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Are We Making the Right Ones?

L C van Jaarsveldt and M S de Vries

Editorial

D Nel-Sanders

Chief Editor

Since their adoption in 2015, it has been imperative for all United Nations member states, South Africa included, to attain the organisation's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). In **'Adoption of Analogous Key Roles for Stakeholders to Improve South Africa's Progress Towards the Implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals'**, S Lubinga and D Mukuku analyse South Africa's progress in terms of the 17 SDGs. Furthermore, the authors propose a way forward to implement these goals successfully. The article is based on a desktop study of authoritative sources to conceptualise and contextualise the progress towards the implementation of the SDGs. Unobtrusive research techniques are applied in terms of a documentary and conceptual analysis.

The study findings reveal that progress on all the SDGs remains worrisome. Based on the goal trends of the 17 SDGs, the research found that only two SDGs are on track or maintaining momentum, six are stagnating, seven are moderately improving and two have missing trend information. Moreover, six are still experiencing major challenges, eight have encountered significant challenges and two are characterised by challenges. The authors believe that the country must improve SDG progress to strengthen its stakeholder engagement. This should be done by "adopting analogous key roles for all stakeholders playing a part in the implementation of SDGs," state the authors.

In **'Rural Livelihoods in South Africa: Mapping the Role-players'**, B C Mubangizi identifies the organisations and institutions that influence the sustainable conversion of resources to rural livelihood outcomes. The author focuses on the network context in which households and local institutions operate. The article reports on a study that used institutional mapping to highlight the network of participants and the role they play in advancing livelihoods within the communities of Matatiele Local Municipality (MLM) in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. In this regard, the article aims to ascertain how these networks can be optimised to bolster public policy implementation, while improving rural livelihoods. The methodology was based on a qualitative approach through focus group discussions.

According to the author, "The most important observation is that the multiplicity of actors contributes to livelihoods in the community under study and possibly in many other rural areas on communal land". However, according to the focus group discussions, the municipality and its councillors are detached and not as

involved as the community would want to see. To counter this, “[a] concerted effort to galvanise the strengths of each of these institutions would go a long way to provide the strong governance needed to impact rural livelihoods positively and collaboratively” recommends the author.

In **‘Validating a Balanced Score Card Benefit Assessment Framework Indicator Set: The Case of the South African National Roads Agency LTD SOC Research and Development Programme’**, F C Rust, G Van Dijk, H S Fourie and M A Smit point to an increased focus on the role of benefit and impact assessment tools and systems in Research and Development (R&D) programmes.

The South African Roads Agency Ltd SOC (SANRAL) R&D benefit indicators were validated by analysing the balance in the indicator set, comparing the indicators with SANRAL’s strategic objectives and through ratings by 175 stakeholders and researchers. The research reviewed the indicator set by assessing its balance in terms of SANRAL’s systems-based R&D model, by evaluating it against SANRAL’s strategic objectives and through a survey among 175 stakeholders and researchers.

It was found that the indicator set is well balanced and addresses all aspects of the innovation value chain. According to the authors, “The indicator set can be adjusted to assess the benefit and impact of any roads and transport research programme that requires a broad assessment of benefits derived. SANRAL is in the process of developing a database and associated software to implement the Balanced Score Card system”.

The advent of a network mode of governance has raised questions about the application modalities thereof in local governance settings. In **‘Civic Crowdfunding as an Instrument of Network Local Governance’**, L E Chigova and G van der Waldt utilise a scoping review methodology to investigate civic crowdfunding as a phenomenon and as a potential instrument to bolster network formation in municipal settings. The article focuses on framing the scholarly discourse regarding crowdfunding and outlines the potential contributions of this phenomenon as an instrument to promote networked forms of local governance. To this end, civic crowdfunding models and five international case studies are explored.

Based on the findings, international case studies illustrate that, civic crowdfunding initiatives have increasingly found traction in many cities and towns around the world. The results further reveal that the rationale underpinning collaborative innovations such as civic crowdfunding stem from the network governance paradigm. The analyses of the respective funding models and the selected case studies highlight that civic crowdfunding is a viable instrument for network formation in local governance. “It is evident that civic crowdfunding can be regarded as both an outcome of an emerging shift towards network forms of local governance as well as a catalyst for the formation of networks to fund community projects,” state the authors.

In **'Factors Influencing Service Delivery Challenges and Trends in the City of Mutare in Zimbabwe'**, K C Maregere identifies service delivery challenges in the City of Mutare in Zimbabwe and how the residents of the City of Mutare rate the services provided by the City. The methodological approach entails a desktop study as well as other mixed method data collection methods (survey questionnaire and interviews).

The study of the Mutare City Council points to constant challenges relating to service delivery. More specifically, challenges in the City of Mutare include insufficient finances, lack of sufficient and competent human resources, the non-availability of equipment, the absence of an appropriate strategic plan, performance measurement mechanisms, stakeholder participation in civic matters, a service charter and demotivated staff. Furthermore, the research revealed that residents were generally dissatisfied with the provision of refuse removal, public street lighting, road maintenance, sewerage and drainage and generally satisfied with water provision. The author states that, "Poor service delivery was caused by the non-payment of rates, lack of worker supervision, mismanagement, poor governance, misappropriation of funds, lack of transparency, insufficient funds, a demotivated workforce and political interference". To address these challenges, the author provides suggestions offered by the residents of the City of Mutare.

N Orlandi and B Rabie, in their article, **'An Integrated Implementation Model to Identify Potential Barriers to Successful Policy Implementation'**, review applicable literature on results-based public sector management, performance-based budgeting, policy implementation and monitoring and evaluation strategies to devise an integrated model for successful policy implementation. Based on the findings, the authors present an integrated model that reflects the complexity of policy implementation, as well as the systems and relationships required for the successful implementation of a multi-sectoral intervention like the National Development Plan (NDP): Vision 2030 in South Africa.

According to the authors, "The model can be used to assess the degree to which priorities in the NDP translate into the implementation and monitoring instruments, such as the Medium-Term Strategic Framework (MTSF) and the Programme of Action with departmental strategic plans, annual performance plans, quarterly performance reports, budget statements. Based on the broader framework, the proposed model also builds on the strengths of prior models and frameworks and considers content, causality, context, capacity and control as critical elements influencing policy implementation".

The redetermination of municipal boundaries and the amalgamation of municipalities is an ongoing phenomenon in South Africa. This has led to a continuous reduction of the number of municipalities in the country. In **'Amalgamation of Municipalities' Implications on Service Delivery: The Case of Dr Beyers Naude Local Municipality'**, J T X Sokopo, R S Masango and P N Mfene argue

that, without a focus on improving service delivery in local government, the re-determination of boundaries and the amalgamation of municipalities would be misplaced. The merger of the Baviana, Camdeboo, and Ikwezi local municipalities in the Sarah Baartman District Municipality, which led to the establishment of the Dr Beyers Naude Local Municipality after the 2016 local government elections, serves as an example.

The article applies a qualitative research methodology, based on a conceptual and documentary analysis and interviews, to assess the process of the amalgamation of municipalities and its implications on service delivery. Regarding the Dr Beyers Naude Local Municipality. "The merger succeeded although it experienced challenges of a procedural and consultative nature" state the authors. Nonetheless, the research findings indicate that this amalgamation failed to bolster service delivery performance. Apart from the usual criteria for good governance as described in the literature, there is a need to "move beyond a simple description of what governance is, into the more challenging terrain of unravelling the elements of 'good' governance" (Plumptre and Graham 1999).

The article, '**Variables Influencing the Relationship between Civil Society Participation and Democratic Governance**' by S E A Mavee highlights the relationship between civil society participation and democratic governance. The article aims to shed light on the impact of civil society participation and political alienation on democratic governance. It focuses on the interconnectedness of governance, good governance, democratic governance, and network governance as concepts and phenomena influencing civil society participation. The article uses criteria derived and extrapolated from a literature review to measure democratic governance at a local level.

A qualitative approach, underpinned by unobtrusive research methods, is used to merge the diverse perspectives into an analytical framework that focuses on creating an enabling environment for civil society participation. According to the author, the analytical framework "provides a contextualisation of the concepts, governance, good governance, democratic governance, and network governance and explains the interconnectedness of these concepts and civil society participation".

In '**Human Capital as a Determinant of Organisational Competitiveness**', T T T Shukudu states that, "In today's world, human capital is increasingly becoming a major factor to generate future growth and development in organisations". Human capital investments, such as education and training, are therefore the main concerns for individuals, firms, public institutions and governments. In line with this, the article focuses on the role of human capital as a driver for organisational effectiveness. Furthermore, the author highlights the reasons why organisations tend to neglect investment on human capital, and it consequently results in the collapse of an organisation. The article is based on a desktop study and a

literature review of secondary sources to determine how different organisations utilise human capital in order to increase their competitive edge.

The author agrees with Amanova *et al.* (2017) and their research team, who indicate that the development of human capital in modern conditions will significantly improve the competitiveness of organisations. “This is a clear indication that an organisation cannot afford to ignore the benefits of human capital development if it is to keep a competitive edge against its rivals in the market”, states the author.

L C van Jaarsveldt and M S de Vries, in their article, **‘Standards for PhD Trajectories in Public Administration are Based on Choices: Are We Making the Right Ones?’**, argue that, while standardisation increases the quality of PhD graduates, it results in a “generic tick box exercise that dampens creativity and the ability to use initiative in research and writing”. In line with this, the article examines the requirements and current conditions for awarding the degree of PhD in Public Administration in South Africa. The authors highlight different models that focus on these trajectories, the type of supervision, the knowledge and skills that PhD candidates require, as well as the need for mandatory graduate courses and the institutionalisation thereof.

The article is based on a desktop comparative literature review comparing and synthesising PhD trajectories and existing standards. It provides a critical reflection of what has been proposed in scholarly articles and books together with the content of international standards. According to the authors, similar remarks about standards in general relate to Public Administration training at the doctoral level. They argue that, “The push to change standards is driven by the perceived mismatch between the knowledge and skills that PhD candidates possess and the knowledge, and especially the skills, needed by the market in a knowledge economy”. Based on the findings, the authors pose the following question: “Are we satisfied with the current state of PhD education in this discipline? If not, is more internationalisation and standardisation needed?”

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Adoption of Analogous Key Roles for Stakeholders to Improve South Africa's Progress Towards the Implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to analyse South Africa's progress on the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) since the adoption of the goals in 2015 and to propose a way forward. The article is based on a desktop study of authoritative sources to conceptualise and contextualise the progress towards the implementation of the SDGs. Unobtrusive research techniques are applied in terms of a documentary and conceptual analysis. The findings suggest that concerning progress of SDGs, South Africa is largely off track on almost all of the 17 SDGs. Out of the 17 SDGs, based on the goal trends, only two SDGs are on track or maintaining SDG achievement, six are stagnating, seven are moderately improving and two have trend information missing. Moreover, of the 17 goals, six are still experiencing major challenges, eight have encountered significant challenges and there are two where challenges remain. The country has made progress through its commitment to realising the goals by implementing various policies, financing the goals, aligning the National Development Plan (NDP) to the SDGs and involving multiple stakeholders.

INTRODUCTION

While acknowledging the progress made in ensuring successful implementation of the post-2015 SDGs in South Africa, such as the alignment of the SDGs with

the NDP, as well as the fact that South Africa is named as one of the nine country movers in the way SDGs should be implemented, since the adoption of SDGs in 2015, progress on all of the SDGs remains worrisome with an increasing distance from the SDG achievement. For instance, according to the 2020 SDG Index and Dashboard Report, South Africa's overall score against the 17 SDGs is 63.4 with only two SDGs on track, six stagnating, seven moderately improving and two with trend information missing (Sachs, Schmidt-Traub, Kroll, Lafortune, Fuller and Woelm 2020). To put this in context, poverty rates still vary widely by group and geographic location, hunger remains an issue, the prevalence of underweight and stunting among children under five is still a concern, teenage maternal mortality is on the rise and the country struggles with communicable diseases such as Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV). In 2018 alone 19% of adults aged 15 to 49 were HIV positive. Schools' infrastructure provision remains a challenge, the output of the basic education system needs to be improved to enable South Africa to strengthen and expand its pipeline of Science and more Engineering and Technology (SET) qualifications, which are responsible for high-quality skills needed to respond to the SDGs (Fourie 2018:24). Moreover "equitable access to the knowledge infrastructure is a challenge that South Africa also continues to face" (Fourie 2018:24).

Since the implementation of the SDGs, with the accompanying demands for the attainment of the goals becoming more of a reality, the accelerated action to unpack and address the aforementioned progress is imperative. This not only helps in the prioritisation of the challenges in the implementation of SDGs in the South African context, but also helps to propose a way forward to improve the progress of the SDGs.

Despite South Africa's commitment to SDGs, the country is largely off track on almost all of the 17 SDGs. According to the 2020 SDG Index and Dashboard Report, South Africa's overall score against the 17 SDGs is 63.4 with only two SDGs on track, six stagnating, seven moderately improving and two with trend information missing (Sachs, Schmidt-Traub, Kroll, Lafortune, Fuller and Woelm 2020). Divided into three sections, this article first contextualises SDGs from a South African perspective, second it analyses the progress of SDGs in South Africa, and third a recommendation is proposed on how to fast-track progress in the implementation of SDGs in a South African context.

METHODOLOGY

As noted above a qualitative desktop approach grounded in an interpretivist perspective was used by way of unobtrusive research techniques, including document analysis and conceptual analysis. Data from secondary sources was

drawn from published official documents (such as NDPs, the national budget, country baseline reports, vision documents and policy statements). Grey literature was obtained from key statistical databases of United Nations (UN) agencies, the World Bank data, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the Sustainable Development Goals Index, Statistics South Africa (StatsSA) and the World Poverty Clock. All sources were selected based on the general principles of handling sources, namely, authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning (Mogalakwe 2006:224).

CONTEXTUALISING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SDGS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The concept of the SDGs was raised for the first time at the UN Conference on Sustainable Development in 2012. One of the objectives was to produce a set of universally applicable goals that would balance the three dimensions of sustainable development, that is, environmental, social and economic dimensions (Stats SA 2019:3). The SDGs are a set of 17 global goals with 169 targets and 2030 indicators between them. Built on the lessons learned from the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in particular, they are designed to be a blueprint to achieve a better and more sustainable future for all (South African Institute for International Affairs (SAIIA) 2015). Goals 1–6 were built on the core agenda of the MDGs, while Goals 7–17 break new ground. The goals are made up of 169 tangible targets (including 62 targets on the means of implementation) ranging from five to 12 targets per goal. Across the 16 substantive goals, 42 targets concentrate on “means of implementation” and the final goal (17) is entirely devoted to spreading implementation targets throughout the goals (Stafford-Smith, Griggs, Gaffney, Ullah, Reyers, Kanie, Stigson, Shrivastava, Leach and O’Connell 2017:912; Hák, Janoušková and Moldan 2016:566).

Similar to other UN member states, the SDGs were adopted by South Africa in 2015. South Africa is committed to realising the goals through three principles. These principles include collaboration with all stakeholders ranging from civil society, trade unions, private sector, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and experts in academic institutions and both regional and global institutions; vertical and horizontal coherence between policies, and finally, the short-, medium- and long-term impact, particularly on the lives of those who are currently left out from the benefits of economic growth (Voluntary National Review [VNR] Report 2019:15).

Managed in a decentralised system, various stakeholders play a part in the implementation of SDGs in South Africa. At the national level is the government with the executive as the highest structure, cabinet and government departments with

cross-cutting programmes. These stakeholders are particularly responsible for co-ordinating government-wide priorities, facilitating and monitoring the implementation of priority programmes and providing a consultation platform on transversal priorities pertaining to matters submitted to the cabinet (VNR Report 2019:21). The Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation (DPME) is responsible for monitoring and the implementation of SDGs and leads the quarterly reporting process to the cabinet on the implementation of the Medium-Term Strategic Framework (MTSF) (Stats SA 2019:37). It also coordinates and integrates the follow-up and review process as well as an extensive stakeholder participation exercise which includes civil society, business, academia and a range of non-state actors (Haywood, Funke, Audouin, Masvoto and Nahman 2019:10; VNR Report 2019:21). Congruently, at the local sphere, municipalities are responsible for making the aspirations of the SDGs real to communities, households and individuals, particularly to those who are at risk of falling behind. These aspirations are performed by providing democratic and accountable government for local communities, ensuring the provision of services to communities sustainably, promoting social and economic development, promoting a harmless and vigorous environment and encouraging the participation of communities and community organisations in the matters of local government as mandated by the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* (1996).

At the Southern African Development Community (SADC) level, the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Programme (RISDP) is responsible for the effective implementation of the SDGs by way of an integrated follow-up and review of the goals. At the international level are the various institutions such as the UN through its various international agencies, associated local branches, funds and programmes and pioneering partnerships since inception (Witte and Reinicke 2005). The UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) is the main organ of the UN responsible for coordinating efforts towards achieving the SDGs and the unifying platform for integration, implementation, follow-up and review (Haywood, Funke, Audouin, Masvoto and Nahman 2021:12).

Other stakeholders include the private sector or business, civil society, NGOs, indigenous people, science and technology community and academia. Where academia contributes through training, skills development, research, development and innovation, civil society creates advocacy and awareness and the private sector does much of the implementation towards achieving the SDG targets (Haywood *et al.* 2021:12; VNR Report 2019:21).

To ensure success across all of the 17 SDGs, various initiatives have been implemented over the years. For example, based on the notion that SDGs are interlinked and that realisation requires an integrated approach, South Africa aligned the SDGs with its NDP and the African Union (AU) Agenda 2063, and integrated

this into government planning systems and processes at national, provincial and local levels through the MTSF (Haywood *et al.* 2021; Stats SA 2019:35).

SDG 2 is closely aligned with Chapter 6 of the NDP that prioritises the formation of an all-encompassing rural economy, the review of land tenure and the creation of an environment that supports micro and small farmers. All priorities translate to Outcome 7 of the MTSF (2014–2019) which focuses on creating vibrant, equitable and sustainable rural communities that contribute to improved food security (Stats SA 2019:35). SDG 3 aligns with Chapter 10 of the NDP and the medium-term priorities found in Outcome 2 of the MSTF. SDGs 4 and 9 align with Chapter 9 of the NDP and the medium-term priorities found in Outcome 1, SDG 5 aligns with Chapter 6 of the NDP, SDGs 7, 8, 12, 14 and 15 align with Chapter 5 of the NDP on environmental sustainability and resilience and translate into Outcome 10 of the MTSF, while SDGs 10 and 16 align with Chapters 12, 13 and 14 of the NDP and the MTSF (2014–2019) and 15 of the NDP (Stats SA 2019:36; VNR 2019). The outcomes of “mapping” the NDP to SDGs undertaken by the DPME in partnership with the UN Development Programme (UNDP) indicates that approximately 74% of the SDGs applicable to South Africa are integrated into the NDP (Stats SA 2019:26; VNR Report 2019:15).

In an attempt to alleviate poverty and address SDG 2, social wages for those with low or no wage income have been made available. Founded on Sections 24 through 29 of the Bill of Rights, which recognises the socio-economic rights of South African people, old-age pensions are available to the elderly, disability grants have been made available to children and adults with a disability and child support grants for poor children and foster care grants are received by those fostering children of other parents (Stats SA 2019:26; South Africa Social Assistance Act, 2004, s35). To substantiate this, according to findings from Stats SA, there has been a tremendous increase in the total number of grants between 2013 and 2016, from 16 million in 2013 to almost 17 million in March 2016. Moreover, three-quarters of the social grants are children’s grants inclusive of the foster care, care dependency and child support grants (Stats SA 2019:26). Similarly, the Indigent Policy which was introduced continues to help improve the lives of indigents and access to free basic services by ensuring that the poor are guaranteed access to affordable basic services. The services, as per the Indigent Policy, consist of sufficient water, basic sanitation, refuse removal in denser settlements, environmental health, basic energy, health care, housing, food and clothing (Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG) 2012:13; Stats SA 2019:235).

South Africa also continues to harness innovative technology solutions to improve access to basic services such as safe drinking water, sanitation and electricity. Thus, in the quest to localise the SDGs as a mechanism to improve services at the local level, South Africa adopted the District-based Service Delivery Model, currently focusing on 44 districts and eight metros, to guarantee consistency and

incorporation in planning, budgeting and implementation of service delivery projects in all districts by all three spheres of government (Stats SA 2019:29).

Similarly, the government has committed to address gender inequalities through legislation such as the Constitution, the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act 4 of 2000, the Employment Equity Act 47 of 2013, the Labour Relations Act 8 of 2018 and the Basic Conditions of Employment Act 7 of 2018.

While in pursuit of SDGs 13 and 16, various strategies have also been introduced to reduce the rise of greenhouse gas emissions such as the Energy Efficiency Strategy, the Industrial Policy Action Plan, the Green Transport Strategy, the Climate Change Adaptation and the Mitigation Plan for the South African Agriculture and Forestry Sector (VNR Report 2019:15).

Concerning expenditure, in line with pro-poor government policies, R987.1 billion or 56.8% of the allocations in 2021/22 go to social services in learning and culture, health and social development. Learning and culture were allocated the largest amount of R402.9 billion, with expenditure on health taking up R248.8 billion and social development R335.3 billion (Republic of South Africa 2021:6).

PROGRESS AND CHALLENGES TO IMPLEMENT THE SDGS IN SOUTH AFRICA

While acknowledging the progress made in ensuring SDG success in South Africa, recent data shows that the war on poverty is far from over and efforts to combat it must be expanded. According to the SDG Centre for Africa and Sustainable Solutions Network (2020), South Africa's scores are stagnating or increasing at less than 50% of the required rate to end poverty. The projected percentage of the population living under the poverty threshold of US\$1.90 a day is 24.45, while the estimated percentage of the population living under the poverty threshold of US\$3.20 a day is 34.14 despite the long-term objective of both the indicators being 0 (Sachs *et al.* 2020).

Concerning SDG 2, despite the progress on three of the seven indicators, more challenges remain and the attainment of this SDG as a whole is slanting. For example, the percentage of children up to the age of five years old that are stunted, measured as the percentage that falls below minus two standard deviations from the median height for their age is 27.40% with the available data of 2016. The percentage of the adult population that has a body mass index (BMI) of 30kg/m² or higher is currently 28.30%, yet the required long-term objective for this indicator is 2.8 (Stats SA 2019; Sachs *et al.* 2020).

Despite being on track with the neonatal mortality rate as one of the 14 indicators on SDG 3, South Africa is falling short in all of the other indicators. For

example, based on the 2019 SDG Progress Report, the infant mortality rate shows an increase from 22.3 per 1 000 live births in 2015 to 35 per 1 000 live births in 2016, while HIV prevalence increased from 15.6% between 2002 and 2005 to 20.6% between 2012 and 2017. Despite alcohol being one of the leading risk factors to population health and a direct hindrance to SDG 3, alcohol consumption in South Africa has remained high at seven litres per capita per annum from 2011 through to 2017 (Stats SA 2019:94). The projected rate of new and relapse cases of tuberculosis in a given year, expressed per 100 000 people is 520, owing to cardiovascular disease, cancer, diabetes or chronic respiratory disease in adults aged between 30 and 70 years of age. This makes attainment of the goal impossible. With the subjective self-evaluation of life indicator, based upon respondents' perceptions on where they feel they stand on a ladder where 0 represents the worst possible life and 10 the best possible life in South Africa, South Africa is at a value of 4.88 below the long-term objective of the indicator. The adolescent fertility rate indicators are currently 67.91, showing a decrease from 2013 but still below the long-term objective of this indicator (Sachs *et al.* 2020).

Concerning SDG 4 – ensuring inclusive and equitable education and promotion of learning opportunities for all – South Africa has made tremendous progress, especially in the literacy rates, scoring a value of 95.32. Just like all the other goals though, significant challenges remain. Where quality remains a challenge in many schools, this is attributed to poor early grade numeracy. “The percentage of children of the official school-age population who are enrolled in primary education is 87.01 below the long-term objective for this indicator” (Sachs *et al.* 2020). Information and Communication Technology (ICT) facilities and connectivity are still evidently lower compared to other countries. The outputs of the basic education system require improvement to enable South Africa to strengthen and expand its pipeline for SET qualifications which account for high-end skills needed to respond to the SDGs (Fourie 2018:24). In addition, although notable improvements have been made in SET, the National Science and Innovation (NSI) is still not fully inclusive, and since 1996 South Africa's innovation performance (measured in patents and products) has been relatively flat (Republic of South Africa 2018).

Furthermore, despite the various measures that have been implemented to address the gender equality goal (5), women continue to have unequal access to income and empowerment. For example, while women make up 51% of the population, they only occupy 44% of the skilled posts and earn 27% less than men in South Africa. Gender-based violence remains unruly, where in 2018 alone 138 per 100 000 women were raped. Equitable access to the knowledge infrastructure is a challenge that South Africa continues to face, while employment of women in construction, mining and transport is 20% and below (Stats SA 2019; Fourie 2018:24; South Africa Voluntary National Review 2019:57; Sachs *et al.* 2020).

Goal 6 relates to clean water and sanitation. Though on track in relation to the percentage of the population using at least a basic drinking water service, such as drinking water from an improved source, significant challenges remain with the percentage of collected, generated or produced wastewater that is treated, with South Africa scoring a value of 21.66 – way below the long-term objective of this indicator at 100. Information is not available on the level of water stress indicator (total fresh water withdrawn by all major sectors and total renewable freshwater resources, after considering environmental water requirements) (Sachs *et al.* 2020). Poor operation and maintenance of both water and sanitation infrastructure, shared with the use of infrastructure beyond the design capacity, is eroding reliability and sustainability of supply (South Africa Voluntary National Review 2019:57).

Goals 7 and 13 – which call for affordable and clean energy and climate action respectively – remain far from reality, as the carbon emissions from fuel combustion for electricity and heating indicator is at 1.78, improving but not enough to meet the long-term objective of 0 (Sachs *et al.* 2020). Affordability remains a concern, especially considering that not every poor household can access energy subsidies such as Free Basic Electricity (FBE) and Free Basic Alternative Energy (FBAE) (South Africa Voluntary National Review 2019:13). Emissions of carbon dioxide (CO₂) that arise from the consumption of energy indicator for Goal 13 are at 9.14, far from the long-term objective for this indicator of 0. South Africa's energy system is heavily reliant on coal, and as of July 2018, South Africa had 42 Gigawatts (GW) of operating coal plants, the seventh-largest fleet in the world, 6GW of new coal-fired plants under construction and a further 3GW in the planning stage, namely Medupi and Kusile (McSweeney and Timperley 2018). Moreover, electricity connection of underserved areas and affordability to poor communities still prevails.

The dream to promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full of productive employment and decent work for all is required in Goal 8, but seems out of reach in South Africa. Unemployment is a challenge and, worse still, racially skewed. Youth unemployment increased from 35.7% in 2010 to 38.7% in 2017 (Stats SA 2019). The unemployment rate of South Africa's youth aged 15 to 24 years is particularly high, sitting at 53.4% as recorded in 2017, with many of them representing the black community or those on the margins of society. As an economy, South Africa is underperforming compared to other emerging markets and commodity exporters (Stats SA 2019). According to the available data, the growth rate of the gross domestic product (GDP) adjusted to income levels (where rich countries are expected to grow less) and expressed relative to the United States (US) growth performance is -4.34 (Sachs *et al.* 2020).

Regarding Goal 9 – which calls for a resilient infrastructure, aims to promote sustainable industrialisation and foster innovation – though steadily progressing, the progress remains uneven across the various indicators. Data shows a decline in the quality of trade and transport-related infrastructure, for example, ports,

roads, railroads and information technology, from 3.78 in 2016 to 3.14 in 2018. Gross domestic expenditures on research and development (R&D), expressed as a percentage of the GDP, though moderately improving from 0.73 in 2014 to 0.83 currently, is still insufficient to attain the goal. Scientific and technical journal articles per 1 000 population remain stagnant at 0.23, far from the long-term objective of 1.2 (Sachs *et al.* 2020; The World Bank 2021).

Despite all the interventions, notably the introduction of the National Minimum Wage Act 9 of 2018, the NDP Chapter 5 and the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act 53 of 2003 as amended by Act 46 of 2013, major challenges still hinder South Africa's progress on Goal 10. According to the Sustainable Development Report, economic inequality remains a large issue in South Africa and contributes to extreme poverty with the country scoring 0.63 Gini coefficient adjusted for top revenues unaccounted for in household surveys. Income inequality in South Africa has remained high and decoupled from the average emerging markets, the top 20% of the population holds over 68% of income (compared to a median of 47% for similar emerging markets). Moreover, the significant disparities remain across provinces, whereby income per capita in Gauteng – the main economic province – is almost twice the levels found in the mostly rural provinces like Limpopo and the Eastern Cape (IMF 2020).

Goal 11 – which seeks to make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe and resilient – remains with significant challenges and a stagnating score. As an example, the country scored a value of 25.3 annual mean concentration of particulate matter (PM), less than the 2.5 microns in diameter (PM_{2.5}) indicator under this goal. A decreasing score of 57.11 on the satisfaction with public transport indicator was also scored below the required long-term objective of 82.6 for this indicator (Sachs *et al.* 2020).

Goal 12 – which seeks to ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns – is the most complicated concerning the progress. For example, although challenges remain, information is unavailable on this goal to measure progress (Sachs *et al.* 2020).

Concerning Goal 14 – which seeks to conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources – major challenges remain. For example, on the Ocean Health Index that measures the degree to which marine waters under national jurisdictions have been contaminated by chemicals, excessive nutrients (eutrophication), human pathogens and trash, South Africa's index score is stagnating at 55.58 below the required long-term objective of 100. The number of fish caught from overexploited or collapsed stocks remains a challenge, and the country scored 33.60m, far from the expected long-term objective score of zero (Sachs *et al.* 2020).

Relating to SDG 15 – which relates to life on land – based on the available data, South Africa is making progress on five of the indicators minus the Red List Index of

Species Survival. The Red List Index of Species Survival, which is based on multiple assessments of mammals, reptiles, amphibians, birds, freshwater fish, butterflies, dragonflies and a sample of 900 randomly sampled plants, shows a decline in the index from 0.902 to 0.77 over 17 years (2002–2019) (Sachs *et al.* 2020).

Although resonating with several outcomes of the NDP, Goal 16 – which calls for peace, justice and strong institutions – is a major setback in South Africa’s attainment of the SDGs. South Africa continues to experience high levels of violence. The murder rate has increased since the time that the SDGs were adopted with a 1.4% increase in 2019/20, to 21 325 reported cases. This works out to 58 people murdered in the country every day, at a rate of 35.8 people per 100 000 population (BUSINESS TECH 2020). This is confirmed by the Homicide Indicator, with South Africa’s index at 35.90, far from the long-term index value of 0.3 (Sachs *et al.* 2020).

Emanating from the above, South Africa is largely off track on almost all of the 17 SDGs. Out of the 17 SDGs only two are on track, six are stagnating, seven are moderately improving and two have trend information missing. Of the 17 goals, six are experiencing major challenges, eight with significant challenges and two where challenges remain.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO FAST-TRACK THE PROGRESS OF SDGS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Drawing from the existing literature, conclusions are reached that despite the existence of initiatives on which the successful progress of SDGs can be secured in South Africa, the true nature of the status of the progress of the SDGs amid the presence of the afore mentioned initiatives is to a certain degree oblique in 16 out of the 17 SDGs. Therefore, undesirable effects upon SDG progress are still in existence, based on the argument that alliances and innovative partnerships between governments, businesses, civil society and UN agencies are central to meeting the SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals Fund (SDGF) 2016:5; United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development; Addis Ababa Action Agenda 2015). This was reaffirmed since the first UN Conference on Environment and Development in 1992 – known as the Earth Summit, that stipulated that achieving sustainable development would require the active participation of all sectors of society and all types of people (UN 1992). Some 20 years after the Earth Summit, the same importance was reaffirmed by the Rio+20 Conference as seen in the conference outcome document “the future we want” highlighting the roles major stakeholders could play in pursuing sustainable societies for future generations (United Nations General Assembly 2012). The same stakeholder importance was repeated in the Agenda 2030, clearly outlining Goal 17.16 whose focus is to “Enhance the global partnership for sustainable development, complemented

by multi-stakeholder partnerships that mobilize and share knowledge, expertise, technology and financial resources, to support the achievement of the sustainable development goals in all countries, in particular developing countries” (United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development). This is confirmed by Macdonald, Clarke, Huand and Seitanidi (2019:2), who assert that stakeholder partnerships are catalysts towards producing positive societal reforms.

It may be argued that what the country needs to improve SDG progress is to strengthen its stakeholder engagements by adopting analogous key roles for all stakeholders playing a part in the implementation of SDGs. This will not only complement the NDP, but also help to strengthen stakeholder engagement which has been highlighted as a challenge in the country’s progress reports. Adopted from Ulrich’s (1997) model (Ulrich and Brockbank 2005a; 2005b; Ulrich and Brockbank 2010:2; Abbott, Goosen and Coetzee 2013:3; Ogbechie, Amaeshi, Ikiebey, Fawehinmi and Adeleye 2016:7–8), although designed for HR (human resources) experts, stakeholders involved in the implementation of SDGs in their day-to-day operations can adopt the four roles model to deliver excellence. The four roles are notably: strategic partner, change agent, people champion and administrative expert. See discussion below.

As strategic partners, all stakeholders need to become partners or strive to form a partnership. As partners, they come up with joint specific sustainable development commitments and contributions, intended to support the transformation towards SDGs. They should not only act as partners due to the prescribed roles, in this capacity, stakeholders must be capable of identifying and implementing those practices that facilitate strategic success (Long and Ismail 2008:116). According to literature, it is not enough for stakeholders to partake in implementation without being vigorously involved in the planning of the strategies for the successful implementation of SDGs (Ogbechie *et al.* 2016:7–8). Thus, as strategic partners, stakeholders will need to help create country-specific sustainable development strategies to realise sustainable development and integrate development approaches needed to be mainstreamed into each stage of the planning cycle.

The role of employee advocate (also known as the “employee champion”) is the role in charge of gauging people’s morale and satisfaction and using that information to create a positive environment (Ulrich 1997). Though designed with the HR professional in mind, this role can be adopted by stakeholders with the focus on people as “people champions”. This is where all stakeholders act as people champions/advocates in all their activities, by considering the peoples’ satisfaction feedback, and using this information to inform project design. As people champions stakeholders can strive to understand the needs of the people and attempt to meet those needs and also involve the people to increase and ensure their ability to contribute their competence (Long and Ismail 2008:117). Far more often the end-user (people) is not factored into all phases of the planning, creating

a disconnect from what is provided to what people want; leading to many initiatives failing. So, to improve the implementation of SDGs, all stakeholders need to be people champions by involving those that would benefit from their initiatives, at each step of the design and implementation processes to ensure, if not validate, that what they are seeking to do does resonate with the people. Developing programmes and initiatives with beneficiaries and not just for them, ensures that stakeholders have a better shot at achieving the SDGs (Shane 2015).

As change agents, also defined as the change expert role; requires HR professionals to contribute to the process of change and help improve the capacity to do so (Ulrich 1997). But just like the previous roles, this role can be adopted by stakeholders under the umbrella of change agent or champions for change. In particular, requiring all stakeholders, that is, business, academia, NGOs, civil society and the like to co-implement SDG change initiatives and deal with resistance, support in terms of providing time and financial resources, help communicate the need for SDGs, and aligning the SDG indicators with their key strategic priorities. As alluded to by Haywood *et al.* (2021) structural transformation such as change in the different sectors of an economy is key to SDG implementation and stakeholders have a critical contribution to make. It is through partnerships among stakeholders that awareness about SDGs, and financial investments into SDGs can be facilitated.

Finally, as an administrative expert, all stakeholders would need to use their expertise to promote sustainability practices in the performance of various administrative functions related to recruitment and selection, training and development, remuneration and compensation and performance assessment (Ogbechie *et al.* 2016:8). This is not only to strengthen their capacity, but also to help accelerate progress. The following roles in particular are imperative (Ogbechie *et al.* 2016:8):

- **Training and development:** All stakeholders should design training programmes that create awareness of SDGs and highlight the country's progress. This is to mainly afford all citizens a better understanding of the overall importance of the attainment of the SDGs.
- **Recruitment, selection and talent management:** All stakeholders through their various sectors should reinvent the employment process. Sustainability requires employees who are concerned not only about organisational profits and personal financial benefits but also about society and the environment. Therefore, in implementing strategies for recruiting employees, retaining top talent and increasing employees' productivity, stakeholders should ensure that policies that strengthen the social, economic and environmental benefits of employees and the society are developed and implemented. Stakeholders should also understand the benefits of creating equal opportunity to ensure non-discrimination concerning gender, race or tribe, thus policies that encourage diversity and multiculturalism should be put in place for selection and recruitment.

- **Rewards and compensation:** Stakeholders, especially the business, academia, government, and NGOs, through their HR departments should implement guidelines that ensure employee compensation for adhering to sustainable and socially responsible practices.
- **Performance appraisal:** In this aspect all stakeholders should develop and include measurable sustainability metrics in the performance appraisal of their employees. Community service and participation in Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) and sustainability projects should also form part of the performance appraisal of employees.
- **Employee engagement:** This is the quest to promote an environment that encourages innovation, creation and expression of ideas and which leads to customer satisfaction that drives business growth. All stakeholders should develop and implement strategies that encourage employees to see themselves as partners in the pursuit of sustainability. This could specifically be done by listening to employees' sustainability ideas and initiatives and encouraging them to participate in the implementation of such ideas and initiatives.
- **Leadership development:** All stakeholders should create a culture of sustainable development by investing in the development of the leadership qualities of employees, especially those with high likelihoods of becoming imminent leaders in their communities and workplace.
- **Values creation and inculcation:** Stakeholders should ensure that sustainability values resonate in all aspects of the organisation. This can be done by rewarding or even promoting employees based solely on the devotion to and inclusion of sustainability values.
- **Collaboration and teamwork:** All stakeholders need to ensure a deeper level of engagement by establishing a good collaborative environment. This is not only to improve problem solving, but to take the lead in coordinating sustainability initiatives where there are no teams to help employees to see the bigger picture.

CONCLUSION

The attainment of the SDGs is imperative for all UN member states, South Africa included; acknowledging the commitments made by the country, such as the alignment of the SDGs with the NDP, as well as the fact that South Africa is named as one of the nine country movers in the way SDGs should be implemented. Based on the findings of this study, since the adoption of SDGs in 2015, progress on all of the SDGs remains worrisome with an increasing distance from their attainment. Out of the 17 SDGs, based on the goal trends, only two SDGs are on track or maintaining SDG achievement, six are stagnating, seven are moderately

improving and two have trend information missing. Moreover, of the 17 goals, six are still experiencing major challenges, eight have encountered significant challenges and there are two where challenges remain. So, as we pass the five-year mark since the implementation of the SDGs, with the accompanying demands for the attainment of the goals becoming more of a reality, the authors are of the view that what the country needs to improve SDG progress, is to strengthen its stakeholder engagement by adopting analogous key roles for all stakeholders playing a part in the implementation of SDGs.

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Rural Livelihoods in South Africa

Mapping the Role-players

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ABSTRACT

Several organisations and institutions significantly influence the sustainable conversion of resources to livelihood outcomes through various policies and processes. Such organisations and institutions rarely work in isolation but operate as a network through a system of linkages and connections. This article draws on the network governance theory and reports on a study that used institutional mapping to highlight the network of participants and the role they play in the advancement of livelihoods within communities of Matatiele Local Municipality (MLM) in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. There is a growing number of civic and community formations operating to provide various services. However, there are many challenges and their services are too thinly spread to have a significant impact on livelihoods. The article aims to identify and highlight the diversity of actors at play in rural livelihoods and to showcase the network context in which households and local institutions operate, while identifying links in the study area and beyond. It also aims to determine how such networks can be strengthened to enhance public policy implementation while improving rural livelihoods.

The methodology was based on a qualitative approach through focus group discussions where relational data was collected in terms of an institutional mapping and analysis exercise, which is a qualitative measure of a network structure. The article found that while the local municipality was perceived as detached from the community, it was recognised as a significant participant in the planning and executing of livelihood-impacting services and processes. It further established that the traditional authority was viewed as closer to the community. A concerted effort to galvanise the strengths of each of these institutions would go a long way to provide the strong governance needed to impact rural livelihoods positively and collaboratively.

INTRODUCTION

Rural development remains high on South Africa's development agenda. It contributes significantly to fulfilling the ideals of South Africa's National Development Plan, the African Union's Agenda 23 and the United Nation's Sustainable Development Goals. Rural areas are critical to food production and are an untapped (if not neglected) source of the country's workforce. Only thriving rural areas can produce sufficient food, generate a healthy, skilled workforce, and contribute to the economic development of the cities and towns to which many rural people migrate. Tackling rural challenges depends on the ability of rural-based municipalities to draw on collaborative networks and a variety of role-players in their localities to fulfil the constitutional mandate placed on South Africa's municipalities.

Hence, the perception of actors, recipients and beneficiaries of the services rendered are essential aspects of networks. Knowledge of which role-players or actors contribute to specific livelihood resources is critical. Perceptions of where the power lies and who the influencers are in the network are dynamic, constantly shifting and changing through encounters and experiences. Knowing these role-players or actors would go a long way to provide the strong governance needed to collaboratively and positively impact rural livelihoods. It will support municipalities to identify and create strong networks for specific livelihood outcomes.

There is thus a need to understand who the network of role-players are in the processes of public policy implementation and service delivery for sustainable livelihoods. This article reports on institutional mapping research conducted to identify key actors in rural areas, their interactions, and how these advance or impede rural livelihoods and development. First, however, a discussion on the network governance theory is helpful in this regard.

NETWORK GOVERNANCE THEORY

Unlike related concepts such as good governance, local governance and multi-level governance, network governance considers the patterns of interaction in the exchange, relationships and the flows of resources between independent units of actors (Wilikilagi 2009). The rise of network governance and the new collaborative ethos of public institutions points to a more fundamental transformation and proliferation of the network paradigm, which Castells termed "the rise of network society" (Castells 2000). Network governance relates to interactions of inter-dependent but operationally autonomous role-players in delivering public services at various levels of government (Klijn & Koppenjan 2012, 2015; Mubangizi, Nhlabathi & Namara 2013:780). Taking a network approach to public governance implies an increased reliance on networks to mobilise and engage citizens and

organisations in developing, implementing, and monitoring public policy (Lim 2011). Mubangizi *et al.* (2013) point to network governance as a complex interaction of activities and processes of policymaking and implementation. The complexity is due to the diversity of services delivered, the variety of actors involved and the actors' diversity of interests (Mubangizi *et al.* 2013). The consideration that such complexities can impede or promote sustainable livelihoods through public service delivery efforts has inspired interest in network governance.

Based on their research findings on network governance in Uganda and South Africa, Mubangizi *et al.* (2013) outlined the following four elements considered crucial to the success of networks: "Administration and management; leadership; good relations; communication and capacity issues — especially if there is strong and effective collaboration across the different spheres of government, the private sector, and civil society" (Mubangizi *et al.* 2013:787). This is in line with Lim's observation that the "top-down versus bottom-up government" debate has become largely irrelevant, the consensus being that traditional top-down government is increasingly ineffectual in today's context (Lim 2011). Instead, the discourse has turned to how governments can make that transition and thrive in a new environment in which collaboration and networking are the norm. Consequently, policymakers worldwide are now experimenting with novel ways of collaboration that bring together diverse stakeholder groups and provide more integrated and holistic responses.

Klijn and Koppenjan (2015) present three elements that underpin the network governance theory. The first element comprises actors, interdependency, and frames (perceptions). While actors have different frames of reference that inform their worldview of problems and solutions, "interdependency is the core factor that initiates and sustains networks" (Klijn & Koppenjan 2015:5). In this context, it is essential to appraise the institutional actors involved in the network to understand who has the power to constrain or enable the actions of other actors. The second element consists of complex interactions and negotiations emanating from both the diversity and the interdependency of actors in the process of problem-solving, policy implementation, and service delivery.

Nevertheless, policy and service delivery outcomes within the framework of network governance result from interactive efforts of multi-actors rather than the work of a single actor. This is because "networks enable the organisational actors to involve their communication partners in planning the policy, to draw on their expertise as well as influence them" (Klijn & Koppenjan 2015:5). The third element of network governance comprises institutional features that occur when complex interactions among actors lead to institutionalising their social relations and patterns of engagement or rules. By relating the behaviours of actors in networks, practices facilitate interactions, address communication flows, and consequently reduce "transaction costs" and enhance the performance of governance networks (Klijn & Koppenjan 2015:5). Bang and Esmark (2009) highlight

that such governance networks vary considerably in terms of the level of formalisation, stability and inclusiveness, but a common characteristic is the involvement of non-state actors from the private and third sector as stakeholders and partners in policy management and implementation. Despite the intense power struggle that often characterises actors, they interact through negotiations, bargaining and deliberation within the confines of networks as these “take place within a relatively institutionalised framework of contingently articulated rules, norms and knowledge” (Sørensen & Torfing 2005; Mubangizi *et al.* 2013:780). Sustainable livelihoods are the ideal outcomes of such interactions, and influential networks solve public policy and service delivery problems (Namara *et al.* 2015).

NETWORK GOVERNANCE AND SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS

The sustainable livelihoods approach is a way of thinking about the objectives, scope, and priorities for development activities. It provides a good lens through which to identify actors in network governance. It is based on evolving thinking about how the poor and vulnerable live their lives and the importance of policies and institutions (Serrat 2008). A key aspect of the sustainable livelihoods approach is that it considers the influence of institutional or organisational actors on access to livelihood resources (Scoones 2009). The SLF (sustainable livelihoods framework) helps to organise the factors that constrain or enhance livelihood opportunities and show how they relate. Scoones’ SLF conceptualises livelihoods holistically and captures the many complexities of livelihoods together with the constraints and opportunities they are subjected to. There are five types of resources in a typical SLF, namely natural, human, physical, social, and financial resources. In an ideal policy environment, these resources combine to provide the asset base in the production of livelihoods. The five sets of resources are interdependent as they interact to generate livelihoods (Guerry *et al.* 2011).

The SLF acknowledges that livelihood assets are contingent on institutional influences. Such influences can be positive or negative, depending on the prevailing institutional arrangement. Gill, Larsen, Swartling and Johannessen (2014) suggested that institutions and governance arrangements must adapt to deliver improved and sustainable livelihoods. They believe that “the conventional emphasis on formal ‘institution building’, though necessary, is no longer sufficient”. They maintain that “governments, civil society, the private sector and marginal groups need to cooperate on new forms of action” (Gill, Larsen, Swartling and Johannessen 2014:1). Gill *et al.* (2014) thus allude to a network government approach to livelihoods.

In South Africa, studies on this approach are conspicuously lacking, and this research attempted to bridge this gap. By exploring the network of actors within

the context of an SLF, one can accurately identify the role-players and the gaps and blockages that prevent thriving livelihoods in rural settings. The need to identify actors in rural settings, their contributions to livelihood resources, and how they interact was at the heart of this research.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

As noted above, the research method entails focus group discussions where relational data was collected in terms of an institutional mapping and analysis exercise, which is a qualitative measure of a network structure. Relational data shows ties and connections that participants perceive in a focus group discussion to contribute to the livelihood resources required in the community. Institutional mapping, also known as stakeholder mapping, is a methodological approach used to analyse how institutions and organisations function and interact with key stakeholders engaged in those institutions (Aligica 2006). The significance of maps, in general, is that “they are useful as a navigation tool because a visual presentation is easy to understand and has the potential to be used by multiple stakeholders” (Underwood, Smith & Martin 2019:139). In this context, researchers can reveal the invisible processes and “local discourse practices that produce and shape the dynamics of ongoing activities of an institution” (Underwood *et al.* 2019:139). Aligica (2006) argued that mapping is a fundamental tool for understanding the stakeholders’ and institutions’ potential roles for identifying possible coalitions of support for a project.

For the purpose of this research, three aspects adapted from Knoke and Yang’s (2008) research design for institutional mapping were used:

- i. Actor identification, which determines the essential role-players in relation to their contribution to either one or a combination of the livelihood resources;
- ii. Relational forms, which is the mode of interaction through which resources are materialised; and
- iii. Resource contribution, based on the contribution to livelihoods, has five categories: natural resources, financial resources, social resources, human resources, and physical resources (these are colour-coded for ease of identification in the Figure 1 legend).

For the purpose of data collection, focus group discussions were conducted in two of the nine traditional authorities in the MLM of the Eastern Cape province of South Africa and participants were selected using critical cases sampling, the participants forming two sub-groups. The first was a group of 21 young people participating in the First Rand Foundation Ecofutures First Job internship, selected for their involvement in a range of community activities. The second group consisted

of 49 headmen, traditional council members and community elders. Having the two groups was essential to provide diversity and richness of data collection from the relevant actors.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The mapping exercise and concurrent focus group discussions contributed to the narrative data and, using UCINET software, the results are mapped in Figure 1. This section presents the study results, starting with a snapshot of the community's profile and followed by the mapping results.

Community profile of Matatiele

Matatiele is one of four local municipalities in the OR Tambo District Municipality of the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. It is the most populous in the district and, with a landmass of 4 352km², occupies 63% of the district (MLM 2020). This municipality's essential public service delivery is challenging and significantly undermines Matatiele's citizens' livelihood capacity. Migrant remittances constitute a significant source of income for the residents of Matatiele, while subsistence farming appears to be the major economic activity. The collection and sale of thatch grass and wool generate seasonal cash income, as does minimal dairy and poultry farming. With the high poverty rate of its residents, this local municipality struggles with a narrow revenue generation base. It must rely on the national government for the bulk of its funding. Several other challenges, such as poor roads, extended droughts and weak communication infrastructure, impact livelihoods in these municipalities (MLM 2020).

Out of a total possible score of 10 for service delivery, Matatiele scores 3.11 (Cronje 2014). More than 70% of the households in this municipality do not have safe and clean toilet facilities. While there have been notable improvements in the past few years, access to clean water, sanitation and electricity backlogs are still very high (Matatiele Local Municipality 2020). The challenges faced by the municipality and its citizens require the collaboration of many institutions and organisations. Identifying these institutions and their perceived support is vital for the sustainability of livelihoods and the success of this municipality.

Institutional mapping

The institutional mapping provides an overall picture of the total configuration of actors perceived as contributing to livelihoods in this community. Figure 1 presents the details of these actors and their perceived value and proximity to the community.

Figure 1: Institutional map – Matatiele

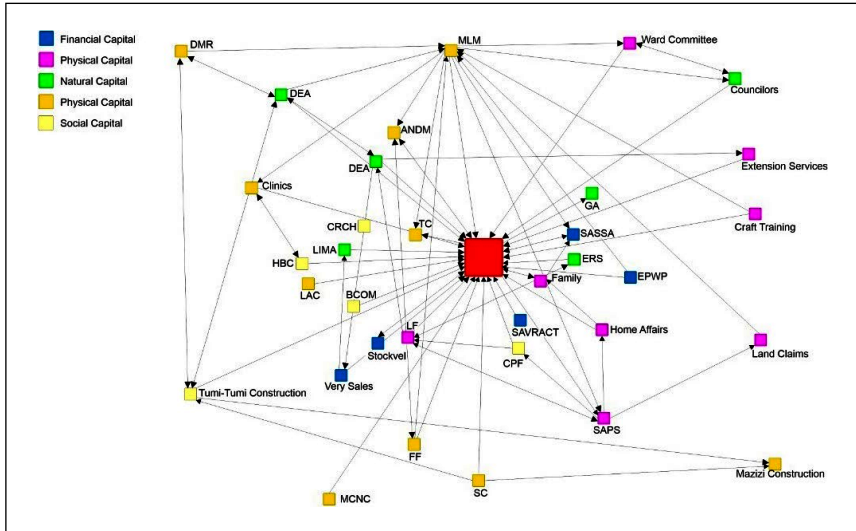


Table 1: List of abbreviations

Bcom	Burial Society (Community)	LF	Livestock farmers
HBC	Home-Based Care	FAM	Family
CRCH	Church	DOH	Department of Home Affairs
GS	Grocery Stokvel	SAPS	South African Police Services
TA	Traditional Authority	AES	Agricultural Extension Services
WC	Ward Committees	DALRRD	Department of Agriculture, Land Reform and Rural Development
ANDM	Alfred Nozo District Municipality	EPWP	Extended Public Works Programme
DMR	Department of Mineral Resources	GA	Grazing Associations
MLM	Matatiele Local Municipality	DEA	Department of Environmental Affairs
FF	Fire Fighters	ERS	Environmental and Rural Solutions
CLNC	Clinics	SASSA	South African Social Security Agency
MCNC	Mobile Communication Network Companies	SaveAct	SaveAct

Figure 1 depicts many different institutions (see Table 1 for abbreviations) and organisations that contribute to livelihoods in one of the communities in Matatiele and the interactions that characterise them. The community members that were interviewed (red square) indicated the organisations that the community collaborates with to secure the various aspects of the community's livelihoods, that is, natural, physical, social, financial and human resources. These findings have three dimensions: The first is the spatial positioning of an actor relative to the centre (i.e. the community). As can be seen from Figure 1, various organisations are perceived as close, significant, supportive, and, therefore, highly valued. This is depicted by their proximity to the centre of the figure. Equally, community members considered some organisations relevant, supportive, and essential but too distant and detached to offer significant support. In Figure 1, their distance from the centre depicts this. The second dimension is the relationships between the various actors as shown by the arrows. As can be seen from the figure, an actor typically collaborates with one or more actors in delivering a specific service. The third dimension relates to the type of resource the organisation typically contributes towards, that is, financial, natural, human, social, and physical resources depicted by different colours, as seen in the figure's legend. The following sections are detailed discussions of these dimensions, structured in line with the five dimensions of resources.

Actors in accessing financial resources

Community members felt that the Department of Home Affairs effectively offered its services. The Department is relied upon to issue death certificates, birth certificates, and identity documents – all of which are relevant to livelihood activities, including accessing social grants.

From its positionality on the figure, it is clear the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) is extensively valued for its contribution to finances in the form of social grants to children and the elderly. For many families, this is the primary source of income. SaveAct, an organisation that operates in the community, contributes to financial resources as it provides training on financial literacy, enterprise development and helps with the formation of saving groups. Subsequent discussions confirmed that SaveAct works in rural communities providing a simple but effective tool to fight poverty and build sustainable livelihoods while empowering women and other vulnerable groups. It would significantly assist grant beneficiaries if SaveAct and SASSA could play a collaborative role by empowering individuals and communities to play more active economic and social development roles. It was also clear that the family institution plays an essential role in people's livelihoods. Families support each other in hard times and are the preferred sources of borrowed money rather than loan sharks.

Further, participating in stokvels (community saving schemes) has proven to be a great source of income security. Formal financial institutions are geographically distant and mistrusted because of the seemingly high cost of bank charges. Stokvels are comprised of selected members and provide a savings system and moral support, and mutual trust. In many communities around Matatiele, participating in stokvels is one of the innovative strategies of women's empowerment. The results also show that stokvels promote the empowerment of women.

Actors in accessing natural resources

The livelihood strategies in the Matatiele area are, by and large, heavily dependent on the resources of land and water. Consequently, and as the mapping exercise suggested, the way organisations regarded land access and productivity generated much debate.

Access to land

Figure 1 shows that land claims are problematic as the land claims office was placed furthest and regarded as least helpful. Led by community trusts and communal property associations in Matatiele, influenced by traditional leaders and long-term occupants, many individual households and villages have submitted claims against the state, the chiefs and the municipality. Some have been resolved, but others are still outstanding.

Land productivity

The Extended Public Works Programme (EPWP) makes a valuable contribution to financial resources within the community. The programme has operated in this area mainly to clear alien vegetation and upgrade and maintain rural roads. In the form of wattle trees, alien vegetation has infested a large segment of this area, severely degrading the land and significantly curtailing traditional livelihoods activities.

For this reason, organisations in the area that work on restoring landscapes through collaborative governance to underpin sustainable outcomes are highly regarded in this community. A good example is Environmental and Rural Solutions (ERS), a small social enterprise operating as a non-governmental organisation (NGO). The local chief, the traditional authority, LIMA Rural Development Foundation (LIMA) (a non-governmental, non-profit organisation engaged in a broad range of rural development interventions throughout South Africa) and the Department of Agriculture, Land Reform and Rural Development (DALRRD) are relatively close to the centre. In the Matatiele area, LIMA provides training on sustainable agricultural production. Currently, LIMA is involved in an environmental and grazing management programme in Matatiele and hires about 150 people in

two sites (LIMA Annual Report 2017/2018). The DALRRD assists with land issues, use and management. The community noted that there would be more significant benefits from this Department if the agriculture extension workers were accessible and close to the community. Frustration concerning the lack of access to an extension worker is supported by the fact that the extension worker is far removed from the centre of the figure.

The Department of Environmental Affairs (DEA) improves rangelands (ground-cover and species) and water quantity by clearing and managing the wattle trees that have infested rangelands in the area. The DEA funded projects that have enabled eco-rangers (young men and women involved in land restoration activities) to earn an income. A corollary industry has developed, and wood haulers help collect firewood with tractors from areas where DEA clearing teams work, and deliver/sell it to the communities.

Farming

Agriculture and livestock farming underpin the economy of this rural area and retain a central role in the livelihood systems of the population. Most capital is accumulated through the production and sale of livestock, and participation in diverse forms of livelihood is often closely linked to these farming activities (Coetzee, Montshwe & Jooste 2005). Because livestock farming is significant to this community, all NGOs and private sectors whose actions have a bearing on livestock farming and rangeland protection are essential. The DALRRD is seen as a crucial ally in this regard, although it does not seem to be as close and active in the community as desired. In particular, concern was expressed that the agriculture extension workers were not visibly involved in the region. Although indigenous knowledge systems of farming in this area are helpful and have been for generations, the presence and active involvement of agricultural extension workers would significantly contribute to building livelihood resilience, particularly in light of changing livelihood patterns brought on by advancing climate change.

Actors in supporting human resources

The home-based care initiative was regarded as critical to supporting the sick and frail residents in the community. This initiative takes medical care, such as medication management, primary palliative care and social support, to the patient's home when, for whatever reason, hospital-based care is not possible. The Department of Health provides health care facilities in the form of fixed and mobile clinics. Still, the community does not seem satisfied with this because even a mobile clinic can only be accessed if one has sufficient taxi or bus fare. Access to a clinic, and by extension to health care services is intricately linked to good transport infrastructure. Physical access to services was strongly highlighted as being problematic. In particular, the lack of transport constrains the ability to get

to health care centres, education and social work services provided by a range of government departments. Varela, Young, Mkandawire, Groen, Banza and Viste (2019) observe that nearly five billion people worldwide do not have access to health care. This access gap disproportionately affects low- and middle-income countries (LMICs). One of the barriers to health care in LMICs is access to transport to a health care facility. Both availability and affordability of transport can be issues delaying access to health care.

For this reason, the availability of public transport was seen as crucial to livelihoods in the community. Lack of public transport remains a significant constraint in rural areas. The view in the community is that the local municipality has not provided the necessary infrastructure in the form of roads.

Education is one of the main ways of developing human resources and improving livelihoods. However, there are currently no tertiary institutions in the municipality. Many young people who have completed secondary education and want to further their studies have to travel to other towns, cities and provinces to access tertiary education facilities. This was identified as a great need, and it contributes to the significant number of out-migrants, who are primarily young people and breadwinners.

Actors in the community's social resources

The network mapping exercise revealed that there are many strands to social groups and resources in the community. The communities' most apparent vehicle for livelihood enhancement was the small informal groups or associations (burial societies, stokvels, church groups, etc) that rely on socially accepted norms, obligations, and trust to survive. Their proximity to the community, as can be seen in Figure 1, show that these locally- based structures are clearly valued, and the communities have a close relationship with these organisations and institutions. The discussion below suggests that the groupings have a significant impact on social cohesion and provide a voice for engaging with community development initiatives and solutions to the problems faced by these communities.

The *Traditional Authority* appears to be the first point of call for some of these communities. It gives guidance in resolving all communal issues, such as the views on land administration and access described above. Funeral costs are generally high, and communities can only afford them if they have some form of insurance. This is why *burial societies* are essential, as can be seen from their close proximity to the centre of the figure. Burial societies are a form of insurance and assist bereaved families with burial costs when a beneficiary passes on. Equally, through *grocery societies*, people collect monthly contributions to buy groceries during the festive season. *Home-based care groups* are yet another community structure and are essential to caring for the elderly and orphans.

Community policing forums (CPFs) work closely with the police and are generally the first responders as they are located within the community. While CPFs are valued, community members felt that the South African Police Service, though necessary, was not visible or helpful to the community. *The church* does not appear to contribute much to the livelihoods in the community as it is itself in a difficult financial position. Still, it was acknowledged that churches generally preside over funeral ceremonies, and in this way, are an essential social resource in the community.

Local government as an actor

While there is frustration that the local municipality is not as supportive as it should be, there is also a realisation of its importance in the livelihoods of this rural community. This understanding was confirmed in the course of the discussion when it emerged that the MLM is a central node with all other organisations and institutions somehow having a link to the MLM. In Figure 1 this is indicated by the numerous arrows leading to MLM. Community members are aware of the local municipality's constitutional mandate to deliver on such services as water and sanitation. They blame the lack of adequate services on the local municipality and appear oblivious to the fact that the MLM might not have the requisite capacity in the form of the appropriate resources to carry out its mandate. The community seems to think that there is a lack of willingness by the municipality to carry out its mandate. There does not seem to be a view that the municipality might not have the capacity to carry out the mandate. At the community level, the municipality is represented by local councillors. From a policy and legislative perspective, ward councillors and their committees are the first formal decentralised local government level in South Africa, and rural areas are no exception. However, this institution is regarded as either unhelpful or incapable. Their presence is supposed to influence the municipality's service delivery. Still, they were given a low significance rating in all areas regarding their availability and ability to support or help their communities.

The traditional leadership is close to the community – as evidenced by its proximity to the centre of Figure 1. The traditional authority is the first point of call for some of these communities as it gives guidance in resolving a range of communal issues from a cultural perspective. The contribution of the traditional leadership in local governance appears to be highly regarded because of its services in managing collective decisions and resolving disputes to provide social cohesion and contribute to the development of these areas. However, it was acknowledged that while close to the community, the traditional leadership has neither the resources nor the capacity to provide basic services to any significant extent.

Other than the actors discussed above it became apparent during the discussions that *ad hoc* arrangements, particularly for rangeland restoration, have developed as a means to correctly manage and address the degradation of land and the water resource systems. Grazing associations have formed in this community and serve as a forum through which farmers take responsibility for their rangelands through such activities as rotational grazing to improve livelihoods. Recently these associations have been buoyed by the recognition and support from other organisations outside the community and are an example of how communities can galvanise around a common interest and, in this way, form a network of necessity – the necessity to conserve the rangelands with significant livelihoods benefits.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Several conclusions can be drawn from the preceding discussion. The most important observation is that a multiplicity of actors contribute to livelihoods in the community under study and possibly in many other rural areas on communal land. It is also clear that the local municipality is regarded as best placed to improve the living conditions in this rural community. However, there is consensus that the municipality and its councillors are detached and generally not as involved as the community would want to see. The lack of trust in the democratically elected councillors' ability to significantly impact livelihoods in the community was evident not only in the discussions but also by their positionality on the figure. It is clear that in this community, as in many other communal land-based communities, the constitutionally prescribed role of local government's mandate as represented by councillors appears to coexist alongside that of traditional leaders.

Against the backdrop of the observations and conclusions drawn from this research, the following recommendations are presented to contribute to rural livelihoods in rural communities of communal lands.

The first recommendation relates to the value of strong family ties. In many rural African communities, the first port of call in times of distress is the family, and the poor and vulnerable rely on family support to advance their livelihoods through job offers, small loans, and day-to-day necessities of food and medication. Therefore, a concerted effort to strengthen family ties and values should remain high on the list of institutions interested in supporting rural livelihoods.

This community's leading source of income is from welfare grants, which, after the regular monthly expenditure, does not leave much for savings in commercial banks. Community-based saving clubs (stokvels) and burial societies that are based on trust and reciprocity are, and will for a long time remain, the bulwark

of this community. Recognising this and strengthening the support and security of these clubs is invaluable for sustainable rural livelihoods.

Climate change, which leads to unusual weather patterns of heavy rains, snow and heavy winds, and inappropriate range management practices have combined to make the landscape and livelihoods in this area somewhat fragile. The role of the National DEA in restoring landscapes in the area is highly recognised. The recent publicity and implementation of the community-based natural resource management concept is seen as a viable alternative land-use approach and has received support from the District Municipality, local NGOs and community-based structures. In addition, there is a need for resilient landscape and infrastructure design and possible alternative agricultural production strategies.

The role that extension workers could play in promoting alternative land-use strategies is acknowledged, and one cannot overemphasise the need for visible extension services.

While a multiplicity of actors play significant roles in promoting local livelihoods, the local government carries the mandate of being the face of government in far-flung rural areas of the country. But because the local government, on its own, is unable to drive all livelihoods activities, there is merit in promoting formalised partnership arrangements with other state departments, private sectors and NGOs. Such a network of actors should ideally coalesce around the local government. It should be geared towards a specifically identified social issue while considering those actors that community members value and regard as being closest to them.

The perceived lack of willingness and capacity of local government to significantly improve livelihoods has seen a rise in NGO activity and an increase in community-based organisations. While this is a positive trajectory, there is a need to protect the communities by monitoring these local civic structures and establishing frameworks to ensure that the vulnerable are not exploited and that the organisations have good intentions.

Lastly, but by no means least, the communities must be informed to be clear on what to expect from their municipalities. Through dialogue with municipalities, communities should understand not only the capabilities and limitations of their municipalities but also their responsibilities and obligations in local governance.

NOTE

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Validating a Balanced Score Card Benefit Assessment Framework Indicator Set

The Case of the South African National Roads Agency Ltd SOC Research and Development Programme

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ABSTRACT

Investment in Research and Development (R&D) is scrutinised where funding is limited such as in developing countries. There is therefore an increased emphasis on benefit and impact assessment tools and systems for such R&D programmes. In sectors like roads and transport, deliverables from R&D could include new materials and equipment. However, it usually, and more often, delivers novel design methods, new techniques and models for enhancing transport system performance and free software for use by professionals in the industry. The nature of these “soft” deliverables complicates the measurement of the performance of R&D in roads and transport. The South African Roads Agency Ltd SOC (SANRAL) developed a Balanced Score Card (BSC) with associated indicators that can be used to monitor the performance of its research programme across the full innovation value

chain. This article aims to review the indicator set by assessing its balance in terms of SANRAL's systems-based R&D model, by evaluating it against the SANRAL strategic objectives and through a survey among 175 stakeholders and researchers. It was found that the indicator set is well balanced and addresses all aspects of the innovation value chain.

INTRODUCTION

Technological innovation through science and engineering benefits economies and ultimately social development (Bessant *et al.* 2014:1). R&D investment is a primary driver for technological innovation (Link 1993:2; Link and Scott 2013:15). This plays a fundamental role in maintaining sustainability and industry development and competitiveness.

Worldwide there is, however, greater emphasis on determining the benefit, both economic and social, achieved from the required R&D for technological innovation (Bessant *et al.* 2014:1). This is of particular importance in poorer countries where resources are scarcer, and impact must be optimised, resulting in increasing importance of R&D metrics (Rust and Sampson 2019:547; Lazarotti *et al.* 2011:212).

Transport and transport infrastructure enable socio-economic development and growth (Ding 2013:312; Zhang 2013:24; Ng *et al.* 2018:292; Cigu *et al.* 2019:1-22) through provision of effective and efficient movement of freight and people (Ng *et al.* 2018:292). This in turn, acts as a catalyst for poverty alleviation and striving towards the realisation of global development goals (The World Bank 2014). It follows that monitoring the performance of R&D investment into transport and transport infrastructure research is of importance in developing economies, particularly in South Africa, due to the relatively low level of investment into R&D (CeSTII 2019:6).

Rust (2010:87) argued that the result of R&D in the transport sector (including infrastructure) yields a variety of solutions including new materials and products, but more often new methodologies and processes such as new design methods, new methodologies for enhancing transport system performance and free software for the use of professionals in the industry. This is an increasing trend (Spieth *et al.* 2014:237). Measuring the performance of such an R&D programme is therefore complex and a classical return on investment calculation does not suffice (Rust and Sampson 2019:547). Proposals have been made, for example, to measure social impact in addition to financial impact of activities through an External Rate of Return platform that will take into account the full impact of a company or activity (Florman *et al.* 2016:5).

SANRAL initiated an R&D programme in 2019. It adopted a systems-based research management model and a BSC with a set of indicators across the full innovation value chain to assess the benefit and impact of the R&D programme (Rust and Van Dijk 2020:41). This article relates the work conducted to validate the indicator set based on its balance, how well it addresses SANRAL's overall strategic objectives and through a survey among stakeholders and researchers.

LITERATURE REVIEW AND BACKGROUND

Assessment of the performance of R&D has a number of objectives (Deeming *et al.* 2017:15):

- Top-down accountability, to allow for aggregation of impact at a national level;
- Bottom-up accountability, and transparency to allow for transparency of research activity along the pathway to impact;
- Advocacy, that demonstrated research capability to stakeholders;
- Steering, that allows for the aligning of the research agenda with specific objectives;
- Value for money, that addresses monetised benefits;
- Management, learning, feedback and allocation, that allows for the information of strategic management decisions;
- Prospective orientation, that allows for planning the pathway to the end impact goal; and
- Speed of translation, that allows for setting targets for researchers using a logic model to address the time that research takes to move towards final impact.

There are a number of models for benefit and impact assessment (Brady 1995:252), however, the applicability of these models and processes to management of R&D and innovation in diverse R&D programmes is doubtful (Brady 1995). These models and techniques have been developed for managing the development of hard products mostly for the consumer market and do not deal with the wider benefit associated with R&D that also has social and environmental impacts such as the SANRAL R&D programme.

A BSC is a system for measuring programme performance to facilitate strategy implementation (Bremser and Barsky 2004:229; Kaplan and Norton 2001:95). A BSC comprises indicators of performance that deal with tangible, financial aspects as well as non-financial aspects of a programme or company. Kaplan and Norton (1992:71) provided four perspectives for a BSC within which the indicators are grouped:

- How shareholders view the company (financial perspective);
- How customers see the company (customers/stakeholders);
- What the company must do to excel (internal processes); and

- How the company should innovate and learn (learning and growth).

Some authors have added a fifth perspective: Strategy (Malbasic and Marimon 2019:38; Sen *et al.* 2017:97).

BSC indicators can be used as key performance indicators at division level and even at employee level. The benefits of using a BSC approach are (Bremser and Barsky 2004:229):

- *“The BSC utilises causal sets of performance measures to monitor results. Variance analysis of metrics provides insight into deviation from objectives.*
- *The primary purpose of the BSC is to highlight strategy and its impact on operating decisions. Utilising the BSC over multiple periods provides the basis for feedback (strategic learning loop and management control loop) and planning.*
- *The BSC provides a common framework and reference point for employees across levels and functions. The cascading process provides for alignment.*
- *Most BSC organisations link objectives to personal rewards to guide employee decision-making.*
- *The requirement to use causal linkages throughout the BSC forces employees to analyse performance deviations and to identify, assess and manage drivers of outcomes and results.*
- *BSC objectives guide employee decision-making and provide a common framework with which to evaluate decision alternatives.*
- *The BSC requires frequent monitoring and routine feedback of operating measures to employees across organisation levels. Target setting and budget goals are intended to provide motivation for employee actions.”*

The BSC approach has been used to measure performance in a number of fields including, for example:

- Evaluating knowledge management practices (Gupta and Chopra 2017:84);
- Measuring non-profit incubator performance (Messegem *et al.* 2018:658);
- To improve sustainable development (Rafiq *et al.* 2020:1365);
- Measuring the performance of library services (De la Mano and Creaser 2016:191; Urquhart 2017:121);
- To evaluate social impact (Grijalva *et al.* 2016:168);
- For environmental investment decision-making (Jassem *et al.* 2018:541) and environmental performance of companies (Al-Zwyalif 2017:118);
- To evaluate the performance of the water, energy and food sector (Ribeiro *et al.* 2020);
- The evaluating of Enterprise Resource Planning systems (Chand *et al.* 2005:558; Shena *et al.* 2016:127); and
- To evaluate construction and construction services (Salim 2018:320; Augusti-Juana *et al.* 2019; Sen *et al.* 2017:97).

Most notably a number of the use cases above pertain to monitoring of “softer” outcomes such as social impact. In most cases a BSC is used to assess more than just financial performance and includes, for example, customer satisfaction, human resource and employee development (Shibani and Gherbal 2018:1; Perramon *et al.* 2016:1121) as well as safety, equality and environmental aspects (Agusti-Juana *et al.* 2019). This is achieved through numerical or quantitative indicators as well as qualitative measures.

Spano *et al.* (2016:194) discuss the use of a modified BSC to measure the performance of a research network in the Bioscience field. They incorporated innovation metrics into a standard BSC and concluded that the tool is useful in strategic decision-making. The indicators should be monitored over time to provide a trend that can be used as input into strategic planning (Chand *et al.* 2005:558).

Although technology and knowledge generation are important for innovation in the roads and transport sector it is difficult to measure the impact thereof using only traditional financial metrics (Bremser and Barsky 2004:229; Coombs and Bierly 2006:421). A BSC can, however, utilise indicators across the full innovation value chain and incorporate both financial and non-financial measures metrics.

Although R&D investment is vital for long-term sustainability, the expense is often scrutinised especially in low-margin sectors such as construction, as well as in roads and transport. It is therefore vital to assess the benefit and impact achieved from such investment, particularly in public sector R&D programmes where tax-payers’ money is spent. Such assessments can be used to motivate for the R&D investment but can also be used to identify areas in the R&D programme that require improvement (Bozeman and Melkers 1993; Jyoti *et al.* 2006:879).

The public sector SANRAL R&D programme discussed above is diverse and deals with areas from road materials and design to network management and road safety. For such programmes, benefit/impact assessment through economic return on investment only is not suitable (Bloch and Brugge 2013:133). The outcomes from such R&D programmes are equally diverse, ranging from human capital development, transformation and social impact to technological advances, therefore assessing the benefit and impact is challenging (Link 1993:15). This is further exacerbated by the diversity of the people that have to execute the process of development through the full innovation value chain. An alternative approach should therefore be designed specifically for the R&D performance assessment of the SANRAL R&D programme.

THE SANRAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

SANRAL was established in 1998 in terms of The South African National Roads Agency Limited and National Roads Act, 1998 (South African Government 1998).

SANRAL's main mandate is *"to manage and control the Republic's national roads system and take charge, amongst others, of the development, maintenance and rehabilitation of national roads within the framework of government policy"* (South African Government 1998).

In 2019 SANRAL embarked on an R&D programme to address various elements of its new strategy, Horizon 2030 (SANRAL 2017:3). This strategy focuses, among others, on skills development, as well as the use of technology and innovation to improve network capacity, mobility and road safety. It is important to SANRAL to ensure maximum benefit from the R&D expenditure.

The R&D programme comprises a number of focus areas associated with roads and transport. These are:

- Future transportation and technical innovation;
- Transportation planning, public administration, management and economics;
- Pavements;
- Asset management;
- Traffic;
- Road safety; and
- Geotechnical, structures, drainage and hydraulics and the environment.

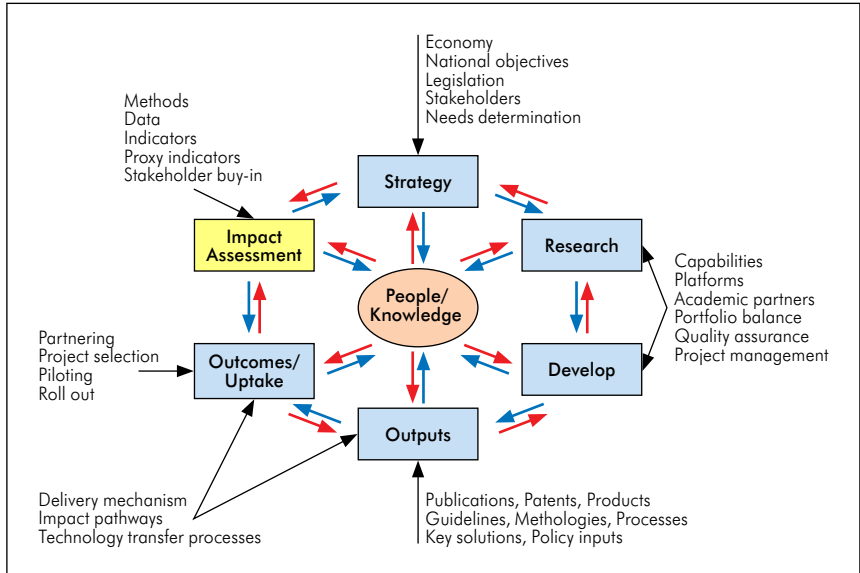
The nature of the R&D in the above seven focus areas, varies from product development such as new materials, to social sciences related to road safety and it is therefore complex to measure its benefit and end-impact. Based on a preliminary study in 2019 SANRAL adopted a number of principles for the evaluation of its R&D programme (Rust and Van Dijk 2020:41):

- That a systems approach be followed for the management of the R&D programme of which benefit/impact assessment is a vital element;
- That a BSC approach be followed in the framework for benefit/impact assessment; and
- That a set of associated indicators be developed that will assist in the assessment of the benefit/ impact of the R&D programme.

The systems-based model adopted by SANRAL is depicted in Figure 1 (Rust and Van Dijk 2020:41; Rust and Sampson 2019:547).

The model above contains a process for benefit/impact assessment that is a "sensor" monitoring the performance of the R&D programme. It contains multi-directional feedback loops that allow for "self-correction" of the system. The management of the R&D programme thus takes into account all the elements of the model including benefit/ impact assessment which is integral and not a stand-alone activity. "Back-casting" is used to plan research themes and projects by first establishing the planned impact, then uptake channels required (outcomes); the characteristics of the deliverable and only then the nature of the R&D activities required.

Figure 1: A systems-based model for R&D and innovation management



Source: (Rust and Van Dijk 2020:41)

A basic set of indicators was developed to address benefit/impact assessment across the full innovation value chain as depicted in Figure 1. This process involved case studies of similar programmes, discussions with SANRAL’s focus group for R&D and a rating process by SANRAL employees (Rust and Van Dijk 2020:41). The main objective of this article is to discuss the validation of the indicators through a survey among stakeholders and researchers in the roads and transport sector in South Africa.

The model is an enhancement of the innovation value chain that includes the following aspects: (The National Research Council of the National Academies 2005:17):

- *“Input–tangible quantities put into a process to achieve a goal.*
- *Output–products and services delivered.*
- *Outcome/uptake–results that stem from the use of the outputs.*
- *Impact–the effect that an outcome has on something else.”*

METHODS

The SANRAL BSC and associated indicator set (Rust and Van Dijk 2020:41) was evaluated by:

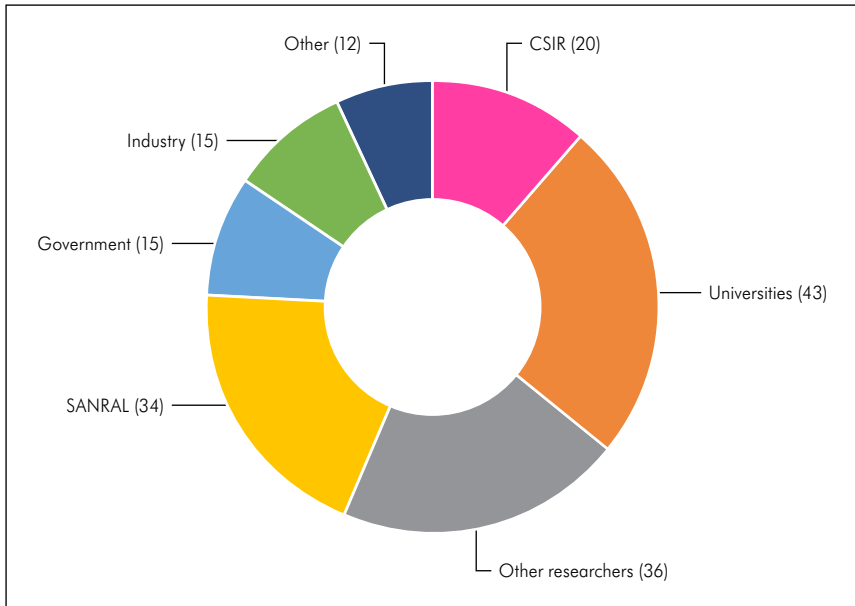
- Assessing the balance in the indicator set by transposing the indicators on the R&D management model in Figure 1;
- Evaluating the degree to which the indicators address the SANRAL strategic objectives (SANRAL 2017:3); and
- The rating of indicators through a survey, using a structured 5-point Likert rating scale completed by SANRAL staff, stakeholders and self-identified researchers participating in seven research focus area workshops of the SANRAL R&D programme (a total of 175 attendees).

The workshop attendees originated from the following organisations or groups:

- Researchers from Universities;
- Other, individual researchers;
- The Council for Scientific and Industrial Research of South Africa (CSIR);
- SANRAL staff;
- Invited attendees from national and provincial government departments;
- Invited attendees from industry; and
- Others.

The distribution of the attendees is shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Distribution of SANRAL workshop attendees



Source: (Authors' own construction)

IMPACT/BENEFIT ASSESSMENT FRAMEWORK FOR THE SANRAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

In developing the BSC for SANRAL, it was taken into account that the final impact to road users and other stakeholders is very important to SANRAL. Thus, the indicators associated with the BSC had to span the full innovation value chain. In addition, the BSC and indicators had to be linked strongly to the overall SANRAL business strategy. In line with others, a “strategy” element was therefore added to the traditional four BSC perspectives (Malbasic and Marimon 2019:38; Sen *et al.* 2017:97).

As mentioned above, long-term impact is difficult to measure, especially in the case of a diverse R&D programme with significant non-financial benefit (Coombs and Brierly 2006:421). The use of proxy indicators for impact was adopted. The indicators cover financial and cost benefits as well as the “softer”, non-financial benefits of research such as human capital development and the impact on communities and the environment.

The indicators for the SANRAL programme were developed from desktop research, case studies, discussions with SANRAL executives and a rating process by SANRAL employees (Rust and Van Dijk 2020:41). The identified indicators are presented below (Rust and Van Dijk 2020:41).

Process indicators

The R&D management process ensures that objectives are met within the allocated time frame and at the right quality. The process therefore requires strategic planning and governance. The following were proposed as indicators to assess these processes:

1. Number of needs determination processes;
2. Number of foresight studies;
3. Establishment of a Research Advisory Panel;
4. Establish research focus area steering committees;
5. Number of SANRAL staff and researchers trained in research methodology;
6. Number of SANRAL staff and researchers trained in research ethics; and
7. Number of Research Focus Area technology development strategies (R&D plans) developed.

Input indicators

The monitoring of inputs into an R&D process is important to allow for the assessment of the “return”, both monetary (for example, savings) and in “soft” benefits. The proposed indicators in this instance were:

8. Number of researchers active in SANRAL research programme;
9. Number of black researchers active in SANRAL research programme;
10. Number of black research project leaders;
11. Number of female researchers active in the SANRAL research programme;
12. Number of active researchers with a PhD;
13. Frascati distribution of research funding (basic, applied, experimental development, piloting and implementation);
14. The amount of funding employed for research infrastructure;
15. The amount of research funding spent; and
16. The number and size of collaborative partnerships.

Output indicators

R&D outputs can be monitored at a strategic level by reviewing the volume, the quality and the implementability of these outputs. The proposed output indicators were:

17. Number of publication equivalents;
18. Number of new technology/knowledge packages;
19. Number of SANRAL endorsed national research reports;
20. Number of new or updated national guidelines;
21. Number of new Master's degrees completed;
22. Number of new PhDs completed; and
23. Quality assessment of publications (for example, journal impact factors).

Outcome indicators

Outcomes from the R&D process are defined as the effect it has on organisations outside of the R&D organisation and process (The National Research Council of the National Academies 2005). This can also be seen as the "uptake" of the outputs into industry. Monitoring uptake is vital because it is a precursor for eventual impact. The proposed indicators for this category were:

24. Number of technology demonstration projects where new knowledge/ technology was implemented;
25. Monetary value of demonstration projects;
26. Number and size of social impact projects;
27. Number of projects where positive environmental impact is made;
28. Number of practitioners trained in use of new technology or knowledge package;
29. Cumulative cost/benefit ratio; and
30. Number of small contractors involved in projects emanating from research programme.

Table 1: Matrix of indicators

BSC perspectives	Innovation value chain elements				
	Process	Input	Output	Outcomes	Impact
Financial		14. Funding employed for research infrastructure 15. Research funding spent		29. Cumulative benefit cost ratio	
Customer/ Stakeholder		16. No and size of collaborative partnerships		24. No of technology demonstration projects implemented 25. Monetary value of demonstration projects 26. No and size of social impact projects	32. Fatalities / 100,000 trips 33. Traffic through-flow rate 35. Road condition index 36. Facility performance index 37. User satisfaction index 40. Freight flow rates
Internal business processes	3. Establish Research Advisory Panel 4. Establish Research Focus Area Steering Committees		17. No of publications 18. No of new technology packages 19. No of national research reports 20. No of national guidelines		
Learning and growth	5. No of SANRAL staff trained in research management 6. No of SANRAL staff trained in ethics	8. No of active researchers 12. No of active researchers with PhD	21. No of new Master's degrees 22. No of new PhDs 23. Quality assessment of publications	28. No of practitioners trained	
Strategy	1. Needs determination processes 7. Number of Focus Area technology development strategies	2. No of foresight studies 10. No of black SA researchers active 11. No of SA female researchers active 13. Frascati distribution		27. No of projects with positive environmental impact 30. No of small contractors involved	31. No of retrospective studies 34. No of job opportunities created 38. Number of community projects 29. Cumulative monetary value of involvement in communities

Source: (Authors' own construction)

In addition, it was proposed that qualitative information such as success stories be recorded.

Impact proxy indicators

Impact can rarely be measured directly. It is therefore useful to define proxy indicators for impact. The following were proposed:

31. Number of retrospective studies to determine current impact resulting from past R&D;
32. Fatalities per 100 000 trips on roads where new solutions have been implemented;
33. Traffic through-flow rate at crucial bottlenecks;
34. Number of job opportunities created;
35. Road condition index;
36. Facility performance index;
37. User satisfaction index;
38. Number and nature of community involvement projects;
39. Cumulative monetary value of SANRAL's involvement in communities; and
40. Freight flow rates on road where new technology has been implemented.

The duality of the BSC addressing both the perspectives of a BSC as well as the elements of the innovation value chain was recognised. A matrix showing how the indicators are linked to both aspects is given in Table 1.

VALIDATION OF THE INDICATOR SET

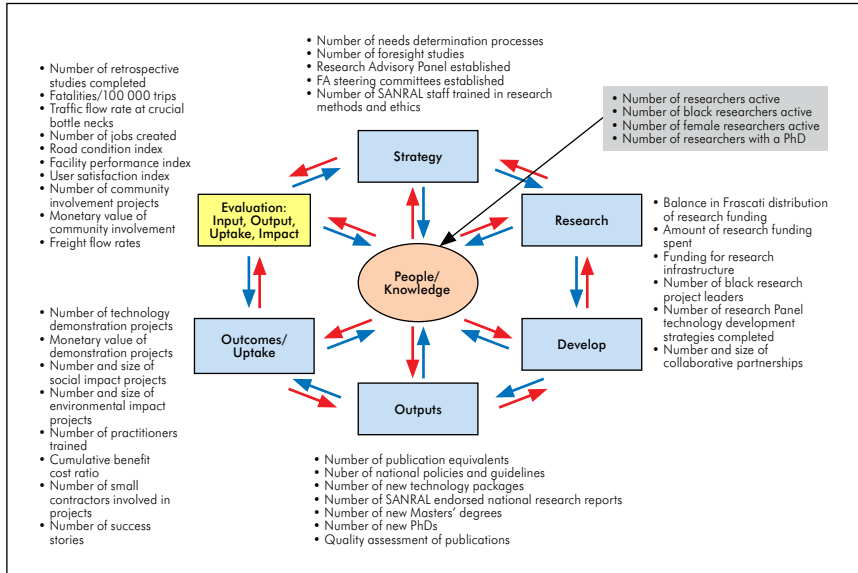
The indicator set evaluated in terms of the research model

To ensure that the set of indicators is balanced in relation to the research model, they were plotted on the model as depicted in Figure 3. The indicators cover all the elements of the research model and are well balanced in this respect.

The indicator set evaluated in terms of the SANRAL strategic objectives

The relevance of the indicator set to the SANRAL strategy, Horizon 2030 (SANRAL 2017:3), was evaluated using the matrix shown in Table 2. The top row of the matrix contains the strategic objectives in the SANRAL strategy. The first column contains the indicator set. A green block indicates that the indicator addresses the strategic objective well and an orange block indicates a partial contribution. All

Figure 3: The SANRAL indicator set plotted on the R&D and innovation management model



Source: (Authors' own construction)

the strategic objectives are covered by the indicator set which therefore is suitable to provide some input into SANRAL's strategic planning processes, particularly if trend analysis is conducted over time.

Table 2: Strategic objective evaluation matrix

	Support Economic Growth	Support Social Impact	Capable State	Urbanisation and Public Transport Systems	Road Safety	Emerging Technologies	Efficacy and Efficiency	Transformation	Regional Integration	Environmental Protection	Return on Assets	Job Opportunities	Road Condition	User Behaviour	Skills Development	Use of Innovation	Resource Efficiency	Community Interaction	Good Governance	Effective Research Programme	
Process																					
Needs determination processes																					
Foresight studies																					
Research Advisory Panel																					

	Support Economic Growth	Support Social Impact	Capable State	Urbanisation and Public Transport Systems	Road Safety	Emerging Technologies	Efficacy and Efficiency	Transformation	Regional Integration	Environmental Protection	Return on Assets	Job Opportunities	Road Condition	User Behaviour	Skills Development	Use of Innovation	Resource Efficiency	Community Interaction	Good Governance	Effective Research Programme
Panel steering committees																				
SANRAL staff trained in research methods																				
SANRAL staff trained in research ethics																				
Number of panel technology development plans																				
Input																				
Number of researchers active																				
Number of black researchers active																				
Number of black research project leaders																				
Number of female researchers active																				
Number of active researchers with PhD																				
Frascati distribution																				
Funding spent on equipment																				
Value of research funding spent																				
Number of collaborative partnerships																				
Output																				
Number of publication equivalents																				
Number of new technology packages																				
SANRAL endorsed research reports																				
New or updated national guidelines																				
Number of Masters' degrees completed																				
Number of new PhDs completed																				
Quality assessment of publications																				
Outcome																				
Number of technology demonstration projects																				
Rand value of demonstration projects																				
Number of social projects where technology impacts																				
Number of positive environmental impact projects																				
Number of practitioners trained in know-how																				
Cumulative Cost / Benefit ratio																				
Number of small contractors																				
Life and success stories																				

	Support Economic Growth	Support Social Impact	Capable State	Urbanisation and Public Transport Systems	Road Safety	Emerging Technologies	Efficacy and Efficiency	Transformation	Regional Integration	Environmental Protection	Return on Assets	Job Opportunities	Road Condition	User Behaviour	Skills Development	Use of Innovation	Resource Efficiency	Community Interaction	Good Governance	Effective Research Programme
Impact proxy																				
Number of retrospective studies																				
Fatalities per 100 000 trips	■	■			■		■						■							■
Traffic flow rate at bottlenecks	■			■	■		■						■							
Number of job opportunities created	■	■						■					■		■				■	
Road construction index	■	■		■	■		■						■							
Facility performance index	■	■			■		■						■	■						■
User satisfaction index	■	■			■		■							■					■	■
Number of Community involvement projects	■	■						■					■		■				■	■
Rand value of community involvement	■	■						■					■		■				■	■
Freight flow rates	■						■		■				■							

Source: (Authors' own construction)

Rating of the indicator set by researchers and stakeholders

The indicator set was evaluated through a survey among attendees of the seven workshops that SANRAL conducted to determine potential research needs. In addition to the indicator set above, SANRAL requested that the following potential indicators be added to the survey:

- Monetary value of indirect economic impact;
- Behavioural changes of drivers;
- Public perception of interventions;
- Effective communication measures;
- Network benefits of interventions;
- CO2 levels near roads;
- Energy footprint of operations; and
- Road safety index.

Some of these aspects cannot be measured (for example, behavioural changes of drivers) and some work will need to be done to develop indicators that can address these aspects. Nevertheless, the quantifiable proposed aspects were added to the survey.

The results of analysis of the ratings are shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Ratings Z indicators

	Avg	Std Dev
Process Indicators		
Number of needs determination processes	3.59	1.14
Number of foresight studies	3.49	1.02
Establishment of a Research Advisory Panel	4.16	0.98
Establish research focus area steering committees	4.20	0.93
Number of SANRAL staff and researchers trained in research methodology	3.40	1.06
Number of SANRAL staff and researchers trained in research ethics	3.29	1.15
Number of Research Panel technology development strategies developed	3.34	1.06
Input Indicators		
Number of researchers active in SANRAL research programme	3.81	1.04
Number of SA black researchers active in SANRAL research programme	3.72	1.11
Number of SA black research project leaders	3.63	1.12
Number of SA female researchers active in the SANRAL research programme	3.61	1.08
Number of active researchers with a PhD	3.63	1.03
Frascati distribution of research funding (basic, applied, experimental development, piloting and implementation)	3.55	1.02
The amount of funding employed for research infrastructure	3.90	1.07
The amount of research funding spent	3.88	1.05
The number and size of collaborative partnerships.	3.77	1.01
Output Indicators		
Number of publication equivalents (DoE formula)	3.70	0.99
Number of new technology/ knowledge packages	4.12	0.87
Number of SANRAL endorsed national research reports	3.83	0.99
Number of new or updated national guidelines	4.20	0.96
Number of new Master's degrees completed	3.62	1.00
Number of new PhDs completed	3.61	1.12
Quality assessment of publications (eg journal impact factors)	3.94	0.92
Outcomes (Uptake) Indicators		
Number of technology demonstration projects where new knowledge/ technology was implemented	4.25	0.93

	Avg	Std Dev
Rand value of demonstration projects	3.27	1.14
Number and size of social impact	3.91	1.02
Number of projects where positive environmental impact is made	3.84	0.92
Number of practitioners trained in use of new technology or knowledge package	3.87	0.96
Cumulative cost/benefit ratio	3.95	1.01
Number of small contractors involved in projects emanating from research programme	3.39	1.15
Public perception of interventions	3.61	1.13
Effective communication measures	3.91	1.05
Number of small contractors involved in projects emanating from research programme	3.37	1.18
Life stories and success stories of new technologies implemented	3.67	1.18
Impact Proxy Indicators		
Number of retrospective studies to determine current impact resulting from past R&D	3.52	1.01
Fatalities/ 100 000 trips on roads where new solutions have been implemented	3.90	1.15
Normalised accident rates	3.66	1.10
Rand value of indirect economic impact	3.93	1.00
Behavioural changes in drivers	3.97	1.13
Network benefits on interventions	3.90	1.01
Traffic through-flow rate at crucial bottlenecks	3.88	1.12
CO2 levels near roads	3.44	1.21
Energy footprint of operations	3.50	1.11
Road safety index	4.10	1.05
Number of job opportunities created	3.88	1.05
Road condition index	3.88	0.99
Facility performance index	3.66	0.94
User satisfaction index	3.74	1.03
Number and nature of community involvement projects	3.48	1.12
Cumulative Rand value of SANRAL's involvement in communities	3.41	1.13
Freight flow rates on road where new technology has been implemented (Netsafe statistics)	3.71	1.04

Source: (Authors' own construction)

The following can be noted from the results in Table 3:

- **Process indicators:**
 - High scores (>4) were achieved for the establishment of a Research Advisory panel and Focus Area Steering committees;
 - Low scores (<3.5) were achieved for research methodology training, ethics training and focus area strategies, the latter perhaps due to a lack of understanding.
- **Input Indicators:**
 - There were no particularly high (>4) or particularly low scores (<3.5).
- **Output Indicators:**
 - High scores (>4) were achieved for technology packages and national guidelines;
 - No particularly low scores were achieved (<3.5).
- **Outcomes Indicators:**
 - A high score (>4) was achieved for technology demonstration projects;
 - Low scores were achieved for monetary value of demonstration projects, and involvement of small contractors.
- **Impact proxy indicators:**
 - A high score was achieved for the road safety index (>4);
 - Low scores were achieved for CO2 levels near roads (<3.5); energy footprint of operations (= 3.5) and cumulative monetary value of SANRAL's involvement in community projects (<3.5).

CONCLUSION

The SANRAL R&D benefit indicators were validated by analysing the balance in the indicator set, comparing the indicators with SANRAL's strategic objectives and through ratings by 175 stakeholders and researchers. The indicator set addresses aspects of the full innovation value chain. The BSC and indicator set can be used to evaluate other roads and transport focused R&D programmes. Cognisance was taken of the complex systems-nature of R&D and the associated SANRAL R&D management model to develop and validate the indicator set. The indicator set can be adjusted to assess the benefit and impact of any roads and transport research programme that requires a broad assessment of benefits derived. SANRAL is in the process of developing a data- base and associated software to implement the BSC system.

NOTE

*This work was funded by SANRAL and is published with the permission of SANRAL.

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Civic Crowdfunding as an Instrument of Network Local Governance

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ABSTRACT

With the advent of a network mode of governance, questions can be raised about the particular application modalities thereof in local governance settings. In addition, the simultaneous emergence of civic crowdfunding as a means of fostering the creation of networks for infrastructure development, maintenance and rehabilitation stimulate scholarly inquiry into the potential thereof to promote more participatory and collaborative forms of local governance. The purpose of this study was to utilise a scoping review methodology to investigate civic crowdfunding as a phenomenon and as a potential instrument to promote network formation in municipal settings. In this respect, civic crowdfunding can be regarded as both a catalyst (i.e., input) for network formation and an outcome or result of network forms of local governance. Models of crowdfunding and selected cases were explored to assess the potential of civic crowdfunding in this regard. International case studies illustrate that, as the influence of network governance spreads, civic crowdfunding initiatives have increasingly found traction in many cities and towns around the world. The results further reveal that the rationale underpinning collaborative innovations such as civic crowdfunding stem mainly from the network governance paradigm.

INTRODUCTION

The current scholarly discourse on civic crowdfunding reveals a dearth of inquiry regarding the application thereof as an instrument to promote network forms of

local governance and the formation of crowdfunding initiatives as a result of network modes of governance. Scholars such as Adams (2014) and Mollick (2014) concur that there are gaps in academic knowledge regarding the nature and dynamics of civic crowdfunding in local governance contexts. Veelen (2015) and Mayer (2016) attempted to explore the relationship between civic crowdfunding and network governance and argued that the emergence of civic crowdfunding was particularly relevant to transitioning paradigms of public governance. However, they did not investigate civic crowdfunding in local governance settings in particular. According to Sedlitzky and Franz (2019:30), scholarly investigation of civic crowdfunding as a network instrument in local government is complicated by the fact that the scholarly literature does not provide a single universal theoretical framework for civic crowdfunding. Shneor and Torjesen (2020) and Chigova and Van der Walldt (2021) concur and add that civic crowdfunding as a scholarly field can be located within the intersection of various disciplines. There is thus not a particular corpus of knowledge that adequately outlines the nature, application and benefits of civic crowdfunding as an instrument of network local governance. Furthermore, it is evident that existing scholarly inquiry is context and domain specific. Rau (2020), for example, examined the legal regulations that enabled or hindered civic crowdfunding as a financial innovation, whereas Shneor and Torjesen (2020) investigated the ethical dimensions of crowdfunding. A more focused and nuanced investigation is thus required.

By utilising scoping review methodology, the purpose of this article is to frame the scholarly discourse regarding crowdfunding and to outline the potential contributions of this phenomenon as an instrument to promote networked forms of local governance. In this article, civic crowdfunding and network governance in municipal settings is first conceptualised, followed by an exploration of the application of civic crowdfunding by interrogating crowdfunding models and five international case studies. Finally, the potential future contributions of civic crowdfunding in local governance are considered and recommendations are made to further pursue civic crowdfunding as both an input and outcome instrument for network local governance.

EMERGENCE OF A NETWORK LOCAL GOVERNANCE PARADIGM

The post-2000 scholarly discourse on local governance clearly accentuates the emergence of a network mode of governance. Leading studies shaping network governance thinking include: Denhardt and Denhardt's (2000) *New Public Service: Serving rather than steering*; Dunleavy *et al.* (2006) *Digital Era Governance*; Osborne's (2006, 2010) *New Public Governance*; Pollitt and

Bouckaert's (2011) *Neo-Weberian State*; and Bourgon's (2012) *New Synthesis Approach*. These and other scholars concur that the New Public Management paradigm is no longer sufficient to address the participatory, collaborative and integrative nature of the formation of networks in public governance. The key driving force behind the formation of networks for (local) governance is that societal issues are becoming increasingly more complex (i.e., the management of pandemics, climate change, urbanisation, greener energy, transport and housing), making it virtually impossible for local governments to cope in isolation (WHO 2008). Cities thus have no choice but to follow a more collaborative approach to local governance than previously. Coupled with this is the normative, democratic demand of civil society to be engaged, consulted and involved in decisions affecting their lives.

Also known as "joined-up-government" or "whole-of-government", the network governance paradigm is associated with notions such as co-optation, co-creation, coproduction, partnerships, participation and collaboration (Christensen 2012:7). It typically has a state-society binary. Rutgers (2010) argues that, in network governance, the line between the state and society simply disappears. The result is a fragmented or plural state in which multiple interdependent actors participate in the delivery of services. Christensen (2012) reasons that the resultant network of governance actors necessitates the mobilisation of a variety of institutions, actors, interests, values and coordinated decision-making models. Governments typically surrender their monopoly of expertise and resources by allowing services to be delivered by formal and informal network actors (Newman 2004; Kovac and Gajduscsek 2015; Dickinson 2016). In local governance settings, typical governance actors include institutions, agencies and entities in various spheres of government, the private sector, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), philanthropic organisations, international development agencies, faith-based organisations, community-based organisations (CBOs), political parties and private individuals. In other words, network governance facilitates new collaborative governance arrangements, whereby several actors mobilise resources to develop joint solutions for community problems (Hong and Ryu 2019). It is in this context that civic crowdfunding emerged.

Studies by Jenik *et al.* (2017:4), Van der Waldt (2019), Wenzlaff (2020) and Chigova and Van der Waldt (2021) confirm that civic crowdfunding projects in local government involve multiple network actors. These actors include beneficiaries, borrowers and issuers ranging from public actors such as municipal authorities to individual citizens, community groupings, micro, small, and medium enterprises, NGOs and non-profit entities (e.g., charities). Hence, Mayer (2016) argues that the premise of democratic citizenship that undergirds network governance thinking also forms the basis of civic crowdfunding projects. It is thus not surprising that scholarly literature on civic crowdfunding practice and theory

emerged during the period (post-2000) in which the network governance paradigm gained prominence.

Recent studies attribute the growth of crowdfunding as a network local governance phenomenon to a number of factors. These include: budget deficits or financial gaps (Gasparo 2015); local governance failures (Dixon and Dogan 2002); promotion, social capital and cohesion (Howlett *et al.* 2017); integration of the role of government and the contribution of the people (Bourgon 2011); and an emphasis on democratic values that calls for a participative, collaborative and democratic form of local governance (Denhardt and Denhardt 2000). Saxena (2013:14) confirms that network governance values such as participation and collaboration are key in crowdfunding because they include notions of “contributing, influencing, sharing or redistributing power, and of control, resources, benefits, knowledge and skills”.

CIVIC CROWDFUNDING IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE SETTINGS

Viewed through the lens of the New Public Governance paradigm, civic crowdfunding emerges as a particular type of relationship between the state and citizens (Bourgon 2011:33). Christensen (2012:8) and Bourgon (2011:26) view this paradigm as a sharing of co-responsibilities by public agencies and social actors. These scholars explore how civil society can play a more active role than previously to ensure higher public value at a lower overall cost to society. In light of this collaborative and participatory approach, communities are becoming increasingly involved in local governance issues. This involvement might take various forms, depending on the nature and scope of the municipal programmes and particular circumstances (Bourgon 2011:39). One such form of active participation is civic crowdfunding.

Wenzlaff (2020:4) summarises civic crowdfunding as “an open call, essentially through the internet, for the provision of financial resources to produce place-based semi-public goods with a collaborative and coordinated response by the financial supporters”. Belleflamme, Lambert and Schwienbacher’s (2014) authoritative and comprehensive description serves as a valuable working definition of civic crowdfunding: “[it] involves an open call, mostly through the internet, for the provision of financial resources either in the form of a donation or in exchange for the future product or some form of reward to support initiatives for specific purposes”.

Candelise (2015:4) contends that civic crowdfunding electronic (e-)platforms are powerful communication tools because they facilitate full transparency and open participation on municipal projects such as infrastructure development (e.g.,

recreational and educational facilities, business hubs and community markets). Such e-platforms generally enable investors, stakeholders and communities to engage with local government to actively become involved in project design, planning, funding and monitoring. Logue and Grimes (2019), furthermore, claim that digital platforms enable cross-sector network collaboration and social innovation. As such, scholars such as Davies (2014a), Boyle (2016) and Chigova and Van der Waldt (2019) reason that it is a powerful empowerment instrument, which positions civil society at the centre of financial processes in cities. This view is further reiterated by the e-platform Spacehive, which portrays civic crowdfunding as an instrument to place communities “in the driving seat” of urban development (online: Spacehive.com). Soepper (2018:186) also stresses that “civic crowdfunding has the potential to lead to increased transparency of political processes, to hold municipal administrations more accountable, to empower citizens and to engage them further in matters of their modern polis”. The aim, according to Bourgon (2011:39), is to cultivate the capacity of citizens to contribute to the collective well-being and prosperity of urban communities while “meeting their own needs, building social capital, trust and the willingness to act collectively”.

As far as the financial dimension of civic crowdfunding is concerned, Chen (2016:3) posits that it is “not only providing a channel for citizens to raise the capital they need to benefit from identified projects but also giving them a stronger voice to promote their ideas on social media”. Chen’s (2016) exposition implies that civic crowdfunding has both an egoistic and altruistic dimension; it is egoistic in the sense that citizens, as beneficiaries, will personally benefit from municipal projects, but also altruistic in that they contribute collectively towards the common good for all. The use of civic crowdfunding in the development, maintenance and rehabilitation of municipal infrastructure can be understood in terms of both these perspectives. Candelise (2015:4) sums it up by stating that “civic crowdfunding is democratisation and disintermediation made possible by the use of internet and social networks that allow people and potential investors to directly browse and investigate investment options”, particularly in the area of urban development.

While authors such as Surowiecki (2004:7) emphasise that civic crowdfunding is a function of the “wisdom of the crowd” and the crowd’s “higher collective intelligence” (Nino in Eidell 2014:51), others caution against the indiscriminate use thereof for municipal projects. Davies (2014a) and Boyle (2016), for example, express concern for the potential “disruptive” nature of civic crowdfunding. Chigova and Van der Waldt (2019:5) describe this potential disruptive nature as follows: “The disruptive nature of civic crowdfunding might threaten the traditional, bureaucratic model of public administration, which positions the government as the sole services and goods provider. It also challenges the exaggerated role of the market in the provision of public goods as the power of the crowd takes centre stage in the development of communities”.

This disruptive potential centres mainly around the fact that it could inhibit the moral mandate and statutory obligations of municipal administrations to render goods and services. It diffuses the responsibility of various actors, making it complex to pinpoint liabilities and to coordinate responses to prioritised community needs. This aspect makes it imperative to explore the status and role of civic crowdfunding in network forms of local governance.

Bringing civic crowdfunding within the domain of network local governance, Vanhille and Wolf (2014) maintain that it emerges mainly when inclusive, collaborative and participatory network modes of local governance are followed. Thus, Brent and Lorah (2019:122) confirm that civic crowdfunding can be regarded as an outcome of a “shift to more participatory forms of urban governance”. Given this context, it is essential to consider the application of the various civic crowdfunding models because some of them might be less disruptive and more conducive to serving as instruments for network local governance than others.

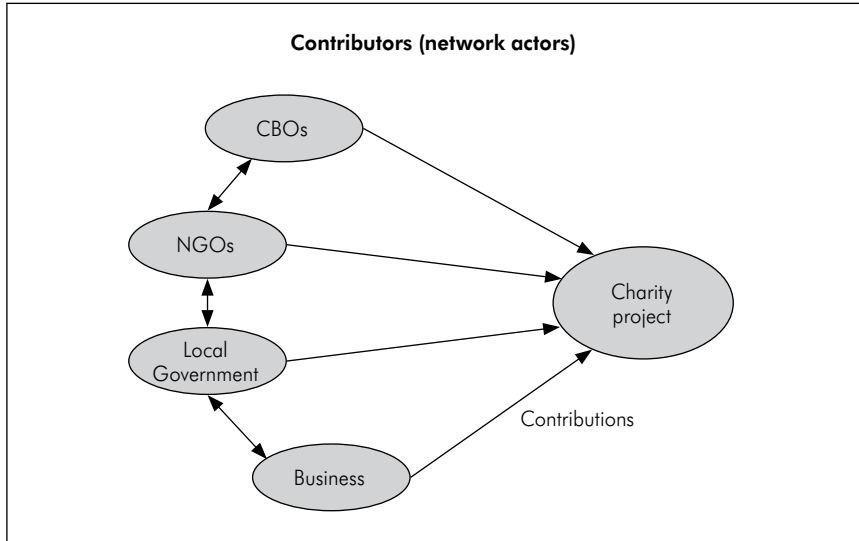
CIVIC CROWDFUNDING APPLICATION MODELS

“Civic crowdfunding” can be regarded as an umbrella term covering a variety of fundraising models (Shneor, Zhao and Flaten 2020). Both literature and practice confirm that there are four dominant models of civic crowdfunding, namely donation-based, reward-based, lending-based and equity-based crowdfunding. These models are illustrative of civic crowdfunding pluralism in local governance. Davies (2014b:39) explains that the differences between the models are characterised by dynamics such as differing levels of participation by the various actors involved, potential risks and rewards, and funding arrangements. A common denominator evident in all these models is that there is an expectation of particular benefits that are directly or indirectly accrued by the network actors who participate in the crowdfunding initiatives (Shneor, Zhao and Flaten 2020).

Donation-based crowdfunding

The donation-based model of crowdfunding is typically used in charitable projects, wherein people make donations online for a particular cause (Nesta 2012:2). Flanigan (2017) argues that this model generally involves raising non-equity capital and the funds are not repaid to the contributors. In other words, the contributors are not entitled to receive any financial, material or any other form of return for their donations (Veelen 2015). According to Gajda and Walton (2013), this model is inherently philanthropic in nature (Flanigan 2017). Chao *et al.* (2020) hold that donation-based crowdfunding is the model least likely to be used in local governance since its primary focus is philanthropic, altruistic, humanitarian

Figure 1: Networks in donation-based crowdfunding models



Source: (Authors' own construction)

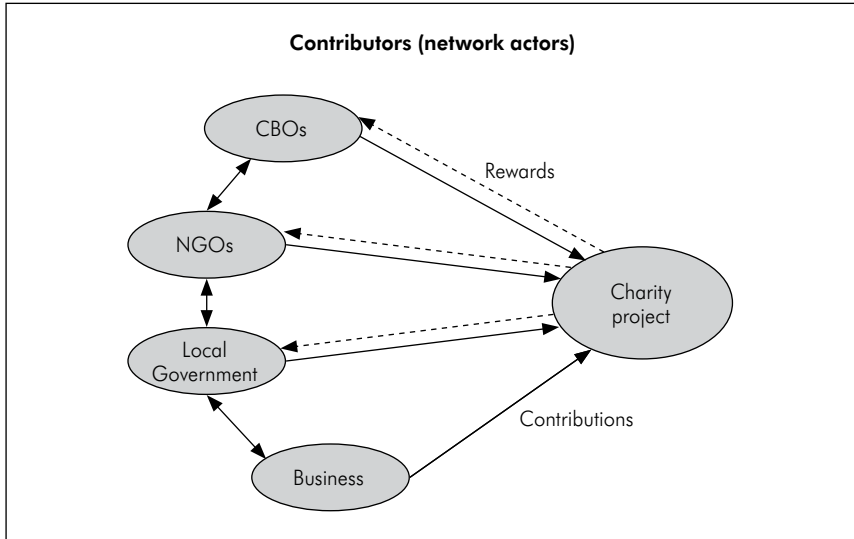
and generous in nature. Since municipal-initiated projects are usually not charitable, this model does not yield particular value for network local governance. It might, however, have some benefit to rally a number of individuals and charity-based organisations around a particular cause. Figure 1 illustrates the scope of network formation applicable to this model.

It should be noted that local government is but one actor in this network. Collectively with CBOs, NGOs, and business enterprises, local government may contribute to charity projects.

Reward-based crowdfunding

The reward-based crowdfunding model is similar to the donation-based model in many respects. The main difference between the two is that contributors (i.e., the crowd) in the reward-based model often get non-financial tokens or rewards in return for their contributions (Gajda and Walton 2013:9). Authors such as Colombo *et al.* (2015) and Zhao and Ryu (2020) hold that these rewards take differing forms, including pre-orders, services and recognition. Recognition can, for example, take the form of tokens of acknowledgement and appreciation. The creators of crowdfunding campaigns often write thank-you letters to contributors, display the names of backers on their websites as a way of showing appreciation for their support or provide them with branded materials (Zhao and Ryu 2020). These rewards are

Figure 2: Networks in reward-based crowdfunding models



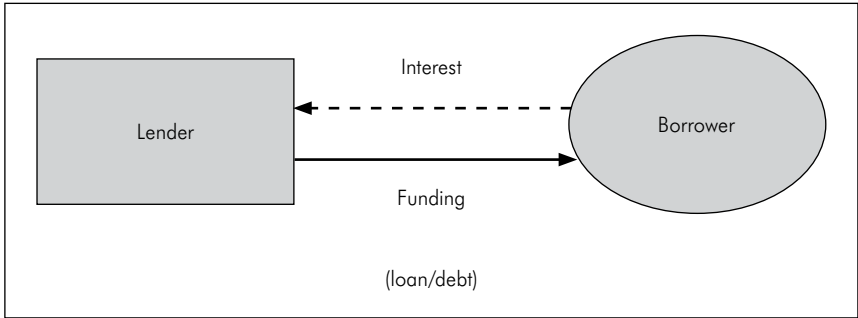
Source: (Authors' own construction)

symbolic in nature and convey appreciation (Gajda and Walton 2013). In local governance contexts, these rewards might include free parking discs, discounts for accessing public spaces or recreational facilities and other municipal paraphernalia. As such, this model has some value for network formation, since cities and towns might engage local businesses and CBOs to donate money for a particular municipal project and give them some form of reward in return (Figure 2). Rewards in the form of recognition can significantly boost the corporate image of a business, promote branding and thus market their products or services.

Lending- or debt-based crowdfunding

Lending- or debt-based crowdfunding has some structural similarities with conventional private financial services and lending schemes that are available for developers (Gajda and Walton 2013:10). Gajda and Walton (2013:10) observe that, in this model, money is borrowed from a group of people (i.e., crowd) instead of a conventional financial agency such as a bank. Using crowdfunding platforms to pitch their projects, organisations or groups seeking finance allow members of the public to take small chunks of the loan (NESTA 2012). For this reason, the model is also referred to as “peer-to-peer” lending or “market-based” lending (Shneor 2020:23). Crowdfunding platforms, on which borrowers and lenders converge (i.e., network formation), are typically used as intermediaries. In lending

Figure 3: Networks in lending- or debt-based crowdfunding models



Source: (Authors' own construction)

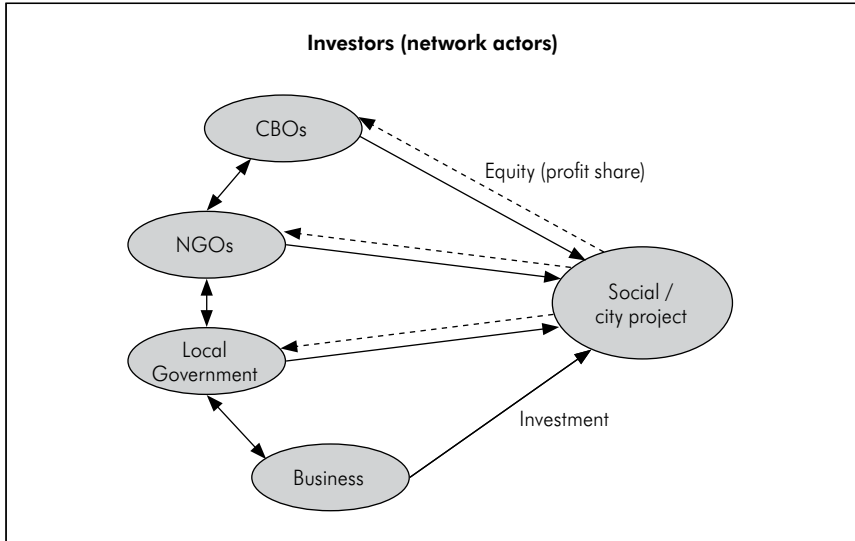
crowdfunding, interest rates are usually lower than in the traditional financial institutions and the modus of interest calculation is usually the same, involving, for example, issues such as risk factors calculated on the basis of financial information and personal securities. Hence, this model is preferred by borrowers who are looking for a loan with a lower interest rate than those offered by banks (Gajda and Walton 2013:10). The debt factor is primarily motivated by financial return on investment. If municipal councils act as lenders, they might decide on the particular interest rate.

It is evident that network formation in this model is limited to lenders and borrowers (Figure 3). However, if cities act as lenders, it can be argued that it promotes engagement with actors interested in municipal infrastructure development and other community-based projects. This brings it almost in line with the principles of public-private partnerships and outsourcing.

Investment and equity-based crowdfunding

The investment and equity-based crowdfunding model is particularly popular in the private sector because it involves an institution raising capital while issuing shares or distributing a percentage of the profits (Ziegler and Shneor 2020). Gajda and Walton (2013:11) stress that this model involves arrangements such as offering the same payoff as equity (shares) and the funder is a creditor who has a contractual right to receive payment. Shneor (2020:26) explains that equity-based models “relate to activities where individuals or institutions invest in unlisted shares or debt-based securities issued by a business, typically a small and medium enterprise”. This model is primarily business-like but is also being used to finance social projects. Gajda and Walton (2013:11) underscore that funders are attracted to invest in projects that share their values and interests. Using online crowdfunding platforms, project champions open calls offering specified amounts

Figure 4: Networks in investment and equity-based crowdfunding models



Source: (Authors' own construction)

of equity or bond-like shares with a view to drawing a large number of investors (Shneor 2020).

As a network formation model (Figure 4), investment and equity-based crowdfunding holds particular value in the sense that a formal, contractual arrangement exists between the investor actors and between the investors and project champions for the payment of equity or profit sharing to investor actors.

The above models indicate how network formation can enable differing types of crowdfunding activities to capitalise on the plurality of the actors involved in local governance. They also capture how crowdfunding accommodates the various facets of city governance. In addition, these models provide some insight into the characteristics and motivations driving actor participation and collaboration in crowdfunding. Furthermore, they speak to the network paradigm of city governance; fostering more market-driven approaches and opportunities for incorporating multiple actors in city development.

In addition to an exposition of these civic crowdfunding models, the application of scoping review methodology makes it possible to examine the extent, range and nature of scholarly inquiry into a particular phenomenon with the view to identifying research gaps. Paré and Kitsiou (2016:163) regard scoping review methodology as a method that provides an “initial indication of the potential size and nature of the extant literature on an emergent topic”. The whole point of “scoping” the field is to be as comprehensive as possible. With this purpose in

mind, selected international cases are analysed below to determine the potential value and contributions of civic crowdfunding for network city governance.

CROWDFUNDING AS A NETWORK LOCAL GOVERNANCE INSTRUMENT: SELECTED INTERNATIONAL CASES

Gierczak *et al.* (2015) and Soepper (2018) confirm that cases of crowdfunding are increasing rapidly. Some of the largest crowdfunding platforms are based in the USA but, especially since 2010, civic crowdfunding has gained momentum in the UK, Germany and the Netherlands, which are the most mature European crowdfunding markets (Gierczak *et al.* 2015:9). With relevance to the focus of this article, Chen (2016:9) contends that crowdfunding is no longer limited to business ventures, but now also involves local governments and communities. It is evident that people still care for their communities and are willing to pay for deserving projects that will enhance their neighbourhoods, without necessarily expecting immediate rewards. To this end, Chen (2016:9) argues that urban projects are likely to be more valued by people if they actively contributed to them. As Soepper (2018:178) puts it, “It is a process that binds people together and gives them a stronger sense of ownership of their area”. Especially in cases in which cities experience budgeting constraints, civic crowdfunding via dedicated internet platforms can be a powerful instrument to facilitate the formation of networks for municipal projects. However, Mayer (2016:44) cautions that civic crowdfunding should not be seen as a replacement for local government budgeting, but merely serve as a welcome addition to existing funding. Against this backdrop, five recent case studies are briefly analysed to explore the potential of civic crowdfunding for the formation of networks in local governance.

Case 1: Glyncoch Community Centre

Glyncoch Community Centre serves as a suitable case study due to its scale and the way in which a gap in municipal funding was filled. Hollow (2013:69) and Davies (2014a:73–74) regard the Glyncoch civic crowdfunding project as one of the first prominent civic crowdfunding projects.

In 2012, the Welsh ex-mining community of Glyncoch announced that it had managed to raise £792,000 to build a new multi purpose community centre. In the absence of local authority funding, community volunteers established a non-profit organisation named the Glyncoch Regeneration Limited (GCRL) and commenced with a fund-raising campaign through Spacehive, a civic crowdfunding platform, to construct an energy-efficient centre that was suitable for hosting workshops and community groups, and which had conference suites for local

businesses (Freitas and Amado 2013:11). Community members volunteered their services during the construction phase of the project and assisted with the day-to-day operations thereof.

A number of observations can be made regarding network local governance based on the reflections of Freitas and Amado (2013), Davies (2014a) and Griffiths (2017) regarding this case. The first observation is that community members and CBOs rallied (networked) behind a common cause for the benefit of all. The broad-based grassroots and local authority support for the project created a safe and familiar environment for funders. By following a donation-based crowdfunding model (Fig. 1), the community networked with funders such as corporate donors, consultancy firms (e.g., Deloitte), charity foundations (e.g., Moondance Foundation and Tesco Charity Trust), philanthropists, the Welsh government and celebrities. A total of 94 individual donations were received. A second observation is that an e-platform, Spacehive, was used to facilitate network engagement and collaboration through greater media exposure and broadcast amplification. Davies (2014a:80) reasons that Spacehive connected “an otherwise under-resourced community to national media and social media personalities”. Social media, such as Twitter, was used to stimulate national and international interest in the project.

The case demonstrates how the interaction of multiple local and broader social networks is vital for a successful campaign. In this regard, Freitas and Amado (2013:11) argue that this crowdfunding project offers real-life evidence of the potential for local governments with limited funding to utilise crowdfunding to improve their urban environments. Freitas and Amado (2013:11) add that civic crowdfunding initiatives are relatively simple to align and integrate with existing local government networking instruments, such as participatory budgeting, community-based planning and ward committees.

Case 2: Liverpool Flyover

In 2012, the local authority of Liverpool published its Strategic Investment Framework to enhance Liverpool through community engagement, infrastructure development and networking with local businesses. It also publicised its intent to demolish a flyover in Churchill Way. The community, however, opposed the demolition of the flyover. In response, they established a social enterprise, “We Make Liverpool”, which commenced with a civic crowdfunding project with the objective of converting the flyover into an urban walk and cycle way with trees and shops, a space for educational and other events, and an area where local businesses could expand their services (Gasparo 2015:15; Junghans and Dorsch 2015:19). Proponents of the Liverpool Flyover project argued that the conversion of the flyover into a public space would cost far less than its proposed demolition.

Through the We Make Liverpool enterprise, the community of Liverpool initially crowdfunded over £40,000 to pay for a feasibility study of the proposed project. The study revealed that the project would provide 200,000 individuals with space for recreational activities, social events and educational programmes. In November 2013, We Make Liverpool launched the Friends of The Flyover campaign to network with various actors to raise funds. It elicited broad-based community support with 30,000 followers on social media. Through a series of public presentations with councillors, municipal officials, educational institutions, local businesses and other CBOs, it rallied broad support for the Liverpool Flyover project (Gasparo 2015:15). A total of 122 funders pledged £17,000 to the project through the e-platform Spacehive. Future Cities Catapult (2014:27) underscores the fact that the project appealed to funders since they could directly invest locally without “having to spend time attending meetings and navigating opaque municipal planning procedures”. More than half of the amount raised was funded by individuals and the other half by four private partners via in-kind financial donations (Soepper 2018:179).

The Liverpool Flyover civic crowdfunding project provides valuable insight into network local governance. For instance, it illustrates that local actors can engage local authorities with alternative proposals that might prove to be more beneficial for the entire local community than the original policy proposals. By allowing these actors to influence policy decisions, local authorities can pre-test alternatives with their voters, gain commitment and buy-in from all stakeholders, and only then commit public funding. In addition, it is evident that civic crowdfunding offers a viable platform to foster collaboration and partnerships between various local network actors. A final observation that can be made is that feasibility studies prior to the implementation of community projects generate valuable insights into the level of support, the availability of funds, the role of local authorities and the nature of coordination required between the various actors and project champions.

Case 3: Colombia’s BD Bacatá Tower

Freitas and Amado (2013) and Morri and Ravetta (2016) regard the financing of the BD Bacatá Tower in Colombia as one of the biggest civic crowdfunding projects ever recorded. Freitas and Amado (2013:13) continue that the BD Bacatá Tower is “the most ambitious building in Latin America and ... an icon of urban renewal and crowdfunding”.

Prodigy Networks, a company established by Colombian-American businessman Rodrigo Niño in 2003, raised US\$240 million between 2009 and 2013 to help finance the construction of the BD Bacatá Tower. Funding was raised from more than 3,950 investors (Andrews 2014:10). According to Freitas and Amado

(2013:13), the return on the investment hinged on the performance of the real estate asset. This financial model did not guarantee a set return on investment.

This case study deserves scrutiny regarding how its successes can inform the discourse of civic crowdfunding and network local governance. The first aspect that should be noted is that a broad spectrum of individuals, groups and organisations became involved. In this regard, Andrews (2014:11) attributes the success of the BD Bacata project to the fact that the crowd was involved from the inception of the project and was able to inform the design of the building through an online architecture contest. The engagement of the crowd was intended to ensure high levels of participation and promote transparency. The developers also provided all the network actors with regular updates on progress. A further interesting point is that an equity-funding model was utilised to accommodate the involvement of real estate developers.

The case study contains three important lessons for local authorities. The first is the establishment of a conducive and flexible statutory and regulatory framework. In this regard, Andrews (2014:13) argues that the local authority's policies supported civic crowdfunding in the sense that they allowed for the formation and utilisation of the particular funding model and provided adequate protection for potential investors. Bureaucratic red tape and expensive administrative rules and processes were reduced and the local authority did not impose particular sanctions on the formation of the crowd or the size of their investments. A second lesson is what Glover (2017:8) refers to as "local economic growth". It was possible for the council to invest its budget reserves in any companies involved in the equity crowdfunding as a way of earning higher returns on council savings. By investing in local businesses, local authorities can promote local economic growth. Third, the case study shows that councils can act as catalysts, facilitators and investors in crowdfunding. In this regard, Glover (2017:8) maintains that the success of civic crowdfunding is that local authorities can and should broker collaborative networks and establish positive relationships between local actors.

Case 4: Live Lebanon

According to Candelise (2015:7–8), Live Lebanon is a United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) initiative established in 2010 to support underprivileged and marginalised communities in Lebanon. Through this initiative, current Lebanese citizens and expatriates, businesses and development agencies can provide direct socio-economic support. Live Lebanon acts as platform on which proposals for support and development can be submitted. Invitations for such proposals are extended every 18 months in collaboration with the municipalities in Lebanon. A panel comprised of personnel from the Live Lebanon project, goodwill ambassadors and UNDP personnel was established to evaluate the project proposals

and reduce the potential proposals to 60. The Live Lebanon team then visits the sites related to the 60 pre-selected proposals to validate the data provided and further shortlist proposals. Feasibility and budget studies are then conducted by the team and 20 to 30 projects are retained. The project budgets usually range between US\$40,000 and US\$70,000. Project documents are created and posted on websites and platforms for crowdfunding.

In terms of this donation-based funding model, Candelise (2015:8) states that crowdfunding donations can be made through six main streams, namely:

- the Live Lebanon website (<http://livelebanon.org>);
- the Zoomal e-platform;
- the Alfa-Touch smartphone application;
- a bank account;
- through goodwill ambassadors and celebrities; and
- directly to the UNDP office.

Donors have the choice to donate to a particular Live Lebanon stream (e.g., Healthy Lebanon, Green Lebanon, Young Lebanon or Prosperous Lebanon), the city or the project. Once the required funding for a particular project has been raised through the six income streams, implementation can commence and the Live Lebanon coordinating committee provides the donors with frequent progress reports (Candelise 2015:8).

According to the UNDP (n.d: 2), this civic crowdfunding initiative is characterised by an extensive network of actors that are all committed to improving the well-being and prosperity of communities. UN Volunteers (2018:2) also confirms that Live Lebanon's successes can be ascribed to the establishment of "innovative partnerships among civil society, local authorities, the private sector and the Lebanese Diaspora to help create sustainable funding for development in the long term".

Case 5: Sunny Money Zambia

According to Gajda and Walton (2013:15), Sunny Money is a "low-cost high-tech solar powered technology provider in Zambia". The company crowdfunded US\$20,000 to sell 1,232 solar-powered lights to communities, positively impacting the lives of 6,776 citizens. By utilising energy-efficient technology, the families decreased their electricity cost by 12%.

The project shows that debt crowdfunding can be used to support lending network schemes. According to Afrikstart (2015:12), crowdfunding expansion as an alternative local government funding is hampered mainly by "low internet penetration, low social media usage, limited funds transfer and payments options, and no or limited legal and regulatory frameworks that define crowdfunding in

most African countries". In spite of these limitations, Afrikstart (2015:62) holds that "crowdfunding is a major vector of African self-empowerment".

An interesting point to note about networking in this particular case is that networks were established and situated mainly outside the country. The Cambridge Centre for Alternative Finance (2017:14) acknowledges that "almost all of the funding, of whatever type, was raised in the US and Europe". This phenomenon is not only evident in Zambia but across Africa. As the Cambridge Centre notes, "there are very few platforms in Africa raising funds from the local crowd on any scale and most of this is in the form of donations because of regulatory obstacles to raising debt and equity" (Cambridge Centre for Alternative Finance 2017:51).

OBSERVATIONS ON THE UTILISATION OF CROWDFUNDING AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR NETWORK FORMATION IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE

The five case studies above illustrate that civic crowdfunding offers viable funding options for various types of local government projects, irrespective of their size and scope. Mayer (2016:43) and Soepper (2018:180) also observe that current crowdfunding models transcend conventional donation approaches, whereby wealthy individuals (so-called philanthropists), donate money to worthy projects. In contemporary times, civic crowdfunding enables ordinary citizens, businesses and agencies to become micro-philanthropists.

A second observation is that civic crowdfunding has a disruptive, transformational capacity. This implies that local authorities can capitalise on this capacity to collaborate with various actors in order to design and execute projects that will benefit the entire community. This significantly supplements and supports existing municipal funding available to implement projects. It also legitimises these projects since it stimulates wider societal contributions. It further implies that, as Mayer (2016:49) observes, communities "are certainly capable of working outside of local authorities to get things done". As civic crowdfunding projects become more prevalent and are employed on a wider scale, they have the potential to shake-up local government by altering and impacting the traditional roles and boundaries between citizens and councils. Against this background, Mayer (2016:49) contends that "an increasing number of local authorities are turning to crowdfunding to solve local dilemmas". Veelen (2015:7) adds that it is important for local authorities to get used to the fact that citizens "want to add value in this civic economy, which asks for a different role of local authorities". The experience of the Glyncoch Community Centre shows that citizens can rehabilitate community infrastructure, while that of the BD Bacata Tower demonstrates that crowdfunding can facilitate a change in the overall look of cities. In the same

vein, Gasparo (2015:4) observes that local authorities must recognise that civic crowdfunding can help to “solicit solutions to problems that require broad-based public support; in other words, the formation of networks to address social concerns”. Junghans and Dorsch (2015:18) also maintain that crowdfunding offers “an ideal way for local authorities to engage with urban residents and other network actors”.

A third observation is that local authorities should establish a conducive policy environment for the establishment of the networks required to stimulate crowdfunding initiatives. In this regard, Gasparo (2015:7) observes that civic crowdfunding activities are “at the hub of network local governance as they offer new platforms for public participation and better civic decision-making”. As confirmed by all the case studies, crowdfunding is premised on the ideas of cooperation, collaboration and cocreation. For instance, the cases of the Liverpool Flyover and Live Lebanon show that citizens, local authorities, NGOs and other network actors can come together to plan and contribute to a course of action collaboratively. Wei (2018:87) confirms that “unlike the traditional top-down approach where urban projects are largely determined by local authorities, crowdfunding democratises both ideas and funding, and encourages individuals, businesses and the authorities to work together to make things happen”. In other words, the case studies show that civic crowdfunding enhances network formation and actor participation.

A fourth and final observation, as confirmed by Gasparo (2015:7), is that crowdfunding has the potential to stimulate political commitment to urban projects. Often political decision-makers become involved only when they have evidence that a particular project enjoys broad public support and receives high media exposure. Additionally, crowdfunding is a viable political engagement tool because it is an apolitical approach to solving local governance issues. Once politicians (e.g., municipal councillors) are on board, project sponsors (i.e., network actors) are more willing to contribute to the project. In this regard, civic crowdfunding serves as a catalyst for a new form of local governance; a form premised on democratisation, network formation, participation and community engagement. Mayer (2016:50) confirms that this new form of local governance is promoted by social media platforms, the use of open lines of communication, and frequent dialogue between local authorities and network actors to mitigate concerns and to build on social capital. As noted by Adams (2014:13), “Local communities and groups have consistently found innovative ways of raising funds for local and community projects, and it seems crowdfunding is an extension of those innovative practices. In addition, such community projects are rarely just about the money; they also incorporate getting wider support and contributions, such as volunteers’ time and energy, public awareness and acceptance, and community building.”

CIVIC CROWDFUNDING QUO VADIS? RECOMMENDATIONS FOR NETWORK LOCAL GOVERNANCE APPLICATIONS

The emergence of network forms of local governance and the scrutiny of civic crowdfunding cases highlight that local authorities need to make certain adjustments to accommodate this new form of governance. In light of this, a number of recommendations can be made.

The first recommendation is that local authorities (e.g., municipal councils and administrations) follow and allow more inclusive, collaborative and democratic approaches such as crowdfunding in the governance of cities and towns. Research by eminent network governance scholars such as Denhardt and Denhardt (2000), Osborne (2006), Pollitt and Bouckaet (2011), Bourgon (2011), Christensen (2012), Robinson (2015) and Dickinson (2016) has confirmed that the role of the state (inclusive of local authorities) has shifted to that of a network catalyst. Various approaches, such as coproduction, cocreation, collaboration, participation, steering, co-optation, partnerships and many more testify to this new character and position of local authorities in local governance. However, more research is required to reveal permutations of this role, given the differing political, socio-economic and demographic contexts of urban settings. In particular, researchers should focus on how local authorities should be structured or organised, how their functions should be reconfigured and how collective decisions should be made to accommodate civic crowdfunding and network formation.

A second recommendation is that local authorities should allow for the participation in crowdfunding of a variety of groups or networks from differing socio-economic groupings of society, especially from marginalised communities. Involvement in network governance arrangements and contributions to civic crowdfunding raise serious ethical and moral dilemmas relating to, for example, social equity issues. Literature on crowdfunding is currently relatively silent on pertinent ethical questions. For example, Stiver *et al.* (2014) and Junghans and Dorsch (2015) raise questions such as whether crowdfunding can facilitate the redistributive justice of resources, and whether it can lead to social wedges between poor and affluent neighbourhoods by disproportionately favouring projects for wealthy, politically-connected groups.

The third and final set of recommendations regarding scholarly inquiry into civic crowdfunding in the local governance context is that research should further probe

- the nature, scope and content of local government policies and regulations to stimulate networks for crowdfunding;
- the ways in which concerns regarding social equity can be addressed;
- the potential for fraud and corruption when utilising any of the crowdfunding models;

- the sustainability (i.e., maintenance) of community projects once established by crowdfunding initiatives; and
- the management of financial, political and health risks associated with projects (e.g., responsibilities for environmental impact assessments, failure to raise adequate support and the role of local authorities in filling potential funding gaps).

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this article was to frame the scholarly discourse regarding crowdfunding and to outline the potential contributions of this phenomenon as an instrument to promote networked forms of local governance. To this end, civic crowdfunding models and five international case studies were explored. It is evident that civic crowdfunding can be regarded as both an outcome of an emerging shift towards network forms of local governance as well as a catalyst for the formation of networks to fund community projects. Network forms of governance allow a variety of actors to contribute towards the planning, financing and implementation of urban projects. The success of these networks is dependent on the role of local authorities to establish conducive policy and funding frameworks for crowdfunding formation and on adherence to democratic principles such as collaborations and participation. Based on the analyses of the respective funding models and the selected case studies, it is clear that civic crowdfunding indeed acts as a viable instrument for network formation in local governance.

NOTE

- * This article is based on a completed doctoral thesis of L.E. Chigova conducted at North-West University titled "Civic crowdfunding for community infrastructure rehabilitation: The case of the City of Harare", under the supervision of Professor Gerrit van der Waldt.

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Factors Influencing Service Delivery Challenges and Trends in the City of Mutare in Zimbabwe

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ABSTRACT

The article aims to determine what the service delivery challenges in the City of Mutare in Zimbabwe are and how the residents of the City of Mutare rate the services provided by the City. It provides several general contextual challenges influencing local government in Zimbabwe, including challenges related to the utility sector, land administration, housing provision and finance and poor budgeting. The methodological approach entails a desktop study as well as other mixed method data collection methods (survey questionnaire and interviews). The study found that the challenges in the City of Mutare include inter alia, insufficient finances, lack of sufficient and competent human resources, the non-availability of equipment, the absence of an appropriate strategic plan, performance measurement mechanisms, stakeholder participation in civic matters, a service charter and demotivated staff. The article also provides suggestions offered by the residents of the City of Mutare to address these challenges.

INTRODUCTION

Local government has been given a new constitutional mandate in the Constitution of the Republic of Zimbabwe, 2013 (Amendment No. 20): to promote devolution; to improve the day-to-day lives of citizens; and to build a democratic developmental state. Prior to the Constitution of Zimbabwe, 2013, local government in Zimbabwe was not constitutionalised but a legal creation. From a conceptual perspective, central government's implementation of devolution is not necessarily about reinventing the country's entire governance framework. Pre-1980 urban councils, including town management boards, for example, in the City of Mutare

(Chatiza 2010), and early independence district councils were already devolved (Matyszack 2010:34). In the case of the latter, the government retained control through its field offices (Matyszack 2010:34). As such, it can be argued that Zimbabwe has a tradition of devolution (Centre for Conflict Management and Transformation (CCMT) 2015:14).

Zimbabwe has at least 92 well-established local governments that are governed by directly-elected representatives. Notably, these local governments mostly use locally raised financial resources and have the authority to make independent investment decisions (Development Governance Institute (DEGI) 2013:12). These local governments are formally established and have legally recognised geographical boundaries within which they exercise authority and perform public functions.

Previous statutory and institutional arrangements rendered local government vulnerable to substantial variations and continued threats by re-assigning local government's mandates. Guided by the current make-up of local government in Zimbabwe, the article reviews the current challenges of local government service delivery in the City of Mutare, and identifies key remedies as corrective actions that can be taken to address these challenges. It aims to address the following research questions: 'How do the residents of the City of Mutare rate the services provided by Mutare City Council?'; 'What are the service delivery challenges of the Mutare City Council?' and 'What do the residents of the City of Mutare suggest are the best available options to address their identified challenges?'

The article starts with providing several general contextual challenges influencing local government in Zimbabwe, including challenges related to the utility sector, land administration, housing provision and finance and poor budgeting. It then explains the methodology of the empirical investigation. This is followed by the findings and a discussion of the findings in terms of the rate of satisfaction of the residents in the City of Mutare, the challenges facing the City, the causes of poor service delivery in the City, the effects of poor service delivery and finally, strategies to reduce the effects of the challenges.

CONTEXTUAL CHALLENGES INFLUENCING LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ZIMBABWE

Since 1998, national institutions in Zimbabwe have been mandated to function within a devolved governance system. Central government, among others, established an Inter-Ministerial Committee to ensure that legislation aligns with the new Constitution of Zimbabwe, 2013. The Ministry of Justice, which led the process, submitted the General Laws Amendment Bill before Parliament in May 2015. This Bill was legislated and became the Local Government Laws Amendment

Act, 2016. Moreover, individual ministries have been reviewing policies and laws in their own sectors to align them with the Constitution of Zimbabwe, 2013. Ongoing interaction between ministries, Parliament and non-state development organisations has also ensured that constitutionalism is prioritised.

According to Olowu (2009:17–18) “Zimbabwe is an example of a country that once had very robust institutions of local governance, especially in the urban centres. However, the powers and resources of these institutions have systematically degraded over time due to political developments at the national level”. Olowu (2009:17–18) laments that, “within a decade, most of these elements compromised good governance due to the power struggle at the national level”.

As urbanisation in Zimbabwe has not been associated with economic growth, local urban authorities continue to experience political and economic uncertainty (Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) 2009). The prospect of better economic and social service opportunities in cities helps to explain the rural-urban migration. Hence, Zimbabwe’s urban population has been on the rise since 1982. “As a result, there is immense pressure on cities to deliver more services to an increasing urban population” (Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (ZIMSTAT) 2018). In addition, according to ZIMSTAT (2018). “the provision of urban goods and services has not kept up with rising urbanisation levels”. Zimbabwe’s urban sprawl has led to a rise in poverty levels and challenges, such as inadequate housing, “infrastructure and service provision including clean portable water, sewerage reticulation, power supply, garbage collection and disposal and inadequate transportation” (Munzwa and Jonga 2010:44). Munzwa and Jonga (2010:44) further add that “mismanagement, corruption and contestation in urban councils also result in cities failing to provide urban services”.

Urban goods and services are an important element in human development. Due to the mismatch between urbanisation and economic performance, local authorities faced a “higher demand for services with limited returns from a receding economy” (Munzwa and Jonga 2010:44). Potts (2006:8) argues “that the reality of urbanisation in Zimbabwe resembles shattered dreams”. Urban councils “were placed under further pressure, as their main revenue sources (companies) either shut down or relocated to neighbouring countries” (Wekwete 1990:54).

According to “official and conservative government figures, inflation exceeded 8 000% a year, while respected economists and the [International Monetary Fund] (IMF) estimated the figure closer to 150 000%” (Coltart 2008:33). “The depreciation of the Zimbabwean dollar made urban development planning difficult for local authorities” (Coltart 2008:33). This trend of annual rising inflation was still prevailing in 2020. Also, the “decline in formal employment resulted in an increase in informal housing and employment sectors. As most local authorities had not planned for this urban sprawl, administration and planning became more a political than a town-planning matter” (Munzwa and Jonga 2010:140).

A “harsh macro-economic environment made long-term planning difficult and subsequently, local authorities were fighting for survival” (Munzwa and Jonga 2010:140).

According to Munzwa and Jonga (2010:140) “the politico-economic breakdown of good governance between 2000 and 2008 led to unemployment, environmental pollution and destruction, non-development and maintenance of infrastructure, shortages of urban transport and an inadequate supply of water and poor sewerage management”. The breakdown in urban governance “led to a sharp drop in living standards... shallow wells replaced water taps, blocked storm drains led to unnecessary flooding in streets, uncollected refuse lined the streets and pot-holed roads caused dangerous driving conditions” (Munzwa and Jonga (2010:140). The poor state of politics, bad governance and ineffective institutions in urban centres made it clear that urban governance needed to be re-engineered.

While the economy had a negative impact on service delivery, politics played a far more prominent role (Potts 2006). Munzwa and Jonga (2010) state that “political actions were mostly the underlying cause of the country’s poor service delivery, and the economy became a convenient scape goat, for example, certain services such as maintenance and repair of street lighting and traffic lights do not require many resources”. Also, “after the multi-currency scheme (the US dollar, South African rand and the Botswanan pula) was introduced in January 2009, local authorities began collecting tariffs in these hard currencies” (Munzwa and Jonga 2010). However, there was no significant improvement in service delivery, as many people had expected.

At face value, Zimbabwe’s central government is prioritising the devolution of all government tiers. However, Chatiza (2014:13) argues “that central government vacillates between a devolution thrust (administering local affairs by locally elected officials) and a delegation thrust (performing tasks transferred from or assigned by the centre)”. Moreover, “it has been suggested that the definition of local government at a national level is confusing” (Chatiza 2014:13). In line with this argument, “national government’s supervision of local authorities must be viewed according to three broad forms of supervision, namely regulation, monitoring or evaluation and intervention” (Chatiza 2014:23).

There is also “a strong link between the monitoring and supervision of local government institutions because monitoring focuses on establishing performance mechanisms to continuously examine whether local government complies with relevant legislation and national government policies” (Makumbe 2012:12). This ongoing exercise by the national government is conducted through the relevant ministries. On the other hand, “supervision refers to national government inspecting local authorities to ensure appropriate behaviour” (Makumbe 2012:12). In this regard, national government can also advise local government regarding administrative and management issues. Both the Urban Councils Act, 1996 and the Rural

District Councils Act, 1988 provide for “the monitoring of local government by the relevant minister” (Maregere 2021a:14). According to Maregere (2021a:14) the, “monitoring mechanisms include the right of access to council records, self-reporting, reporting at the request of the relevant minister and the power to order investigations into the conduct of councillors” (Maregere 2021a:14).

The Ministry of Economic Planning and Investment Promotion (2012) states that “Developed under the leadership of the Government of Zimbabwe, in consultation with civil society, the private sector and bilateral and multilateral agencies, the country’s Medium-Term Plan serves as a five-year development strategy”. As such, “it serves as an important future focused economic blueprint” (Ministry of Economic Planning and Investment Promotion 2012). According to the GoZ (2015:67), “the Medium-Term Plan 2011–2015 indicated that the major causes of poor service delivery by local authorities include an inability to balance workforce and service delivery expenditure, update outdated billing systems and accounting packages, fixing ageing service infrastructure, as well as non-compliance to internal planning and monitoring systems” (GoZ 2015:67).

To validate the abovementioned argument regarding the state of service delivery in the country’s largest municipalities, the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Local Government, Rural and Urban Development Report (2015 in Maregere 2021a:12) states: “Perpetual challenges in all the three local authorities can be explained as council negligence, inconsiderate private developers, systemic corruption, political and government interference in council business, abuse of office by council officials and inadequate funding”.

Based on the aforementioned, the paragraphs below highlight key service delivery challenges experienced in local government

Challenges related to the utility sector

Zimbabwe’s growing population, urbanisation and competing socio-economic activities (e.g., agriculture, industrial and household usage) have led to critical water supply challenges (GoZ 2013:12). Consequently, “necessary reforms were implemented following independence and in the late-1990s” (GoZ 2013:12). However, these initiatives failed to fully capacitate the country’s water sector.

Despite the ever-increasing rate of urbanisation in Zimbabwe, “investments in water and sanitation infrastructure have dwindled” (Phiri 2013:12). The GoZ in its Medium-Term Plan (2011–2015) conceded “that water and sanitation infrastructure is under severe strain due to the aged infrastructure and lack of repair and maintenance services” (Phiri 2013:12).

Human Rights Watch (2013:45) highlighted the challenges that arise “from public sector corruption, mismanagement and the lack of political will”, while Mapfumo and Madesha (2014:25) noted issues related to “population growth,

poor and ageing infrastructure, economic challenges and climate change". Chinyama and Toma (2013:05) agree with the "population growth and infrastructure failure" explanations but further observe that "residents' behaviour also represent a key challenge". Hove and Tirimboi (2011:14) anchor their arguments on "institutional failure", referring to how the Zimbabwe National Water Authority's (ZINWA) takeover of the United Nations Children's Education Fund's (UNICEF) water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) systems (2005) triggered performance constraints for city councils, such as those of Mutare and Harare.

The institutional framework for the water sector is generally decentralised but questions have arisen over ZINWA's service delivery in recent years. Prior to 2005, the authority (and its predecessors) focused on infrastructure development, maintenance and the sale of bulk water to user institutions in mining, farming and local government. Also, "the loss of commercial farming clients following the land reform programme prompted ZINWA to go beyond bulk water service provision" (Chirisa Muzenda and Manyeruke 2013:87). Nevertheless, being centralised, some of the small centres it serves throughout the country can and do experience problems.

Not all of ZINWA's administrative structures and functions are aligned to the Constitution of Zimbabwe, 2013. According to Chirisa *et al.* (2013:87), "the role of ZINWA and other institutions in the water sector needs to be revised...this is critical from both a citizen participation perspective and in terms of the role of provincial-metropolitan and local authorities". ZINWA's head office holds more decision-making power and resources than lower-level officials in some local authorities, which is contradictory to a broad-based interpretation of devolution (Chirisa *et al.* 2013:87). Some aspects of the ZINWA Act, 1998 (Chapter 24:24), whereby decentralised structures were created (catchment and sub-catchment councils) need to be realigned (Chirisa *et al.* 2013:87).

Central government's role in pre-paid metering has been criticised (BPRA 2014). Citing the "socio-economic context, the system's capital intensity and supply deficits, residents have largely resisted the use of such technology" (BPRA 2014). On the other hand, central government has mandated local authorities, including the Mutare City Council, to punt the use of pre-paid water metering. This appears to have undermined the dialogue between citizens and their local governments in a way that stifles prospects for a devolved governance system.

Challenges related to land administration

Land administration functions and land information systems thus need devolved management (Chatiza 2003:34), but national institutions appear the least prepared to devolve. Unless land administration policy aspects are devolved, local governments will find it challenging to manage the revenue sources and public affairs, as defined in the Constitution of Zimbabwe, 2013 (Chatiza 2003:34). To

fast-track devolution, it is important to effectively address land tax as a local government mandate and it will, with inevitable central government resistance, set the stage for addressing the local government finance question in Zimbabwe.

Following an audit of land management and allocation issues in the Mutare City Council, a government report observed that “a vacuum had been created by changes in central and local government policies in the housing sector that was now occupied by land barons, housing cooperatives errant councillors and council officials [as] the opportunity presented them with options for massive private gain in the face of legislative and administrative inadequacies” (GoZ 2013:29). Nevertheless, central government had a hand in some of the allocations of state land within or adjacent to municipal areas, reflecting strategic contradictions that require untangling in the interest of good land governance.

Challenges related to housing provision

Chatiza and Chakaipa (2014:44) state that “the failure of local authorities to provide decent and pro-poor housing in urban areas resulted in Operation *Murambatsvina*”. This large-scale “government campaign cleared slum areas across the country, leaving more than 700 000 households homeless” (Chatiza and Chakaipa 2014:44). This operation continued although it contravened “the United Nations Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights that considers housing (shelter) as a basic socio-economic right” (Chatiza and Chakaipa 2014:44). This UN concept, “is acknowledged in the Constitution, however, is seldom acknowledged and reflected in national housing policy and practice” (Chatiza and Chakaipa 2014:44). “The official national estimate of the housing logjam is given at 1.2 million units...using an average family size of four, the national backlog translates to 5 million citizens or 44.7% of the 12 million people...as such, about 40% to 50% of the country’s citizens live in settlements that are below thresholds of basic convenience and sustenance” (Chatiza and Chakaipa 2014:44).

Local government finance and poor budgeting challenges

According to Coutinho (2015:23), “current local government financial challenges revolve around a failure to ensure effective financial management systems”. These failures resulted in “levying of sub-economic tariffs, a failure to ensure cost recovery on essential services, such as water and sewer provision, a failure to recover debts owed in a hyperinflationary environment, a lack of skilled and qualified staff due to skills flight to the private sector and to the diaspora, and generally due to the use of poor financial accounting systems” (Chikumbu 2016:12).

According to the Combined Harare Residents’ Association (CHRA) (CHRA 2014:11), “Local authorities raise revenue by enacting by-laws that assist in

levying fees...powers for doing so are drawn from either the Rural District Councils Act, 1988 or Urban Councils Act, 1996". Nevertheless, "over the years, the revenue base of local authorities has dwindled as central government has taken over many cash-cow functions, like the delivery of water and sanitation and vehicle licensing from local authorities and given them to centrally run parastatals" (CHRA 2014:11).

The finances of local authorities deteriorated to record "low levels from 2000 to 2010 and local authorities were forced to be creative in terms of generating revenue mobilised through fees, rates, sales, taxes" (GoZ 2013:17). The "spending priorities of local authorities have been a subject of concern, as more resources are channelled to wages and salaries, leaving key functions of infrastructure repair and development as well as local economic development underfunded" (GoZ 2013:17).

"Capital development projects that can have a long-term benefit to service delivery tend to be erratically pursued and not prioritised in local authorities" (Ondigi 2014:33). This means that "local governments tend to respond to immediate needs, thus losing sight of the advantage of planning ahead" (Ondigi 2014:33). Moreover, most "local authorities have not undergone external auditing of accounts for several years" (Ondigi 2014:33). This financial management practice opens the door to corruption.

To align local government with the Constitution of 2013, four key corrective actions concerning centre-local relations need to take place, namely "planning, budgeting and finance, human resources and expenditure, funding service delivery, poor budgeting, discrepancies in revenue sharing and poor funding arrangements regarding infrastructure management" (Ondigi 2014:33).

Local authorities' budgeting processes are meant to be the key entry point for citizen participation. However, current legislation does not provide local authorities with adequate direction on drafting budgets. Hence, the process takes place at the council's discretion. The council's finance committee drafts the budget, which is then presented to the full council for approval (Zhou 2013:5). The Minister of Local Government, Urban and Rural Development has mandated councils to carry out public consultative meetings and make the budgets public by publishing them in local newspapers (Zhou 2013:5). Councils are then expected to consider any objections on the budget estimates. The weakness of this process is that residents/ratepayers do not necessarily take part in the process, as they are only given the opportunity to respond to council estimates (Zhou 2013:5).

Representatives should act on behalf of residents and their interests during the budget formulation process when priority areas are identified and resource allocations are made (Zhou 2013:5). Moreover, a new local government policy should be implemented to recognise the role resident groups play in ensuring citizen participation in local government (Zhou and Zinyama 2014:11).

METHODOLOGY

In addition to the desktop literature study, the study also used a survey design (survey questionnaire) as well as semi-structured interviews to determine the level of satisfaction of the ratepayers in the City of Mutare. It was also a purpose of this empirical investigation to establish what challenges the City of Mutare was facing in delivering efficient and effective services in a bid to suggest strategies to address the challenges for the City to deliver satisfying services to its clients. Data was collected using questionnaires from residents who are the service recipients and it was organised and summarised from all the completed questionnaires with the aim of answering the research questions. The research questions were analysed, discussed and interpreted. The processing of the data was done using the Statistical Programme for Social Sciences (SPSS).

Purposeful and random sampling was used in terms of a cluster sampling technique with the first cluster the users of services provided by the City, the second cluster the members/employees of the City and the policymakers as the third cluster. For the first cluster (service users) 19 wards were categorised by ratepayer status (low-density, medium-density and high-density); in each of these clusters 15 households were randomly selected from the council records, hence, 45 service users. The business community was divided into corporations, medium-size and informal traders; in each cluster eight entities were randomly selected from the related business association data-base, hence, a total of 24. The transport sector was divided into three categories: long distance operators, mini-bus operators and taxis; each category had nine members randomly selected from the membership database, hence, a total of nine. Churches and schools entailed four entities each randomly selected, hence, a total of eight. The three colleges in the City were included in the sample as they are a unique category. The total entities entailed 100 users of council services.

For the second cluster (council employees), five members were randomly selected from the six departments with the head of department being a key informant as well, hence, a total of 36. For the third cluster (council policymakers) of 19 councillors eight were randomly selected from the two political parties represented in the council. The Ministry of Local Government, Urban and Rural Development as the parent ministry had six members randomly selected, two at Mutare district level, two at provincial level and two at head office. The total persons to be interviewed were 150.

There were 387 responses to the questionnaire, a figure above the minimum of 381 that was required. It followed that the research findings could be inferred to the whole population. The high **response rate** could be attributed to the fact that the respondents did not view the exercise with suspicion, with some expressing the sentiment that such an exercise was long overdue.

The **gender distribution** indicated that 66% of the respondents were males and 34% were females. This could be attributed to cultural beliefs that the male being the head of the household should by right answer any questions pertaining to that home. The same was evident in most homes where women called men to answer the research questions. The same was also testimony to the financial challenges that the council was facing because the men who answered the research questions should be gainfully employed and meeting any financial obligations to the council. In the past women would naturally be the majority in the homes as they normally ran the homes. However, the current scenario indicated that more males responded to the research questions than females.

The 36 to 40 **age group** were the majority with 87 respondents, followed by the 31 to 35 age group and the 20 to 24 age group. The 25 to 30 age group had 57 respondents while the 41 to 45 group had 50 respondents and the 46 to 50 and 50 and above age groups had 29 respondents each. This spread was important because it ensured that the various age groups contributed to the research. The outcome would be representative of the citizens of the City of Mutare.

Of the respondents 68% had lived in Mutare for more than 10 years, a period the authors presumed was sufficient for them to have experienced the services that the City of Mutare offered and to proffer their views on these services. Those residents who had lived there for five to 10 years constituted 16% followed by those who had lived there for two to five years (10%). Only 6% had lived there for less than two years.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The indicators demonstrating the level of satisfaction used in Table 1 entailed: 1) very satisfied, 2) dissatisfied, 3) neutral, 4) satisfied, 5) very satisfied, and 6) no response.

Table 1: Rate of satisfaction of residents in the City of Mutare

City of Mutare areas	Dangamvura	Sakubva	Chikanga	Central part of Mutare	Northern part of Mutare town	Southern part of Mutare town
Quality of services	2	2	3	3	3	4
Water services	5	5	5	5	5	5

City of Mutare areas	Dangamvura	Sakubva	Chikanga	Central part of Mutare	Northern part of Mutare town	Southern part of Mutare town
Sewer services	3	3	3	4	4	4
Leadership of the City's elected officials	1	2	3	3	2	2
Level of public involvement in the City's decision making process	1	2	2	2	2	2
Services offered by City employees	2	1	1	2	2	1
City efforts to keep residents informed about City operations	1	1	1	1	1	1
Quality of road conditions	3	3	2	1	1	1
Sidewalks conditions	1	1	1	1	1	1
Storm drains conditions	2	1	2	1	1	1
Quality of parks	2	2	2	1	1	1
Adequacy of street lighting	2	2	1	1	1	1
Quality of city swimming pools	1	1	1	1	1	1
Quality of public library	3	3	2	2	1	2
Quality of access to City facility for persons with disability	1	1	1	1	1	1
Cleanliness of City street	3	3	4	3	3	2
Quality of municipal police services	3	2	2	2	3	3
Enforcement of local traffic laws	1	1	1	1	1	1
Quality of local fire services	4	4	4	3	4	3
Services of the refuse collection	3	4	3	3	4	3

Challenges facing the City of Mutare

Table 2 demonstrates the results from the survey conducted on the challenges facing the City of Mutare.

Table 2: Challenges facing the City of Mutare

Challenges	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Not sure	Rank
Financial	27.2%	15.7%	31.7%	14.1%	11.3%	9
Human resources	18.6%	19.7%	35%	18.6%	8.1%	7
Plant and equipment	14.4%	18.7%	37.9%	16%	13%	6
Absence of a service charter	13.5%	18.1%	37.3%	14.3%	16.8%	8
Accountability and transparency	21.7%	16.2%	31.7%	24.7%	5.7%	5
Absence of a living strategic plan	12.6%	13.9%	37.4%	19.2%	16.9%	4
Absence of performance measurement mechanism	11.2%	12%	40.2%	23.5%	13.1%	2
Demotivated workforce	11.5%	8%	40.5%	33.8%	6.2%	1
Stakeholder participation	15%	12.6%	36.4%	23%	13%	3

From the above, the study found that the demotivated workforce was a major challenge as observed by the residents. Motivation was the driving factor that prompted behaviour, “gave direction to behaviour and underlined the tendency to persist, in the face of one or more obstacles” (Grobler *et al.* 2011 in Maregere 2021a:16). In terms of Abraham Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs (Grobler *et al.* 2011 in Maregere 2021a:16) “physical needs [were] the primary needs for food, shelter, and clothing that can be satisfied by compensation: employees who are adequately paid can provide for their own basic needs”. A demotivated worker would not deliver to the expectations of the local authority, resulting in the failure by the local authority to deliver services. Residents had observed that workers responsible for refuse removal were no longer collecting refuse on scheduled days, the nursing staff were on a go-slow and occasionally closed clinics before the stipulated times of closure. Residents had further noted an increase in requests for bribes from employees. However, demotivation was not the only challenge facing the City of Mutare. Residents indicated that the absence of performance measurement mechanisms was also a challenge.

A results-based management system ensured that workers were paid for the results that they produced. However, residents indicated that workers of the City of Mutare were paid whether they achieved results or not. Other challenges facing the City of Mutare included the lack of stakeholder participation, and absence of a transparent strategic plan from which all the council plans were derived. Residents

also indicated that the council was facing financial challenges which had resulted in its failure to procure plant and equipment used for maintenance and new installations. Residents further indicated that the inability of the council to attract personnel to key positions was compromising service delivery. Such key personnel would assist the council to craft strategies that the council could adopt to address the challenges that it faced. Key personnel would also help the council to deliver services.

It is evident that the City of Mutare has challenges that it should address in order to deliver services. As highlighted from literature and supported by observations made by residents, the challenges facing the City of Mutare are typical of the variables which affect service delivery in the public sector. There is a link between the variables and the City of Mutare’s ability to provide efficient and effective service delivery. The City of Mutare must adopt comprehensive strategies in order to address these challenges. The council will continue to be viewed negatively by residents for non-delivery of services.

The variables that affect service delivery have been cited by Ekpo (2008 in Maregere 2021a:14). “Where shortages of qualified and experienced persons exist the training, retraining and opportunities for higher education must be given in order to develop professional and technical expertise that would help to enhance the efficiency of service delivery” (Ekpo 2008 in Maregere 2021a:14). Ekpo (2008 in Maregere 2021a:15) further asserted that local governments must have the legal authority to raise the needed revenue to support their expenditure requirements. The research findings indicated that residents were aware of the variables that affected efficient and effective service delivery and expressed hope that the City of Mutare would address them and provide services that would improve their quality of life.

Causes of poor service delivery

The indicators for Table 3 entail: A) for non-payment of rates, B) for lack of worker supervision, C) for mismanagement, D) for misappropriation of funds, E) for lack of transparency, F) for lack of funds G) for demotivated workforce, and H) for political interference.

Table 3: Causes of poor service delivery

Cluster	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
High	6	25	63	121	40	32	31	11
Medium	3	4	7	7	2		6	5
Low	6		8	5	4		5	4
Total	15	29	78	133	46	32	41	19

The study found that the causes of poor service delivery as observed by the residents were attributed to managerial deficiencies or the lack by management to observe ethics in the discharge of their duties. Residents indicated that managers should not overstay in their various positions for they tended to lose steam. Residents also indicated that other causes of poor service delivery were misappropriation of funds and mismanagement. Residents were aware of the results of the audit that had been conducted by the parent Ministry of Local Government, Urban and Rural Development on the City of Mutare in 2015, a situation that had greatly compromised transparent and accountable service delivery. However, ethics in service delivery demanded that public officials exercise good governance in the discharge of their duties.

The concepts of accountability and transparency also come into play. Residents indicated that the council was not transparent in the discharge of its duties. Residents cited the example of allocation of in-fill residential stands as an example. There was no clear policy on how they were allocated; leaving residents at the mercy of council officials. A demotivated workforce was also highlighted as one of the causes of poor service delivery. However, a silent cause of poor service delivery that had great consequences on the council was political interference. Gwayi (2010 in Maregere 2021a:17) indicated that one of the causes of poor service delivery in councils was interference in administration. The centre-periphery relationship that existed greatly compromised the council's ability to deliver services. Residents indicated that the directive issued by the parent Ministry of Local Government, Urban and Rural Development to write-off domestic debts had affected the council financially. Further, councils were no longer licencing authorities of vehicles. Other causes of poor service delivery as observed by residents included lack of worker supervision and non-payment of rates.

It was evident from the research that management played a crucial role in service delivery. Management implemented policy and was responsible for achieving service delivery. It should therefore be held accountable for non-performance. However, the research also showed that the causes of poor service delivery in councils varied. Road maintenance was compromised by the late disbursement of funds by the Zimbabwe National Roads Authority (ZINARA). Councils were directed not to disconnect water supplies to defaulting individuals. The authority to licence vehicles, which funds were also used for road maintenance; was taken away from the council. Recently councils were directed to increase allowances for councillors which was not budgeted for. Boris (2015 in Maregere 2021a:7) identified undue political interference as one of the causes of poor service delivery in Nigeria. All the above-mentioned causes affected the council's ability to deliver services. As in the case with variables that affected service delivery, the council should address the causes of poor service delivery that were observed by residents if it wanted to realise its mandate.

Effects of poor service delivery

Table 4 entails the results of the survey conducted to determine residents' perceptions about the effects of poor service delivery.

Table 4: Effects of poor service delivery

Service	Effect	Response rate	Rank
Water provision	Diseases like cholera, dysentery	46%	5
Public street lighting	Increased crime rate	64%	2
Road maintenance	Breakdown of vehicles	43%	6
Sewerage	Disease outbreak	52.4%	4
Refuse removal	Disease outbreak	73%	1
Drainage	Flooding	56%	3

The study found that non-collection of refuse was a major area of concern as observed by the residents. Residents expressed concern about the fact that the council could go for weeks without collecting refuse, a situation that was exposing residents to diseases such as typhoid, cholera and dysentery. The increasing refuse mounds as well as illegal refuse dumping areas were potential breeding grounds for flies as observed by the residents. Most of the respondents also attributed the increase in malaria cases in Sakubva, Chikanga, Hobhouse and Dangamvura to the council's failure to spray traditional mosquito breeding sites and its failure to cut grass during the rainy season. Residents further indicated that the absence of public street lighting had resulted in an increase in crime. This assertion was corroborated by both Chikanga and Dangamvura police stations indicating that the spate of crime, especially robberies and muggings, had increased by 13% since the introduction of the multicurrency regime in 2009 to date. However, the increase in crime could also be attributed to the current economic challenges that the country was facing. Residents, mainly from the new residential developments, indicated that poor service delivery had the effect of causing water shortages. The current poor state of the roads in Mutare as observed by residents was contributing to the breakdown of vehicles while the absence of proper road signage and non-functional traffic lights was contributing to road accidents.

Consequently, poor service delivery had the effect of compromising the quality of life of residents. It also meant that the council failed in its service mandate to improve the quality of life of the residents in Mutare. The study found that

there was a link between the challenges that were facing the local council in delivering services, the quality of the services on the intended user and the effects of poor service delivery on the end user. By compromising on the efficiency and sufficiency of the services that it delivered, the council would be compromising the quality of life of its residents. Instead of enjoying quality services, residents of Mutare were exposed to diseases resulting from uncollected refuse, the absence of public lighting had increased the levels of crime, and vehicles were being damaged by potholed roads. Residents were not satisfied with the delivery of services by the City of Mutare.

From the research findings and supported by observations made by residents who are the service recipients, it was evident that poor service delivery resulted in dissatisfaction of the residents. Most of the residents viewed service delivery as poor. It remains constant that no matter the criteria of rating used, residents will always express dissatisfaction at poor service delivery.

Strategies to reduce the effects of the challenges

Table 6 entails the strategies that residents proposed for the City of Mutare to adopt in order to improve service delivery.

Table 6: Strategies to reduce the effects of the challenges

Strategies	Response rate	Rate
Encourage civic participation in civic matters	63.5%	6
Motivate workforce	76.4%	1
Re-equipping and re-tooling	62.2%	7
Procure new plant and equipment	57.8%	11
Budget consultation	66.6%	4
Accountability and transparency	74.9%	2
Introduce service charter	62%	8
Employ sufficient and competent human resources	58.6%	10
Introduce performance measuring mechanisms	60.4%	9
Training and re-training of staff	65.9%	5
Private/public partnerships	69.3%	3

The study found that most of the strategies that were suggested by residents could be grouped into operational, managerial and financial strategies. The residents reported that the City of Mutare was facing challenges of insufficient finances due to non-payment of rates by residents, failure to attract competent and sufficient human resources, inadequate plant and equipment, absence of a service charter, lack of accountability and transparency, absence of performance measurement mechanisms, absence of a transparent strategic plan from which all council projects were derived, a demotivated workforce due to non-payment of salaries and wages, and lack of stakeholder participation in civic matters. Residents encouraged the council to adopt strategies which motivated the workers in order for them to perform effectively. Other strategies included transparency and accountability, entering into private/public partnerships, and budget consultation.

The study found that the challenges facing the City of Mutare were related to capacity building issues. The failure by the council to address a challenge had a negative ripple effect. The council should therefore adopt wholesome strategies that addressed all of the capacity issues that faced it. The premise for all the council's work is the strategic plan but it could not be formulated without stakeholder input, since the plan addressed problems from the residents. In delivering services, the council should have in place a Service Charter that sets out the standards for service delivery. On the ground, the council requires sufficient finances to procure plant and equipment, pay workers, and provide packages that attracted competent human resources. During the execution of their duty, workers should be accountable and transparent. Management should from time to time appraise workers and where there was need; workers would receive training or retraining. This means that the strategies should be wholesome in order to address all the capacity issues that the council faced.

SUMMARY

Based on the study of the Mutare City Council, it is evident that there are constant challenges relating to service delivery within Zimbabwe's local government domain. This situation is exacerbated by a lack of appropriate legislative provisions at a national level, a lack of institutional objectives, complex cooperative governance processes and a lack of proper implementation of the service delivery. This insufficient alignment between national and provincial policies also alludes to a serious disjuncture in terms of cooperative governance.

The empirical investigation revealed that most of the respondents indicated that the challenges were insufficient finances, lack of sufficient and competent human resources, non-availability of plant and equipment, absence of a service charter, absence of a live strategic plan, absence of performance measurement mechanisms, a

demotivated workforce and lack of stakeholder participation in civic matters. These factors impacted negatively the council's ability to provide services.

Poor service delivery was also caused by the non-payment of rates, lack of worker supervision, mismanagement, poor governance, misappropriation of funds, lack of transparency, insufficient funds, a demotivated workforce and political interference. Poor service delivery also resulted, among other things, in disease outbreaks, breakdown of vehicles, increased crime rate, water shortages, increased accidents and flooding of roads. Residents were generally dissatisfied with the provision of refuse removal, public street lighting, road maintenance, sewerage and drainage and generally satisfied with water provision.

NOTE

- * The article is partly based on a draft PhD completed under the supervision of Prof Christelle Auriacombe: Maregere, K.C. 2021. *Factors influencing service delivery trends in the Mutare City Council in Zimbabwe*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. Johannesburg: University of Johannesburg.

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An Integrated Implementation Model to Identify Potential Barriers to Successful Policy Implementation

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ABSTRACT

The article aims to present a comprehensive and integrated model that captures the complexity of policy implementation, the systems and relationships required for the successful implementation of a multi-sectoral intervention like the National Development Plan (NDP), Vision 2030 in South Africa. The research reviews relevant literature on results-based public sector management, performance-based budgeting, policy implementation and monitoring and evaluation strategies to devise an integrated model for successful policy implementation. The model can be used to assess the degree to which priorities in the NDP translate into the implementation and monitoring instruments, such as the Medium-Term Strategic Framework (MTSF) and the Programme of Action with departmental strategic plans, annual performance plans, quarterly performance reports, budget statements and in-year monitoring reports. The integrated policy implementation analysis model is a practical instrument that could assist policy implementation analysts to assess policy implementation over the entire policy process. It is not only applicable to existing policies but could be used to guide the entire policy process from formulation to evaluation.

INTRODUCTION

Despite the introduction of a variety of reforms and policies, South Africa remains a highly unequal society where too many people live in poverty and too few have jobs. The apartheid spatial divide has continued to dominate the landscape. The perception among a large proportion of young people is that no opportunities are available to them. South Africa has failed to implement previous economic policies, which has led to the persistence of poverty, unemployment and inequality. Several reasons have been identified for the challenges faced by South Africa to successfully implement policies. A more strategic approach over a longer time frame was required to solve these challenges. The NDP was introduced in 2012 to overcome some of the challenges with policy implementation in South Africa. The South African NDP captures the key development priorities for South Africa and sets an, in principle, framework for prioritisation of resources and implementation capacity across all government departments. However, after seven years of implementation, there is little evidence of progress towards successful implementation of the NDP priorities.

The adoption of the long-term NDP is expected to bring about the change that is required for addressing poverty and inequality, stimulate economic growth and gain trust in the government to deliver as promised (Orlandi 2020:1–2). A recent review by the Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation (DPME) on the implementation of the NDP from 2014 to 2019, however, finds that while “progress has been made towards realising the goals of the NDP, across economic services, social services, building a capable state and fostering active citizenry”, development issues that “require cooperation across multiple departments, spheres of government or non-governmental stakeholders, shows poor progress” (RSA 2018:14–15). The DPME review provides an important reflection on the overall performance of the NDP against the policy goals and outcomes, but it fails to explain the criteria that inform the assessment. As such, it is limited in offering recommendations for improved implementation of the NDP by all government departments and entities.

As noted above, the main aim of this article is to present a comprehensive and integrated model that captures the complexity of policy implementation, the systems and relationships required for the successful implementation of a multi-sectoral intervention like the NDP. Such a model is a precursor for the future analysis of the actual implementation progress in specific sectors and the identification of possible strengths and barriers. The model also presents a basis for the formulation of future recommendations that can improve implementation of a multi-sectoral intervention like the NDP. The initial development of a model resonates with the viewpoint of Mouton (2001:177)

who argues that science cannot make progress without the development of new models.

METHODOLOGY

The proposed model for policy implementation analysis is derived from a literature review on mechanisms applied for policy implementation and factors influencing public policy implementation. The objectives were first to synthesise the factors and mechanisms that influence policy implementation into an integrated theoretical framework and second, to develop a practical model guiding analysts to assess policy implementation.

The evolution of public administration over time and the elements of public administration to ensure the efficiency and effectiveness in delivering public services were reviewed. Over time the focus of reforms shifted to the introduction of more holistic performance management systems. Different performance management systems and administrative processes, including the elements of performance management systems are described. The review includes the influence of public sector reforms on service delivery/policy implementation and the lessons learnt for further reforms. It ends with a summary of the reforms implemented in South Africa.

A review is conducted on the progress made in policy implementation research, identified categories of factors agreed upon by scholars, influencing policy implementation, as well as the involvement of mechanisms/instruments to operationalise policy intent. It further discusses the strategic, technical and operational activities involved in the entire policy process. An assessment of some of the earlier models and frameworks showed a relationship with the factors affecting policy implementation and the characteristics of policy implementation mechanisms, identified in the literature.

The integrated theoretical framework builds on the characteristics of existing models and frameworks. It is based on the relationship between the factors affecting policy implementation and policy implementation mechanisms and instruments. The framework provided the basis for the development of a more practical analysis tool to determine any obstacles for policy implementation. The combination of the instruments and the translation of the attributes of policy implementation mechanisms into measurable variables were, however, required to develop a practical policy analysis model.

The elements of a performance-based management system (as introduced in most countries including South Africa) were combined with the selection of factors influencing policy implementation into a policy implementation model suitable for analysing and guiding the implementation of multi-sector interventions, such as the South African NDP (Orlandi 2020: 29, 57, 58, 84,112 and 113).

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS SUPPORTING POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

Studies by Meier (2003:3) outline the evolution of the public sector over the past 40 years. The evolution ranges from planning, programming and budgeting system approaches with the emphasis on financial planning and cost accounting in the 1960s to a more programme-management-by-activity approach in the 1970s and 1980s. Carstens and Thornhill (2000:178, 184, 190) establish that administrative reforms since the 1980s have had two focus areas. The one is an explicit demand for results in terms of efficiency and effectiveness and quality services. The other is the replacement of highly centralised hierarchical structures with decentralised management structures. These reform interventions carried out since the 1980s actually became known as the new public management (NPM). They also describe the interrelationship between administration reform interventions and NPM as actions implemented by senior public officials to achieve the goals and objectives set by politicians.

In addition to Carstens and Thornhill (2000:184, 190), Lynn Jr. (2007:44) views NPM as a term that became a banner for the globalisation of public management that referred to the management and customer-oriented, performance-driven allocation of resources. According to Meier (2003:4), managing for results gradually became an important public sector management theme during the 1990s. The use of Results-Based Management (RBM) or Performance-Based Management (PBM) became the means of promoting good governance and results-oriented public sector management.

Despite the ability of NPM, introduced since the early 1990s to also address the complexities of policy implementation, it only views the public policy process as a framework within which the task of public management takes place. Given the potential and limitations of public administration and NPM, the need arises for a more holistic theory of public administration management.

In response to NPM initiatives, specifically the performance-driven aspects, Heinrich (2002: 712) is of the view that the central purpose of PBM instruments, strategies, processes and systems for planning, budgeting and programming, is to improve public management and programme outcomes. In addition to Heinrich (2002:712), Meier (2003:4) regards PBM as a management approach, setting-up mechanisms providing instruments for strategic planning, budgeting, monitoring and evaluation, reporting and organisational improvement, with the main focus being on results. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2005:vi-vii) defines performance management as a system, integrated with corporate management, of performance information, performance monitoring and evaluation, assessment and performance reporting. This system allows governments to improve the link between policymaking

and planning and budgeting of social, economic and political objectives. The system also allows for linking policymaking with expenditure implementation and results achievement.

Karkatsoulis (2010:469–470) argues that a whole-of-government approach needs to be supported. Such an approach should integrate functional and structural elements of the budget and policy implementation process as well as the mechanisms for the analysis and design of policies. Findings by Ouda (2013:55) confirm the argument by Karkatsoulis (2010:469–470) for a wider approach in a public management system. He finds that modern budgeting techniques are only successful when they are linked to an approach of managing the public sector as a whole, with the budget and its associated methods as a central process to make the approach operational. Performance-based budgeting, focuses public management more on results than on internal processes. This characteristic of performance-based budgeting makes this administrative mechanism ideal for tracking policy implementation, which is, according to Minnaar (2010:15) the main purpose for the existence of public sector institutions. In a democratic political dispensation, public policymaking flows from a political process, which is then translated into enforceable government programmes. It is required that all government activities reflect the objectives of government policies. Government institutions formulate strategies as performance drivers to direct institutional activities and outputs, which ultimately become the performance indicators. In addition to Minnaar (2010:15), Thomas (2011:2–4) outlines a framework consisting of five components for public sector management namely, planning, budgeting, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. On a country level, public sector management and planning can be represented by the national plan (which informs all other plans of government), budgeting by the national budget, implementation by budget execution and service delivery. Monitoring and evaluation refers to specific role-players responsible for checking performance against indicators and targets. The elements of a performance management system are as follows:

- Results-based planning involves rigorous analysis of intended results cascaded down from macro-level impacts. These results must be clearly defined within a budget envelope, with indicators and targets, and with relevant monitoring and evaluation frameworks;
- Results-based budgeting ensures that the budget is formulated to deliver the results specified in planning. Results-based budgeting systems ideally produce multi-year budgets (consistent with the medium-term expenditure framework) to align with the planning time horizon;
- Results-based implementation means that the people, policies, and processes are effective, efficient and economical in delivering the intended activities and services;

- Results-based monitoring means that specific parties are responsible for checking performance against the indicators specified in planning, using defined methodologies for data processing, analysis, and reporting; and
- Results-based evaluation involves specific parties and stakeholders in assessing the achievement of the targets set in planning, using defined methodologies.

In addition to Thomas (2011:2–4), Arizti, Brumby, Manning, Senderowitsch and Thomas (eds.) (2010:15) argue that the objective of PBM (combination of performance budgeting and management) is to improve the quality of public services by:

- Allocating resources consistent with political and social goals;
- Improving the efficiency, economy and effectiveness in the use of funds; and
- Increasing accountability.

The combination of performance budgeting and management promotes the use of information to improve decisions and service delivery. This requires the use of performance information to underpin the phases of the budget management cycle. These phases include the preparation of strategic plans and budgets, the approval of the budget, implementation of the budget and plans, reporting on budgets and plans, monitoring, reviewing, evaluation and auditing of budgets and plans.

POLICY IMPLEMENTATION MODELS

Since the dialogue among scholars of public policy implementation started in the early 1970s, research has gone through three major phases, commonly referred to as the first, second and third generations of policy implementation research.

According to Pülzl and Treib (2007:89) the first generation of implementation studies emerged, in the 1970s, as a reaction to concerns over the effectiveness of a number of reform programmes within the United States of America and a number of case studies that showed policy implementation failure. Theory building was not the aim of the first generation of implementation studies, it did, however, inspire a growing body of literature. Ryan (1995:66–67) finds that implementation literature during the late 1970s and early 1980s attempted to search for implementation factors that may affect policy outcomes and the development of conceptual models as part of an implementation strategy.

According to Pülzl and Treib (2007:89), the second generation began to put a whole range of theoretical frameworks/models and hypotheses, to analyse policy implementation, forward. According to Hupe (2014:168–169), these implementation models are developed according to the approach taken by the initial policymaker, the implementing official in the field or the target group. In addition,

Mugambwa, Nabeta, Ngoma and Munene (2018:213–214) state that a number of factors were identified that specifically relate to these approaches. To make sense of the various variables, Hupe (2014:168–169) is of the view that policy implementation researchers developed frameworks and techniques to integrate factors affecting implementation and specifying when certain types of factors would be more or less important. These approaches of the second generation of policy research led to the top-down and bottom-up debates, which were also characteristics of the models/frameworks developed for policy implementation.

Ryan (1995:67) explains that top-down approaches to policy implementation are characterised by a focus on the content such as, structuring programmes, policies or laws, goals and objectives. It further assumes that policies, formulated at the top level of management are translated into instructions for those who will implement policies at the bottom. In addition to Ryan (1995:67), Matland (1995:146) and Pülzl and Treib (2007:91–92) explain that in a fully developed top-down model, tractability of the problem, ability of policy decisions to structure implementation, and non-statutory factors affecting implementation determine the probability of successful implementation. Top-down models of policy implementation are concerned with the degree of communication between the actions of implementing officials and target groups with policy decisions, goals and objectives. These characteristics of top-down models also explain why half of the empirical implementation research studies identify content as a key factor and almost the same number consider capacity to be crucial.

According to Mugambwa *et al.* (2018:213–214) the bottom-up theorists emphasise that the local level and service deliverers, are key players in policy implementation. They further explain that the bottom-up perspective is characterised by the will (or commitment) of the different actors within the chain of the policy implementation process; therefore, illustrating that implementation should not be taken for granted.

According to Pülzl and Treib (2007:89) and Conteh (2011:124), the third generation of implementation research attempts to develop theoretical models and frameworks with a more scientific approach. The third-generation perspective aims at combining top-down and bottom-up perspectives. The third-generation researchers have also refined the large number of factors that influence policy implementation from the second generation into manageable categories of factors. From a survey of more than 300 empirical studies, Najam (1995:35) identifies five categories of factors, to shape the direction for policy implementation. These factors, also known as the 5C protocol include:

- Content: setting of goals and actions to achieve them.
- Client Coalition: key constituencies have the ability to influence the implementation process.

- Commitment: those responsible for policy implementation are willing to implement.
- Context: the bureaucratic context and broader political, economic, cultural and social environment are favourable for policy implementation.
- Capacity: necessary human resources, financial resources, logistics and technology are available.

These categories of factors emerged from a multitude of scholars working across a range of different political systems, various levels of economic development and different sectors. These categories of factors are supported and used as the basis for the development of a new integrated policy implementation model.

Najam (1995:36) explains that each of the factors is linked and influenced by the other. The extent, however, of these linkages depends on the specific implementation situation. The task for implementers is to identify the strength and influence of each factor to enhance the effectiveness of a particular implementation process. Brynard (2005:662) adds communication to the 5C protocol, as an overarching factor for implementation, which forms an integral part of policy implementation.

Brynard (2005:658–662) also defines these factors as follows: The first factor, policy content, relates to the setting of goals and actions to achieve them. The next factor focuses on a favourable bureaucratic context for policy implementation, which is often due to human interaction rather than hierarchical regulations. The third factor is commitment. Those responsible for policy implementation must be willing to implement. Policy implementation also depends on the capacity of the implementing agent. Capacity in this context refers to the availability of resources such as human resources, financial resources, logistics, technology and a conducive environment such as the political, economic, cultural and social environment. The fifth critical factor is the support of clients and outside coalitions. The success of this factor lies within the identification of the key constituencies that have the ability to influence the implementation process.

Although it is difficult to come up with a single or simple model for meeting the challenges of the complexity of policy implementation, the view of Cerna (2013:24) to take advantage of the variety of existing policy implementation models, is supported.

A selection of these policy implementation models and frameworks (combining top-down and bottom-up perspectives or focusing on one perspective) developed between 1975 and 1980, outlined by Lester, Bowman, Goggin and O'Toole (1987:202–203) were considered. The first effort was undertaken by Van Meter and Van Horn (1975), consisting of six clusters of factors namely:

- The relevance of policy standards and objectives (content)
- Policy resources (capacity)

- Interorganisational communication and enforcement activities (client and coalition and communication)
- The characteristics of the implementing agencies (internal environment/context)
- The economic, social and political environment affecting the implementing jurisdiction or organisation (external environment/context)
- The disposition of implementers for carrying out policy decisions (commitment)

These clusters are based on the categories of the 5C protocol (see in brackets). In short, the framework shows that a policy would be implemented if the content adheres to standards, if capacity is provided, if communication happens between clients and coalitions and the implementing agencies, if the internal and external context is favourable, and if the staff is committed.

Najam (1995:17) outlines one of the most influential articulations of the top-down perspective, as that developed by Mazmanian and Sabatier in 1983. The model begins with three critical observations: a) policymaking is an interactive process of formulation, implementation and reformulation and the distinction between the three should be maintained; b) the focus should be on the stated policy goals, although the outputs of the implementation agencies and the outcomes of the implementation process are both important; and c) implementation can be viewed from three quite different perspectives: the initial policymaker, the field-level implementing [officials] and the actors at whom the programme is directed. The Mazmanian and Sabatier model lists a total of 16 factors, clustered into three broad categories: a) “tractability of the problems; b) ability of policy decision to structure implementation; and c) non-statutory factors affecting implementation”. Sabatier (1986:23) then synthesised this set of factors into a shorter list of six conditions for the effective implementation of legal objectives:

- Clear and consistent objectives (content);
- Adequate causal theory;
- Legal structure to enhance compliance by implementing officials and target groups (context);
- Committed and skilful implementing officials (commitment and capacity);
- Support of interest groups and sovereigns (client and coalition); and
- Changes in socio-economic conditions that do not substantially undermine political support or causal theory (context).

The six conditions for policy implementation identified by Sabatier (1986) were also categorised into the categories of the 5C protocol. The categories could be linked to content, commitment, client and coalition, and context. In addition to the categories of the 5C protocol, Sabatier (1986) also regards adequate causal theory and compliance to a legal structure as key factors. In terms of monitoring

and evaluation, the perceived impact of policy outputs refers to the effect on the external environment, which is an indication of the effectiveness of the policy. This is also proof of the centre-focus of the model, which does not consider factors to determine efficiency, which requires a more holistic approach, such as the inclusion of funding.

Another top-down model demonstrated by Grizzle and Pettijohn (2002:52–53), shows four main categories of factors presented in the 1980 Edwards policy implementation model. These categories are reconcilable with the communication, capacity, commitment and context categories of the 5C protocol. The model is, however, silent on content, but includes factors of control. The control factor is identified as another important factor that is not included in the 5C protocol. Without measuring actual performance, it is not possible to determine the success or failure of policy implementation.

Lester *et al.* (1987:207) describe a model developed by Goggin *et al.* in 1987, who argue that state implementation is a function of constraints on the state, choices and behaviour of implementers, and the state's capacity to act. This Conceptual Model of Intergovernmental Policy Implementation is an example of a big picture overview of various descriptive categories and how they might relate to one another to influence an outcome. The model mainly shows that, given the capacity, government responds to constraints by implementing state decisions. Key factors such as content, context, commitment, client and coalition, as well as control are, however, not addressed within this model.

Najam (1995:26–27) demonstrates the criticality of the administrator-as-implementer to the success of policy implementation in Grindle's (1980) model. The model also highlights the measurement of success and the consideration of the content and context as successful policy implementation factors. The continuous flow of the elements in the Grindle model is an indication that policy implementation analysis is not restricted to a specific start and end point. It is the prerogative of the analyst applying the model where in the process to start the analysis or evaluation.

In addition to the categories of factors presented as the 5C protocol and additional factors identified in policy implementation models, the models or frameworks do not illustrate how these categories fit into the administrative operations or mechanisms adopted within an organisation or in most instances the mechanisms and systems adopted by governments. A clearer understanding of policy implementation tools, is required. Karkatsoulis (2010:469–470) is of the view that policy implementation requires the integration of mechanisms for the analysis and design of policies as well as functional and structural elements of an administrative mechanism.

Thomas (2011:2) outlines an administrative mechanism consisting of five components for a performance-based public sector management system as planning

(development of policies), budgeting, implementation (of policies and budgets), monitoring and evaluation (of the implementation). In addition to these elements, the system also recognises the important role of the enabling environment, including senior leadership support, a results-oriented organisational culture and management practices, and careful management of changing processes, along with private sector and civil society support.

AN INTEGRATED POLICY IMPLEMENTATION MODEL

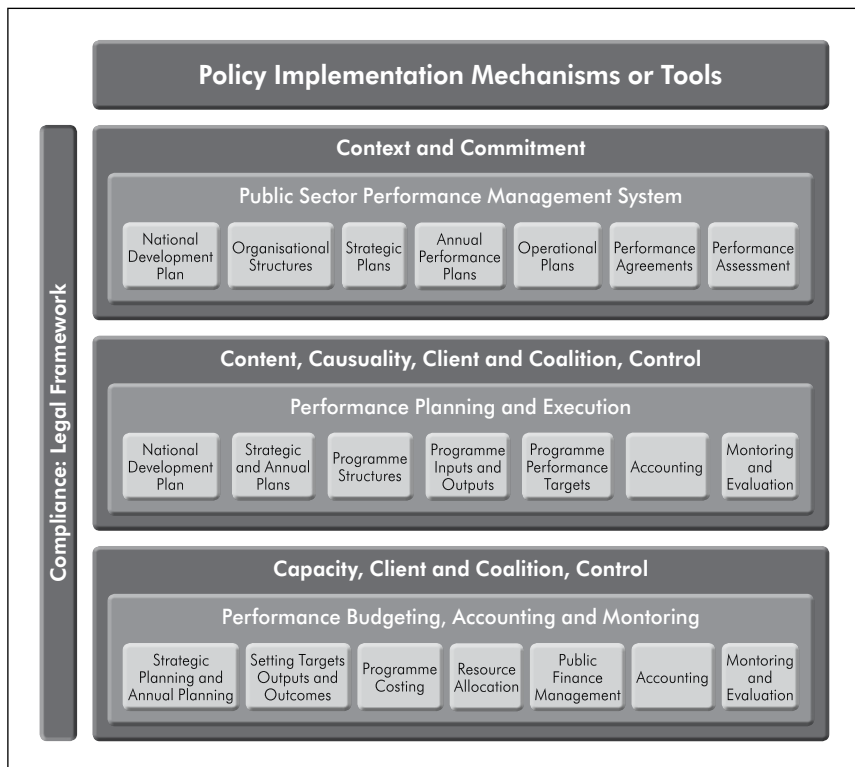
Policy implementation research has progressed towards an increased use of theoretical approaches to address various implementation challenges. The menu of potentially useable theories, models and frameworks is extensive. Combining the merits of multiple theoretical approaches offers a more complete understanding and explanation. Drawing from emerging ideas built on a synthesis of partial perspectives is ultimately likely to be the most useful approach. New methodological tools can help select practices that can be applied in policy implementation.

Some of the policy implementation models and frameworks developed between 1975 and 1980 identify factors that contribute to the realisation (or non-realisation) of policy objectives. Based on the review, the 5C protocol as proposed by Najam (1995) is adopted, but further refined to incorporate the work of other authors. To this effect, it is proposed that commitment is integrated within the broader context factor as it signifies the conducive environment needed to commence implementation. Communication is closely integrated within clients and coalitions as a prerequisite to ensure that these relationships can work in synergy. Two further 'C' categories are proposed. These are "causality" that emphasises the alignment between the various instruments that inform and guide implementation. Finally, "control" specifically acknowledges the increasing importance of monitoring, evaluation and review in the public sector.

The work of Thomas (2011) presents a useful basis for an integrated policy implementation model that relies on planning, budgeting, implementation, monitoring and evaluation as implementing mechanisms at a macro-level. It, however, requires further contextualisation to the South African context, to reflect the performance management instruments widely adopted in the South African public sector. Figure 1 starts to unpack how the revised 5C protocol can be linked to the various planning, execution and control instruments within the South African public sector.

Figure 1 categorises the mechanisms and main instruments of a public sector performance-based system, assisting policy implementation, within the categories from the proposed 7C protocol (original 5, plus an additional 2). The figure further illustrates the linkages of the core instruments of public sector performance-based mechanisms within a broader public administrative legal framework.

Figure 1: An integrated framework guiding policy implementation



Source: (Orlandi 2020)

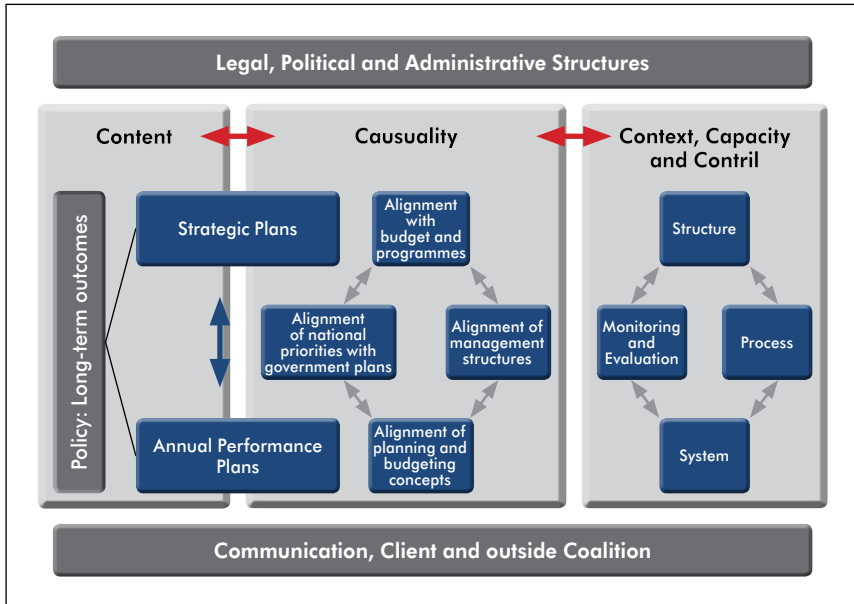
The framework can be streamlined to provide a more practical analysis tool to identify potential gaps and barriers that may impede policy implementation. It could also guide public sector managers with the integration of the mechanisms available for planning, budgeting, accounting and monitoring and evaluation. The streamlined model is presented in Figure 2.

The streamlined model of Orlandi (2020) starts with the analysis of the legal, political and administrative structures that provide the foundation for policy implementation.

Contradictions with the legal framework, lack of political commitment and inadequate or incapable administrative structures will prevent implementation from the start – the policy can be regarded as non-implementable from the onset.

The content block captures the policy and strategy formulation/design process. These are represented in documents such as the NDP and MTSF that set out the longer-term, strategic outcomes, and translated through the planning processes to

Figure 2: Streamlined model for determining implementation barriers



Source: (Orlandi 2020)

medium- and short-term strategic and annual performance plans that set out the operationalisation, specific goals, objectives, performance indicators and targets that need to be achieved. The analysis of the content of national plans and sector strategic and annual performance plans assists in the determination of the reliability, relevance and measurability of the concepts, which should provide clear direction to employees as to what they are expected to achieve and when. It further requires alignment and integration with the mechanisms through which implementation occurs, the relevance of these concepts and the link with each other. For example, when the implementation of a national plan or policy is considered the translation of such plans into government programmes is through strategies. These strategies are the performance drivers directing institutional activities and outputs, which ultimately become the performance indicators for measuring success (Orlandi 2020:163).

Robinson and Last (2009:5) argue that the planning process needs to be fully integrated into the budget cycle to ensure effective synergy between sectoral plans and performance budgets. National-level planning processes can provide a useful means to coordinate and prioritise sectoral plans around key national priorities. In addition to Robinson and Last (2009:5), Thomas (2011:5–6) argues that national goals must be translated into institutional strategies, making institutions on all levels collectively responsible for achieving results.

In practice, the alignment of policy outcomes and spending plans is facilitated by structures, mechanisms and processes. It is, however, through the strategic planning and budget cycle that this alignment is realised. The budget and spending plans are required to identify what type of activity, outputs, targets and medium-term objectives will lead to achieving the longer-term outcomes. This approach leads to a detailed understanding of the causal effect of the actions taken by relevant implementing structures and programmes, and encourages managers to present a logical argument for how their programmes are addressing a specific need or challenge. In addition to McLaughlin (1998:1), Robinson (2014:11–12) suggests that the starting point of programme logic is a clear description of the causal links by which programme outputs are expected to create intermediate programme objectives and goals linked to higher-level outcomes.

Within the causality block, there is emphasis on the integration and interconnection of plans to institutional budgets and the management structures that oversee these planning and budgeting processes. The causality component in the model allows for the identification of the integration of the outputs developed for the NDP in the MTSF, in the case of South Africa, with the relevant government departmental budgets and Annual Performance Plans (APPs). It further allows for the evaluation of the relationship between the management structures involved in the planning and budgeting processes for the implementation of the NDP (Orlandi 2020:166–167).

In government, managers provide the critical link between plans and execution, and it is often incapacity at this level that leads to non-implementation. The model therefore regards managers as the critical link that ensures that the ‘causality’ instruments through the ‘control’ element result in longer-term changes. According to Peters (2015:133–134) well-designed policies and good management can still fail. There may be other elements within the organisation, and in the relationship with other institutions that can prevent policy success. He argues that performance measurement and management provide instruments to regularly assess public sector performance. Regular feedback to administrators and politicians assists management to ensure successful production of results. It is the responsibility of managers to measure and evaluate their programmes to improve effectiveness over time. By linking planning, budgeting and control together, managers can report progress towards the achievement of outcomes and not only identify programme inputs and outputs (Orlandi 2020:166–167).

The context, capacity and control block also acknowledge that gaps in the structure, processes or systems of government have a negative impact on implementation, and an analysis of the context and capacity is needed to identify and address possible barriers to implementation within the environment.

Communication, and client and outside coalitions are acknowledged as the foundation of the model. It drives the content of strategies, provides the

means to implementation, holds managers and politicians accountable and contributes to the internal processes and structures by community oversight and joint implementation processes. Promoting community governance, active citizenry and network governance become key enablers of successful implementation.

DISCUSSION

The absence of a practical framework for policy implementation analysis was an obstacle faced by policy implementation analysts. Another obstacle experienced by the author was the availability of credible and official information and data. Process and performance evaluation data are useful in evaluating policy implementation. Process information could provide detailed information about how a policy is implemented, while performance information/data provides information for monitoring and evaluating purposes. This obstacle was considered throughout the process of identifying the theoretical concepts in the fields of public sector management and policy implementation.

The proposed model for policy implementation analysis simplifies a wealth of theoretical concepts in the fields of public sector management and policy implementation. The model was developed by consolidating and categorising the instruments of a PBM system into a practical analysis tool. It combines the critical factors for policy implementation with an administrative mechanism, specifically a well-defined PBM system, supporting policy implementation. This well-defined PBM system not only supports policy implementation, but it also provides mechanisms that produce process and performance evaluation data. The proposed model is based on the assumption that the formulation of a policy has gone through the appropriate political, consultation and approval processes.

The proposed model builds on the strengths of prior models and frameworks and considers content, causality, context, capacity and control as critical elements, as identified by research, influencing policy implementation. Communication, and client and outside coalition are recognised as factors affecting the entire policy implementation process. The proposed model not only recognises administration as a factor involved with policy implementation, but identifies the administrative processes and products involved in the different stages. These processes and products influence policy implementation analysis from a policy analyst's perspective. The proposed model also indicates the relationships between the different types of implementation processes, products and actors involved. These relationships are directly linked to the elements behind the success and failure of policy implementation.

The proposed model suggests an integrated approach to policy implementation analysis and is structured to assist policy implementation analysts to assess policy implementation over the entire policy process. As such, it offers a useful tool for either formative or summative assessments of potential restrictions to successful policy implementation. This model is useful to guide the entire policy process from formulation to evaluation.

The practical application of the model was tested on a national level, specifically on the implementation of the South African NDP in the 2014–2019 MTSF (Orlandi 2020: 117 and 118). The application of the model to the NDP identified critical challenges such as shortcomings with the design and mechanisms for the implementation of the NDP. Based on the findings, the challenges experienced with the implementation of policies could be attributed to challenges with the formulation of policies, as well as the implementation of structures, processes and systems adopted by the South African government. The findings of this analysis are documented elsewhere (Orlandi 2020).

CONCLUSION

In a democratic political dispensation, public policymaking flows from a political process. Policies are then translated into enforceable government programmes. Government institutions formulate strategies as performance drivers to direct institutional activities and outputs, which ultimately become the performance indicators. It is, however, required that all government activities reflect and align with the objectives of government policies.

Governments around the world are developing and implementing performance-based budgeting systems to determine how well public organisations and programmes are providing services and products to citizens. There is a renewed interest in linking planning and performance measurement to budgeting to ensure long-term effects or outcomes, and choices that are grounded in measurable progress or accomplishment.

To be able to implement available mechanisms for policy implementation properly requires a clear understanding of how the different aspects of the factors influencing policy implementation, facilitate or obstruct effective policy implementation.

A framework that categorises the mechanisms and the main instruments of a public sector performance-based system, assisting policy implementation, within the categories from the proposed 7C protocol (original 5, plus an additional 2) illustrates the linkages of the core instruments of public sector performance-based mechanisms within a broader public administrative legal framework. The framework provides the basis for the development of a more practical analysis tool to

determine any obstacles for policy implementation. It is, however, not a model that could assist with the analysis of policy implementation that should, ideally, determine success or failure within the factors and mechanisms that are required for successful policy implementation.

The proposed model, based on the broader framework, also builds on the strengths of prior models and frameworks and considers content, causality, context, capacity and control as critical elements influencing policy implementation. Communication, and client and outside coalition are recognised as factors affecting the entire policy implementation process. The combination of the instruments as well as the translation of the attributes of these mechanisms into measurable variables assisted with the development of a practical policy implementation analysis model. The proposed model not only recognises administration as a factor involved with policy implementation, but identifies the administrative processes and products involved in the different stages. It also indicates the relationships between the different types of implementation processes, products and actors involved. These relationships are directly linked to the elements behind the success and failure of policy implementation.

NOTE

- * This article is partly based on a dissertation that was completed under the supervision of Prof Babette Rabie at Stellenbosch University. Orlandi, N. 2020. *Administrative reforms required for the successful implementation of the National Development Plan*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation for the degree Doctor of Philosophy (PhD). Stellenbosch: Public Management and Development Planning.

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Amalgamation of Municipalities' Implications on Service Delivery

The Case of Dr Beyers Naude Local Municipality

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ABSTRACT

The re-determination of municipal boundaries and the amalgamation of municipalities is an ongoing phenomenon in South Africa. This has led to a continuous reduction of the number of municipalities in the country. Without the goal of improving service delivery in local government, such boundary re-determinations and the amalgamations of municipalities would be misplaced. The merger of Baviaans, Camdeboo, and Ikwezi local municipalities in the Saraah Baartman District Municipality which led to the establishment of the Dr Beyers Naude Local Municipality after the 2016 local government elections is one of many examples in this regard.

In this article a qualitative research methodology, based on a conceptual and documentary analysis and interviews is used to assess the process of the amalgamation of municipalities and its implications on service delivery with specific reference to the amalgamation of local municipalities which led to the establishment of the Dr Beyers Naude Local Municipality. The research findings indicate that in spite of the comparatively bigger geographical size and jurisdiction of the Dr Beyers Naude Local Municipality, there was no improvement in service delivery which can be associated with the amalgamation of the former local municipalities.

INTRODUCTION

The process of demarcating municipalities in South Africa's democratic era can be traced back to 1996. Since 2000 it has been occurring in almost every five-year term of local government. This has resulted in ongoing changes on the number of municipalities for each of the previous local government elections. It has thus far culminated into the reduction of the number of South African municipalities from 1,262 to 843 in 1996 and further to 284 in 2000 to 257 in 2016 (Municipal Demarcation Board 2018/2019). Ncube and Vacu (2016:308) stated that since the end of apartheid, the number of local government structures has decreased; and this trend is expected to continue.

This process has led to communities that were poorly developed being combined with well-resourced communities within the same municipal boundaries (Ndletyana and Muzondidya 2009:240). Although this could be seen as a process which increases access to resources for poor communities, Mdlongwa (2014:39) has noted that it has been accompanied by protests that are related to service delivery and the demarcation process itself.

Protests challenging the demarcation of municipal boundaries and the amalgamation of some municipalities are common in South Africa. In this regard, examples include the Khutsong conflict which took place in 2007 in which the community of the Merafong municipality refused to be incorporated into the North-West Province, since they perceived that they would receive poor service delivery; the Matatiele case in the Eastern Cape; and Vuwani in Limpopo.

After the 3 August 2016 local government elections, Baviaans, Camdeboo, and Ikwezi municipalities were amalgamated to establish the Dr Beyers Naude Local Municipality (DBNLM). Laubscher (2012:70) argues that, it appears that the new municipal boundaries that came into force in 2000 have also not provided a resolution to numerous challenges facing municipalities.

The Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (CoGTA) has estimated that a third of South African municipalities are unable to deliver quality services as required. Therefore, to correct the dysfunctionality and inability to deliver quality services, in 2015, the then Minister of CoGTA proposed the redrawing of some municipal boundaries (Khumalo and Ncube 2016:2). On the other hand the process was not without challenges such as community objections to the demarcation processes and the demand for better services on newly demarcated municipalities. Violent protests have accompanied these objections and demands as a way of registering unhappiness with the demarcation decisions.

The aforementioned scenario indicates that initiatives relating to the demarcation of municipal boundaries and/or the amalgamation of municipalities should be well-considered, and the implementation of such initiatives should be managed

properly. Furthermore, challenges such as protests associated with municipal boundary re-determination and the amalgamation of municipalities and their implications on service delivery indicate that there is a need for ongoing research in this area of study. It is in view of this scenario that authors of this article have decided to assess the process of the amalgamation of municipalities and its implications on service delivery with specific reference to the amalgamation of Baviaans, Camdeboo and Ikwezi local municipalities which led to the establishment of the DBNLM. In pursuing this objective, this article focuses on the concepts of service delivery and municipal boundary determination, area of study, research method adopted for the study, challenges and processes experienced in the processes of amalgamating local municipalities and the establishment of the DBNLM, and the discussion of results and the findings of the study.

THEORETICAL BASIS FOR DEMARICATION OF MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES AND SERVICE DELIVERY

The theoretical basis for the demarcation and re-determination of municipal boundaries as well as the amalgamation of municipalities and their implications on service delivery is on organisation theory. Organisation theories are knowledge systems which study and explain organisational structure, function and operation and organisational group behaviour and individual behaviour (Onday 2016:17). Organisation theory is comprised of a vast literature emanating from the works of various scholars who have undertaken studies and made contributions on the establishment and functioning of organisations. In this regard, scholars include, among others, Adam Smith, Henry Fayol, Max Weber, and the exponents of the Hawthorne studies. Robbins (1990:4) defined an organisation as a consciously coordinated social entity, with a relatively identifiable boundary, that functions on a relatively continuous basis to achieve a common goal or set of goals. According to Robbins (1990:348) organisational structure is linked to organisation performance and the attainment of organisational goals.

A municipality is an organisational entity established for the purposes of rendering services in an effective and efficient manner. Robbins (1990:330) stated that organisations create structure to facilitate the coordination of activities and to control the actions of its members. The placement of a municipality within the setting of the local government sphere is therefore important for the purposes of its own management and functioning within that context.

Municipal boundaries are set to demarcate the territory and jurisdiction of a municipality. Such territory includes the communities to which the municipality is supposed to carry out its constitutional mandate of delivering services. According to *The Concise Oxford Dictionary*, (1990) demarcation is an act of marking a

boundary or limit. It is an instrument used to create the spatial definition within which government performs certain functions (MDB, 2003/2004). From a local government perspective, demarcation is the determination and alignment of ward and municipal boundaries. Demarcation is significant in the analysis of local government, because it leads to the creation of new spaces and sets in motion various processes that affect the lives of citizens.

The Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB) makes decisions to re-determine municipal boundaries on advice from the Minister of CoGTA and the public or community. The MDB is an independent body supporting democracy though not embedded and defined in Chapter 9 of the Constitution.

In terms of the Municipal Demarcation Act 27 of 1998, the MDB must when determining a municipal boundary, consider among others,

- the interdependence of people, communities and economies as indicated by existing and expected patterns of human settlement and migration.
- the financial viability and administrative capacity of the municipality to perform municipal functions efficiently and effectively.

The constitutional mandate for municipalities to deliver services to their communities dictates that municipal functions must be directed towards the attainment of this goal. Service delivery refers to the provision of tangible and intangible public goods and services (Venter, Van der Walldt, Phutiagale, Khalo, Van Niekerk and Nealer 2007:148). Local government is the cutting edge of service delivery (Stofile 2002:1). Moreover, it is the contact point for both national and provincial government with the people (Mbeki 2002:2). Mfene (2009:210) defines service delivery as “an encompassing activity aimed at promoting the general welfare of the community”.

In terms of Part B of Schedule 5 of the Constitution, the basic services to be provided to communities include:

- water,
- sanitation,
- electricity,
- refuse removal,
- housing, and
- other services (which includes education, health, roads, transport, sports and recreation, street trading, parks, and community halls).

In assessing the progress on service delivery or lack thereof after the amalgamation of Baviaans, Camdeboo, and Ikwezi local municipalities and the establishment of the DBNLM; this article has conveniently selected water, sanitation, electricity, and refuse removal as basic services upon which to base such assessment. Amalgamation of small municipalities leads to bigger municipalities. This also

applies to the local municipalities that were amalgamated to establish the DBNLM on which this study is focused. Literature shows that there is a debate about the pros and cons of bigger and smaller municipalities.

Various arguments have been advanced in favour of bigger municipalities. Advocates of municipal amalgamation argue that bigger is better which then results in subsequent assumptions that bigger is cheaper which supposedly means that bigger translates to improved services, bigger is more efficient, and more recently bigger is more financially viable (Slack and Bird 2013). Large municipalities are able to reap economies of scale and scope in service provision as well as savings in administrative overheads (e.g. duplications are eliminated and number of politicians and bureaucrats may be reduced), thus resulting in lower per unit costs as the amount of service delivered increases (Cameron 1999:299). The extension of this argument is that larger municipalities will result in cost savings, enhance productivity, improve the quantity, quality and mix of local services, boost administrative and technical capacity and strategic management, facilitate more effective lobbying with higher tiers of government, and increased financial sustainability (Dollery and Robotti 2008). On the other hand, counter arguments which are in favour of small municipalities indicate that many small municipalities are seen to be more efficient and more responsive to the needs of their citizens and to have clearer accountability channels (Faguet 2004).

AREA OF STUDY

The research will focus on the DBNLM, which emanated from the amalgamation of Baviaans, Camdeboo and Ikwezi, local municipalities in August 2016. The DBNLM is a local municipality within the jurisdiction of the Sarah Baartman District Municipality in the Province of the Eastern Cape.

The amalgamation of the three municipalities was undertaken with a view to optimising financial viability (Sarah Baartman Development Plan 2017–22). A process which was expected to lead to better service delivery. The then Municipal Manager of the newly formed municipality assured residents that the municipality would deliver unequivocally in line with its constitutional mandate (Vumazonke 2017).

According to the DBNLM's Integrated Development Plan (IDP 2017–2022), the DBNLM makes up 49.19% of the Sarah Baartman District Municipality's landmass, with a low population density of 2.8 persons per square kilometre, which is much lower than the district average of 7.7 persons per square kilometre. DBNLM's vast area covers a geographical area of 28,653 square kilometres at the western end of the Eastern Cape Province. It stretches from the

Sneeuberge in the north to the Baviaanskloof in the south and had a population of 79,291 residents in 2015.

The municipality incorporates the towns of Nieu Bethesda, Graaff-Reinet, Aberdeen, Jansenville, Klipplaat, Steytlerville, and Willowmore with municipal Head Offices in Graaff Reinet. The town of Graaff Reinet, 4th oldest in South Africa, is the seat of the Municipal Council and it is the centre where the biggest concentration of the population of the DBNLM live and work. The second largest town is Willowmore, also with a vibrant tourism and agricultural centre. Willowmore is a strategically situated centre for managing and coordinating service delivery and public participation in the southernmost part of the municipal area.

RESEARCH METHOD ADOPTED FOR THE STUDY

The qualitative research method is adopted for this study since the interpretation of experiences, attitudes and views of people is involved. Chisaka and Vakalisa (2000:41) define qualitative research as the way in which researchers seek to derive a contextual understanding which cannot be achieved without direct first-hand intuitive knowledge of research setting.

In this study, the population is comprised of the DBNLM councillors, municipal officials and residents. A purposive sampling technique was used to select a sample of participants. The sample is comprised of nine ward councillors, five municipal officials and 15 selected residents in the selected municipality.

In justifying the sample of the study, first, the municipal officials are selected because they are the dispensers of services to the residents. Second, the councillors are representatives of the voters and have a political mandate. Third, ordinary residents who do not hold political office are the ones unto whom services are delivered.

Out of the nine ward councillors of the DBNLM who were interviewed Proportional Representative (PR) councillors were not included. This is because PR councillors are primarily accountable to the political party to which they are affiliated. Councillors are the elected representatives acting as links between the municipality and the voters/community. In addition, five officials who are members of senior management in the administration of the DBNLM were also interviewed. The 15 selected residents were also interviewed.

The semi-structured interview method was used because it allows for probing of views and opinions. Hennink, Hutter and Bailey (2011:109) describe an in-depth interview as a one-to-one method of data collection that involves an interviewer and an interviewee discussing specific topics in depth.

CHALLENGES REGARDING THE AMALGAMATING LOCAL MUNICIPALITIES AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DR BEYERS NAUDE LOCAL MUNICIPALITY

Challenges emanating from the process of merging the former local municipalities of Baviaans, Camdeboo and Ikwezi were of a procedural and consultative nature. Prior to the merger, inhabitants of Baviaans Local Municipality objected to the merger claiming that the legal process of publishing notices for the merger were not properly followed. On the other hand, during the interviews some participants indicated that they were not satisfied with the consultation process.

The process of demarcating municipal boundaries was not without encounters as the Baviaans Local Municipality contested, inter alia, the entitlement of the MDB to entertain the minister's request before rescinding a previous notice; the reasonableness of time periods determined by the minister under section 22 (2) of the Act; and asserted that the notice was substantively defective as it did not contain sufficient information to enable stakeholders to make meaningful representations. It thus also sought an order setting the notice aside on these grounds (Eastern Cape High Court 2015).

The Baviaans Local Municipality sought an interdict, inter alia, restraining the MDB from entertaining a request by the Minister of CoGTA to redraw the boundaries of the Camdeboo, Baviaans and Ikwezi Local Municipalities, pending the publication and broadcasting of a notice in terms of section 26 of the Municipal Demarcation Act 27 of 1998.

The Camdeboo Local Municipality subsequently joined the proceedings and essentially opposed the substantive challenges to the validity of the section 26 notice and the reasonableness of the time periods determined by the minister in terms of section 22 of the Act (Eastern Cape High Court 2015). At a later stage Camdeboo Local Municipality deserted its substantive challenge to the validity of the notice and limited its attack to the contended procedural shortcomings during the publication thereof.

According to section 26 of the Municipal Demarcation Act when the MDB publishes a notice, the following should prevail:

“Public notification of determination of municipal boundaries

- Before the Board considers any determination of a municipal boundary in terms of section 21, it must publish a notice in a newspaper circulating in the area concerned;
- stating the Board's intention to consider the matter; and
- inviting written representations and views from the public within a specified period (which may not be shorter than 21 days).

When the Board publishes a notice, it must convey by radio or other appropriate means of communication the contents of the notice in the area concerned.

The Board must send by registered post, electronic means or by hand a copy of the notice to-

- the MEC for local government in the province concerned;
- each municipality that will be affected by the Board's consideration of the matter;
- the magistrate concerned if any magisterial district is affected; and
- the provincial House of Traditional Leaders concerned established by provincial legislation in terms of section 212 (2) (a) of the Constitution if the boundary of a traditional authority is affected, and invite them to submit written representations or their views on the matter to the Board within the period determined in terms of subsection (1)".

According to the Eastern Cape High Court (2015) Baviaans municipality contended that the MDB did not comply with the procedural prescripts of section 26, as it failed to:

- publish the notice in a newspaper circulating within the municipal boundaries of the Baviaans municipality;
- broadcast the contents of the notice by radio or publish it by other appropriate means.

The Eastern Cape High Court further states that, Baviaans municipality contended that the publication of the notice in the two English newspapers, namely the *Daily Dispatch* and the *EP Herald*, which were not distributed within the Baviaans area, and the Afrikaans newspaper, *Die Burger*, which was not distributed in the town of Rietfontein and the Baviaanskloof area, did not comply with the mandatory provisions of section 26 (1) of the Act.

While it has been established from the newspapers that the *EP Herald* and *Daily Dispatch* are not circulated within the towns of Rietbron, Willowmore and Steytlerville, it appears that *Die Burger* is circulated within the boundaries of the Baviaans municipality, albeit (as claimed by the municipality) that it may not have been distributed throughout the entire area of its municipal boundaries. The municipality claimed that on the day of the publication copies of *Die Burger* were delivered to a shop in Steytlerville, and only 28 copies were delivered to Willowmore. It contends that no copies were delivered to Rietbron, and thus asserts that the newspaper was not circulated within its boundaries as required in terms of section 26(1). According to the municipality, *Die Son*, which was also on the list provided to the MDB by its attorneys, is more widely circulated within the areas of jurisdiction which were covering the three former municipalities.

According to the Eastern Cape High Court (2015) the municipality also contends that the radio broadcasts of the notice were defective in the following respects:

- the broadcast did not convey the content of the Section 26 notice;
- it did not state to which municipalities the advertisement or the notice applied; and
- did not contain enough information to enable listeners to find the notice on the Board's website.

In the end the Baviaans Local Municipality has been substantially successful, even though it abandoned its challenge to the validity of the notice on other substantive grounds. The MDB was interdicted from entertaining a request by the Minister of CoGTA to redraw the boundaries of the Camdeboo, Baviaans and Ikwezi municipalities, pending the radio broadcasting of the notice in terms of section 26 (2) of the Municipal Demarcation Act 27 of 1998. The amalgamation went ahead after the radio broadcasting was done in terms of section 26 (2) of the Demarcation Act.

The various stakeholders which include the resident and ratepayers' association were not satisfied with the way the consultation process was handled and some of them believe that their views were not considered. It is of paramount importance to consult with the communities because they are the ones who feel the effectiveness and/or ineffectiveness of service delivery in a municipality.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Data analysis process allows the researcher to generalise the findings from the sample used in the research to the larger population in which the researcher is interested (Ader, Mellenbergh and Hand 2008:116). The rationale of this study is based on the recent (2016) changes in the boundary and population of DBNLM on which the assumption is that this may have affected the provision of services by the municipality. Local government is the third sphere of government, yet it is the most important wing of government because of its proximity to the citizens and is regarded as an engine for service delivery to communities.

The Constitution places responsibility on local government to ensure that basic services are provided to the entire population within the limits of available resources. Because of expectations from local government, data was gathered from respondents to find out how service delivery was before the amalgamation of 2016 in Baviaans, Camdeboo and Ikwezi municipalities. Whatever the challenges, municipalities must deliver on their mandate which is essential to improving the quality of life for all citizens, since the services provided by municipalities have

a direct impact on the living standards of the people in the community. Poor service delivery remains an important challenge in South Africa.

Infrastructure for service delivery

The study has found that due to the significant progress made in the former local municipalities of Baviaans, Camdeboo and Ikwezi in the past 20 years of local governance, on average the infrastructure for service delivery inherited by the DBNLM is of a higher standard when compared to other local municipalities in South Africa.

It appears that prior to their amalgamation, the three municipalities had appropriate infrastructure for service delivery. First, since 2011 in Baviaans Local Municipality approximately 96% of households have taps within a 200 metres range which gave them access to water. However, due to drought and water scarcity the supply of water was negatively affected. Of the households located in the Baviaans Local Municipality 86% have access to sanitation. Refuse removal service was 76.3% of households while approximately 89% have access to electricity for lighting purposes (Baviaans Municipality Integrated Development Plan 2015/16:130–156).

Second, since 2011 nearly 98% of households in Camdeboo Local Municipality have taps within a 200 metres range which gives them access to water at an approved standard, despite the water shortage incurred by drought. Of the households located in the Camdeboo 91% have access to sanitation, 94% use electricity for lighting and 84.7% have refuse removal services (Camdeboo Local Municipality Annual Report, 2014/15:75).

Third, since 2011 in the Ikwezi municipality 95% of households have taps within a 200 metres range, despite respondents who reveal that due to drought and water scarcity the supply of water was negatively affected. Of the households located in the Ikwezi Local Municipality 84.2% have approved sanitation services which are adversely affected by water scarcity and to an extent absence of water technicians. In Ikwezi Local Municipality approximately 88% of households use electricity for lighting purposes while there is a refuse removal service for 79.8% of households (Ikwezi Local Municipality, IDP 2012–2017:19–62).

Community beneficiation from the available service delivery infrastructure

Although the study found that DBNLM is among the best municipalities in the country in terms of infrastructure, community beneficiation from such infrastructure appears to be limited. A substantial number of participants indicated that they were not benefiting from the service delivery infrastructure regarding water

because taps were standing dry in their yards and were 200 metres away from the dwellings. The service delivery infrastructure would be beneficial if taps had running water. Without the accompanying services (the supply of water, for example), infrastructure (water pipes and taps) is useless. The benefits of water and sanitation remained insufficient though the municipality has infrastructure. There are taps in the yards and 200 metres within the range of dwellings. Taps are a tool or mechanism through which services are provided. However, such a simplified view of this relationship understates the complex, multidimensional nature of both infrastructure and service provision.

Attitude of communities towards the amalgamation process

In some cases, however, there was opposition to amalgamation because participants felt that the larger amalgamated municipalities would adversely affect delivery of services.

Prior to the amalgamation there was a strong feeling from letters to CoGTA and other anecdotal and informal indicators that there was significant opposition to the amalgamation. However, there were no systematic public opinion surveys undertaken in any of the jurisdictions.

Interviews with communities indicated that there is still a significant amount of residual negative feelings about the amalgamations, which were generally viewed as forced. The survey results indicate that in the communities studied, there was very little support for the amalgamations. Contrary to the CoGTA expectation that amalgamations would result in more efficient service delivery, in every jurisdiction most respondents felt that the value they were receiving for their rates had declined since amalgamation.

Possibly, the most significant finding is the degree of variation in findings among the municipalities. For example, initial opposition was strongest in Baviaans and Camdeboo, and that seems to have been carried forward. There was strong initial support in Ikwezi for the amalgamation, but that seems to be weakening. Thus, it is very difficult to generalise about results. On several dimensions, some additional support for the amalgamations is emerging, but this is happening very slowly and is unfolding differently in different jurisdictions.

Public participation in the processes of amalgamating municipalities

The study has found that residents were not appropriately consulted, hence they stated that their views were not considered. However, public participation refers to a process in which the community as a single component democratically and openly influences decision-making processes (Maimela and Mathebula

2015; Mathebula 2018). As much as the residents were invited to public meetings, they were not allowed to vote on whether they accept the merger. Sebola (2017) states that public participation should be viewed as a process whereby communities learn and participate on policy and developmental issues in their communities.

Moreover, Masango (2002:52) reveals that the introduction of a democratic dispensation in South Africa in April 1994, drew the idea of public participation in public affairs into the spotlight. Out of 21 residents 15 indicated that the public was not provided with sufficient opportunities to partake in the demarcation process, compared to six of the respondents who agreed that sufficient opportunities were provided. Public participation in municipal processes including demarcation must be inclusive of the input from the concerned municipal community if a developmental South Africa is to be realised (Mathebula 2018). It may be further deduced that the primary reason for the response was that the time frames for public consultation and participation were not realistic because the hasty completion of the process was more important than the views of the residents. This inference is supported by statements made during interviews with residents, indicating that sufficient notice was not provided regarding the demarcation processes. In terms of the statements whether the MDB did consult sufficiently with key stakeholders during public meetings, all of the residents and the ratepayer's association agreed with the statement. This result implies that consultation with stakeholders did take place in Baviaans, Camdeboo and Ikwezi. It should be noted that that these processes are required in terms of legislative prescriptions.

Protests relating to the amalgamation of municipalities

The demarcation process in South Africa faced multiple challenges such as community objections to demarcation processes and the service demands on new municipalities. Violent protests accompany these objections and demands as a way of registering unhappiness with the final demarcation decisions. The protests followed lack of effective communication and consultation between the MDB, government and communities on matters of municipal boundaries.

Between January and April 2016, at least 70 service delivery protests were recorded in the country by Municipal IQ, an organisation that monitors and assesses the performance of municipalities (www.municipaliq.co.za). Social protest has become the main avenue for expressing this dissatisfaction. In contrast the merger of Baviaans, Camdeboo and Ikwezi experienced no protests in relation to the process. It was exceptional compared with the rest of the country. It can be deduced that residents in the three municipalities accepted the process though they were not so convinced.

Compliance of the amalgamation process with the relevant legislation

The study found that there has been compliance of the amalgamation process with the relevant legislation. The amalgamation process was done by the MDB which is an independent body. However, the demarcation process was not a smooth sail as the 2016 boundary demarcation elicited a legal challenge, which temporarily interdicted it to go ahead. It was Baviaans municipality which interdicted the MDB.

After the court ruling the MDB went ahead with the demarcation process. Baviaans, Camdeboo and Ikwezi municipalities were amalgamated. The Constitution makes provision for aggrieved members of the public to challenge the process in a court of law.

There were no protests linked to the boundaries once the municipality was established and communities became aware of the new administrative area.

Geographical size of the municipality

The municipality is the third largest in the country and the largest in the Sarah Baartman district (DBNLM IDP 2017–2022). It is vast and has a low-density population because some of the wards are too big. The study found there is a high prevalence of hard-to-reach populations living in physically remote areas. It is often not feasible to maintain a full network of services in low population density areas that have dispersed, and remote communities. More fundamentally, in many of these contexts the state is either absent or perceived as remote, and this in turn can reinforce a sense of mistrust and undermine state-community relations. Such approaches may also recognise that certain populations may be disadvantaged because of their remoteness or features of their way of life, and that this can reinforce their marginalisation.

The thread of the argument is based on the hypothesis that geographical distance weakens the top-down transmission of the socio-economic development policy, and that peripherally located local governments are weaker than those centrally located. Consequently, the spatial effective range of sub-local centres, is insufficient. The study has found that space is important in the provision of municipal services. In the provision of services, the spatial factor is involved in decisions to locate residential areas and municipal offices. The seat of the municipality is in Graaff Reinet and the other towns are distant from its main offices, therefore the performance of the municipality could be perceived to be inefficient because the supply of services does not meet the demand to the heterogeneous preferences of the local communities.

For community satisfaction, high accessibility, low congestion, and high efficiency are required. The study found that because of the geographical size of the municipality there is low accessibility, high congestion, and low efficiency because residents from the towns within the municipality must all go to Graaff Reinet to clarify their accounts when they have been wrongly billed as that is where the main accounts office is.

The large administrative unit of DBNLM does not overcome the geographical distance from the local entities. Moreover, geographical distance and population potential make the operational management of a large unit more difficult than that of a small entity. Roads are longer, cost more and are difficult to maintain. Transport times increase significantly and providing energy is challenged by long-distance power lines which are more expensive and suffer line losses. It may be possible to reach some degree of critical mass where the population is clustered in a small number of communities, but where the population is dispersed, particularly in rural areas, the costs of connecting people are proportionately high.

Trends on service delivery improvement after the amalgamation of municipalities

The newly established DBNLM was meant to speed up delivery of services to achieve goals of a developmental state as enshrined in the National Development Plan (MDB 2019:1). However, it was found that the supply of services has not impressively improved since the establishment of DBNLM in 2016.

According to the DBNLM Annual Report, (2018/2019:73) since the establishment of the DBNLM the levels of accessibility to basic services as reflected in the DBNLM area, consisted of 17,450 households in the urban areas and 3,300 households in the non-urban (farm) areas. The urban households are serviced by the municipality:

- 97% of households have access to a minimum standard of electricity (energy for lighting).
- 98% of households have access to a minimum standard of piped potable water (within 200 metres);
- 96% of households have access to a minimum standard of sanitation (flush, chemical and VIP pit latrines);
- 99% of households have access to a minimum standard of refuse removal and disposal facility (municipal, communal, or private).

The above information from the DBNLM 2018 Annual Report coupled with the views of participants in this study indicate that there has not been drastic improvement in the delivery of services at the DBNLM since its establishment.

This concurs with the trend anticipated by Ovens and Associates in their 2015/2016 study when they were opposing the amalgamation by stating that all three former municipalities had improved access to basic services between 2001 and 2011 and were addressing basic service backlogs and subsequently the amalgamation would not impact the supply of basic services and the then prevailing patterns would continue.

CONCLUSION

Literature shows that incidents of resistance by local communities to the amalgamation of their municipalities are not uncommon in South Africa. However, this need not always manifest itself through protest action. The case of the merger of Baviaans, Camdeboo and Ikwezi local municipalities which led to the establishment of the DBNLM is one example in this regard. The merger succeeded although it experienced challenges of a procedural and consultative nature.

Prior to the amalgamation of municipalities which led to the establishment of the DBNLM, lack of prospects for enhanced service delivery in the new municipality was raised as one of the arguments against such amalgamation. This study could not find evidence that such argument was misplaced.

This study has also noted that on average the infrastructure for service delivery inherited by the DBNLM is of a higher standard when compared to that of other local municipalities in South Africa, and therefore it recommends that the municipality should take advantage of such a scenario and ensure that such infrastructure is used to the benefit of its communities. Despite lack of protests during the merger process, lessons learnt about ensuring compliance with legislation should be used to ensure that due diligence is adhered to consistently on municipal matters. Furthermore, it should be noted that the size of the municipality is not always directly related to service delivery performance of the municipality. Hence, this study concludes that the amalgamation of municipalities which led to the establishment of the DBNLM did not lead to enhanced service delivery performance.

NOTE

- * This article is based on a thesis "Demarcation of municipalities and service delivery capacity: A case of selected Eastern Cape municipalities", by Sokopo, J.T. Z. X. 2021. Submitted to the Nelson Mandela University, under the supervision of Professor R.S. Masango and Co-supervision of Professor P. N. Mfene.

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Variables Influencing the Relationship between Civil Society Participation and Democratic Governance

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ABSTRACT

The article highlights the relationship between civil society participation and democratic governance to gain a good understanding of the impact of civil society participation and political alienation on democratic governance. It focuses on the interconnectedness of governance, good governance, democratic governance, and network governance as concepts and phenomena influencing civil society participation. The article also pays attention to criteria derived and extrapolated from a literature review that can be used for the measurement of democratic governance at a local level. These criteria include elements that are refined to present a mechanism for understanding and enhancing civil society participation within a democratic governance framework. The article used a qualitative approach that was underpinned by unobtrusive research methods in order to unify the diverse perspectives into one analytical framework that focuses on the development of an enabling environment for civil society participation.

INTRODUCTION

Despite all the achievements of good governance over the last few decades and the benefits of civil society participation in democratic governance, especially in Africa, it remains a contentious, much-debated issue (United Nations Development Programme 2011). These debates have more recently escalated in response to the perceived crisis of democracy, which questions the value and adequacy of democracies and the rights and responsibilities of citizens (Klijn and

Koppenjan 2001; Kooiman 1993, 2000; Pierre 2000; Pierre and Peters 2000). It is reasoned that the traditional way of doing things has become obsolete and democracies “are unable to respond to declining public participation in political processes” (Gaventa 2005; Hydén 2011).

It is clear, however, that the process of civic participation is not an easy one and there is also no uniform recipe accepted by all stakeholders. Perceptions vary as to how participation programmes should be developed, implemented, and monitored. It is therefore difficult to know what works and what does not, let alone practising civil society participation in a culture foreign to Western donors and developers, and opportunities to learn from successful experiences are severely limited (Adejumobi 2000). This constitutes a potentially serious problem since any attempt to introduce participatory practices requires a great deal of resources (time and cost) on the part of citizens and the government. Perceived failures may therefore cause widespread disillusionment and further mutual hostility between the government and citizens.

The article explores three themes: First, the interconnectedness of governance, good governance, democratic governance, and civil society participation; second, the development of an enabling environment for civil society participation; and finally, the development of a framework for the assessment of an enabling environment for civil society participation. Based on this, the framework for the development of an enabling environment for civil society participation in democratic governance does not only include government, governance, and citizens; but it also includes the environment where networking and intra- and inter-collaboration takes place between them. This is an aspect that is crucial for the development of a model for civil society participation (*cf* Torfing and Sørensen 2014:4).

CONCEPTUALISING AND CONTEXTUALISING THE BACKGROUND

Democratic “governance is central to creating and sustaining an environment that fosters equal civil society participation” and development (Gildenhuis and Knipe 2000). Electoral “democracy does not constitute a magic wand for economic progress and social transformation, it is the content of democracy and the way it is constituted that has some implications for the development project” (Adejumobi 2000:6). Political “participation can provide the mechanism by which citizens can communicate their needs and put pressure on the government to respond to these” (Burde 2004:3). To place an issue on a government agenda, it is necessary to convince the relevant politicians that the problem is important. Interest groups with practical experience are often in an excellent position to enlighten and articulate the problems that face the ordinary people with whom they work. The

role of civic groups and organisations is to strengthen and organise civil society and communicate the needs of local communities at the grassroots level to the local government (National Research Council 1992).

Whatever lens is used to examine governance, democratic governance “should be able to provide people with choices and opportunities to reach their full potential through the structure and institutions put in place for the good of the people” (Opeibi 2012:16). Rebello *et al.* (2002) state that good governance refers to the way that “political, economic, and administrative authority is exercised in the management of a government’s affairs...It therefore includes culture, traditions, institutions, and processes that determine how a government’s power is exercised, how citizens can participate, and how decisions are made on issues that concern them”.

It can be argued that democratic governance must involve civil society in the formulation of public policies, development programmes, and projects. There are reasons why democratic governments need the public to participate in governance structures and processes. “These may include fulfilling legal requirements, embodying the ideals of democratic participation and inclusion, advancing social justice, informing the public, enhancing understanding of public problems and exploring and generating potential solutions, and producing policies, plans, and projects of higher quality in terms of their content” (Bryson, Crosby and Bloomberg 2014). Hence, democratic governance for the purposes of this article is equated to good governance because democratic governance is also known in the literature as “good governance” and refers to democratic countries where governments attempt to attain the highest quality of life for their citizens (United Nations Development Programme 2011).

Furthermore, the different layers of government that connect participants enhance the complexity of interactions (Torfing and Sørensen 2014). It also includes initiating and facilitating interaction processes between actors to create and change network arrangements for better coordination and cooperation (Klijn and Koppenjan 2012). Networking with civil society is based on close cooperation, coordination and partnerships. Effective partnerships consist of shared roles, responsibilities and decision-making powers (Edigheji 2005:9).

There is increased emphasis on coordinating participants’ interdependencies to develop public policies and deliver public services (Torfing and Sørensen 2014). Torfing and Sørensen (2014:334) suggest that the terms ‘governance’ and ‘network governance’ should be seen as a new perspective on an emerging reality. Although it is not easy to define, the concept of “network” is dispersing rapidly throughout the field of public governance and is regarded in modern literature as a cure-all for the issues faced by public management (Klijn and Koppenjan 2012:5).

In its simplest form, “network governance can be described as a grouping in which relevant stakeholders are linked as co-producers who are more likely to

identify and share common interests, especially if they develop a trusting relationship and act according to human rights principles” (Torfing and Sørensen 2014:4). Marcussen and Torfing (in Torfing and Sørensen 2014:4) stress “that the role, functioning, and democratic effects of governance networks should be clearly described to gain a true understanding of network governance and how to operationalise it in a good governance framework”.

For the purposes of this article, the definition by Marcussen and Torfing (in Torfing and Sørensen 2014:7) suffices: “Governance networks can be defined as; a) a horizontal articulation of interdependent, but operationally autonomous actors; b) who interact through negotiations; c) transpiring within a regulative, normative, cognitive and imaginary framework; d) that to a certain extent is self-regulating; and e) which contribute to the production of public purpose within a particular area”.

Thus, according to Marcussen and Torfing (in Torfing and Sørensen 2014:3), governance networks can be understood as horizontal negotiations among a group of interdependent, but operationally autonomous actors. These negotiations transpire within an institutionalised framework containing regulative, normative, cognitive and imaginary elements. The governance network is somewhat self-regulating, and a crucial characteristic is that governance networks contribute to the production of public purpose within a particular area. Mutual trust and responsibility are important drivers to ensure compliance with decisions.

The concept of a network has through the past decade increasingly been connected to the concept of democratic governance and more recently to open government (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2017). Linking the network theory and good governance is a step in the right direction to increase understanding of network governance theory. According to Park and Park (2009:93), “a step forward in understanding network governance would be the analysis of networks as independent variables and not as dependent variables”.

When unpacking the meaning of governance networks, one must first examine the autonomous private, semi-public, and public actors in a horizontal relationship who are dependent on one another for action to take place, but who also act independently. The “political actors included in a governance network must be legitimate stakeholders” that are able to bring something of value, such as resources, information, and knowledge, to the other actors in the exchange (Torfing and Sørensen 2014:4). Unequal interdependencies, rather than commands, usually exist, with some actors being stronger and having more exchange power.

There is, however, no formal chain of command in the network, and the public authorities that participate in a governance network must be equal to other actors in their interactions and deliberations (Torfing and Sørensen 2014:4). It is to be expected that there will often be “disagreements, conflicts, and antagonism;

decisions must therefore be made on the agreement of reaching consensus or common ground” (Marcussen and Torfing in Torfing and Sørensen 2014).

It is important to understand that deliberations take place within an institutionalised, regulative framework that has its own rules, roles and procedures, criteria, principles, and standards. A governance network should create a common vision, goals, and expectations (Marcussen and Torfing in Torfing and Sørensen 2014). Governance networks therefore operate in a particular environment that must always be taken into account by the participants, because it has the ability to facilitate or constrain its capacity for self-regulation (Torfing and Sørensen 2014:4). There must be a fine balance between the regulation of governance networks and the freedom of participants to make decisions (Edelenbos and Van Meerkerk 2017). If the external regulation of networks becomes too tight, the network is reduced to an order-taking bureaucratic agency (Torfing and Sørensen 2014:4).

Governance networks should always work towards the public good, meaning valid “expression of visions, understandings, values, and policies to the public” (Torfing and Sørensen 2014:4). The relationships between participants in network governance, if placed on a continuum, range from a bargaining governance network, where participants are autonomous and act independently by means of bargaining, to deliberative governance networks that are totally interdependent in a close-knit fashion (Marcussen and Torfing in Torfing and Sørensen 2014).

The way “in which a governance network functions may change over time, place, and subject matter...With regard to time, negotiations will tend to be prone to bargaining in the early stages of decision-making processes... over time, mutual trust and reaching common ground with participants will tend to be negotiated through deliberation” (Torfing and Sørensen 2014:4). “Network negotiation is an important defining feature of governance networks” (Marcussen and Torfing in Torfing and Sørensen 2014). Although negotiation within governance networks can adopt a variety of different forms, it cannot take just any form because governance networks are shaped within the framework of institutional principles that constrain and enable the negotiation types of network governance (Marcussen and Torfing in Torfing and Sørensen 2014).

Over the past four decades, there has been a global trend towards the development of criteria, indicators, and models to explain the network governance theory and practice (Enserink, Witteveen and Lie 2009). Like governance, the idea of network governance finds its roots in citizens’ demands for governments to be accountable and effective and where civil society is viewed as an important resource to address complicated public governance issues amid dwindling funds (Zurbriggen 2014).

The rules, criteria, and principles are not completely fixed but provide guidelines for negotiations between network actors. Negotiations between network members also generate new knowledge and a sense of shared identity. Knowledge

generation constructs images of the social world and of themselves, which enables network members to understand the role that their different ontologies or worldviews play in simplified terms. Finally, governance networks give purpose and meaning to individual members (Zurbriggen 2014).

Marcussen and Torfing (in Torfing and Sørensen 2014) stress the fact that the way network partners will comply to the “rules will depend on the governance mode...criteria are therefore required to determine whether the network meets the desired aims”. Experts in the field (Klijn and Koppenjan 2012) feel that network governance could be successful, provided that, criteria fitted for the purpose are used to measure progress.

In view of the above background the article explores three themes: First, the interconnectedness of governance, good governance, democratic governance, and “civil society participation, secondly, the development of an enabling environment for civil society participation and finally, the development of a framework for the assessment of an enabling environment for civil society participation” (Torfing and Sørensen 2014:4). Based on this, “the framework for the development of an enabling environment for civil society participation” in democratic governance does not only include government, governance, and citizens; but it also includes the environment where networking and intra- and inter-collaboration takes place between them (Torfing and Sørensen 2014:4). This is an aspect that is crucial “for the development of a model for civil society participation” (Torfing and Sørensen 2014:4).

INTERCONNECTEDNESS OF GOVERNANCE, GOOD GOVERNANCE, DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE, AND CIVIL SOCIETY PARTICIPATION

Civil society participation is a multidimensional concept (Quick and Bryson 2016). Participation in government depends on the rights enshrined in the constitution of a country, the authoritarian processes, and mobilisation and advocacy of civil and political society. It can therefore be argued that civil society engagement and apathy in the governance process will vary much depending on the nature of the political context of a country (Quick and Bryson 2016).

Civil society participation is not, however, sufficient to ensure good governance. Good governance is characterised by the complex processes where a variety of participants/stakeholders with different interests and needs interact to achieve citizen-focused objectives. Governance is “good” when it can manage resources and provide quality public goods to its citizens. Therefore, on the one hand, good governance can be assessed on the quality and the quantity of the public goods it is able to provide. “On the other hand, good governance sets the

prerequisites for civil society participation, the management of resources and the enhancement of human rights, non-discriminatory laws, efficient and impartial judicial processes, transparent public works, the accountability of public officials, the decentralisation of resources, local-level decision making, and meaningful citizen participation in decision making on matters concerning them” (Weiss 2000). The good governance approach emphasises key variables that impact on good governance, namely effective and visionary leadership, integrity, and transparency and accountability within the public sector (Zurbriggen 2014). It deliberately steers away from elements of poor governance, namely non-participation of the public and the inefficiency of the government (National Development Agency *et al.* 2008).

Since there is a clear relationship between mutually constitutive relationships between the state and citizens, the responsiveness of public officials, and citizen mobilisation, it could be viable to make use of boundary spanners, who are respected stakeholders in network governance. These stakeholders usually have the skills to facilitate mutual understanding and helping participants to develop trusting relationships and common goals, and they can mediate conflict among team members (Klijn and Koppenjan 2012). Traditional leaders usually possess these skills and can therefore be used as the focal point for development in African countries (Peiffer 2012).

An important prerequisite for their inclusion is the legitimacy of the stakeholders who represent community members. It is necessary to find ways to determine the legitimacy of their claims to speak on behalf of others (Fung 2006). Participative actions must also be well planned to be effective. If projects fail, the public may lose interest and hope. Participation in governance is clearly a process that evolves over time. Other factors that must be in place in good governance are mutual goals, coordination and cooperation, “non-discriminatory laws, efficient and impartial judicial processes, decentralisation of and easy access to local government, a responsive public sector that believes in the empowerment of communities, and meaningful participation of citizens in public policy processes and decision making on local levels” (Weiss 2000).

The above aspects are based on human rights principles and the values of good governance (Cunningham 2002), such as equity, respect, acceptance, understanding, tolerance, accountability, transparency, and accountability. These principles of good governance have created evolving ways of engagement between citizens, communities, and the public administration sector. These engagements are supported by legal or constitutional guarantees and either the invitation by the government to citizens to participate, or it may be achieved by civil society in demand of inclusion (Van der Waldt and Auriacombe 2018).

According to the International Federation of Accountants (2013), “the function of good governance is to always act in the interest of the public sector, which means

absolute commitment to human rights principles, integrity, ethical values, and the rule of law". Governments should therefore be transparent and open to comprehensive civil society participation to ensure accountability. Governments should also be able to, through strong leadership, set goals "for sustainable economic, social, and environmental growth and determine the interventions" necessary to reach intended outcomes (Torfing and Sørensen 2014:4). An important matter is that the capacity and abilities of public officials should be optimised to enable them to manage performance and possible risks through internal control and rigorous financial management (International Federation of Accountants 2013). If these prerequisites for good governance are absent, participative governance cannot be present.

It is clear from the literature that good governance has specific benefits for individuals and for communities (Muijs *et al.* 2010). Notably, "good governance allows governments to access wider sources of information, additional perceptions, and potential solutions by including citizens" (Mavee 2010). Because citizens know their own needs best, "it could improve the applicability of their knowledge and enhance the quality of policies and programmes in their community" (Mavee 2010). It could also help to build or rebuild public trust in the government, which again increases the value of democracy and through empowerment strengthens community capacity. Extrapolated from the work of various authors (Evans 2010; Hilliard and Kemp 1999; Van der Waldt and Auriacombe 2018), good governance has the following benefits:

- It prevents the abuse of governance and political power.
- It prevents governments from controlling and misusing their subjects.
- It can meet the real needs of citizens.
- It makes provision for diverse perceptions and proposals to solve community issues.
- It provides a channel for regular feedback on public governance activities and issues and thus keeps the public informed.
- It provides the authority to citizens to challenge and oppose a government's decisions and policies.
- It can monitor the accountability of administrators.
- It develops a platform where ordinary citizens can receive civic education and thus understand the government and administration, as well as their own role, better.
- It generates a sense of pride and community solidarity when citizens experience that their inputs have been implemented.
- It provides a basis for broad-based social learning and develops capabilities to participate in governance structures and processes.
- Participation mechanisms allow individuals to gain knowledge and information about the local government that can help citizens to hold authorities accountable.

- Participative governance tends to enhance good relations among the citizens by helping them to build self-reliant, close-knit communities.
- Civil society participation over a period develops a reservoir of good spirit based on trust and collaboration between the local government, citizens, and communities.

Michels (2011) conducted a study of Western democracies with the aim to determine whether the assumptions made by theories of participative governance and deliberative democracy, asserting that citizen involvement has positive effects on democracy, are true. According to these findings, participation in governance structures and processes and deliberation between citizens and the public sector:

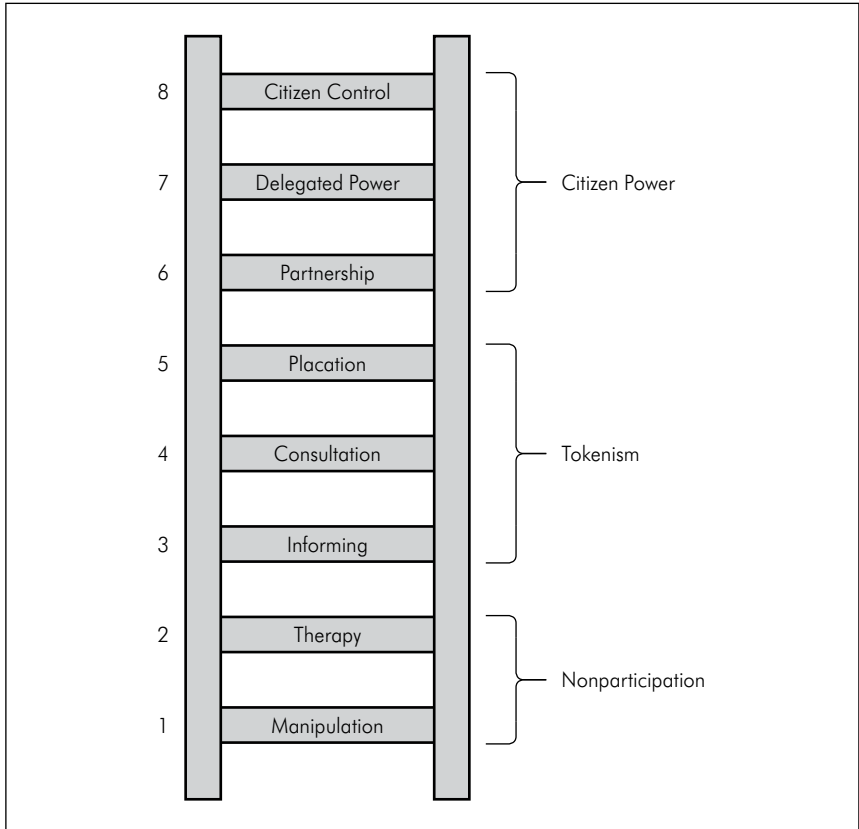
- make citizens part of governance and therefore give them the opportunity to influence decision-making;
- develop civic skills among individuals; and
- leads to more effective decisions and outcomes.

Two main approaches have emerged in response to the difficulties of democracy, namely the neoliberalism approach and the participative network governance paradigm. Each differs substantially regarding its views on the role of citizens in governance (Gaventa 2005). Donors “such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund” were at the forefront of instituting liberal economic policies, or so-called neoliberalism, underpinned by a dominant private sector built on civil society participation and efforts to ensure the state’s accountability in Africa (Torfing and Sørensen 2014:4). This idea of the limited role of the state was based on the belief that African states were not able to effectively deliver public goods or limit the abuse of funds (Cilliers 2016). In recent years, balancing the power of the government and citizens, according to the participative network approach, has become a major concern in development thinking (Bekker 2004; Yang and Pandey 2011).

The second possible solution to this crisis of democracy grew from the liberal representative model, which emphasises the importance of building strong institutions, organisations, and procedures for representative democracy, including electoral processes. The idea of how to address the crisis developed from participative governance and is known as deliberative or network governance, which emphasises an ever-deepening spiral of citizens’ involvement and control regarding decisions that affect their lives (Torfing and Sørensen 2014).

Democracy in Africa has been shaped by a background of colonial powers and it is still attempting to follow the European model of democratic governance (Torfing and Sørensen 2014:4). This resulted in exactly the opposite of what the Western donors had hoped for. Democracy is not only an approach; in practice it is a living “commitment to specific institutions such as the rule of law, civil

Figure 1: The ladder of civil society participation



Source: (Arnstein 1969:216)

society, and political accountability that is not only showed through free and fair elections by an electorate, but is also based on universal values and norms” (Mavee 2010). In short, democracy relies on a strong and vibrant civic culture where citizens participate actively to meet certain prescribed agreements with the state in exchange for protection, freedom, and a quality lifestyle (Mukamunana and Brynard 2005). This is not present in most African democracies, which as a rule are riddled with corruption and autocracy (Schuster 2002).

Various authors (Arnstein 1969; Johnson 2005; Bryson *et al.* 2014) point out the fact that evidence suggests that, in general, governments do not respond to civil society participation. Most civil society participation actions are ignored by officials and crucial decisions are taken without the people affected being consulted. As Arnstein (1969:217) states, “[t]here is a critical difference between

going through the empty ritual of participation and having the real power needed to affect the outcome of the process". Essentially, this is what is happening in most local government actions and programmes. The question therefore remains how citizens can be meaningfully involved in governance and not be used as mere rubber stamps of approval (Arnstein 1969:216).

Arnstein (1992) developed a typology of eight levels of civil society participation (see Figure 1). The lower part (rungs 1–2) of the ladder represents "non-participation", where the authorities "believe that citizens are not able to make decisions in the government and should therefore not be allowed to do so before they are educated or metaphorically, according to the medical model, cured" (Arnstein 1992). Rungs 3 and 4 are levels where citizens are encouraged to participate and act in an advisory capacity. They are used as rubber stamps since they have no decision-making power or even an agreement with the government that their inputs would be responded to, as is happening in South Africa.

Rung 5 is where citizens are pacified by being allowed to advise the government, but they still have no power to decide on issues that affect their lives. Level 6 depicts a place of enablement and decision-making where citizens are in partnership with the government and have real power to collaborate and negotiate "with increasing degrees of decision making" (Arnstein 1969:216). Arnstein (1992) cautions "that the typology does not include an analysis of barriers to achieve the citizen decision-making stage".

Obstacles on the government's side include racism, tokenism, and resistance to power sharing; and on the citizens' side obstacles include inadequacies of easy access to political and socio-economic infrastructure, lack of information and knowledge to participate, lack of representative and accountable citizens' groups, as well as distrust and political alienation (Arnstein 1969). Arnstein (1969) correctly states that participation in any way in governance means nothing to a citizen who has no decision-making power to help bring about social, economic, and political change.

Participation is people-centred and enhances democratic governance where people feel part of government affairs and can make decisions by being part of "open and transparent participatory processes" (Mavee 2010). Democratic governance implies that people have "real decision-making power" and not only advisory power in the matters that affect their lives (Mavee 2010). It also gives citizens the power to hold decision-makers accountable for their actions. Citizens will not be able to participate effectively if the rule of law and participatory institutions, including non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and local government structures, are not in place (Plumptre and Graham 1999). Some of the key problems faced by civil society organisations (CSOs) in the development of policies and programmes are a lack of information, lack of time to react, lack of transparency at the local level, lack of capacity, and difficulty in

accessing remote areas. The participation of citizens and CSOs challenges the views and the roles of public officials, who may feel threatened by it (Miller and Rein 1975:16).

Participative democratic governance requires that the participation of citizens should be inclusive and fair. The people must be free from discrimination regarding ethnicity, socio-economic status, gender, or any other characteristic (United Nations Development Programme 2007). In order to “understand the role of civil society, it is necessary to understand the distinction between civil society, state, society, and political society” (Mavee 2010). If civil society participation is to be genuinely inclusive, it must be able to bring about the necessary changes in governance for the betterment of citizens’ lives (Cornwall 2002; Kabeer 2005). In this regard, the formation of institutions (including traditional leaders) and organisations of civil society that represent citizens is a necessary action to bring about change and to build a strong democracy.

These CSOs are therefore regarded as the main players in maintaining and re-defining the boundaries between citizens and governments. This is done through two interdependent processes, namely the development of social equality and transforming government to governance. In the late 1960s, the emphasis of participation was placed on citizen power and the redistribution of power to allow marginalised and poor citizens to be deliberately included in decision-making. In this way, marginalised citizens would get a voice that “can induce significant social reform, which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society” (Arnstein 1969).

A period of investigation into participatory methodologies to enhance civic participation and debates on the issues of participation (Thompson 2013) culminated in the contemporary firm belief that involving citizens in governance processes leads to the enhancement of their well-being and to better decisions for planning and implementing community projects and programmes (Thompson 2013). At the same time, the involvement of the public leads to the empowerment of the poor and marginalised to become more self-reliant.

There are various approaches to citizen participation in governance. Governance is therefore far more than structures and processes for participation (Bekker 2004). At the core of democratic governance lies civil society participation. The current growing feeling globally is that since participation is the core of democracy and democratic governance, an enabling environment for civil society participation should be developed by governments. This enabling environment should be based on the approach of contemporary theories that consider citizen participation as a fundamental principle of planning and decision-making in governance. The concepts of good governance, networking, democratisation, empowerment, and development are also therefore progressively linked in the literature (Dahl 1998; Fung 2006).

DEVELOPMENT OF AN ENABLING ENVIRONMENT FOR CIVIL SOCIETY PARTICIPATION

The importance of criteria to evaluate the participation of citizens to serve as a prerequisite for democratic governance is well documented in the literature. Various authors (Fung 2006; Marcussen and Torfing in Torfing and Sørensen 2014; Kooiman 2000) state that recent studies on network governance and civil society participation are concerned with the rethinking of crucial democratic elements of civil society participation and network governance. This resulted from the fact that the participation of citizens in governance has been identified as a key factor in democratic governance, with the emphasis on responsibility and the ownership of citizens in planning and implementing government programmes.

Developing an enabling environment for civil society participation and aligning government systems with active and meaningful participation of citizens has therefore become a crucial issue in democratic governance and development (Plumptre and Graham 1999). This collaborative approach aims to bring together government resources and civil society's expertise needed for democratic governance to promote "open government" (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2017). The lack of institutional structures and relationships within the government and "between the different sectors of the government and the sectors of civil society has a determining impact on outcomes to develop countries" (Mavee 2010). Mukamunana and Brynard (2005:665) state, "involving civil society role players in the formulation and implementation of public policies has become a major feature of political life worldwide; for academics and donors, civil society could serve as an instrument that will make African countries more democratic, transparent and more accountable".

Active partnerships between civil society and the government could bring about a deeper trust and open communication between the partners; however, the onus for the development of collaborative partnerships lies with the government and its ability to "develop an enabling environment for civil society participation" (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2017). To provide a benchmark for the analysis of an enabling environment (incorporating government and citizens) for "good governance in the public sector, the following criteria for the measurement of elements in terms of the processes and outcomes of civil society participation are necessary for the development of an enabling environment for civil society participation" (Mavee 2010):

- Recognising and respecting that stakeholders and beneficiaries know their own needs and environment best.
- Realising that beneficiaries are able, creative, and knowledgeable to find solutions to their own problems.

- Recognising the complexities and need for tolerance and acceptance when bringing together varied stakeholder groups such as the government, donors, and citizens.
- Citizens are empowered to make decisions.
- Citizens have the power to make decisions; not only suggestions about issues that affect them.
- Citizens are able to exercise that power through effective channels, including traditional authorities, to make choices for the development of appropriate economic policies and projects.
- Accepting the equity and inclusiveness of all civil society groups, including the marginalised and poor (Plumptre and Graham 1999).
- Capacity building using local resources and capacities.
- Bottom-up citizen-initiated development programmes that emphasise collaboration and deliberation (Osmani Internet Source).
- All stakeholders are part of decision-making processes.
- Community members take responsibility and ownership of development processes and programmes.
- Using facilitators (boundary spanners) who could act as development catalysts; and participation must take place in the framework of monitoring and evaluation (M&E) to ensure desired policy outcomes, impact, and implementation (Tikare, Youssef, Donnelly-Roark and Shah 2001).

The above criteria are built on a human rights-based approach to development where the main focus is on the relationship between the citizens and the government; specifically, on the rights and responsibilities of citizens and the government (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2017).

According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2016), civil society participation is a catalyst that boosts democracy and good governance. Good governance brings inclusive growth and a more efficient public service. The democratic participation of citizens is built on specific principles and measured by criteria that can also be regarded as important variables or factors that impact on participative governance. Participative governance in this article is therefore defined as an open government that not only allows citizens to see which decisions are made, but also empowers them within a mutual relationship between citizens and the state in order to make decisions on issues that affect their lives and to help shape the decisions that were made (Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy and the International Federation of Accountants 2013:5). In terms of this definition, public officials and citizens can find common ground and build or rebuild the relationship of trust between the government and citizens (Osmani Internet Source).

Within a modern democratic governance structure, no single actor in the public or private sector has the infrastructure, knowledge, or resources to solve the complex societal problems of the 21st century (Conley and Moote 2003). According to Conley and Moote (2003), “there is a global trend towards the development of a network governance model for cooperation, interaction, and co-responsibility”. The development process “begins with the local population’s most pressing needs and concerns and the availability of easily accessible structures to facilitate civil society participation to address these needs and complaints” (World Justice Project 2016). Local people must be empowered “to assess how well their needs and concerns are met and what action must be taken” for these needs to be met (Mavee 2010). Citizens and the government should make joint decisions regarding the necessary actions to be taken and to hold officials and each other accountable. As Wilde and Nahem (2011:59) state: “Indeed, it will simply not be possible to conduct a robust and legitimate country-led assessment of democratic governance without the active engagement of civil society organisations”.

Consensus seeking is seen as a core aspect of collaborative network governance and has received considerable attention in recent years. It is important for the mutual partners in the private and public sectors to commit to the joint decisions taken and the strategy to implement these decisions. Ownership must focus on stakeholder collaboration, partnership, and cooperation in an interdependent relationship throughout the evaluation and implementation process. All participants in the development process have equal participation and decision-making rights and are treated equally in an inclusive process. All citizens should be competent enough to participate and if not, they must receive civic training. The partnerships among stakeholders should be continuously strengthened through dialogue, debate, joint actions, and the mutual benefits they share (Aimers 1999). The goal of collaboration in governance networks is to realise some degree of consensus or agreement among diverse stakeholders. As such, consensus orientation focuses on actors’ willingness and openness to engage in a process of developing joint goals, despite their diverse interests and perceptions in relation to the issue at hand (United Nations Development Programme 2010). Consensus-orientated participants in governance networks will strive to develop common ground and a mutual understanding in a negotiation process. The extent to which actors are consensus-oriented is therefore a key factor for developing common ground in governance networks (Edelenbos and Van Meerkerk 2017). A high level of consensus orientation among actors in network governance will therefore have a positive effect on developing common ground.

There is a crucial need that civil society participants in governance should be regarded as legitimate representatives of communities. The reason for this is the necessity to mobilise communities to participate in their own development. Development programmes should therefore be started from the grassroots level

since top-down programmes will lack legitimacy in the eyes of the public. This is especially true in the case of marginalised, alienated citizens who do not trust their government representatives (United Nations Development Programme 2007).

The following framework as depicted in Table 1 is based on the information that was extrapolated from a literature study which aims to promote a better understanding of what is needed for an enabling environment for civil society participation (Mavee 2010). The criteria and elements in this framework “can be used to assess civil society participation” versus political alienation (Mavee 2019).

Table 1: Framework for the assessment of an enabling environment for civil society participation

Criteria	Elements
Visionary ethical leadership driven by national government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Clear goals and objectives to meet the obligations of the constitution and the rule of law ■ A paradigm change from the dependency model to the empowerment model for community development ■ Equality ■ Ethical behaviour ■ Integrity ■ Transparency ■ Accountability ■ Nation-building and promoting tolerance and cooperation ■ Adequate funding and capacity
Rule of law	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Protection of human rights ■ Order and security ■ Independent and fair judiciary and legal system ■ Regulatory enforcement ■ Civil justice and equality ■ Criminal justice ■ Mechanisms of governmental accountability in place
Socio-economic development to implement specific policies, plans, and projects for development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Sustainable social and economic indicators ■ Prioritising the needs of vulnerable people
Efficient and effective public service	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Financial management and control ■ Performance management ■ Independence from political pressure ■ Quality of policy formulation and implementation and involving civil society participation in the process ■ Regular feedback to citizens ■ Commitment to governance principles/human rights ■ Agreement on roles and responsibilities (protocol) for participants

Criteria	Elements
Address barriers to citizen participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Decision-making power ▪ Ensuring public participation of marginalised and vulnerable citizens ▪ Access to governance structures and procedures ▪ Increasing the literacy rate ▪ Prioritising education ▪ Addressing language problems ▪ Ensuring equality (ethnicity, gender, class) ▪ Addressing lack of confidence of citizens to participate ▪ Providing civic education ▪ Providing information to the public
Liberal democracy and communitarian democracy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Decision-making power and not only advisory power for citizens ▪ Building community capacity ▪ Effective checks on the accountability of public managers and politicians
Protecting human rights principles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Both the government and citizens have commitment to democracy, human rights principles, and value equity, respect, acceptance, understanding, tolerance, and integrity
Collaboration between the government and citizens	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Building a mutual relationship of trust and interdependency ▪ Encouraging community solidarity as a principal virtue of democracy ▪ Providing decision-making power to citizens who are positively or negatively affected by a proposed government intervention ▪ Serving the best interests of communities will determine the goals, objectives, and strategies for sustainable benefits ▪ Incorporating network governance ▪ Building capacity of partners and stakeholders to be able to act on equal terms ▪ Ensuring close coordination and cooperation of partners ▪ Developing mutual acceptance and understanding between partners ▪ Legitimacy, information, and action between citizens and the government ▪ Communicating the needs and interests of all participants ▪ Finding common ground/consensus on core aspects ▪ Focusing on participants' willingness and openness to engage in the process of participation ▪ Developing joint goals from diverse interests and perceptions of roles and responsibilities (protocol) of citizens, the government, and the private sector
Utilising traditional leaders as boundary spanners	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Legitimate stakeholders must be skilled to facilitate mutual understanding, conflict management, and helping participants to develop trusting relationships and to monitor common goals for progress
Developing sustainable social and economic indicators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Defining and monitoring clear goals, inputs, outputs, and outcomes of programmes and procedures

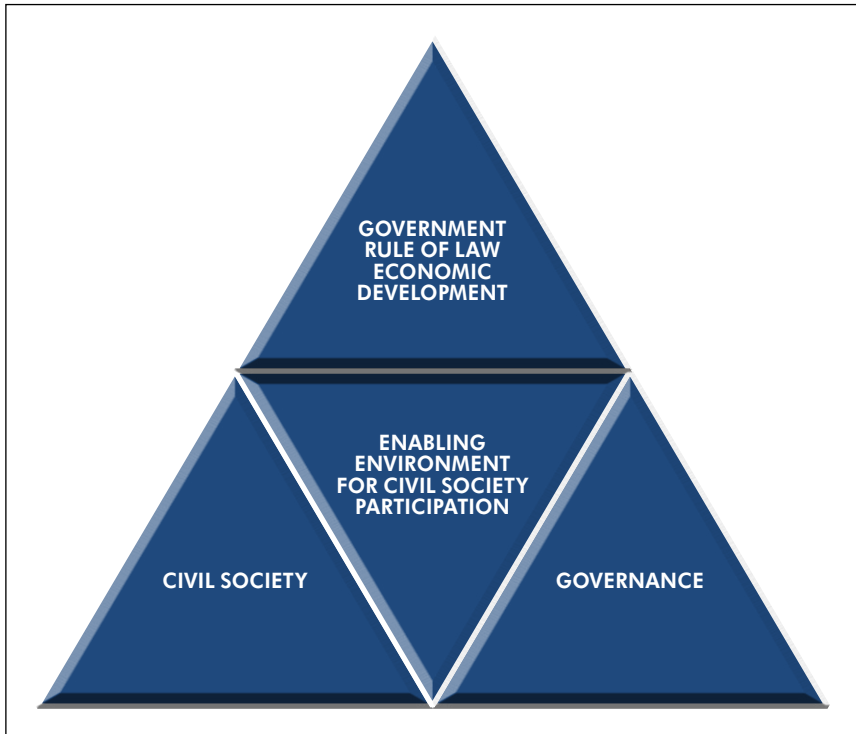
Source: (Author's own compilation extrapolated from the literature review)

A criterion is a distinguishing element for measurement by which a set of conditions or processes of governance can be judged (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2017). Each criterion distinguishes an element for measurement by which a set of conditions or processes of democratic governance can be measured (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2017). The criteria describe the different sides of democratic governance.

CONCLUSION

This article discussed the criteria for the development of an enabling environment with the aim to develop a framework that can be used as a measurement instrument for effective civil society participation and democratic governance. It provided a contextualisation of the concepts, governance, good governance, democratic governance, and network governance and explained the interconnectedness of

Figure 2: Outline of a model for the assessment of a participative democracy



Source: (Author's own construction)

these concepts and civil society participation. Finally, the article focused on the development of a framework to determine criteria for an enabling environment for civil society participation (Mavee 2010).

It is important to understand that “governance” and “public participation” are evolving concepts that developed and changed over decades, along with government administration. These terms therefore “come with considerable prior theoretical and/or ideological baggage” (Osborne 2006:381). Apart from the usual criteria for good governance as described in the literature, we need to “move beyond a simple description of what governance is, into the more challenging terrain of unravelling the elements of ‘good’ governance” (Plumptre and Graham 1999).

The crux of the matter is therefore to determine how governance relates to the different spheres of government and to citizens and how that relation impacts citizen participation or political alienation. It is the “vibrancy of civil society, and, in general, how different sectors in society interact to deal with issues of public concern” (Plumptre and Graham 1999:9) that determine the effectiveness of civil society participation in democratic governance. In conclusion, Figure 2 serves as a holistic model for the assessment of participative democracy or open government that makes provision for an analysis of government, governance, civil society, and an enabling environment for civil society participation (Mavee 2010).

NOTE

- * This article is partly based on a D Litt et Phil thesis completed under the supervision of Prof Christelle Auriacombe: Mavee, S.E.A. 2019. *Variables influencing political alienation and civil society participation in local governance in South Africa and Mozambique*. Johannesburg: University of Johannesburg.

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Human Capital as a Determinant of Organisational Competitiveness

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ABSTRACT

The article focuses on the role of human capital as a driver for organisational effectiveness. In today's world, human capital is increasingly becoming a major factor to generate future growth and development in organisations. Human capital investments, such as education and training, are therefore the main concerns for individuals, firms, public institutions and governments. Organisational success depends on people's knowledge, skills, and abilities, and other human capital practices like employee selection procedures, performance appraisals, rewards and benefits, employee training and development and often have a direct effect on organisational productivity and performance. There are various pitfalls that organisations experience to remain relevant and competitive. Hence, the article highlights the reasons why organisations tend to neglect investment on human capital and it consequently results in the collapse of an organisation. The article is based on a desktop study and a literature review of secondary sources to determine how different organisations utilise human capital in order to increase their competitive edge.

INTRODUCTION, BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

Human capital is an important intangible asset of an organisation, and combines the competencies of the people working in an organisation, such as various skills, education, experience, potential and capacity. It is believed that if an institution is able to know how its human capital contributes to its success, it is easier to measure and manage effectively (Memon, Mangi & Rohra 2009). These days, human capital is increasingly becoming a source of vitality and development of any enterprise as a whole (Amanova, Turysbekova, Tazhibayeva, Izatullaeva & Kaltayeva

2017). All organisations compete through the quality of their people because employees develop and implement the organisation's strategies, processes, products and services, and ultimately determine its success level (Sikora, Thompson, Russell & Ferris 2016). Employees, being the human capital, very much determine organisational success, and organisations with the deepest and best-developed human capital pools are likely to be the most successful and have a competitive edge over their competitors (Crook, Todd, Combs & Woehr 2011). Furthermore, in any organisation, the role of people is crucial in determining its success or failure. As one of the factors of production, people or the human capital, complements and manages the other inputs, which include financial and physical resources, in order to achieve its goals. Often, managers forget the importance of the people factor concerning the success of an organisation (Zakaria & Yusoff 2011).

The concept of human capital is believed to have initially been formulated by Nobel prizewinner and economist, Theodore Schultz in the early 1960s, as an explanation of the advantages of investing in education on a national scale. Theodore Schultz introduced the concept of human capital for the first time, bearing in mind that human capital includes abilities, knowledge, skills and qualifications possessed by individuals (Afiouni 2013). In the same vein, human resources or employees are the utmost critical resources an organisation possesses, because human capital underlies any organisational capability, in terms of making decisions or allocating resources (Zakaria & Yusoff 2011). In the past, human capital has been described in many ways by different authors. For some authors, human capital is just a change of title or naming of the field, from Human Resources Management to human capital (Zomorrodian 2014). Furthermore, many scholars have argued and predicted that the future global marketplace will reward companies that put prominence and value in entrepreneurial risk-taking, that invest heavily in developing their intellectual capital, promote individual growth, and adopt policies that are environmentally friendly. Therefore, successful competitiveness in the 21st century, will demand the use of visionary and dedicated leadership, a balanced scorecard that enhances corporate accountability, and sustained investment in creating dynamic capabilities (Zahra 1999).

Human capital has always taken a backseat when organisations discuss factors that increase their competitiveness. Organisations have struggled to quantify the impact of human capital on the overall competitiveness of the organisation, thereby missing an opportunity to strategically place the role of human capital in the overall performance of an organisation as a major, albeit unappreciated factor, in the overall competitiveness of all organisations. Therefore, there is a need to investigate how human capital increases competitiveness, and gives an organisation a competitive edge compared to other organisations that provide similar services.

This article assesses human capital as a determining factor of increasing the competitiveness of any organisation by reviewing available literature that supports

this notion. It further provides suggestions on how best to improve human capital engagement in order to increase organisational competitiveness.

The literature review for this study included topics such as human capital, capital, competitiveness, competitive advantage, reasons for organisations' neglect of human capital, other types of capital, and how organisations can leverage their human capital to improve their competitiveness.

HUMAN CAPITAL

Human capital refers to processes that relate to training, education and other professional initiatives in order to increase the levels of knowledge, skills, abilities, values, and social assets of an employee, which will lead to the employee's satisfaction and performance, and eventually impact organisational performance (Marimuthu, Arokiasamy & Ismail 2009). Human capital represents the human factor in an organisation, combined with employee skills, intelligence, and expertise that vehemently unleash the distinctive character of the organisation (Armstrong & Taylor 2014). Furthermore, Armstrong and Taylor (2014) state that human capital is also concerned with obtaining, analysing and reporting on data that informs the direction to pursue for value-addition in people management, strategic, investment and operational decisions at corporate and frontline management levels. In addition, Daniel (2019) is of the view that human capital is the combination of habits, knowledge, personality and social attributes that comprise the creativeness that is encircled in the capability to perform work in order to always produce more products or values economically (Daniel 2019).

Human capital has become an important asset in organisations as it tends to increase the productivity of employees, and in turn their employability and their overall well-being (Wolf & Zohlhöfer 2009). Organisational success strongly depends on people's knowledge, skills, and abilities and human capital practices like employee selection procedures, performance appraisals, rewards and benefits, employee training, and development, which often have a direct effect on organisational productivity and performance (Schuler & MacMillan 2006). The multidimensional aspects of human capital, which encompass the tangible and intangible aspects, static and dynamic aspects, and industry-specific and firm-specific aspects, become the focus of human resource management in an effort to enhance performance. The intangible aspects of human capital include the skills, knowledge, and abilities that employees use to accomplish tasks at hand, and ultimately achieve organisational goals (Zakaria & Yusoff 2011).

Human capital has been credited for representing the human factor in the organisation that includes the combined intelligence, skills and expertise that gives the organisation its distinctive character. The human elements of

the organisation are those that are capable of learning, changing, innovating and providing the creative thrust, which if properly motivated can ensure the long-term survival of the organisation (Hossain & Roy 2016). Human capital is also considered as a key element in improving the assets of an organisation (humans), since it provides a sustainable competitive advantage, and that it increases the employees' efficiency. Some organisational theorists apply the rules of human capital theory to prove the ability to create the much needed and useful competition between companies, by developing individual human resources (Pasban & Nojehdeh 2016).

CAPITAL

Before economists and sociologists came up with their own definitions, the term 'capital' was generally understood as money that is invested in businesses by owners or shareholders, and it continues to be understood in the same way in everyday business practice today. Generally, capital is not considered to be a production factor, but a sum of money invested in business enterprises or public institutions (Braun 2016). Conversely, capital should be referred to as any investment that is capable of earning returns beyond the initial investment over its lifespan. For instance, a manufacturing plant may be described as a capital investment that will yield profits to the investors beyond the initial money that was used to purchase or set up the plant, and any other operating costs. In the same vein, capital investments in human beings, are also considered to be investments that are capable of yielding dividends beyond the initial money on investment (Daniel 2019).

COMPETITIVENESS

According to available literature, a universal and exact definition for competitiveness does not exist, therefore, competitiveness means different things to different organisations. Some organisations view competitiveness as the ability to persuade customers to choose their offerings over alternatives, while others view competitiveness as the ability to improve continuously their process capabilities. In other words, core competencies as well as capabilities that drive such competencies, are considered to form the essence of competitiveness (Feurer & Chaharbaghi 1994). Organisations that seek to optimise their workforce through comprehensive human capital development programmes, do so to not only achieve business goals but most importantly, for their long-term survival and sustainability (Marimuthu, Arokiasamy & Ismail 2009). In order to accomplish

this undertaking and phenomena, organisations normally invest resources to ensure that employees have the knowledge, skills, and competencies needed for them to work effectively in a rapidly changing and complex environment (Marimuthu, Arokiasamy & Ismail 2009).

By increasing the extent of human capital through the use of strategic human resource practices, employees' skills and capabilities can be developed to meet the demands of unpredictable environmental changes. The result of this adaptation process creates unique routines and procedures that have limited value outside an organisation. Upon achieving the desired results, the organisation's human capital can subsequently positively impact performance (Zakaria & Yusoff 2011).

COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGE

Competitive advantage has been referred to as the secret of success for most organisations, and has been defined as "the quality that brings about success". Competitive advantage is believed to be the basis and bearing that decides the fate of a business, and grows fundamentally out of the value a firm is able to create for its customers that exceeds the cost of creating the value (Mukerjee 2016). Competitive advantage can also be defined as an advantage gained by an organisation compared to competitors by offering customers greater value, either through lower prices or by providing additional benefits and service that justify similar, or possibly higher, prices (Ehmke 2008). Literature indicates that, by combining competent employees with multiple complementary human resources practices, an organisation can attain competitive advantage, as these combined resources become heterogeneous across the organisation, making them socially complex and difficult to imitate (Zakaria & Yusoff 2011).

Some scholars advocate for the appropriate use of an organisation's resources to create a sustained competitive advantage by conceptualising human capital as a source of sustainable competitive advantage (Zakaria & Yusoff 2011). Therefore, to achieve competitive advantage, an organisation has to professionally integrate competent employees with the flexible components of human resource practices. It should be emphasised that competitive advantage that is based on human capital that incorporates the complex structure and interactions of people, is much more difficult to imitate than the competitive advantage derived from physical and financial capital (Zakaria & Yusoff 2011). The defining characteristic of Human Capital Management (HCM) is the use of metrics to guide an approach to managing people that regards them as assets, and emphasises that competitive advantage is achieved by strategic investments in those assets, through employee engagement and retention, talent management and learning and development programmes (Armstrong & Taylor 2014).

REASONS ORGANISATIONS NEGLECT HUMAN CAPITAL

The decline in competitiveness of most companies is attributable, in part, to neglect of human capital. This is because organisations are always eager to maximise their own wealth and the wealth of their shareholders, by engaging in large numbers of acquisitions. These seemingly beneficial strategic moves distract managers, causing them to de-emphasise areas of key importance, such as the development of human capital (Hitt, Hoskisson, Harrison & Summers 1994). Some authors also believe that human capital takes time and money to develop or acquire, and this potentially offsets its positive benefits (Crook *et al.* 2011). Hence, organisations neglect investing in human capital. The merger movement, over the last three decades, has also led to increases in diversification and size of many institutions or firms. Increasing diversification often results in changes to the control systems used, which may lead to a reduced commitment to the development of human capital (Hitt, Hoskisson, Harrison & Summers 1994).

Organisations also cite the lack of funding, as one of the reasons that they tend to neglect human capital development (Daniel 2019). Furthermore, the issue of trust between employers and employees comes into play because most institutions believe that workers are duplicitous in nature, and after returning from training tend to desert their institutions to join other institutions, hence investing in their skills could be a waste of organisational resources (Daniel 2019). The fact that investments in human capital does not usually bring immediate returns, also contributes to lower investment in human capital. This short-sightedness in lower investment in human capital can be particularly severe, as there is always a need these days to implement effectively new and more complex technologies. However, by laying-off talented workers, and by reducing training during downturns, competitive advantages are likely to be lost (Crook *et al.* 2011).

In most cases, increasing the size of an organisation often accompanies and results in an increase in diversification. The rigid organisational structures (emphasising bureaucratic controls) which are often present in larger organisations, disallow full use or adequate development, of human capital. However, the strongest effect of bureaucratic controls is the constraint on the use of human skills and capabilities, for example, it often stifles creativity. Thus, increases in both diversification and size may have a negative impact on the development of human capital (Hitt, Hoskisson, Harrison & Summers 1994). An organisation that neglects its human capital is likely to lose its most valuable and performing employees, who contribute to its competitive edge over other organisations. A study conducted by Ramlall in 2003, established that among the many other reasons that can result in employees leaving their organisations, and potentially affecting its competitiveness, include those that have to do with employee's dissatisfaction with the organisation's efforts to develop their skills (Daniel 2019).

OTHER TYPES OF CAPITAL

In general, organisations aiming to maximise their competitiveness, also invest in other capital such as financial and physical capital. Scholars have established that human capital, physical capital, and financial capital, are different aspects of capital. Therefore, three types of capital, being financial, physical and human capital, are linked in a way that when one suffers, the other two also suffer. For example, when an institution that has financial difficulties, is unable to meet its obligations that include paying its employees or investing in their development to enhance their performance. Similarly, if an institution lacks the requisite machinery and other physical assets, it is unlikely to stay competitive because the available human resources will not have tools at their disposal to perform to their full potential (Bagnoli & Giachetti 2015). However, the differences in the types of capital are derived from the fact that an individual or an employee cannot be separated from their skill, health, and values; while they can be separated from their assets and properties (Pasban & Nojedehe 2016).

Financial capital

Financial capital entails money, currencies, securities and other instruments of the global financial system. The current global society focuses enormous amounts of attention on financial capital as it is considered the primary tool for exchanging goods and services. It is the glue that binds all other available capitals together (Roland 2011). Financial capital facilitates economic production, though it is not itself productive, referring rather to a system of ownership or control of physical capital. Before a start-up business makes its first sale, there is normally a need to buy or rent a building, buy equipment, hire staff, and have some inventories of materials and supplies. Thus, a start-up business has a lot of needs that require financial capital (Goodwin 2003).

Physical capital

Physical/produced capital, as it is sometimes referred to, is considered to be an aggregate of the value of equipment, machinery, structures (including infrastructure) and urban land that an organisation depends on to operate (Pasban & Nojedehe 2016). It is also physical assets that are generated by applying human productive activities to natural capital, and that are used to provide a flow of goods or services, whether in the business sector, in homes or communities, or in the public sector or government and non-profit governmental organisations (Goodwin 2003).

HUMAN CAPITAL LEVERAGES

Making human capital a source of competitive advantage requires much more than making some quick fixes to a control-focused organisation. It requires attracting and retaining the right people as well as organising and managing them effectively (Hossain & Roy 2016). In a highly competitive environment, the utilisation of organisational resources is considered very decisive, and organisations with exceptional internal and external resources gain a competitive advantage over their competitors. As such, the human factor has become vital to get a competitive advantage (Memon, Mangi & Rohra 2009).

In today's volatile environment of business, the competitive advantage of an institution is temporary. Top managements do not, and cannot, have all the answers to increasingly complex and rapidly changing problems and situations facing their organisations. In such a context, people of an organisation constitute its core resource for continuing competitiveness. This resource comprises people's individual and collective learning and knowledge, skills and expertise, creativity and innovation, competencies and capabilities (Rastogi 2000). An organisation that wishes to be customer-oriented needs to develop a culture that fosters customer orientation and put in place information systems that capture customers' needs and wants. This approach can help organisations to understand what customers truly value and ensure loyalty of customers through innovative rewards (Mukerjee 2016).

According to the Resource-Based View (RBV), organisational resources which are capable of generating a sustained competitive advantage for the institution, must meet four conditions. First, resources must be valuable, and they are valuable if they can enable the institution to conceive or implement a value-creating strategy. Second, the resources have to be rare, with a relatively low chance that competing organisations may own them as well. Third, the resources must be imperfectly imitable. Organisational resources can be imperfectly imitable if the ability to obtain them depends on unique historical circumstances, or if the relationship between these resources and the institution's competitive advantage is causally ambiguous, or if these resources are socially complex. Finally, the fourth requirement is that resources do not have a substitute (or a strategic) equivalent (Bar-Eli, Galily & Israeli 2008).

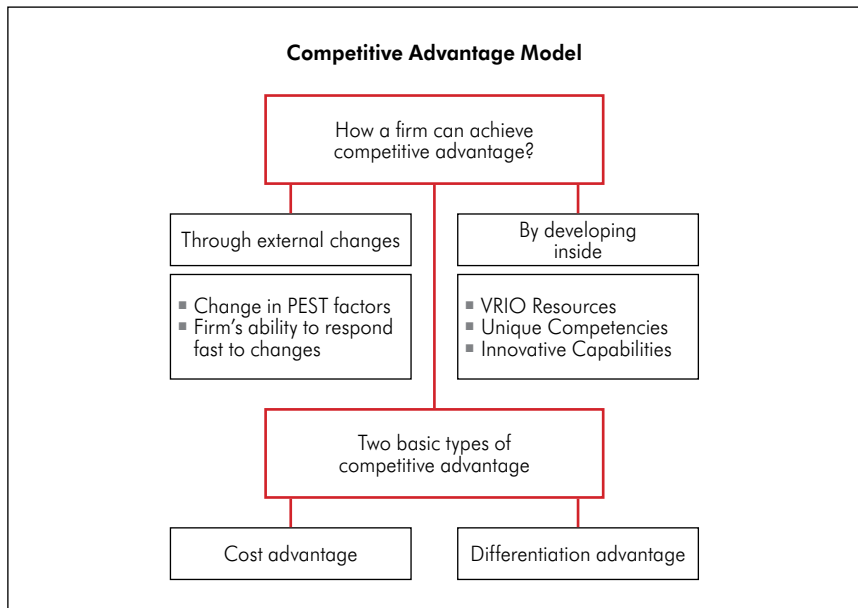
By utilising formal education and training of employees, job-based knowledge, and relevant work experience, organisations can conceptualise various contractual needs, efficiently execute and supply the transferred processes, act upon and learn from real-time feedback, and devise new and improved ways of doing business over time (Hossain & Roy 2016). Human capital is an important source of competitive advantage, as it can augment the organisation's competitive advantage through strategic leadership. Memon and his team of researchers in

2009, suggested the following as some standards for the strategic leadership of an organisation to follow, regarding the human capital to achieve a competitive advantage (Memon, Mangi & Rohra 2009):

- Determine human capital strategic vision
- Scrutinise strengths and weaknesses of human capital
- Identify key performance factors/indicators
- Prepare learning and development strategies
- Involve all management levels and workforce in formulating strategies
- Evaluate outcome of human capital strategies
- Perform gap analysis on actual and expected performance

Garavan (2001) and his team of researchers argue that investment in human resource development at an individual level, is insufficient as a basis to create knowledge or enhance the capacity of employees to engage in action. They advocate the need for having an understanding of the values that underpin learning activities to be an important precondition to successful investment in human resource development (Garavan, Morley, Gunnigle & Collins 2001). The analysis of a study conducted by Choi in 2010, showed that human resource development investment predicted interpersonal and organisational learning practices, which

Figure 1: A model for competitive advantage in organisations



Source: (Cited from David 2009:36–37)

in turn increased the number of patents over a two-year period. The collective learning practices mediated the effects of human resources development investment on organisational innovations. Their data also revealed that the positive relationship between collective learning practices and organisational innovation was much stronger in organisations with a high innovative climate than in those with a low innovative climate (Choi 2010).

Research done by Crook and his team of researchers in 2011, meta-analysed effects drawn from 66 studies of the human capital-firm performance relationship, and investigated three moderators suggested by resource-based theory. They found that human capital relates strongly to performance, especially when the human capital in question is not readily tradable in labour markets and when researchers use operational performance measures that are not subject to profit appropriation (Crook *et al.* 2011). Their results suggest that managers should invest in programmes that increase and retain firm-specific human capital; hence, it could be argued that human capital can be a determining factor to increasing the competitiveness of an organisation.

Human capital is a determining factor in increasing the competitiveness of enterprises, economic growth and efficiency of the economy as a whole, rather than issues related to equipment and inventory (Amanova *et al.* 2017). Researchers have long understood that human capital, especially one's education and training, plays an important role in organisations, and compensation for employees and managers is strongly related to the education and experience they possess (Crook *et al.* 2011). However, the author of this article differs with Crook *et al.* (2011) as they state that knowledge embedded within people is ultimately the only source of competitive advantage; because research indicates that there are other factors that can be the source of competitive advantage for organisations, combined with knowledge, skills and abilities of its employees. These factors include the manner in which an institution manages its strategy, which cannot be simultaneously pursued by its competitors (Mukerjee 2016). Human capital leads to higher performance only if it is applied and successfully transferred to the specific tasks that need to be performed (Hossain & Roy 2016).

Research in applied psychology and strategic human resource management also clearly indicates that investing in human capital can yield positive individual as well as organisation-level performance outcomes (Crook *et al.* 2011). Additionally, the impact of education and training on company performance is an important issue, not only because of the large amount invested each year in knowledge and skills, but also because it is pertinent to know who benefits from these investments (Hansson, Johanson & Leitner 2004). Competitiveness of organisations has human capital at the centre, supported by both financial and physical capital, that provides the funding and tools, and machinery needed to enable the people in an organisation to apply their inherent, and acquired skills,

knowledge, attitudes and competencies, to ensure their organisations stay competitive and relevant in fast-evolving economic markets. However, globalisation is making organisations reconsider the amount of money they invest in their employees because technology is changing at a rate that organisations that do not endeavour to keep up, will find themselves out of business.

FINAL WORD

The author agrees with Amanova *et al.* (2017) and their research team, who indicate that the development of human capital in modern conditions will significantly improve the competitiveness of organisations. This is a clear indication that an organisation cannot afford to ignore the benefits of human capital development if it is to keep a competitive edge against its rivals in the market. Furthermore, as the global economy becomes increasingly knowledge-based, the acquisition and development of superior human capital appears essential to firms' viability and success (Crook *et al.* 2011).

Following the above discussion on human capital as a determinant of organisational competitiveness, the author proposes the following suggestions:

- As literature indicates, an organisation interested in staying competitive should invest in the development of its human capital;
- An organisation that neglects its human capital is likely to lose its most valuable and performing employees, who contribute to its competitive edge compared to other organisations. Therefore, as organisations strategise to stay competitive, they have to strategise around their most valued assets, being the employees, in order to retain them in their organisations;
- When considering human capital development to enhance organisational competitiveness, organisations need to ensure that human capital is not readily tradable in labour markets. This will further cement their competitiveness and keep them at the top of their game in the global market; and
- Organisations that plan to survive in this rapidly changing business environment, must be willing to change the way they do things and adopt the new norms that include fast-changing technology, globalisation and that employees have more choices and organisations should always consider employees' needs before the needs of the organisation.

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Standards for PhD Trajectories in Public Administration are Based on Choices

Are We Making the Right Ones?

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the requirements and current conditions for awarding the degree of PhD in Public Administration in South Africa. It distinguishes different models regarding the aim of such trajectories, the kind of supervision, the needed knowledge and skills of PhD candidates, the need for mandatory graduate courses and the institutionalisation thereof. The question can therefore be posed whether we are satisfied with the current quality and standard of the PhD in Public Administration in South Africa. And should the current quality be found to be lacking, could international standardisation be the solution?

The article is based on a desk-top literature review comparing and synthesising PhD trajectories and existing standards, and provides a critical reflection of what has been proposed in scholarly articles and books together with the content of international standards. The trend in other parts of the world, as seen through the Bologna Treaty and the Salzburg Principles, is towards greater standardisation of doctoral education. This standardisation is linked to globalisation and the increased movement of graduates and the workforce around the world. Although standardisation has benefits, which increases the quality of PhD graduates, it also results in a generic tick box exercise that dampens creativity and the ability to use initiative in research and writing.

INTRODUCTION

PhD graduates belong to a rare species. It is estimated that worldwide, only 0.7% of the population has a doctoral degree (OECD 2014; 2019), which is the highest academic degree. In the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, the percentage of the population with a doctorate is estimated to be around 1%, with notable positive exceptions in Switzerland and Slovenia (around 3%), while in developmental countries, the percentage is mostly below 0.1% (UNESCO 2014). Breaking such figures down to the various academic disciplines results in severe problems. We simply do not know the number of PhDs in, for instance, Public Administration. In some countries, PhD graduates in this field are categorised under Management Sciences, in others, under Law, Economics or Political Science. One can only estimate such numbers. One thing is certain though: the percentage of the population with a doctorate in Public Administration in whatever country is a fraction of the 1% mentioned – probably below 0.02% – with figures far lower in developmental countries such as South Africa.

The rarity of PhDs, and the fact that graduates have often sacrificed three to 10 years of their life to obtain this degree, implies that obtaining it is something special. Holding a PhD – also known as a Doctor of Philosophy (D Phil) – instantly increases status; one is seen as belonging to the academic, and often also to the social elite. This is even more so with economic growth and innovation said to depend on the number of doctorates. They are deemed crucial for the knowledge economy (Shin, Kehm and Jones 2018), and serve as a critical resource to solve old problems, causing changes in all spheres of life (Sira, Vavre, Kravcakova and Kotulic 2020; Dill and Van Vught 2010; Powell and Snellman 2004). Knowledge and information are viewed as the ‘electricity’ of the knowledge economy and universities are viewed as the main knowledge producers, with the number of doctorates being their most important output. Universities produce new knowledge through PhDs and research; PhD education creates new human capital that is expected to provide the high-level skills necessary for the growth of an advanced, knowledge economy (OECD 2019).

The question that arises and is addressed in this article concerns what one has to accomplish in order to obtain a PhD in Public Administration, and how to judge the requirements and standards in light of what is expected from PhD candidates in Public Administration.

The PhD in Public Administration has, over the years, received some attention from researchers and has been investigated from different perspectives by various authors (Raadschelders and Douglas 2003; Reichard and Kickert 2008; Brewer, Facer, O’Toole and Douglas 1998; Wessels 2008; Ndima 2009). In such

research, one sees a shifting focus regarding PhD standards and quality as well as the internationalisation of the qualification. This specific shift in focus is due to increased globalisation and the rise of the knowledge economy, also known as the information society. Governments have become increasingly dependent on new knowledge and information to support economic growth and productivity (Etzkowitz and Leydesdorf 1995; Chan 2016). PhD graduates are seen as the drivers of such development. They often work in different countries from the one in which they graduated. This movement of PhD graduates (the internationalisation narrative) requires adherence to an international standard (benchmark) to ensure quality and to meet the expectations of employers. However, PhD education has not yet been standardised. Different countries and universities use varying criteria to award the degree. Creating and adhering to international standards is important since this assists universities to benchmark their qualifications against a global standard (QAA 2020).

The first part of this article elaborates on the existing research on PhD trajectories in Public Administration. We address quality assurance standards for PhD trajectories. Many countries have their own standards, as is the case in South Africa, with the development of the Council on Higher Education (CHE) Qualification Standards for Doctoral Degrees published in 2018. However, international standards remain important to ensure a universal quality for the PhD. Attempts at creating international or regional standards were made by the European Union (EU) and the East African Community, specifically, the Bologna Conference (1999), the Salzburg Principles and recommendations of 2005 and 2010, Taking Salzburg Forward – Implementation and New Challenges (2020) and the East African Qualification Framework for Higher Education (2015). For the discipline of Public Administration, standards were created by the International Association of Schools and Institutes of Administration in 2009, but these were predominantly focused on MA degrees and not on PhDs. Currently, the only existing ‘international’ standards pertaining to PhDs were created by the Network of Institutes and Schools of Public Administration in Central and Eastern Europe (NISPACEe) and the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA).

After conducting a literature review on PhD trajectories and comparing existing standards, the last section of this article gives a critical reflection by synthesising what has been proposed in scholarly articles and books with the content of international standards. The section deliberates on what is present and what is needed to fulfil academic and societal expectations on PhDs, specifically in Public Administration.

Thus, the aim of this article is to describe, compare and analyse the international standards relevant to the PhD degree in general, and in Public Administration in particular, to determine whether the standards existing in South Africa meet

international standards. The article concludes with a reflection, suggestion and deliberation on the standards for PhDs, outlining what is apt and what is missing.

METHODOLOGY

This article must be seen first and foremost as a conceptual study, analysing the nature of doctoral studies and developments in this field. This includes reading the relevant literature – books and journal articles – on the subject of PhDs as well as studying primary sources comprising authoritative publications, the internet and official documents. This article is therefore first based on a literature review.

Searches were conducted on the internet, university library databases, Research Gate and Google Scholar using terms such as ‘doctoral studies’, ‘doctoral research’, ‘doctoral education’, ‘doctorates’, ‘postgraduate studies’, ‘PhD trajectories’, ‘PhD theses’, ‘graduate school’, ‘grad schools’, ‘graduate education’, ‘graduate training’, ‘research school’, ‘doctorate holders’, ‘doctorate degrees’, and ‘doctoral graduates’.

Second, the snowball technique was used to search the reference lists of publications that seemed to be useful. Checking the references of a potentially relevant article expands the search by 20 or more other potentially relevant publications, and by checking the reference lists of those additional publications further expands the search. The abstracts and conclusions of these identified publications were initially scanned to determine relevance. If an article was deemed relevant, the full text was then analysed.

Within the publications read, additional terms were identified, such as ‘transferable skills’, ‘internationalisation’ and ‘standardisation’. These terms are deemed necessary for graduate programmes. Hence, subsequent searches were conducted of the internet, the university library databases, Research Gate and Google Scholar using these new identified terms.

Furthermore, it cannot be denied that the opinions presented in this article are also based on the authors’ personal experiences as supervisors and external reviewers of PhD theses. Over the last two decades, the authors reviewed more than 30 South African PhDs.

Although there is always the possibility of omissions occurring, this article nonetheless presents a comprehensive overview and reflections on doctoral programmes and PhD trajectories in different countries.

WHAT’S IN A NAME?

To obtain a Doctor of Philosophy in Public Administration is an achievement. But what does one expect from somebody having been awarded this title?

What it means to be a Doctor

First, the degree gives one the title of 'Doctor'. This name suggests that the person will be able to diagnose problems, find the causes and propose solutions. In other words, a doctor is expected to understand research traditions and conduct advanced scholarly research using different research techniques. Because of this part of the title, all over the world, a PhD candidate must prove that they are able to conduct cutting-edge research by writing a dissertation (known as a thesis in South Africa). This dissertation will be on the specific subject being investigated in depth, according to scholarly requirements and approved by senior peers (i.e. university professors). In 1806, the German Humboldt University was the first to specify that the PhD is a research apprenticeship conducted over many years and requires a dissertation. The writing of a dissertation is still seen as the crucial part of the PhD trajectory. The most recent Salzburg Principles still acknowledge that "the core component of doctoral training is the advancement of knowledge through original research" (European University Association [EUA] 2010:ii).

Discussions about the contents of the PhD dissertation remain, however. Some see the dissertation as a 'master test' – the result of years of learning according to the mediaeval 'pupil-journeyman-master principle', which shows that the apprentice has mastered his work. This is the point made by Fulgence (2019), who states that a PhD is the basic requirement to become an academic. A student is expected to do independent research as an apprentice, in close collaboration with a supervisor. Some PhD programmes may require classes and examinations while others only expect PhD candidates to teach undergraduate students while producing a dissertation that is of an intellectual nature (Fulgence 2019).

Others conceive the dissertation as a masterpiece, through which the PhD candidate demonstrates that they have enriched the discipline. Langrish (2000) argues that a PhD indicates an advancement in knowledge and that the degree requires the graduate to discover something new.

The first point of debate is about the content of the dissertation. Should the content simply prove that the candidate has mastered the research process? Or should it prove that the candidate has advanced the discipline? The dominant model varies over countries, over time, over universities within a country and sometimes, even between departments of the same university. As for Australia, the government required in 2013 "all its doctorates to have a thesis or the equivalent that makes an original contribution to a body of knowledge, covers research methods, and is examined by experts of international standing" (Erwee and Perry 2018:3). In various European countries, the trend seems to be moving away from the requirement of necessarily writing a dissertation with original research that contributes to the advancement of the discipline, although this varies across universities and even for individual professors.

Showing that one has mastered research methods and is able to write a decent monograph containing adequate research on a specific subject – a master test – is formally sufficient for awarding the degree. In countries such as Norway, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom (UK), Sweden and Denmark, before the turn of the millennium, it was the norm to conduct original research (i.e. to produce a ‘masterpiece’ in order to be awarded the degree). Germany, Austria and France, had two levels of dissertations. In Germany and Austria, the thesis and the ‘Habilitation’ for obtaining the degree of ‘dr.’ or ‘dr. habil’ requires a significant and original contribution to the discipline. In France, a distinction is made between the doctorate and the ‘habilitation à diriger les recherches’, with the former known as the ‘little thesis’ and the latter as the ‘grand thesis’. In the USA, the trend seems to be in the opposite direction, i.e. from a mini-thesis comparable to an essay to an extensive and comprehensive thesis. In developmental countries such as Sri Lanka, the requirement for a doctoral degree includes the ability to carry out high level research under the guidance of a supervisor holding a qualification at a PhD level. The PhD candidate must make a significant and original academic contribution, creating new knowledge (Sri Lanka Qualifications Framework 2016:22–23). This therefore indicates that there is no universal requirement for a doctoral degree, with some countries and universities requiring an original contribution to the subject and others not.

What it means to be a Doctor of Philosophy

The second focus of this article is on the ‘philosophical’ aspect of the degree. This aspect implies that knowledge of philosophy, especially the philosophy of science, would be included in the degree. This may be especially relevant in the South African context, since its academia has witnessed a serious dispute – initiated by students – about the need to ‘decolonise’ science (Van Jaarsveldt, De Vries and Kroukamp 2019). One would expect a Doctor of Philosophy to be able to reflect on discussions, take a reasoned position in debates and have a thorough grasp of research methods. This requires knowledge of theories regarding ‘truth’ by renowned philosophers as well as the criticisms of these different standpoints from an African perspective. However, whether these theories and philosophical aspects are reflected on by PhD candidates in Public Administration in South Africa remains questionable.

Whereas the first point in our discussion focused on the *output* of a doctoral degree – the dissertation – this point is more concerned with the *process* of a doctoral degree. In other words, what has the PhD candidate learned during the process, and whether mandatory courses are in place or even required. This concerns the question of whether PhD trajectories involve training through required PhD modules before starting with the thesis, and if so, what kind of courses.

A PhD in Sweden is not subjected to mandatory courses or comprehensive exams. In Sweden, a doctoral degree requires a great deal of autonomy, management, responsibility, discipline and the ability to formulate and process scientific problems autonomously from the very beginning to the end. This means that there is no longer teaching, lecturing, tutoring and continual assessment through examinations. The doctoral candidate must be the driving force for individually conducting studies, with supervisors largely in a supportive role (Swedish Council for Higher Education 2021).

The opposite is seen in the USA, where the first two or three years of PhD trajectories consist of courses deemed necessary for PhD students. It is obligatory for the graduate student to participate and successfully complete exams before starting the thesis. In this instance, the focus is more on the learning than on the result, as doctoral dissertations are still seen as so-called 'grey' literature and the PhD is the starting point of an academic career (Sadlak 2004; Simon Fraser University 2021). After graduating, the PhD holder must prove they are able to contribute to the discipline by writing books and publishing in journals.

In the Netherlands and other European countries, there is a 'middle way'. Students have to complete a minimum number of PhD courses – some held in the graduate schools by the university in which their professor is employed, and some by a consortium of universities. It is not a prerequisite for PhD students to pass any exams during their PhD trajectory (The Young Academy 2018). However, the Netherlands Institute of Governance (NIG 2019) programme requires of PhD students to complete a core course on the Philosophy of Science. This indicates the importance of reflecting on philosophy and developing theory as part of a PhD trajectory.

What it means to be a Doctor of Philosophy in Public Administration

Third, there is a specification, namely, that one becomes a PhD in a certain domain – in this case, Public Administration. This implies that one expects the doctor to have knowledge about the Public Administration discipline, about its development and about its main theoretical traditions. As indicated in the preceding points, this could be especially important in the South African context. Public Administration theories on governance, organisational theories and theories on the policy process, which are dominant in the Western context of Public Administration, are disputed for their (ir)relevance. A search for theories that are more suitable for the South African context has been called for. Partly, Public Administration knowledge is reflected in the dissertation; it could be a part of the process towards becoming a PhD candidate in Public Administration. Of course, such knowledge could be taken for granted, given that doctoral candidates in Public Administration are required to have first obtained a master's degree in Public Administration, and this

subject is part of the curriculum. However, there are also countries in which this subject is a mandatory part of PhD programmes (NIG 2019).

PhD trajectories have been criticised for not being academic enough. Raadschelders and Douglas (2004:230) argue that doctoral education often ignores the longer-term objectives of doctoral programmes, such as training scholars to also be intellectuals, training teachers, training practitioners and educating citizens. The authors argue that an intellectual is someone who is also able to 'travel' in and between different bodies of knowledge to derive new insights; someone who is able to delve into themselves and conceptualise explicitly their reality instead of addressing the problems raised by others, as scholars do (Raadschelders and Douglas 2004:232). The dilemma they point out is that writing a thesis with a narrow focus is ill-aligned with the candidate becoming an intellectual. In Public Administration, this involves being trained (or not, as the case may be) to think in a multi- and inter-disciplinary manner. It also involves the candidate acquiring an in-depth understanding of the structure and functioning of government, which should go beyond mere knowledge of particular skills and techniques (Raadschelders and Douglas 2004:234). PhD candidates are also citizens and a PhD trajectory should prepare graduates to become exemplary citizens, if not intellectuals.

Recently, an opposing view has also emerged, namely, that PhD programmes are too academic. Especially in OECD countries and the EU, several scholars have pointed out that PhD graduates increasingly find employment outside academia, in government, for example (EUA 2010; OECD 2012; European Science Foundation–ESF 2009; Scholz 2011). They also argue that research is increasingly done in collaborations between universities, government and business. This is referred to as the 'triple helix construction' and is meant to make research more innovative. Doctoral training should, of course, include research methods and theories, but in this new constellation, doctoral training should also extend beyond academia to meet the needs of the employment market (EUA 2010:ii). Central in this discourse is that PhD candidates are to be trained in transferable skills – that is, skills learned in one context that can be useful in another (ESF 2009:47; OECD 2021:17) and that can be applied in a broad variety of work situations. For example, communication skills, leadership and management skills, entrepreneurship skills, dealing with intersectoral mobility, teamwork, networking, problem-solving, supervisory skills, creativity and abstract thinking, negotiation skills and in general, 'career management' (OECD 2021:18). Although these skills are important for both the academic environment and government, the question can be asked if these transferable skills should form part of the PhD trajectory? Such skills could, for example, form part of the master's degree curriculum in Public Administration that is required before enrolling for the PhD.

The three sections discussed above are summarised in Table 1.

Table 1: Extreme approaches to doctoral training

The goal of doing a PhD	Becoming an intellectual To become highly qualified to evolve into an intellectual	Entering the labour market To become highly qualified for a career inside and outside academia
The nature of the thesis	Thesis as a masterpiece Showing that the candidate has the capacity to conduct original research contributing to the advancement of the discipline	Thesis as a master test Showing that the candidate has the capacity to conduct cutting-edge research to answer research questions
Nature of supervision	Apprentice model Individual pupil-apprentice-master relation	Programme model Structured through predetermined doctoral training programmes
Institutionalisation of supervision	None Completely dependent on the personality, ideas and demands of the supervisor and needs of the PhD candidate	Complete Institutionalised in research schools, graduate schools, doctoral programmes, progress reports, advisory committees etc.
Content of doctoral training/ education	Needs-based As determined by the student and/or the professor based on the perceived need to conduct the research	Supply-based As determined by outside authorities, with the same courses for all PhD candidates
Nature of courses	Knowledge-oriented Training in research methods, philosophy of science, development of the discipline	Skills-oriented Training in transferable skills
Attendance of courses	Voluntary	Mandatory

Source: (Authors' own construction)

Every choice taken in the PhD trajectory has its merits and awards. One should also not misinterpret the contents of the Table as being 'either/or'. Represented are the extremes on a scale, and not dichotomies. Combinations are possible and seen in practice. Having a predetermined graduate programme does not necessarily imply that PhD candidates cannot take electives or participate in additional courses fitting their needs. It would be preferable if the options on the left and right were viewed as trade-offs: more of the one means less of the other. This implies one cannot have it all because that would extend the doctoral trajectory by many years. The question, however, remains: What (combination) works under which circumstances? What is optimal in different countries and even in different

universities, depends on many aspects, among them, the amount of funding for PhD candidates, whether the majority of them are part-time or full-time, the academic background – subject of the master, subject of the PhD, the career plans of PhDs candidates, the needs of society and governments and the preferences of the university. Asking these questions, and given the associated factors, implies that the authors of this article are sceptical about universal proposals and about standards to structure doctoral programmes according to administrations outside academia.

Multiple models of PhD education, training and supervision are possible and actually in use in different parts of the world. Shin *et al.* (2018) distinguish a European apprentice model, an Anglo-American programme model and an East Asian mixed model of doctoral education. They base this distinction on the social perception, the training model, the employment/student status of doctoral candidates, tuition charges and potential training after the doctoral degree (Shin *et al.* 2018). Nonetheless, trends towards the Anglo-American programme model are visible and the need for training in transferable skills is visible. In Europe, there seems to be a clear trend towards this model because of concerns about time-to-degree and doubts about the quality of supervision (Shin *et al.* 2018). It would therefore make sense to investigate international standards for doctoral training/education to determine what position they take and how the South African system compares with such standards.

COMPARISON OF SOUTH AFRICAN DOCTORAL EDUCATION WITH INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS

Standards are statements of what students should know and be able to demonstrate (North Central Educational Laboratory–NCREL 2007). According to Reichard and Van der Krogt (2014), standards indicate an expected level of performance and assist with benchmarking. They can also be viewed as threshold concepts and are connected to accreditation, which implies a criterion. Erasmus and Loedolff (2019:237) indicate that standards are related to quality assurance. According to their view, quality assurance is a process that determines the value of a programme in a systematic way to determine whether the benchmark was achieved.

Trends in South Africa

In South Africa, the Higher Education Act 101 of 1997 regulates and provides a uniform, national plan for higher education in the country. This Act ensures a single coordinated higher education system for South Africa and aims to ensure

that quality education will be provided by all universities in the country. The South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) is a statutory body, regulated in terms of the National Qualifications Framework Act 67 of 2014. SAQA is made up of 29 members appointed by the Minister of Education, in consultation with the Minister of Labour. It is mandated by legislation to oversee the development and implementation of the National Qualifications Framework (NQF) for South Africa. The NQF sets the parameters, principles and guidelines, providing a vision, a philosophical base and an organisational structure for the construction of qualifications. All education and training provided in South Africa is regulated and falls within this framework. The NQF consists of 10 levels divided into three bands. Levels 1 to 4 equate to high school grades or vocational training; Levels 5 to 6 refer to college diplomas and technical qualifications; and Levels 7 to 10 are university degrees. NQF Level 10 specifically refers to the PhD degree and indicates the knowledge and literacy that a student at this level should demonstrate.

According to SAQA (2014), at PhD level, a student should produce knowledge in a specific area, develop new methods, techniques and processes, solve problems, address and manage ethical problems, access and process information, produce substantial, independent, in-depth and publishable work which meets an international standard, demonstrate intellectual independence, research leadership and management of research and research development in a discipline, field or practice.

The Higher Education Qualifications Sub-Framework (HEQSF 2013) provides more detail on the doctoral degree. It states that this degree can be awarded in the form of a PhD, DPhil or DLitt by any of the universities in South Africa. According to the HEQSF (2013), the doctoral degree is generally completed by submitting a thesis, which forms the basis of the qualification. However, peer-reviewed articles and, in certain fields, creative work such as artefacts, compositions, public performances or public exhibitions, can also be accepted in partial fulfilment of the research requirements. The defining characteristic of this qualification is that the candidate must demonstrate high-level research capability and make a significant and original academic contribution to a discipline or field. In addition, the HEQSF (2013) states that the purpose of the doctoral degree in South Africa is to prepare students for an academic career; students should be able to supervise and evaluate the research of others in the area of specialisation concerned.

In 2018, the CHE published the EQSF containing qualification standards for doctoral degrees. These standards are intended to develop quality and establish benchmarks for PhDs in South Africa so that they meet international standards. According to the CHE (2018), the PhD provides training for an academic career, with candidates undertaking research at an advanced level and culminating in the submission of a thesis. The thesis must include a significant and original academic

contribution. The PhD qualification standards that should be attributed to a graduate, according to the CHE (2018:13–14), must include the following:

- **Knowledge:**
 - Well-informed and current knowledge of the field of study or discipline through independent study.
 - Expert, specialised and in-depth knowledge of the specific area of research.
 - Insight into the interconnectedness of the research topic with other fields of study.
 - Ethical awareness and compliance of research with professional conduct.
 - An original contribution to the field of study that shows innovative thinking.
- **Skills:**
 - Evaluation, selection and application of appropriate research approaches, methodologies and processes to achieve research objectives.
 - Demonstrate reflection and autonomy and the ability to work independently while arriving at defensible conclusions and solutions.
 - Communication skills at an advanced level, including the ability to write rigorously, digital literacy, the ability to critically analyse the work of scholars in the same knowledge domain, ability to communicate research findings effectively to experts and non-experts and disseminate research in appropriate forms.
 - Critically and analytically think about problem-solving in diverse contexts.

From the above it can be seen that a PhD in South Africa is becoming increasingly regulated by legislation. It prioritises the finalisation of a thesis under the guidance of a supervisor, showing that the candidate has the required knowledge and skills. The aim is for the PhD student to emerge as a highly qualified researcher who will be working at the university after graduation. The standards for the PhD mentioned above are in line with the expectations discussed in this article pertaining to a Doctor of Philosophy. In South Africa, emphasis is also starting to be placed on PhD candidates being trained in transferable skills. Nonetheless, it seems that South African doctoral training is still heavily based on the classic European apprentice model.

Trends in the European Union

Given the varying requirements for the PhD as well as the increased integration in the EU – seen in the mobility of people, goods and capital – the EU has focused on the internationalisation of training and research standards. This process stemmed from the Bologna Conference of 1999 (De Rosa 2008). The Bologna Treaty was a European attempt to harmonise higher education on the continent. However, according to Jabes (2008:11), the treaty was only a first step due to increased

globalisation. The development of the internet supported cross-institutional learning and online study around the world, which was perceived to require the standardisation of higher education. The Bologna Treaty aimed to ensure excellence by introducing a quality framework for degrees based on learning outcomes (EUA 2005). The treaty led to the Europeanisation of university education, including a framework for two educational cycles – the bachelor and master’s over a five-year period (Reichard and Kickert 2008:56). In Prague in 2003, EU countries agreed that the doctoral degree should form the third and top cycle of higher education. In Salzburg in 2005, EU countries proposed 10 principles for PhD education, which underpinned the guidelines and standards for quality assurance of PhD education in Europe. These Salzburg Principles are listed below:

- Principle 1. The *core component of doctoral training* is the advancement of knowledge through original research. At the same time, doctoral training must increasingly meet the needs of an employment extending beyond academia.
- Principle 2. Related to *institutional strategies and policies*, universities need to ensure that their doctoral programmes and research training are designed to meet new challenges and include appropriate professional career development opportunities.
- Principle 3. The rich *diversity* of doctoral programmes in Europe – including joint doctorates – is a strength that has to be underpinned by quality and sound practice.
- Principle 4. Doctoral candidates as early-stage researchers should be *recognised as professionals* – with commensurate rights – who make a key contribution to the creation of new knowledge.
- Principle 5. Relating to the crucial role of *supervision and assessment*, for individual doctoral candidates, supervision and assessment should be based on a transparent contractual framework of shared responsibilities between the candidates, the supervisors and the institution (and where appropriate, other partners).
- Principle 6. To achieve *critical mass*, doctoral programmes should seek to achieve critical mass and draw on innovative practices being introduced in universities across Europe, bearing in mind that different solutions may be appropriate to different contexts and across larger and smaller countries. These range from graduate schools in major universities to international, national and regional collaboration between universities.
- Principle 7. Doctoral programmes should operate within an appropriate time *duration* (three to four years full-time as a rule).
- Principle 8. *Innovative structures* should be promoted to meet the challenge of inter-disciplinary training and the development of transferable skills.
- Principle 9. Doctoral programmes should offer geographical as well as inter-disciplinary and inter-sectoral *mobility* and international collaboration

within an integrated framework of cooperation between universities and other partners.

- Principle 10. Quality doctoral programmes and their successful completion by doctoral candidates requires appropriate and sustainable *funding*.

The 2005 Salzburg Principles can be interpreted as an attempt to move away from the classic apprentice model, giving more responsibility to universities, emphasising critical mass, international mobility and interuniversity and even international collaboration. These principles also stressed the need to impart transferable skills alongside academic knowledge (Reichard and Kickert 2008:57). In 2010, the second round of Salzburg Principles (Salzburg II) amended this framework, indicating that:

- A PhD is fundamentally focused on research, which differentiates it from any other degree.
- The PhD candidate must be given independence and flexibility to develop and grow, since every research project is unique.
- Universities should take responsibility to develop a research mindset (EUA 2010).

In 2015, the Salzburg Principles were once again revised, and a new set of recommendations was published: *Taking Salzburg Forward – Implementation and New Challenges*. These recommendations were based on extensive consultation with 200 universities from different countries. The 2015 principles emphasise that new challenges have emerged which are relevant for PhDs and which need to be addressed. These challenges include digitalisation, open education, social media, the need for training in research ethics and the global vision of the PhD. Salzburg 2015 states that universities must show that they respond to concerns about research ethics and ensure good research is conducted by PhD candidates. Ethical behaviour needs to be a daily practice for PhD candidates, who should be aware of ethical issues related to their field of study and research. Universities are therefore required to ensure that PhD candidates receive training on research integrity and international standards.

The progressive stages of development of the Salzburg Principles reflect the different traditions, opinions and preferences on doctoral training in Europe. On the one hand, the EU wants more standardisation and adaptation to global developments, including preparation for jobs outside academia, in public or private organisations, with all the skills needed. On the other hand, many scholars and universities still stress the importance of academic knowledge. They oppose the commodification of knowledge or trends towards the entrepreneurial university. For instance, Zaza Hansen of the Career Development Working Group at the European Council of Doctoral Candidates, said, "Certainly, we encourage

doctoral candidates to better communicate their skills to their potential employers. But it would be incorrect to assume that making ‘transferable skills’ courses mandatory – which would surely prolong the time-to-degree – would improve the situation” (University World News 2021:1). Criticism of the new model includes that such doctoral studies are second-class, with theses lacking intellectual depth. However, opposing views are becoming stronger, as evident in the following quotation: “[P]ublic criticism of doctoral education and training has become evident: too long, too many drop-outs, too specialised, questionable quality of supervision and lack of competences for non-academic labour markets” (Kehm, Freeman and Locke 2018:110).

Trends in the United Kingdom

In the UK, the notion of introducing transferable skills originated in 2010 through the Researcher Development Statement (RDS) (Roberts 2002). The RDS “sets out the knowledge, behaviours and attributes of effective and highly skilled researchers appropriate for a wide range of careers – making explicit the continuity expected between doctoral training and subsequent career development” (Kehm, Freeman and Locke 2018:109).

In 2020, the Quality Assurance Agency (QAA) for the UK published the Doctoral Degree Characteristics Statement (2020) and indicated the quality standards that PhD graduates should have, including:

- search for, discover, access, retrieve, interpret, analyse, evaluate, manage, conserve and communicate an ever-increasing volume of knowledge from a range of sources;
- think critically about problems and produce innovative solutions and create new knowledge, plan, manage and deliver projects, select and justify methodological processes, minimise and evaluate risk;
- exercise professional standards in research and research integrity, engage in professional practice, including ethical conduct;
- collaborate, communicate and network with colleagues;
- appreciate the need to engage in research with impact and to communicate research to diverse audiences; and
- build relationships with peers, students and stakeholders, with sensitivity to equality, diversity and cultural issues.

The QAA (2020:5) also states that apart from the research knowledge gained during the doctoral study, PhD candidates must also develop specialist knowledge in their discipline, have access to an active research environment, develop professional skills in research and research management and have contact with other PhD candidates or researchers.

In summary, there is a clear focus in the UK towards monitoring supervision, completion rates, skills development and increased coursework (Kehm, Freeman and Locke 2018:105).

Trends in the East Africa Community

The East Africa Community (EAC), which comprises Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda, implemented a national qualification framework. The East African Qualifications Framework for Higher Education (EAQFHE 2015) includes all levels of study and all qualifications. In terms of the PhD, the EAQFHE (2015) states that research, investigation and the development of new knowledge that supports scholarship is crucial. PhD candidates should understand research principles and master their field of study, understand theoretical knowledge, think critically, communicate theoretical propositions and methodologies, work independently, take responsibility for their research and generate new knowledge.

In this regard, the EAC seems to be on the side of the classic apprentice model. This is especially seen in what it does *not* promote. It does not call for PhDs ready for professional career development, professional skills development, planning and management skills or networking skills, nor does it put limits on the time-to-degree.

Comparison of PhD standards

The four models discussed are summarised in Table 2. One should, however, not exaggerate the differences. All approaches call for PhD dissertations showing fundamental, original and impactful research. It is expected of a PhD candidate to show that they are able to create new knowledge and to understand, select and apply research principles and methodology. These requirements conform to our understanding of being a Doctor of Philosophy in Public Administration. However, differences are evident concerning standards, internationalisation and the perceived need to develop transferable skills.

The EAQFHE (2015) in East Africa is the only framework that does not require PhD candidates to be ethically trained while the QAA (2020) in the UK is the only framework that does not expect a PhD candidate to work independently. The CHE in South Africa (2018) is the only PhD framework that expects PhD graduates to have in-depth knowledge of the research focus area, solve problems in different contexts, determine the interconnectedness of the research topic and reflect on their research. As to including professional skills, only the two European models have incorporated this idea.

Table 2: A comparison of PhD standards

Standard	Salzburg Principles (2005, 2010, 2015)	QAA UK (2020)	East African Qualification Framework (2015)	CHE South Africa (2018)
Fundamental, original, new and impactful research	X	X	X	X
Professional career development	X			
Create new knowledge	X	X	X	X
Understand, select, apply research principles/methodology		X	X	X
Achieve research objectives				X
Critical thinking			X	
Theoretical understanding and knowledge			X	
In-depth knowledge of research focus				X
Clear role of supervisor	X			
Joint PhDs	X			
PhD candidate is a professional with professional skills	X	X		
Transparent assessment	X			
Innovative and sound practice	X	X		
Time-to-degree standard: 3 to 4 years	X			
Develop transferable skills	X			
Support geographical mobility	X			
Adequate funding	X			
Independence of PhD candidates	X		X	X
Solve problems in different contexts				X
Universities must create a research mindset and environment	X	X		
Open education, digital and social media knowledge	X			
Ethically trained, must have integrity	X	X		X
Global vision	X			
Retrieve, analyse, interpret and communicate knowledge, theories and methodology		X	X	X
Plan, manage and deliver projects		X		
Network with colleagues and researchers		X		
Sensitivity to equity, diversity and culture		X		
Specialist subject knowledge		X	X	X
Interconnectedness of research topic				X
Reflect on research				X

Source: (Authors' own construction)

CONCLUSION AND REFLECTION FROM A PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION PERSPECTIVE

Standards typically specify three elements: (i) standards about being something, (ii) standards about doing something, and (iii) standards about having something (Røvik 1996:4–8). Røvik introduced the concept of ‘institutionalised standards’. This refers to socially constructed ‘building blocks’ that are widely accepted prescriptions for how parts of an organisation or an organisational field should be organised (Røvik 1996:142).

The process of standardising is formally similar to policy development. The need for a standard has to be expressed. The standardising organisation needs to put this on the agenda. Subsequently, technical experts in the field elaborate on a definition of the standard, seeking as much agreement as possible. Afterwards, a technical committee is charged to work out the detailed specifications. The last phase involves the production of a draft standard, for circulation among members, who can object or requests amendments. Lastly, a final draft is put up for adoption (Matti and Buthe 2003:8).

Although standards certainly have merits – as a way to improve things, for example – they are also beneficial for those adhering to them as well as to outside stakeholders. The main argument is that standards create an optimal degree of order in an otherwise chaotic world. This is because they provide an optimal solution to the given problem and increase predictability and reliability (Brunsson and Jacobsson 2002:170). Standards are said to facilitate interaction and exchange between members, who must follow the same rules and procedures in pursuit of the same goals. However, they also come at a cost (den Butter and Hudson 2009; Jones and Hudson 1996). Adapting to standards involves a trade-off: on the one hand, there is the benefit of having assured quality and the guarantee that something is useable; on the other hand, there is the drawback of the administrative burden of compliance, implementation and control of the standards (den Butter and Hudson 2009:154). Furthermore, standards are only a short step away from what is called a one-size-fits-all solution, which disregards contextual variation reflected by, for instance, political-economic and socio-cultural variances or differences between academia, the public and private sector (Sobis and De Vries 2017).

This argument also applies to the proposals to standardise doctoral education in general, and in Public Administration in particular. Already in the 1970s in the USA, the NASPAA started a debate over the quality of PhDs in Public Administration. During the 1970s and 1980s, it was indicated that doctoral theses were of low quality, included too little research methodology and public management research and failed to prepare graduates for an academic or research career (Overman, Perry and Radin 1993:359–360). At the turn of the millennium, Felbinger, Holzer and White (1999:460) still supported this view, arguing that very

few graduates with a PhD in Public Administration contributed to the body of knowledge in this field. They maintained that the candidates needed to develop competent research skills. In addition, Adams and White (1994) stated that a 10-year review of doctoral work in public administration indicated a low standard in comparison with other social science research. As a result, NASPAA created a Committee of Doctoral Programmes in 1989 that issued a policy to improve PhD education. According to this policy, the PhD in Public Administration is a research degree that should allow candidates to undertake significant research and prepare graduates for a career in either government or academia. The policy also indicated that PhD candidates should be given research training, quality academic supervision should be provided, academic staff should be research-oriented, research chapters and work should be carefully monitored and periodic quality assurance of theses should be conducted to ensure quality (Brewer, Facer, O'Toole and Douglas 1998). This was the start of a process towards standardising doctoral studies in Public Administration.

The above discussion suggests that attempts to standardise education and training stem from a perceived problem – in the US case, the low quality of PhD dissertations. The same remarks made about standards in general, can be made about standards for Public Administration training at the doctoral level. The push to change standards is driven by the perceived mismatch between the knowledge and skills that PhD candidates possess and the knowledge, and especially the skills, needed by the market in a knowledge economy. Especially in the EU and the UK, the trend is to place greater emphasis on training in transferable skills, to standardise such education in doctoral programmes and to limit the time-to-degree.

The authors of this article argue that there is a trade-off between the classical apprentice model, in which the personal relation between the senior professor and the PhD candidate is central and the development of transferable skills. It does not imply that we oppose the visible trends. Given the elite status of PhD graduates in society, expectations have to be met. This article sketched out those expectations, but what is seen in practice does not always conform to those expectations. This is not only the case in Europe. South Africa too, has had its share of scandals and incidents, where degrees in Public Administration were awarded by universities despite the scepticism of external reviewers. When one already has doubts about the quality of supervision, or as it is called in other countries, “the secret garden of supervision” (Park 2007:28–29), such incidents push administrations into standardising procedures, no matter what the merits and drawbacks. In Public Administration, the same argument has been heard. In 2014, the renowned Public Administration scholar, Christopher Reichard, together with Theo van der Krogt, pleaded that the best way of improving the quality of PhD qualifications is through internal and external quality assurance, standards and accreditation of PhD qualifications with international organisations/bodies (Reichard and Van der Krogt 2014).

Whether this plea also applies to the South African context is a matter of debate. We as authors of this article do not take a position. Unlike the 'standard' of having firm conclusions at the end of an article and the 'standard' of having to answer the questions posed in the introduction, we made the choice to end by simply asking questions based on the differing approaches we presented above. We deem this justified in a discussion paper. It is up to the interested readers to discuss the themes addressed and to judge what is necessary for the advancement of the Public Administration discipline in South Africa. Are we satisfied with the current state of PhD education in this discipline? If not, is more internationalisation and standardisation needed?

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- Contributions should preferably be between 6 000–8 000 words. Contributions less than 4 500 words will be considered as viewpoints and not as full articles for subsidy purposes. Each article must be preceded by an abstract (maximum length 200 words). Abstracts should represent the contents of the article concisely.
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 - **Article:** Auriacombe, C.J. 2007. Deconstructing the public interest for application in South Africa. *Administratio Publica*. November 2007. 15(1):28–52.
 - **Official publication:** Public Service Commission. 2008c. Report on the Audit of Reporting Requirements and Departmental Monitoring and Evaluation Systems within National and Provincial Government. Public Service Commission. Pretoria: Government Printers.
 - **Internet reference:** Patton, M.Q. 1999. Utilization-Focused Evaluation in Africa, training lectures presented at the African Evaluation Association, 13–17 Sept. 1999. Nairobi. Kenya. Available at: www.afrea.org/documents/document.cfm?docID=64 (Accessed on 25 March 2009).
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