According to the report, the AU Constitutive Act forms the foundation normative framework for the implementation of Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment (GEWE) and constitutes the first framework of the African Union Gender Architecture. The framework now consists of:-

- The Constitutional Framework: Under Article 4(L) of the Constitutive Act (2000) which enshrines the Gender Equality Principle.
- The Legal Framework: Protocol to the Charter on Human and People's Rights in Africa (2003).
- The Reporting Framework: Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (SDGEA) (2004).
- The Policy Framework: AU Gender Policy (Jan 2009).
- The Implementation Framework: The African Women's Decade (July 2009).
- The Financing Framework: Fund for African Women (Jan 2010).
- The Intellectual Framework: The High-Level Panel on Gender (July 2014).

According to the report, between 2008 and 2014, the Women, Gender and Development Directorate was able to record the following major achievements in the implementation of the above frameworks at the Commission, AU and member states level in collaboration with Regional Economic Communities (African Union 2013:5):

The constitutional framework, which is mandated by Section 4L of the Constitutive Act (2000) enshrines the gender equality principle. Subsequently, the AU has achieved the following:

- Four Open Sessions of Peace and Security on Women and Children have been hosted.
- The Gender Manual for AU Peace Support Operations (PSO) was launched at the fourth Open Session on Women and Children on 5 December 2011 (African Union 2013).
- Six SDGEA reports have been submitted to the Heads of State Assembly.
- Eight AU Gender Pre-Summits have been held on the theme of the Summit and Decade in Line with 2005 AU Audit Report.

The legal framework is guided by the Protocol to the Charter on Human and Peoples Rights in Africa (2003).

- The number of ratifications on the protocol rose from 22 to 36 during the period.
- The Gender Training of Trainers Manual for training AU peace support operations (PSOs) was developed.
- The Manual was adopted by AU Ministers of Gender and Women's Affairs.
- Together with Peace and Sustainable Development (PSD), WGDD championed the developed Code of Conduct for the African Standby Force, in association with PSD initiative.
- In association with UN Women, the Africa UNiTE Campaign was launched to end violence against women (African Union 2014a:10).

The reporting framework, as manifested in the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (SDGEA) (2004).

- The number of member states who had reported on SDGEA rose from nine to 48.
- Six SDGEA reports have been submitted to the Assembly.
- Three Workshops have been conducted for member states that had not reported on SDGEA.
- The Directorate was in the process of developing a compendium to mark SDGEA's tenth anniversary (African Union 2014a:14).

The policy framework, as articulated in the AU Gender Policy (Jan 2009).

- An AU Gender Policy and ten-year action plan was developed.
- A roadmap was developed for the African Women's Decade.
- There is currently a harmonisation process underway of AU Gender Policy, those of member states and RECs.
- Conducted 5 Economic Policy Courses for Economists, Planners and Budget experts from AU member states.

The implementation framework, as reflected in the African Women's Decade (July 2009).

- The African Women's Decade was launched successfully in 2010.
- Decade themes 2 and 3 were implemented successfully.
- More than 15 Member States participated or were involved in the launch of the Women's Decade at a national level.
- A platform was provided to implement each year's theme since the AWD was launched.

The financing framework via the Fund for African Women (Jan 2010).

- The Fund for African Women was launched in line with the Assembly's decision.
- Projects were funded successfully under themes 2 and 3 of the Women's Decade.
- Some 1% member states contributions were secured to the fund.
- Voluntary contributions of US\$600 000 was secured at the Heads of State luncheon (African Union 2014a:14).

The intellectual framework involving the High-Level Panel on Gender (July 2014):

- The first High-Level Panel on Gender focusing on the Post-2015 Development Agenda.

MAJOR WOMEN AND GENDER OUTCOMES OF THE COMMISSION'S GENDER DIRECTORATE

The development and adoption of the AU Gender Policy took place in a record time of 12 months after extensive external consultations with AU Organs, Member States, RECs and Civil Society Organisations including women, youth and male stakeholders. Consultations with commissioners, directors, and commission staff were also held. This speedy process remains a milestone. The WGDD also developed a ten-year action plan to implement the Gender Policy within the context of the African Women's Decade (2010–2020). Member States have also been adopting national gender policies in accordance with the AU Gender Policy. The WGDD recruited a consultant to harmonise and integrate gender policies with regional and national policies (African Union 2014:5).

The continental launch of the AWD from 2010–2020 took place on 15 October 2010 in Nairobi, Kenya, which was yet another milestone. The implementation of the decade's activities was owned by member states and support was already being leveraged from development partners at bilateral level in terms of technical and financial resources. The Commission develops proposal calls by Member States and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The proposal calls are published on the AU and AWD websites and are sent to Member States through their embassies in Addis Ababa (African Union 2009: 32 and African Union 2014b:2–7).

The Steering Committee on the Fund and a committee of thirty members on AWD was inaugurated. They are tasked with operationalisation and eight regular meetings take place to review projects submitted to the fund, which is outstanding. The results are forwarded to the Committee of 10 Ministers for consideration and approval by Ministers of Gender and Women's Affairs before

the Commission disburses funding. The Ministerial Committee of ten members met on 1 July 2010 in Uganda, 2 October 2010 in Nairobi, (DATE) November 2011 in Addis Ababa, July 18 2012 in Addis Ababa, May 2013 in Addis Ababa and 2013 in Malawi to review project proposals (African Union 2014b: 8).

AU Ministers of Gender and Women's Affairs adopted the AU Gender Training Manual for AU Peacekeepers, which was launched by the AU Peace and Security Council on 5 December 2014 at the fourth Open Session on Women and Children in Addis Ababa. Senior officials from the PSD, UN partners and regional experts from selected African think tanks concerned with peacekeeping and DDR developed and peer-reviewed the manual in July 2011. The experts came up with a revised final draft manual and a trainer's guide for trainers that incorporated new modules relating to policy, foot soldiers and gender (African Union 2014b:18).

There has also been improved reporting from the number of SDGEA Reports from nine in 2008 to 48 in 2014. This demonstrates leadership on the part of the commission through the WGDD, ownership, accountability and transparency with regard to member states. In terms of the AU Protocol to the Charter on Human and People's Rights of Women in Africa, of the 54 member states, 48 have signed the protocol and 36 member states ratified it by 2013 (African Union 2013:1).

This marked increase in the number of ratification from 27 in 2008 to 36 in 2014 further demonstrates leadership on the part of the Commission through the Gender Directorate. More importantly, it demonstrates a focus on the notion of human rights in general and African women's rights in particular (African Union 2013:1). This increased reporting indicates Member States' focus on ownership, accountability and transparency.

Due to an increased ownership of the AU Pre-Summit on Gender, in line with AU Audit recommendation 66 and 94, 10 AU Gender Pre-Summits were held from 2009 to 2013. This demonstrates successful advocacy on the important role the assembly plays in advancing gender equality and women's empowerment (African Union 2013:18).

Gender as a cross-cutting theme for development in Africa

With particular reference to peace and security for African women, the Assembly adopted the AU Protocol on Women's Rights in Africa, while the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa is enshrined the UN Resolution 1325 under Article 2. This paved way for the Commission, AU Organs, Member States and RECs' implementation of the above mentioned. This includes annual reporting to the Assembly through the SDGEA report. This Protocol contains 24 articles to protect women and to help eliminate discrimination. Member states

are expected to combat all forms of discrimination against women through appropriate legislative, institutional and other measures. In this regard they shall:

- a. include in their national constitutions and other legislative instruments, if not already done, the principle of equality between women and men and ensure its effective application;
- b. enact and effectively implement appropriate legislative or regulatory measures, including those prohibiting and curbing all forms of discrimination particularly those harmful practices which endanger the health and general well-being of women;
- c. integrate a gender perspective in their policy decisions, legislation, development plans, programmes and activities and in all other spheres of life;
- d. take corrective and positive action in those areas where discrimination against women in law and in fact continues to exist;
- e. support the local, national, regional and continental initiatives directed at eradicating all forms of discrimination against women.

Member states should also commit themselves to modify social and cultural patterns of conduct of women and men through public education, as well as information and communication strategies. The ultimate aim is to eliminate harmful cultural and traditional practices; and all other practices that are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes, or on the stereotyped roles for women and men. The other mandates in the Protocol include the:

- right to dignity;
- right to life, integrity and security of person;
- eliminating harmful practices;
- marriage;
- separation, divorce and annulment of marriage;
- access to justice and equal protection before the law;
- right to participate in the political and decision-making process;
- right to peace;
- protection of women in armed conflict;
- right to education and training;
- economic and social welfare rights;
- health and reproductive rights;
- right to food security;
- right to adequate housing;
- right to a positive cultural context;
- right to a healthy and sustainable environment;
- right to sustainable development;
- widow's rights.

GENDER REPRESENTATION IN THE AFRICAN UNION COMMISSION

Table 1 shows the gender representation of the commissioners including the chairperson of the AUC. The critical mass of 30% for women in political representation for decision-making at this level is met as four of the AUC commissioners are women.

Table 1: Gender Representation: AU commissioners

Position	Gender
Chairperson	Female
Deputy Chairperson	Male
Commissioner: Political Affairs	Female
Commissioner: Social Affairs	Male
Commissioner: Trade and Industry	Female
Commissioner: Economic Affairs	Male
Commissioner: Peace and Security	Male
Commissioner: Infrastructure and Energy	Female
Commissioner: Human Resources, Science and Technology	Male
Commissioner: Rural Economy	Female
Chief of Staff	Female

Source: (Adapted from Musyimi Ogana 2015)

CONCLUSIONS

The AU has improved on the precedent set by the UN to provide measures that complement international protocols for improving gender equality and the empowerment of women on the continent. The Protocol for African Women compels member states to sign and ratify the document, as well as to provide national measures for gender equality that may be checked by civil society to improve the livelihood of marginalised women and African women in general. The AU Gender Policy and roadmap for the African Women's Decade are important instruments that guide AU programmes through the WGDD.

In terms of continental gender programmes, setting up of a fund for African women has provided additional funding to implement socio-economic development. This has meant that civil society organisations that work to empower women through economic activities, education on \ human and civil rights across the continent have an additional funding option. Although information is shared at the global regional and country level, it may not be accessible to all women grassroots organisations that can benefit from the fund. As 2010–2020 is the AU's the decade for women, it has made a specific commitment to secure funding for projects that work within the aforementioned themes. The AU notes that 1% of member states' contribution has been secured to kick-start the project. What remains to be seen is whether the momentum will be sustained given the AU's overall funding constraints (Allsion 2014 and Mataboge 2015).

Although the AU is required to meet regional gender representation while filling up critical senior positions, it is important that the critical mass for 30% representation in decision-making positions is met. The previous table on AU commissioners shows that the criteria are met. This is important because the continental body operates in a society predominantly patriarchal society. This achievement heralds an opening for gendered representation at the senior levels of the AU.

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Does the Provision of Meals Affect Teachers' Performance?

An Empirical study of Public Primary Schools in the Bugisu Sub-Region in Uganda

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ABSTRACT

Food is universally accepted as one of the most important human needs. Providing meals during morning tea, lunch and afternoon tea helps contribute to teachers' physical health. It also gives them more time to attend to learners and prepare their lessons. Previous research concentrated on pupils' and students' feeding programmes in schools without considering teachers, whose performance as educators is showing a decline in most rural areas in Uganda. This study aims to establish the effect providing meals to teachers have on their performance in public primary schools. Research was conducted in the Bugisu sub Region of Uganda using a mixed set of approaches. Of the 630 subjects who were sampled, 559 returned the survey instruments, suggesting a response rate of 88.7%. The findings reveal that providing meals at school has a statistically significant effect (0.000 at $p < .05$ level) on teachers' performance in public primary schools in the Bugisu sub-region. The findings are compared with both local and international empirical studies to suggest policy and managerial recommendations.

INTRODUCTION

Teachers play a key role in the teaching and learning process and their contribution to quality education cannot be ignored (Singh and Sarkar 2015:153). However,

teachers' performance is still a critical factor in most developing countries that are implementing Universal Primary Education (UPE). The concept of performance may mean different things to different people depending on the perspective from which one approaches it. It refers to efficiency, economy, results, or return (profits) on investment (Summermatter and Siegel, 2009:1–9; Herath and Rosli, 2013:431). With regard to current research, teacher performance is the extent to which the teacher achieves school objectives by arriving at school on time, preparing lessons that involves drawing up schemes, lesson plans, record of work done, preparing and using learners' registers, actual classroom teaching, assessment and evaluation of the learners, attending staff meetings, managing learners' discipline, involvement in co-curricular activities, as well as counseling and guidance. Undoubtedly, the quality of an education system depends on teachers' performance (Ochwo, 2013:3; Akpanobong & Asuquo, 2015:177; Muthoni & Wafula, 2016:237).

Past research by the Uwezo Fund (2012:2–23) shows that rampant teacher absenteeism in both primary and secondary schools is a root cause for a decline in quality education. Many teachers do not attend to their duties as educators, even when they are present in school. Absenteeism and failure to cover the syllabus are signs of poor teacher performance, which affect the overall academic achievement of pupils at the primary education level. Kagolo (2014:22) reports that teacher absenteeism in Uganda's rural areas was 35%, which is the highest in the world. The research highlights that, on average, Ugandan teachers miss two days of work per week. Subsequently, government and its development partners suffer financial losses, since teachers are paid on a monthly basis. Several stakeholders in education, such as parents and employers, have raised questions about the quality of teaching and learning at all levels, from nursery schools to university. Unsurprisingly, a study by Uwezo (2012:4–23) reveals that primary school children lack basic numeracy and literacy skills across the East African region.

Over the years, the Ugandan Government has made efforts to enhance the quality of public primary education (Ministry of Education and Sports 2013:6; Oonyu 2012:43; Nsubuga 2008:1–5). Nevertheless, the performance of teachers in public primary schools in the Bugisu sub-region in Uganda is still substandard, as it is characterised by poor time management, absenteeism and inadequate preparation of lessons and syllabus coverage, poor pupil discipline management and inadequate teaching methods (Nairuba 2011:33; Kasiisa and Maurice 2013:69; Wandira Onen and Kimoga 2015:231). This article is based on research that was conducted to investigate why teachers in public primary schools in the Bugisu sub-region do not perform their roles as educators. The article focuses on explaining to which extent the provision of meals influence teachers' performance in public primary schools in the Bugisu sub-region in Uganda.

In this study, providing food is contextualised as providing morning tea, lunch and afternoon tea to teachers (Musaaazi 1982:90). Food is universally

accepted as the most important human need (Akinmoladun and Oluwoye 2007:589). Guller (2011:11) has traced school feeding programmes back to mid-19th Century France when the Paris guards established a fund to provide needy children with school lunches. This initiative spread to other countries like Japan. By the late-1940s, it had been established in US and later to several other countries. Providing meals such as morning tea, lunch and afternoon tea helps address teachers' physical health and enables them to have more time to prepare lessons and spend time with learners (Musaazi 1982:90).

A number of studies have been conducted with regard to the correlation between school feeding programmes and performance. Pettigrew, Pescud and Donovan (2012:996–997) assessed the extent to which parents and school-based stakeholders (principals, teachers, canteen managers, parents and citizen committee presidents) were supportive of potential expansions to a new school food policy in Australia. The findings of their study revealed that parents and teachers supported expansions of existing and nominated policy components as other school stakeholders. Furthermore, the study revealed that little research had been undertaken to investigate the extent of support for specific potential school feeding policy components. The study recommended further research in other countries to assess to which extent education stakeholders would find these policy expansions appropriate.

It is widely recognised that teachers' performance play a key role in providing quality education. However, teachers have sometimes been seen as the cause of low-quality education (Carr-Hill and Ndalichako 2005 cited by Tao 2013:1) or victims of a flawed system due to poor service conditions (Tao 2013:11). In terms of teacher management, Bennell and Akyeampong (2007:3–18) state that school-level teacher mentoring at school level plays a pivotal role in motivating teachers – a factor that might affect their performance. A number of empirical studies highlight contextual factors that affect teachers' performance, such as interpersonal demands, lack of professional recognition, discipline problems in the classroom, the diversity of tasks required, bureaucracy, lack of support, workload, time pressure, the amount of paperwork required and inadequate provision of resources (Chan 1998:146; Kokkinos 2007:239). Others include a lack of social recognition, large class sizes, isolation, fear of violence, lack of classroom control, role ambiguity and limited professional opportunities (Travers and Cooper 1996:36; Kokkinos 2007:239).

In this article, teachers' performance is associated with their ability to be present at school during class time. Research conducted in Tanzania by Tao (2013:11) demonstrates how teachers' absenteeism was attributable to the need to generate extra income from side businesses because their salaries were insufficient. This is corroborated by Singh and Sarkar's study (2015:158), which states that factors such as transport problems, long-distance travel and teachers'

involvement in personal activities contribute to absenteeism and subsequent poor performance. In Uganda, Kakuru (2006:78) ascribes teachers' absenteeism to the magnitude of HIV/AIDS in school communities. Teachers are either infected by the virus, take care of sick family members, attend funerals or are engaged in income-generating activities due to AIDS-induced poverty.

With a focus on improving effective education, Ikenyiri and Ihua-Maduenyi (2011:790) conducted a needs assessment of teachers in Omoku, Rivers State, Nigeria. The research revealed that prompt payment for food and clothing were statistical predictors of teachers' effectiveness. As such, the researchers recommended that teachers should receive their salaries on time to maintain their motivation. Although it is clear from empirical studies that various factors affect teachers' performance, little is known about how provision of meals, or lack thereof, affect their performance. This article contributes to the existing body of knowledge by examining how provision of meals is related to teachers' performance in public primary schools in Uganda's Bugisu sub-region.

HISTORY OF MEALS PROVISION TO TEACHERS

Missionaries introduced the Ugandan school education system in 1877. The British education system was used, as Uganda was a British protectorate from 1894 to 1962 when it attained independence. During that time, teachers were held in high esteem and benefits included housing, medical care, bread and tea during break time, while the school environment was largely conducive for teachers to perform their duties as educators. From 1971 to 1979, all working sectors, including teachers' meals at school, were affected. This period was characterised by insecurity, breakdown of economic activities, brain drain, and a decline in social services, which led to poor teacher welfare.

Subsequently, Parents and Teacher Associations (PTA) were formed, which helped to reduce teachers' financial burdens by providing meals at school, among other things (Aguti 1996:3; Oonyu, 2012:43; Okuda, 2014). With the introduction of Universal Primary Education (UPE) in 1997, the PTA charges were abolished in public primary schools and this affected the provision of meals to teachers at school. This article discusses how a lack of meals for teachers at public primary schools in Bugisu influences their performance.

METHODOLOGY

A descriptive cross-sectional survey-based research design was adopted with both qualitative and quantitative approaches. The researchers followed this approach

in the hope of triangulating and enhancing the quality of the study's findings (Amin 2005:63). A descriptive cross-sectional survey-based research design is a research plan that focuses on systematically describing the characteristics of an event, place, population or item being studied at a given time (Amin 2005:212; Kothari 2010:37). In terms of the cross-sectional component, a cross-section of respondents was chosen within a short period of time and it was not necessary to follow up with respondents (Picho 2014:3). A survey was chosen because it allowed the researchers to get a detailed description of the effect of feeding on the performance of public primary school teachers in the Bugisu sub-region. The researchers were interested in a systematic description of the effect feeding teachers had on their performance. As such, they deemed the aforementioned research design as most appropriate.

The study's target population consisted of district education officers (DEOs), district inspectors of schools (DISs), staff of the directorate of education standards (DES), members of school management committees (SMCs), head teachers and teachers in selected public primary schools in the Bugisu sub-region. The sample size was 630 respondents.

The researchers employed a multi-stage, purposive, cluster and convenience sampling to select districts, sub-counties and schools. Districts (Bulambuli, Sironko and Manafwa), sub-counties and schools were selected by simple random sampling to avoid bias. In the selected schools, cluster sampling was employed. Cluster sampling is a technique that involves identifying the clusters of informants that represent a sample and including them in the study to increase sampling efficiency levels while reducing costs (Amin 2005:235–242; Koul 2009:208–216).

The respondents (teachers) were grouped into two clusters: males and females, and simple random sampling was performed on the clusters. While collecting data from the district education officers, purposive sampling was applied, as there are only a handful of district school inspectors, directorate of education staff. In addition, these individuals were directly involved in managing schools at district level and were expected to be informed about the welfare and performance of public primary school teachers. Purposive sampling, also referred to as judgment sampling, is a non-random sampling technique where a specific informant is deliberately chosen due to his/her qualities (Amin 2005:242; Tongco 2007:148–149). With regard to members of school management committees, a convenient, time-saving sampling method was applied. Convenient sampling involves selecting informants as it is easy to access them (Amin 2005:242; Koul 2009:209–216; Kothari 2010:57–67).

Data was collected from both primary and secondary sources using questionnaires and interviews. The researchers used verbal interviews with purposively selected DEOs, DISs and head teachers in a structured way to minimize on time wastage. Interviews allow flexibility and this enabled the

researchers to adjust the interview to meet the diverse situations in the field (Koul 2009:262, Amin 2005:282). Since open-ended questions are perceived as less threatening, the interview guide followed this question approach, so that respondents had leeway give more unrestricted responses (Picho 2014:5). Interviews allowed explanations of meanings to the questions to eliminate ambiguity and provided an opportunity to correct any misunderstanding between the interviewer and respondents. Further in-depth investigation of the responses served the purpose of triangulation (Koul 2009:262; Amin 2005:63). Data was also collected through questionnaires. The researchers prepared questionnaires containing several questions concerning the study objectives. Respondents wrote down the answers in the spaces provided in the questionnaire, which made it more economical and convenient (Amin 2005:269–270).

Data collected from the field was examined to ensure that the information was accurate and complete, where after it was cleaned, sorted and entered into SPSS (Version 20) computer software for analysis. Mean and standard deviation were used to generate reports for discussion. Least square regression analysis was employed to determine the effect meals provision had on teachers' performance at public primary schools in the Bugisu sub-region. Qualitative data analysis was conducted through thematic content analysis that was recorded during face-to-face interviews and through observation.

TEACHERS' PERFORMANCE IN BUGISU SUB-REGION

To establish the status of teachers' performance at public primary schools in Bugisu sub-region, a questionnaire with 20 items relating to teachers' performance was designed. The findings are presented in Table 1.

The first item on teachers' performance at public primary schools related to whether or not teachers always arrive at school by 7:30am. The respondents' scored mean value was 1.59 and the standard deviation was .702. The scored mean value of 1.59 implies that teachers' time for reporting to school for work in public primary schools in Bugisu sub-region was unsatisfactory.

The second sub-construct on whether or not work schemes of work were ready by the first day of the term. Here, the scored mean value was 1.45, with a standard deviation of .875. The scored mean value of 1.34 means that teachers' performance in terms of handing in completed work schemes on the first day of the term was unsatisfactory.

With regard to the teachers' performance in terms of preparing daily lessons daily, the scored mean value was 1.45, with a standard deviation of 1.021. In terms of preparing daily lessons, the respondents' scored mean value of 1.45

Table 1: Teachers' Performance in Bugisu sub-region

	Statement	Mean	Standard deviation
1	Teachers always arrive at school by 7:30 am.	1.59	.702
2	There are schemes of work by the first day of the term.	1.34	.875
3	Teachers prepare lessons daily.	1.45	1.021
4	Teachers always come with lesson plans in class.	1.83	.992
5	Teachers always use lesson plans in class.	1.94	.987
6	Teachers are always present at school supervising all school activities.	1.57	.585
7	There is active teacher involvement in co-curricular activities in school.	1.53	.801
8	There is efficient teacher management of pupil's discipline at school.	2.00	.849
9	There is regular attendance to all lessons by all teachers at school.	1.80	.577
10	There is regular assessment of pupils through tests.	1.80	.768
11	There is efficient counseling and guidance of pupils by teachers at school	1.88	.976
12	Teachers maintain pupil's records properly (e.g. registers, academic progress records)	2.71	.976
13	The turn up of teachers in staff meetings is high.	2.63	1.253
14	There is effective teacher participation in staff meetings.	2.91	1.057
15	Teachers always maintain a record of work covered.	2.65	1.006
16	The head teacher is always at school supervising school activities.	1.30	.656
17	Teachers in this school mark pupils' work given in class	1.51	.786
18	Teachers in this school conduct remedial lessons for slow learners.	1.20	.398
19	Teachers always use pupil-centered teaching methods in their lessons.	1.56	.632
20	Teachers in this school create a friendly learning environment for their pupils.	1.50	.783
	Average Mean	1.835	.834

Source: Primary data

implies that teachers' performance at public primary schools in the Bugisu sub-region was unsatisfactory.

The fourth sub-construct stated: "Teachers always come with lesson plans in class." Here, the findings revealed a scored mean value of 1.83 with a standard deviation of .992. The scored mean value indicates that teachers' performance at public primary schools in Bugisu sub-region in terms of always going to class with lesson plans was unsatisfactory. Table 1 also reveals that when it comes to always using lesson plans in class, the respondents' mean value score was 1.94, with a standard deviation of .987. The respondents' scored mean value of 1.94 indicates that teachers' performance at public primary schools in terms always following lesson plans in class was unsatisfactory.

Furthermore, the researchers investigated whether or not teachers are always present at school and supervise all school activities. The findings in Table 1 indicate that respondents' scored mean value was 1.57, while the standard deviation was .585. The scored mean value of 1.57 implies that teachers' performance in terms of always being present at school and supervising school activities in Bugisu sub-region was unsatisfactory.

The seventh item measures active teachers' involvement in co-curricular activities at school. Respondents' scored mean value was 1.53, with a standard deviation was .801. The respondents' scored mean value of 1.53 implies that active teacher involvement in co-curricular activities in public primary schools in Bugisu sub-region was unsatisfactory.

With regard to whether teachers maintain discipline at school, the respondents' scored mean value was 2.00 and the standard deviation was .849. The scored mean value of 2.0 implies that teachers' performance in terms of management of pupils' discipline in public primary schools was fairly satisfactory.

On the subject of whether teachers attended all lessons at school, the findings reveal that respondents' scored mean value was 1.80 and the standard deviation was .577. The scored mean value of 1.80 implies that teachers' regular attendance of all lessons in public primary schools in Bugisu sub-region was unsatisfactory.

Table 1 also reveals that on the item of whether teachers regularly assess pupils through tests by, the respondents' scored mean value was 1.80 and the standard deviation was .768. The aforementioned implies that teachers' performance in terms of regularly assessing pupils through tests was unsatisfactory satisfactory.

Responses were also sought on whether teachers counsel and guide pupils at school. Table 1 reveals that the respondents' scored mean value for this item was 1.88, with a standard deviation was .976. The respondents' scored mean value of 1.88 implies that teachers' performance in terms of counseling and guiding pupils in public primary schools in Bugisu sub-region was unsatisfactory.

With regard to whether teachers maintain pupils' records properly (e.g. registers and academic progress records), Table 1 indicates that the respondents'

scored mean value was 2.71 and the standard deviation was .976. The scored mean value of 2.71 implies that teachers' maintenance of pupils' records in public primary schools in Bugisu sub-region was fairly satisfactory. In terms of whether teachers attend staff meetings, the respondents' scored mean value was 2.63 and the standard deviation was 1.253. This implies that teachers' attendance of staff meetings in public primary schools in Bugisu sub-region was fairly satisfactory.

With respect to whether teachers participated in staff meetings, Table 1 reveals that the respondents' scored mean value was 2.91 and the standard deviation was 1.057. As such, teachers' participation during meetings in public primary schools in Bugisu sub region was fairly satisfactory.

In terms of whether teachers kept record of work covered, Table 1 illustrates that the respondent scored mean value was 2.65, with a standard deviation was 1.006. The scored mean value of 2.65 implies that teachers' record-keeping of work covered was fairly satisfactory.

Additionally, concerning whether or not head teachers are always at school supervising activities, the scored mean value was 1.30, with a standard deviation of .656. The scored mean value of 1.30 implies that the performance of head teachers attendance and supervising school activities in public primary schools in Bugisu sub-region was unsatisfactory.

Furthermore, Table 1 reveals as scored mean value was 1.51 with a standard deviation of .786., with regard to whether teachers marked pupils' class work. This implies that teachers' performance with regard to marking pupils' class in public primary schools in Bugisu-sub region was unsatisfactory.

Similar results were attained on teachers' performance in terms of conducting remedial lessons for slow learners. Table 1 reveals that the respondents' scored a mean value was 1.20, with a standard deviation of .398. The scored mean value of 1.20 implies that teachers' performance in terms of conducting remedial lessons for slow learners in public primary schools in Bugisu sub-region was unsatisfactory.

The second-last sub-construct was stated as, "Teachers always use pupil-centered teaching methods in their classes". Table 1 reveals that the respondents' scored mean value was 1.56, with a standard deviation was .632. The scored mean value of 1.56 implies that teachers' performance in terms of using pupil-centered teaching methods was unsatisfactory.

The last sub-construct focused on whether teachers created friendly learning environment for their pupils. Table 1 reveals a scored mean value of 1.50, with a standard deviation of .783. As such, teachers' performance in terms of creating a friendly learning environment for their pupils in public primary schools in Bugisu sub region was unsatisfactory.

Based on the findings in Table 1, research shows that respondents' scored average mean value on the status of teachers' performance 1.835, with a

standard deviation of .834. The implication is that the status of teachers' performance at public primary schools in Bugisu sub region was not satisfactory and there was not much variation in the responses.

THE EFFECT OF MEALS ON TEACHERS' PERFORMANCE

Having established that teachers' performance was unsatisfactory, as demonstrated by the findings presented above. The researchers did further analysis on how providing meals affect teachers' performance. Therefore, the researchers performed an ordinary least square regression analysis (Field 2009:627–672). Teacher performance was used as a dependent variable to establish the level of significance ($p < .05$) of each of the components of providing meals. This approach was followed to determine to which extent providing meals affected teachers' performance at public primary schools in Bugisu sub-region. The results of the ordinary square regression analysis are presented in Table 2.

Table 2 Table heading to be supplied by author

Meals	Coefficient	T	P>t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Provision of teachers' meals	0.192	11.820	0.000	0.160	0.224
Quality of teachers' meals	-0.009	-0.580	0.565	-0.041	0.023
Food supportive systems	-0.013	-0.770	0.442	-0.044	0.019
Management of the food systems	0.093	5.710	0.000	0.061	0.125
Planning for teachers' meals	0.026	1.610	0.107	-0.006	0.058
Concern about teachers' meals	0.014	0.880	0.380	-0.018	0.046
Constant	1.835	113.010	0.000	1.803	1.867
R Square 26.3% F-test 29.4(0.000)					

Table 2 clearly indicated that provision of teachers' meals was significant at 0.000; the quality of teachers' meals was not significant at 0.565; food-supportive

systems were not significant at 0.442; managing food systems was significant at 0.000; planning for teachers' meals was not significant at 0.107, while concern about teachers' meals was not significant at 0.380. The R Square value of 26.3% implies that supplying teachers with meals accounts for 26.3% variation in their performance at public primary schools in Bugisu sub region in Uganda.

This implies that better provision of teachers' meals will increase teachers' performance significantly. The positive nature of the relationship implies that the change in the two variables was linear, whereby an improvement in teachers' meals was related to better teachers' performance at public primary schools in Bugisu sub-region, and vice versa. Thus, if schools want to increase teachers' performance, they need pay more attention to ensuring that teachers receive meals at school.

To triangulate this quantitative data from the questionnaires that were given teachers and school management committee members, structured interviews were conducted with DEOs, district school inspectors, staff of the directorate of education standards and head teachers. Interviews with head teachers supported the quantitative findings, as illustrated in Table 2, that providing meals to teachers has a statistically significant positive effect on their performance at public primary schools in Bugisu sub-region. This is in line with Pettigrew, Pescud, and Donovan (2012:996–997), who argue that parents and school-based stakeholders (principals, teachers, canteen managers and parents) support potential new school food policies in Australia. Ikenyiri and Ihua-Maduenyi (2011:790), also corroborates these findings. They established that prompt payment for food and clothing were a statistical predictor of teachers' effectiveness. This is also true for teachers in Bugisu sub-region as was noted by one head teacher SH14, who said:

“...this school is unique from other schools in the district. This school is both day and boarding. It is also one of the oldest schools not only in the district but also in the country. Therefore teachers in this school receive both break tea and lunch. They get lunch at the same time with the pupils in the boarding section of the school. Teachers in this school are happy with this arrangement and are almost never absent. Most teachers in the district would like to be transferred here because of good welfare for staff. You can see them in the staff room doing their work. They arrive here early and leave late because all is well including my management. Their only problem is the low salary by the government”.

The above excerpt from one of the interview responses suggests that teachers who receive meals are happier and probably perform better than those who do not get meals at school. All head teachers interviewed agreed that many schools in Bugisu sub-region did not have an official feeding policy for teachers. The DEOs and DISs who participated in this study also agreed with this view. As earlier noted, the DEO of district W remarked that:

“...there is no official policy in the district in regard to food support systems but this is something we may think about in the future. Some of our schools have some land on which teachers’ food may be grown. Currently, some of this land is used by teachers to grow their crops for their families and not to be consumed at school. Some head teachers even hire it out to local residents while others have given it to school management committee members who use it for their private gain. For our biggest and oldest school in the district which is also partly boarding, the story is different. The land in that school is used to grow food for the children and the teachers even when the teachers have been given some portions to grow their own private crops. As regards food rations, our teachers do not receive any food rations. School budgets do not cater for this type of arrangement.”

Most teachers indicated that they made personal arrangements for their meals at school, which implies that feeding affects teachers’ performance. This is in line with findings in Table 2, which shows that providing food at school has a statistically significant effect on teachers’ performance.

The findings were found to be consistent with both local and international empirical studies related to the effect of feeding on teachers’ performance in Bugisu sub-region. The findings have revealed that teachers in public primary schools in Bugisu sub-region contribute money for their meals at school. A lack of meal provision at school, contributes to absenteeism and ultimately poor teacher performance. The status of teachers’ performance at public primary schools in Bugisu sub-region was not satisfactory. It can be argued that this is related to the status of their feeding.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This article is based on research that set out to examine the relationship between providing meals and teachers’ performance in public primary schools in Bugisu sub-region in Uganda. Quantitative and qualitative data was collected in 2015 from the districts of Bulambuli, Sironko and Manafwa. Teachers’ performance was measured in terms of various constructs. These include time management, preparing lessons, creating lesson plans, keeping record of work done, preparing and using learners’ registers, actual classroom teaching, assessing and evaluating learners, attending staff meetings, managing learners’ discipline, involvement in co-curricular activities, counseling and guidance.

Provision of meals was perceived as giving teachers morning tea, lunch and afternoon tea. The authors conducted ordinary least squares regression with teachers’ performance, as the dependent variable and the findings demonstrate that an R Square value of 26.3%. This implies that providing teachers with meals accounts for 26.3% variation in their performance at public primary schools

in Bugisu sub region in Uganda. Therefore, the findings suggest that a lack of meals for teachers affects their performance. This implies that an improvement in the provision of teachers' meals at public primary schools in Bugisu sub-region leads to a significant increase in teachers' performance.

Subsequently, the authors make the following recommendations;

- To increase teachers' performance, it is recommended that education policy makers, implementers and managers pay more attention to providing teachers' meals at school in public primary schools to address short-term and hidden food needs while at work.
- Head teachers and SMC members in public primary schools with land should provide school gardens so that teachers can grow food, as most of these schools are found in rural areas with favourable climate and fertile soils. This would help secure teachers' food security in public primary schools in Bugisu sub-region.
- The Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Sports, should have a feeding policy for teachers in public primary schools, since they are required to be at school from 7:30 to 5:00 pm during the school term from Monday to Friday. Yet there is no clear mechanism to address their hunger needs while at school.
- Since most teachers in public primary schools in Bugisu sub-region pool resources and plan for joint meals at school, the Ugandan Government could use this teachers' initiative with a view of improving and supporting it. Undeniably should be food support systems for teachers in public primary schools.

NOTE

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Implementating Small Scale Mining Laws in Ghana

Insights from the Prestea Huni Valley District

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ABSTRACT

Using a qualitative approach, this article systematically itemises the challenges of implementing small scale mining laws in the Prestea Huni Valley District. Data was obtained from stakeholders *inter alia* chiefs, police officers, and local government authorities from the Prestea Huni Valley District Assembly. Semi-structured interviews were used for collecting primary data for the article. The findings show that implementation agencies lack adequate human and logistical resources for effective implementation. This is aggravated by the problem of corruption, politicisation of the implementation process and cumbersome bureaucratic formalities in acquiring small scale licenses. The article recommends that government should demonstrate commitment to implementation by adequately resourcing implementation agencies and also taking steps to remove bureaucratic barriers to acquiring small scale mining licenses.

INTRODUCTION

To effectively regulate mining in Ghana, including small scale mining, government commenced implementation of the Minerals and Mining Law, Act

703, in 2006. The major state institutions tasked with direct responsibility to implement the law comprised the Minerals Commission, the Environmental Protection Agency, the Ghana Police Service, and the District Assembly (where mining occurs). In May 2013, the Government of Ghana, further established an inter-ministerial task force to support the work of institutions tasked with implementing small-scale mining laws, due to growing difficulties in implementing laws particularly in the small scale mining sector.

After nearly a decade of implementation, close industry observers suggest that the challenges of the sector have escalated given that illegal mining operations and its negative consequences on the environment such as water pollution and land degradation are rampant. Findings from several studies on the sector suggest that implementation of the laws faces formidable obstacles. For example, an overwhelming majority of small scale miners which operated illegally continue to do so and miners have no legal entitlement to land (Hilson and Potter 2005), making 85% of small scale miners unregistered operators (Teschner 2012; Hilson and Potter 2003). These challenges are further compounded by the influx of foreigners, notably Chinese, in the sector, operating illegally.

Earlier attempts by scholars to explain the implementation challenges in the sector have cited corruption, weak political will and politicisation of the implementation process as responsible (Hilson 2002; Banchirigah 2008 and Kuma and Yendaw 2010). Yet, the extent to which availability of resources or the lack thereof, in terms of funds, personnel and logistics, affect implementation of the laws has not featured prominently in the discourse. This study attempts to fill this gap in knowledge by critically analysing how the lack of adequate resources undermine the capacity of state agencies to implement small scale mining laws in Ghana, using the Prestea Huni Valley District as a case study. The District was chosen because small scale mining is a booming practice here, and therefore presents a rich case for analysis.

Using qualitative data collection and analysis methods, this study attempts to answer two questions (1): To what extent are implementation agencies resourced to implement small scale mining laws in the District? (2) How does the availability of resources or the lack thereof affect implementation of small scale mining laws in the District?

DEFINING SMALL SCALE MINING: A BRIEF GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

A cursory glance through the literature on small scale mining reveals a variety of definitions. Given this, there is hardly a universally acceptable definition for

the practice. Several factors such as “the magnitude of capital investment, the size of workforce, the volume of output, the size of the claim, the depth of the mine, and the level of sophistication of the mining equipment used,” affect how the practice is defined (Andrew 2003:118). The Center for Development Studies (2004), thus, concludes that different countries have unique definitions of ‘artisanal’ and/or ‘small scale mining,’ which compound efforts in arriving at a universal definition for small scale mining. By nature, small scale mining “can be illegal or legal, formal or informal and can encompass everything from individual gold panners to medium-scale operation employing thousands of people” (Shen and Gunson 2006:427). One implication of the variations in the meaning of the practice is that policy-makers and scholars could face multiple conceptual difficulties in advancing inquiry into the practice.

Apart from the differences in meaning, the sector also faces significant marginalisation from policy-makers as it is often given low priority (World Bank 2005). One probable cause of this is that “mining laws and policies often do not adequately define and give recognition to artisanal and small scale mining, while focusing instead on large and medium-sized corporate mining” (Spiegel and Hoeng 2011:2). There are two possible consequences of marginalising small scale mining. The first is that “many small scale producers in the resources sector operate informally and often this is the norm. Such informality dominates because of formidable barriers to formalisation, where processes are overly complicated and bureaucratic, centrally determined and managed, reliant on the state for regulation and lacking social relevance” (Buxton 2013:6). The second consequence is that marginalisation undermines government’s political will to take decisive steps in legalising the sector. This may be explored by personal interests related to corruption, money laundering, and similar illegal practices. The government may also try to attract international mining companies to invest in the country and a strong artisanal and small scale mining sector may be viewed as a disincentive (Hentschel, Hruschka and Priester 2003).

Despite the difficulties in defining the practice and the marginalisation it faces from policy-makers, it is a source of employment for disadvantaged job-seekers in the labour market (AB and A, 2002 cited in Center for Development Studies 2004). The job-seekers are usually characterised by extreme poverty and vulnerability (Buxton 2013), making small scale mining a poverty-driven and poverty alleviating activity (Hruschka and Echavarria 2011). In the view of Andrew, (2003:118) “small scale mining offers several potential benefits: it allows mining of otherwise uneconomic resources, since it is mobile, flexible, and requires little capital; it also reduces rural-to-urban migration as it creates rural employment; it tends to be locally owned, which retains capital in the community.” The literature further highlights that global and local economies

benefit from small scale mining, as 80-100 million people are employed by the sector globally (Offei-Aboagye *et al.* 2004). The sector also generates wealth (Hilson 2002) for individuals and groups and contributes to ameliorating the acute global unemployment situation (Banchirigah 2008; Hentschel *et al.* 2002)

Thus, based on the poverty alleviating prospects of small scale mining, its potential to grow the local economy and create jobs, some scholars perceive it an important activity in many developing countries (Lei and Andrews 2001 cited in Shen and Gunson 2006). The fact that pieces of evidence, as presented here, reveal that small scale mining creates jobs and contributes to poverty reduction suggest that if given adequate attention by policy-makers and government, the practice has the potential of significantly contributing to the poverty alleviation agendas of governments.

BRIEF OVERVIEW OF GHANA'S SMALL SCALE MINING SECTOR

For analytical convenience, this article distinguishes between legal and illegal small scale mining. In this article, legal small scale mining refers to mining operations which have acquired the requisite license. Illegal mining refers to operations that are carried out illegally, popularly known in Ghanaian parlance as '*galamsey*'. This article focuses on legal small scale mining.

Within the Ghanaian context, small scale mining is defined as mining by any method not involving substantial expenditure by an individual or group of persons not exceeding nine in number or by a corporate society made up of 10 or more persons (P.N.D.C.L 218 1989). It is an ingrained activity in Ghana which existed before the introduction of modern large scale mining (Kuma and Yendaw 2010; United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) 1995), and is concentrated in the northeast and southwest gold belt of the country (Aryee, Ntibery and Artokui 2003) involving men, women, and children. The mining operations use amalgamation with mercury to extract gold after which the mercury is boiled off (UNCTAD 2004). The use of simple equipment like shovels, pick axes, pans, chisels and hammers (Aryee, Ntibery and Artokui 2003) is a major characteristic of operations in this sector. In Ghana, small scale mining has significant job creation potential as it employs 1 million people (Banchirigah 2008). The practice also has significance in the cultural, spiritual and social realms (Hilson, Yakovlava and Banchirigah 2007; Offei-Aboagye *et al.* 2004).

Several studies have attempted to explain the challenges in the implementation of small scale mining laws in Ghana. For instance, a study by

Teschner (2012) observed that the implementation of small scale mining laws is undermined due to loopholes in the law itself, which manifests in a higher degree of political leniency and corruption in the enforcement of small scale mining laws. Corruption in the implementation process therefore creates the opportunity for miners to operate illegally (Blunch, Sudharshan and Dhushyanth 2001). Probably, the fact that gold buyers from the Precious Minerals Marketing Company (PMMC) make no distinction between legal and illegal gold on the gold market is one loophole in the small scale mining law that has to be addressed; the problem is that gold from legal and illegal miners enjoys the same competitive price in the gold market.

Another challenge is politicisation of the implementation process where politicians renege on the strict implementation of the law in their bid for power, since a tougher stance is likely to reduce their popularity and thereby affect their political fortunes (Teschner 2012). Further, politicians are usually dominated by the President's and Member of Parliament's (MP's) tendency to be loyal to their party (Aye, Søreide, Shukla and Le 2011). Hence, the political will needed to facilitate the implementation of small scale mining laws is sacrificed on the altar of political expediency.

Methods such as military swoops in the implementation process deepen the challenge in the implementation of the mining laws since it is filled with technicalities and difficulties that undermine the needed change expected from the law's perspective (Geenen 2012). In connection with this, there is the need for law enforcement agencies to identify and adopt innovative methods which will facilitate smooth implementation of the law rather than using military force.

A REVIEW OF SMALL SCALE MINING LAWS IN GHANA

Ghana did not have laws regulating small scale mining until the promulgation of the Small-Scale Mining Act, 1989, also referred to as P.N.D.C.L 218. This law resulted in two groups of operators in the small scale mining sector namely, legal small scale miners (those who acquire the requisite permit to mine) and illegal miners (those who mine without permission i.e. *galamsey*). The basic purpose of this law was to regulate the small scale mining sector by granting the relevant license to prospective miners. This was to ensure that the operations of small scale miners do not pose excessive danger to human life and the environment. As a result of the promulgation of this law, small scale mining without a license was considered illegal and therefore a criminal offence. In 2006, all laws governing mining in Ghana were merged as the Minerals and Mining Law 2006, Act 703, with the aim of providing a more comprehensive legal framework to

guide mining operations. The small scale mining law is covered in sections 81 and 99 of this law.

According to section 82 (1), the Minister of Lands and Natural Resources or a person authorised by the Minister grants a mining license to prospective small scale miners. Prior to acquisition of the license, the District Chief Executive (DCE) of the designated district where mining may take place is mandated to sign the application form before it is forwarded to the Minister for consideration. The position that the Minister and the DCE all sign the application form for a mining license probably injects checks and balances between the Minister and DCE to ensure accountability in granting mining rights. This provision is also likely to improve transparency as both parties can monitor each other's actions in the process.

Perhaps to prevent conflicts, section 82 (3) provides that a mining license granted in coverage of a parcel of land shall not also be granted to another prospective miner. The law also provides that only Ghanaians who have attained age 18, and have registered with the Minerals Commission in a designated mining district are qualified to engage in small scale mining. This section of the law suggests attempts by the Government of Ghana to restrict certain business avenues to Ghanaian citizens in order to create more employment opportunities for Ghanaians. Also, the provision that only those who have attained age 18 or above, are eligible to engage in small-scale mining under the law could be part of government's commitment to fighting child labour in the mining sector. Even though the provision that small scale mining is reserved for Ghanaian nationals is well-intended and laudable, some nationals, notably Chinese, have invaded the small scale mining sector in recent times. It is not clear how these individuals acquire their licenses, but their operations in the sector raise questions about the credibility of background checks that license-granting agencies conduct on prospective applicants. Also, the source of funds of a prospective miner appears to be given little consideration in the law. This is an important aspect that government should pay attention to so as to establish the authenticity of the source(s) of funds of a prospective miner, given the capital-intensive nature of mining.

According to section 82 (a), the renewal of a small scale mining license is subject to the determination by the Minister of Lands and Natural Resources. However, it appears that the law is unclear on what role the DCE should play in the determination of renewal of the small-scale mining license after its first issue. Also, the number of years of renewal of a mining license is not stipulated in the law. In order to ensure compliance with the law, the law provides that licensees who refuse to comply with the terms and conditions of the license will have their licenses revoked. Nonetheless, the law should have gone beyond

mere revocation to punishing offenders where such offences are criminal in nature such as smuggling or engaging in illegal deals.

As a measure to enhance access in acquiring a mining license, the law provides for the establishment of a District Office in an area designated for mining. This is an important provision as it is in line with the decentralisation of service delivery so that prospective miners can readily contact designated District Mining Offices for assistance. Under section 90 (3), the District Office is charged with functions such as: supervising and monitoring the activities of small scale miners, providing advice and training for small scale miners and facilitating the formation of a Small Scale Miners' Association. The work of the District Office is supported by a Small Scale Mining Committee to effectively monitor, promote and develop mining operations in the designated mining area.

Regardless of the creation of district mining offices to assist prospective miners in acquiring licenses, the headquarters of the Minerals Commission, the Environmental Protection Agency, and the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources still plays centralised roles in the process. In this regard, prospective miners have to often travel to the headquarters to follow-up and complete their application; a process which available research suggests miners find to be a huge disincentive. The district mining offices do not have power to grant mining licenses, though the process starts there.

According to section 92 of the law, the composition of the Small Scale Mining Committee shall include: the DCE or the representative of the DCE who shall be the chairman, the District Officer appointed under section 90 (2), one person nominated by the relevant Traditional Council, an officer from the Inspectorate Division of the Minerals Commission, and an officer from the Environmental Protection Agency. This provision on the membership of the Committee leaves out the police and civil society organisations that play a vital role in the implementation of small scale mining laws.

Additionally, the fact that members of the Committee are appointed by the Minister according to section 92 (4) of the law and shall hold office for a period on the terms and conditions determined by the Minister, even though the Committee members are nominated by the relevant agent or agency other than the Minister, raises the question of whom the appointed officials should be accountable to.

Sections 95-96 provide regulations on the use of chemicals in the operations of small scale mining. For instance, explosives can only be used by a small scale miner based on a written permission from the Minister. Also, mercury for small scale mining can only be purchased from an authorised dealer. This is perhaps to ensure that operations of miners do not excessively affect the environment and pose danger to human life.

To conclude this section, we argue that the provision of a legal framework to guide small scale mining is an important step towards a successful regulation of the small scale mining sector in Ghana. The current state of the framework, however, appears to be plagued with a number of challenges which have to be tackled. First, the law is silent on determining the authenticity of the source(s) of funds of a prospective small scale miner. Second, while the DCE is mandated to sign the application form for a mining license before consideration by the Minister, the law does not state the role of the DCE in determining the renewal or revocation of the license of a small scale miner. The renewal is solely the prerogative of the Minister. Third, whereas the law stipulates that licensees who flout mining regulations will have their license revoked, tougher punitive measures such as conviction are silent in the law. Fourth, while the law clearly states the membership of the Small Scale Mining Committee, the police and civil society organisations are not part of the Committee. Since these two agencies are *obviously* making significant contributions towards the successful implementation of the small scale mining law, their involvement in the Committee's work should be captured in the law. Fifth, district mining offices should be given more administrative powers to enable them to grant mining licenses, at least on a small scale. This could contribute to minimising the frustrations that prospective miners face in filing for licenses.

THE IDEA OF POLICY IMPLEMENTATION: A REVIEW OF THEORETICAL LITERATURE

Etymologically, the word implementation comes from the Latin verb *implementum*, which means to fill up. The phrasal verb 'to fill up' presumes a hole or gap which is a metaphor for a problem in need of solution. Implementation can therefore be understood as what comes in between the gap (problem) and actions taken (setting a goal) towards solving a problem (Pressman and Wildavsky 1984). Implementation is part of the policy-making cycle aimed at executing policy decisions of government (Lester and Stewart 2000; Howlett and Ramesh 1995).

Prior to the 1970s, implementation was assumed to naturally follow after policy formulation (Howlett and Ramesh 1995). But this assumption was shifted by Pressman and Wildavsky's study on the Oakland project, thereby pushing the theme of implementation to the frontlines of policy research (O'Toole 1986). This shift led to an awakening that triggered a surge in implementation research during the 1960s and 1970s (O'Toole 2000).

The increased interest in policy implementation was a more systematic endeavour to understand the factors – political, economic, organisational, and attitudinal that either facilitates or obstructs implementation of public policies (Howlett and Ramesh 1995; Lester and Stewart 2000). Two generations of policy research studies have attempted to understand the determinants of policy implementation. These are the first and second generation studies. The first generation studies focused on case studies directed at describing the numerous barriers to effective policy implementation; the second generation studies focused on explaining implementation success or failure (Linder and Peters 1987; Lester and Stewart 2000).

Beyond the second generation studies, around 662 analysts with diverse foci globally (Policy Studies Organization 2012) have progressed to the phase where new frameworks are used to better understand the critical variables of implementation knowing that both bottom-up and top-down variables affect implementation in tandem (Lester and Stewart 2000).

DEFINING POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

Like most concepts in the social sciences, the idea of policy implementation lacks a universal definition. This assertion is supported by Sapru (2004) who argues that implementation is difficult to define universally because there exists many definitions. The difficulty in defining implementation is perhaps due to the different perspectives from which scholars approach the concept. Irrespective of this difficulty, a few definitions are given below:

Anderson (2011:209) defines implementation as “encompassing whatever is done to carry a law into effect, to apply it to the target population and to achieve its goals”. In the view of Dunn (2004: 45), “implementation is when an adopted policy is carried out by administrative units that mobilise financial and human resources to comply with the policy”. According to Dye (2008), implementation involves all of those activities designed to carry out the policies enacted by the legislative branch. A critical analysis of these definitions suggests that implementation is action-oriented, resource-intensive and people-focused. The definitions also suggest that implementation is dependent on financial, human and material resources. Implementation is also one of the stages in the policy-making cycle (Howlett and Ramesh 1995), and can be conceptualised as a process, output or outcome (Goggin, Ann, Lester and O’toole 1990) that involves a number of actors, organisations and techniques of control (Lester and Stewart 2000). The foregoing suggests that policy implementation is a product of careful planning and design rather than a product of accident.

IMPLEMENTATION MODELS

The idea of an implementation model is differently understood in literature. It can refer to a conceptual tool that helps us to visualise reality (Lester and Stewart 2000), or a representation containing the essential structure of some object or event in the real world (Stockburger 1996). Models are by nature necessarily incomplete since they do not capture every aspect of the real world. They are also subject to change with relative ease to conform to the world of reality (Stockburger 1996). Models add simplicity and clarity to our thinking about politics and public policy and they identify critical aspects and relationships about policy problems. This study discusses five models which include the complexity of joint action, the top-down model, the bottom-up model, the evolutionary model and the interactive model.

THE COMPLEXITY OF JOINT ACTION

An essential characteristic of policy implementation is involvement of different actors often including the bureaucracy, the legislature, the courts, pressure groups and community organisations (Lester and Stewart 2000). At this stage, actors that share the same goal are presumed to act together and therefore coordinate their actions to achieve their shared goal (Pacherie 2012). The collective efforts of these actors in the implementation process is referred to as joint action (Pacherie 2012), which engenders complexity as actors often have conflicting preferences and desires that get entangled as they act to implement policy in a joint manner.

Complexity of joint action refers to the number of actors whose agreement must be secured before a policy can be successfully implemented (Ayee 1992). Often, the actors in the implementation process come on board with divergent perspectives which affect successful implementation. There are also discrete 'clearance' and 'decision' points at different stages in the implementation process which complicate getting even the 'simple' to happen (Pressman and Wildavsky 1984). The complexity of joint action engenders numerous possibilities for delay and disagreement when a programme depends on so many actors (Ayee 1992), underscoring the fact that the 'complexity of joint action' leads to extremely poor chances of policy implementation.

The significant contribution of the complexity of joint action model to policy implementation studies is that it alerts policy-makers to the complexity of the policy environment, which pushes policy actors into a perpetual struggle to press for their desires. The model has some weaknesses, nonetheless. First, the model is unclear about the actual events that lead to implementation failure (Ayee

1992). Second, the model fails to capture in less abstraction the interactions that routinely link the different actors involved in implementation (Bardach, cited in Aye 1992). Third, the model does not clearly define what constitutes 'too many actors' in the implementation process. Applying this model to the research problem implies that the perceived ineffective implementation of small scale mining laws could be the result of implementation actors pressing for their interests and favourable terms in the process.

THE TOP-DOWN MODEL

The top-down model is built on the assumption that implementation is about getting people to follow instructions and maintaining control over sequential steps in a system such that, conflict and deviation from the goals set forth in prior policy goals is minimised (Pressman and Wildavsky 1984). It emphasises policy goals determined from the top (major actors) without ample regard to the role of workers in the implementation process (Sapru 2004). Some leading contributors to the development and usage of this model include: Pressman and Wildavsky (1984); Derthick (1972); Van Meter and Van Horn (1975); Sabatier and Mazmanian (1979); and Hood (1976).

In the view of Sabatier and Mazmanian (1979), the top-down model begins with a policy decision by central government officials and then asks: To what extent were the actions of implementing officials and target groups consistent with objectives in a policy design? To what extent were the objectives attained over time? What were the principal factors affecting policy outputs and impacts, both those factors relevant to the official policy as well as other politically significant ones? How was the policy reformulated over time on the basis of experience? Based on these questions, Sabatier and Mazmanian (1980) identified 17 independent variables within three major categories believed to affect policy implementation. The major categories are: the tractability of the problems, the ability of the statute to structure implementation and the non-statutory variables affecting implementation. Van Meter and Van Horn (1975) have also suggested six variables that influence the connection between policy and performance. These variables include: policy standards and objectives; policy resources; inter-organisational activities; characteristics of implementation agencies; economic, social and political conditions; and the disposition of the implementers. Other variables believed to affect implementation were suggested by Edwards (1980 cited in Aye 1992) including communication, resources, disposition of the implementers and bureaucratic structure.

Sapru (2004) contends that the top-down model was further developed by Hood (1976) due to its weaknesses. He suggested five conditions for perfect

implementation including: that the ideal implementation is a product of a unitary 'army'-like organisation with clear lines of authority; that norms would be enforced and objectives given; that people would do what they are told and asked; that there should be perfect communication in and between units of an organisation; that there would be no pressure of time. The top-down model when applied to the implementation of small scale mining laws means that clear goals have to be set by top level officials. In this case, top level officials must ensure compliance with policy goals by lower level officials. The strength of this model is its emphasis on the clarity and adherence to policy goals as key determinants of successful implementation. This is a dimension of policy implementation which is not mentioned in the complexity of joint action model.

Nonetheless, the model has been criticised for neglecting the interaction of factors and levels in the implementation process (Sapru 2004) and it also fails to identify which variables are likely to be more important and under what circumstances (Ingram 1987 cited in Ayee 1992) in the implementation process. In addition, the model is criticised for the assumption that policy framers are the key actors and others are impediments. This leads to the neglect of initiatives from the non-government sector and local implementing officials (Sabatier 1986). Essentially, the model appears to deemphasise the significance of how environmental factors affect implementation. It also assumes that policy-makers at the top are always in the best position to execute policies without the contribution of subordinate officials.

THE BOTTOM-UP MODEL

It has been argued by Lipsky and Wetherley (1977) that the top-down model is deficient of effective implementation in practice and that students of public policy ought to take cognisance of the interaction of bureaucrats with their clients at 'street-level'. Sapru (2004) suggests that Lipsky and Wetherley's study implies that exercising control and authority is not the effective mechanism for implementation. Considering the flaws of the top-down model, a more compelling model was developed by Elmore (1978). This model is termed a bottom-up or backward mapping model. The bottom-up model is premised on the fact that actors within a network involved in service delivery in one community or more are asked about their goals, strategies and contacts (Elmore 1978). Sabatier (1986) suggests that these contacts subsequently become means to reaching local, regional and national actors that plan, finance and execute governmental programmes.

The bottom-up model views negotiation and consensus building as intrinsic to effective implementation, which involves two environments: the administrative capability and cultures of organisations involved in administering public policy and the political environment in which policies are executed (Sapru 2004). The model suggests that the critical activities of policy implementation (such as setting goals) occur at the lowest echelon of organisations (or at least involves them) rather than the top. This is a position which is in sharp contrast to the top-down model. The bottom-up model therefore concludes that for successful implementation to happen policy programmes must be aligned with the wishes and desires or at least with the behavioural conventions of those lower level officials where policy compatibility is assumed as close to certainty. This is because, lower level officials will eventually shape the policy to suit themselves (Elmore 1979; Berman 1978 cited in Aye 1992).

The possibility of lower-level officials shaping policy is because implementation is dominated by professionals who may be at the lower-level and therefore may implement policies in a manner that may be quite different from the original intentions of policy-makers from the top (Dunleavy 1981; Sapru 2004). This observation stems from the conclusion that policy implementation involves a high level of discretion where the public official has liberty within the limits of his power to choose possible courses of action and inaction (Davis 1969; Sapru 2004).

It can be inferred from the bottom-up model that implementation agencies involved in the implementation of small scale mining laws ought to consider the concerns of lower-level bureaucrats if implementation of small scale mining laws will be successful. It is probably true that the increasing activities of illegal small scale mining could be as a result of the neglect of the concerns of 'street-level' bureaucrats such as traditional rulers involved in the implementation process. One significant aspect of the bottom-up model is that it stresses the importance of 'street-level' bureaucrats to policy implementation. This is because the model demonstrates that implementation will be successful if the concerns and needs of lower-level officials are given serious consideration. The lesson here is that if policy-makers could find ways to properly coordinate with lower level officials there could be a higher chance of effective implementation.

Despite the importance of the bottom-up model to policy implementation, it has some weaknesses. The apparent suggestion that implementation is largely determined by lower level officials is problematic. The reason is that some level of centralisation is necessary for effective implementation even though there are administrative contexts in which a higher level of decentralisation may prove useful (Kochen and Deutsh 1980). Consequently, the question of

implementation should be more about finding the right balance between centralised and decentralised power, not some blanket decentralisation since governance is not entirely about negotiation but sometimes the use of legitimate authority (Hogwood and Gunn 1984).

Further, if organisations and groups are to 'depend' on the dictates of 'street-level' bureaucrats to effect implementation, then policy implementation would be a question of what can be done with minimal antagonism (Ayee 1992). But Elmore (1979) contends that policy-making should be understood first in terms of those who have been mandated and this should influence the behaviour of lower echelon officials in implementing governmental activity.

THE EVOLUTIONARY MODEL

The evolutionary model was developed by Majone and Wildavsky (1984) and is closely related to the bottom-up model. They argued that since the world of policy and implementation is ever changing, when we act to implement a policy we change it. A policy therefore evolves in the process of imposition by central policy-makers (Ayee 1992). In the view of Linder and Peters (1987) policy interaction often leads to ignoring the original plans of policy-makers in the course of implementation. The model assumes that implementation is a learning, exploratory and hypothesis testing process. Therefore, implementation failure could be used as a channel to implementation success by considering not only the achievement of stated goals, but also discoveries made in the implementation process (Majone and Wildavsky 1984). Since resources for implementation are constrained and the environment in which implementation occurs is capricious, policies do change in the process and this may produce a different outcome. A significant feature of this model is that it stresses the importance of learning from lessons discovered in the implementation process, since policy outcome may not always be identical to what was set out at the beginning to be accomplished.

In spite of the relevance of the evolutionary model to our understanding of the policy process, Linder and Peters (1987) suggest that the model is unclear in helping in the analysis of policy implementation since it becomes a tautology if one follows the policy. They further argue that the success of a policy depends on what was set out to be achieved and not some positive unintended consequence that is discovered somewhere in the process. Consequently, the significance of interaction between actors is that it serves the end of the policy goals set forth in the beginning by the framers of the policy.

THE INTERACTIVE MODEL

The interactive model of policy implementation was developed by Grindle and Thomas (1991) as an alternative to the linear model of implementation. In their view, the linear model of implementation assumed a distinction between policy-making and implementation. This implies that structures and other resources like finance and human resources needed to implement a policy were compartmentalised into discrete blocs dealing with respective aspects of the policy. The model also assumes that successful implementation is closely linked to institutional strength where policy implementation failure is directly linked to the lack of institutional strength. The model further postulates that efforts at strengthening the capacity of institutions is viewed as a panacea to implementation failure.

But Grindle and Thomas (1991) argue on the contrary that implementation is complex often producing unanticipated outcomes. It is an ongoing interactive process between actors in the policy-making process where beneficiaries of the policy will seek to support the policy and those at the losing end will endeavour to undermine it. The interactive model assumes that a state of equilibrium that is created by the acceptance of those affected surrounds any policy agenda. The attempt by government to alter the equilibrium then upsets those affected, and a reaction is followed further into the implementation process which has a direct bearing on whether or not the implementation will be successful. Depending on the intensity of pressure that opposers mount on the implementation process, a policy agenda can either be reversed or altered during implementation. Therefore, policy-makers should anticipate more challenges with policy implementation at the implementation stage. Once this point is reached, policy characteristics such as the distribution of cost, the technical complexity, administrative intensity, short- or long-term impact, the degree to which a policy encourages participation, resources required—political, financial, managerial and technical resources, determine the success or failure of policy implementation.

The significance of the interactive model can be seen in two ways. First, it focuses on the relevance of stakeholder involvement in the implementation process. It does so by highlighting the potential benefits of stakeholder involvement to policy implementation. Second, the interactive model provides a 'checklist' of implementation which can guide policy-makers. Yet, the interactive model has some flaws. First, the model seems silent on the nature and manner of stakeholder involvement in the implementation process that will ensure successful implementation. Second, the model does not seem to answer the question of where exactly stakeholder involvement regarding implementation of small scale mining laws should begin both within the implementation process itself and in between actors in the implementation process. Thus, it seems there is little or no clue as to when policy actors need to enter and exit the implementation process.

METHODS

This study adopted qualitative methods, as it sought to explore how inadequate resources undermine implementation of small scale mining laws in the Prestea Huni Valley District. According to the Ghana Statistical Service (2012), the District has a population of 159 304 with 80 493 males and 78 811 females. It is one of the 18 District Assemblies in the western region of Ghana and its capital is Bogoso. The District was chosen primarily because small scale mining is a vibrant activity in the District, and it therefore presents a rich case likely to enhance our understanding of the situation. Primary data for this study was collected through semi-structured interviews with relevant stakeholders including chiefs, the police, and local government authorities. A total of 25 interviews were conducted with a purposively selected sample to participate in this study. The data collected was presented and analysed by organising it into relevant themes; for this article, I draw only on portions of the data relevant to the discussion below.

THE NEXUS BETWEEN RESOURCES AND POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

Based on interactions with respondents, it was found, generally, that implementation agencies lack adequate resources to effectively implement small scale mining laws in the District. This conclusion was inferred from responses given by interviewees. For instance, a police officer commented that: “Our cars are not many so we use the little that we have. Currently, the government has given us two vehicles to support us but because they are not enough we tend to rely on taxi cabs sometimes”.

An officer of the Prestea Huni Valley District Assembly revealed the Assembly did not have adequate funds for performing functions related to the implementation of small scale mining laws. He indicated in his explanation that: “There are not enough funds. Looking at Ghana, at times we have to wait for a long time for the District Assembly Common Fund (DACF). There is no specific fund for the implementation of small scale mining laws. How do you work since government funds are not enough? Through internally generated funds at times, but this makes the work difficult because the generated funds are not enough. If we can stop illegal mining, government has to come in strongly”.

Apart from the inadequacy of funds to implement small scale mining laws in the District, an officer of the Minerals Commission at the Tarkwa District Office emphasised the difficulties in obtaining the needed logistics for their work. The officer explained that: I cannot say much on logistics; we are lacking a lot. In

terms of mobility and other things, there is only one pick up Toyota Hilux for the whole Tarkwa District which is no small area. We have to manage and handle all those areas including Shama, Daboase through Axim and Ellembelle... Sometimes my boss takes the vehicle away and there is no vehicle. So where do you go? You cannot go anywhere if he takes the vehicle out”.

With regard to human resources, another respondent from the Minerals Commission also mentioned that there is inadequate staff to ensure effective implementation of the law. He said that: “Manpower is lacking. We need more hands because out of the nine districts about five have not got Assistants. So how do you run the place because the moment you are not there that is all. Then if you are in the bush then the office is empty”.

The constraints in terms of the unavailability of the needed human resources were corroborated by an officer at Tarkwa District of the Environmental Protection Agency. He explained that: “Human resource is one of the challenges we face. You cannot sit in this “hen coop” here and look at what is happening on the ground. We need an optimum number of 15 well-trained personnel to man this office. Further, we need the appropriate protective cover like wellington boots to go to the field since some of the places are swampy. So we have challenges with infrastructure and logistics too, as a government agency. It is unfortunate that this office is not adequately resourced”.

The implementation of small scale mining laws is seen as a joint effort of the Minerals Commission, the Environmental Protection Agency, the Police Service, and the District Assembly. For implementation to succeed, these actors must coordinate their efforts to achieve implementation (Pachierie 2012). Successful implementation, however, depends on the availability of resources—political, managerial, financial, and technical (Grindle and Thomas 1991). When implementation agencies lack the needed resources to embark on a successful operation, the needed joint action to implement small scale mining laws suffers. The inability of agencies to implement small scale mining laws therefore leads to increased illegal mining activities in the District.

BEYOND RESOURCE CONSTRAINTS

Whereas inadequate resources undermines implementation efforts, corruption, politicisation of the process, and delays in acquiring the small scale mining licenses aggravate the situation. An officer at the Tarkwa District Office of the Minerals Commission explained that: “Some of the stakeholders like chiefs also contribute to the challenges. Let me give you an example; some chiefs take money from *galamsey* guys in exchange for land. As a result, such chiefs cannot stop the *galamsey* operations in their community”.

Another impediment is politicisation of the process. In this regard, an officer of the Mining sub- Committee within the District Assembly explained how political elites exploit the status quo by either interrupting arrests of offenders or aiding wrongdoing. He explained that: “You see, ineffective implementation of the laws is blamed on the ‘big men’, the politicians. The reason is when you attempt to take action you will realise that some of these ‘big men’ are behind it through financing of their operations because they also benefit. Sometimes also you plan to take action with some ‘big men’ and they will go and leak arrest information”.

In explaining the attitude of the so-called ‘big men’ when offenders are arrested, he indicated that: “If you arrest offenders, you realise that there is some politics behind it. Sometimes an MP or Minister of State will just call the police and ask them to release offenders because they are his boys. More so during elections, politicians promise them in their campaigns to legalise *galamsey*. So no politician has the courage to halt it knowing the consequences of such attempt on his votes in the next election”.

The findings from respondents at the District Assembly and the Minerals Commission, Tarkwa Office, reflect how politics and the pursuit of individual interest undermine concerted efforts towards implementation. The fact that some stakeholders like chiefs choose to satisfy their interests rather than that of their communities reflect the thesis of the complexity of the joint action model (Pressman and Wildavsky 1973). In this regard, implementation suffers as some of the actors (some politicians and chiefs) choose to satisfy their narrow and parochial interests at the expense of the collective interest. Political intrusion in the implementation process also reflects what Teschner (2012) refers to as a higher degree of political leniency and corruption that manifests in the weak enforcement of the laws.

Beyond political interference, a chief also explained that the cumbersome bureaucratic procedure in acquiring the small scale license undermines implementation. He explained that: “Let us take for example, I am in Prestea and I want to start a small scale mining. Even though the process starts at Tarkwa, it ends up in Accra. If you ask me to go to Accra to finish the process—you know I do not know there, I do not know where the Minerals Commission is, I do not have money to pay for a hotel so I can pass the night there while waiting for approval. So if there is one stop office at Tarkwa where everything will be done it will help instead of having to travel back and forth to Accra”.

The findings from the chief point to difficulties in acquiring the small scale license, leading to ineffective implementation of the laws. These findings are therefore consistent with the arguments by Teschner (2012) and Hilson (2002) that the process of acquiring the small scale mining license tends to be cumbersome because of the complexity of documentation involved. Such

complexity could be the result of the number of decision and clearance points involved in acquiring a license (Pressman and Wildavsky 1973).

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The implementation of small scale mining laws is fraught with many challenges constraining smooth implementation. Among the respondents interviewed, it was found that there are inadequate resources to enable the agencies to implement the policy. The Minerals Commission in the Tarkwa District Office lacks adequate logistics by way of vehicles; and the Environmental Protection Agency lacks the needed human resources to embark on routine checks on small scale miners. In the case of the District Police Service, the inadequacy of vehicles necessitates embarking on operations with taxi cabs.

Furthermore, politicisation of implementation undermines effective implementation of small scale mining laws. This manifests in the reluctance of politicians to eradicate illegal small scale mining for fear of losing their political positions. Additionally, there is corruption on the part of some implementation stakeholders. In this regard, some stakeholders leak information on attempts by police officers to arrest illegal small scale miners. Prospective miners also face enormous constraints in their quest to get licensed due to the cumbersome nature of the license acquisition process.

Based on the analysis of data, the major conclusion is that the implementation agencies have not been effective in the implementation of small scale mining laws in the Prestea Huni Valley District. The ineffectiveness of implementation agencies can be attributed to inadequate resources, cumbersome registration procedures and politicisation of the implementation process.

To improve implementation of small scale mining laws in the Prestea Huni Valley District, it is recommended that the government must take pragmatic steps to deploy the needed human and logistical resources to the implementation agencies to enhance the implementation of laws. Government may consider the establishment of a special fund to be able to equip the institutions in terms of the provision of logistics and the attraction and retention of the needed manpower to enable them to discharge their duties effectively.

NOTE

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