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Research projects are increasingly subjected to an ethics-based regulatory framework, as research findings should be accurate and truthful. In ‘The Implications of Research Integrity for Studies in Public Service Corruption’, Werner Webb states that research integrity has become an integral part of the planning and methodology of research. He reflects on the principles, processes and merits of an ethics review framework in general, and its application to research studies in public service corruption. This article aims to evaluate the prominence of research ethics protocol within corruption research. The author was guided by the principles, convictions, and conditions reflected in the Belmont Report, which includes respect for persons, beneficence and non-malfeasance and justice. The article also evaluates the extent to which authors that published in the 16th edition of the journal Public Integrity complied with this research ethics protocol. For this evaluation, specific criteria was applied including whether human subjects were involved in the research project, as well as the nature of their involvement; whether the research procedures met the principles, convictions, conditions with reference to respect for persons; whether the research procedures met the principles, convictions, conditions with reference to beneficence and non-malfeasance; and whether the research procedures meet the principles, convictions, conditions with reference to justice. Although the above research was limited in scope, the author states that, “These preliminary findings suggest that corruption researchers do not appear to make a special effort in complying with the research ethics protocol”.

In their article ‘Ethics Versus Integrity: Framing the Response to Corruption in Public Governance’, Raymond Cox III and Peter Haruna elucidate convergent and divergent viewpoints on issues of ethics and integrity in governance and suggest building blocks for framing appropriate responses to the issue of corruption. They argue that divergent viewpoints are often overlooked in the scholarly discourse, resulting in a discord that substantially impedes the understanding of the concern for improving the quality of good governance. The article synthesises the differences between what they perceive as an American “ethics viewpoint” and the European “integrity viewpoint” to exemplify how such differences lead to different starting and ending points in terms of an understanding of public service ethics and integrity. The authors found that for “European” academics integrity connotes behaviour in a way that ethics does not. Integrity encompasses both the intellectualising and the doing. It implies
propriety, competence and “doing things right” and what American academics would associate with the term “professionalism”. In this sense the authors argue that it does not imply choice or a “makes things right” approach that is common among “American” academics, who are assertively and even aggressively “ethical”. They add that for some “American” academics, ethics has both political and organisational overtones and for their “European” counterparts, integrity is decidedly and pre-eminently an organisational precept.

The authors argue that the differences often result in narrowly-framed, unsustainable responses to corruption. To reconcile the differences, the authors propose a composite, broad-based approach that blends ethics and integrity viewpoints in a manner that enhances the prospect of addressing corruption and improving the quality of governance in a long-term, sustainable fashion.

Much has been written about sustainable development and the topic is presented in various models and conceptual frameworks. Undeniably, both government and sustainable development are highly complex phenomena, which demand a multi- and interdisciplinary vantage point. In ‘The Role of Government in Sustainable Development: Towards a Conceptual and Analytical Framework for Scientific Inquiry’, Gerrit van der Waldt attempts to ring-fence the question: What does the role of government entail in sustainable development? In addition, he looks at how a social scientist should respond to this question. Furthermore, he questions whether there is a framework available to demarcate the possible theoretical approaches to answer this question, as well as which aspects should be considered when structuring a comprehensive response?

To gain a deeper understanding of this role, a constructivist approach is followed in which both conceptual and analytical frameworks are designed for scientific inquiry and to explore the role government plays in sustainable development. According to the author, “The proposed framework aims to analyse the role government should play in sustainable development”. Two basic assumptions serve as central theoretical arguments for the purpose of this article, namely that government and sustainable development are intricately aligned, and that government plays a key role in regulating, facilitating and acting as catalyst for initiatives surrounding sustainable development.

This article argues that, within the context of scientific inquiry, both conceptual and analytical frameworks help guide the researcher to identify, classify, and investigate the (causal) relationships between variables that may influence the role of a government in sustainable development. The author stresses that government plays a multi-dimensional role in sustainable development. As such, government should facilitate the creation of a shared societal and global vision for sustainable development. “Such a vision can provide economic prosperity within the biophysical constraints of the natural
world in a way that is fair and equitable to all of humanity, to other species, and to the vulnerable future generations”.

In ‘Adherence to the Public Participation Principle in Oil Exploration and Production in Uganda: An Exploratory Case’, Tonny Muzaale and Dominique Uwizeyimana examine an apparent disconnect between the public’s right to participation, as embodied in the Ugandan Constitution, and the fact that citizens were not adequately involved in oil extraction processes in the Buliisa District of Uganda. The historical origins and modern development of the concept of public participation is presented. The importance of public participation principles in the conventions of international bodies is reviewed, followed by how these principles are enshrined in Ugandan law. In order to provide context to the study, the history of oil exploration and extraction in Uganda is outlined. The methodology used in this article is essentially qualitative in nature, while desktop-based research is used to gain a deeper understanding of how Buliisa District’s residents have been affected negatively by oil exploration and extraction. As such, a number of studies and reports that deal with community participation in the oil extraction business in Buliisa are reviewed. By highlighting the disconnect between legislation and application in the oil and gas exploration and extraction in Buliisa, this article seeks to contribute to the current debate on democratic consolidation.

Analysis of available literature highlights that limited public participation did take place. However, the public participation did not meet the criteria for effective public participation. It appears that most, if not all, important decisions were made by senior members of the Ugandan Government and the owners of oil companies without consulting the residents of the regions where the oil and gas was discovered. As such, the residents in the Buliisa District did not get an appropriate opportunity to influence policy decisions. Based on the challenges outlined in this article, the authors recommend that the Ugandan Government uses its statutory powers to defend the rights and protect the interests of the residents of the Buliisa District. According to the authors, “It is important that public participation and all the other human rights enshrined in International Conventions ratified by the Government of Uganda and incorporated in its own Constitution of Uganda are not violated. This cannot be achieved without genuine commitment on the part of the Ugandan government”.

In ‘Evaluation Capacity Building (ECB) in Uganda: Trends, Approaches, Actors and the Future’, Benon Basheka states that scholarly attempts at documenting Evaluation Capacity Development (ECB) trends, approaches, actors and projections of what the future holds for this young discipline, are rare within an African context. This article examines the trends, approaches and major actors who have been involved in monitoring and evaluation (M&E) of capacity-building in Uganda and attempts to shed more light on the future of
this young discipline. According to the author, “ECB in any country requires top-level commitment at political and organisational level”. However, Khan (1998:315) suggests in some parts of the developing world, such as Africa, top political leadership are unaware of the benefits of M&E. The article describes the context and background to evaluation and provides a conceptual framework where evaluation and ECB concepts are discussed and operationalised. More specifically, ECB approaches in Uganda are covered. Various interventions undertaken in Uganda and the actors at different levels are given attention.

The author highlights ECB-related challenges in Uganda before concluding remarks and policy suggestions are made. The author states that, “Important lessons on ECB in Uganda and Africa generally are on how to build M&E capacities incrementally, especially when there is the possibility of intensive donor assistance”. Furthermore, the author states that with ECB and country M&E systems, there are crucial variables that need attention. Firstly, the political environment must be conducive for undertaking evaluations which are driven by the desire to ensure accountability. Secondly, substantive government demand is a prerequisite for successful institutionalisation. This demand will accelerate capacity building efforts and will also work to create an evaluation culture. Thirdly, there needs to be committed champions to propagate the good principles and ethical guidelines for conducting evaluations. Fourthly, various role-players need to be involved, such as academia, government, civil society organisations, evaluators, professional evaluation associations and other non-state actors.

According to the author, “ECB efforts in Uganda have taken different forms and various actors have been involved”. Common interventions included seminars, workshops and short-training courses. In conclusion, Basheka states that, “Currently, an increase in long-term courses is visible and there are positive signs of the significance of the professional association, the development partners, government and other actors”.

Metropolitan municipalities play a vital role in service delivery at grassroots level. In ‘Narrowing the Municipal Funding Gap: A Metropolitan Perspective in South Africa’, Krish Kumar and PS Reddy state that metropolitan municipalities in South Africa can be viewed as the “engines of economic growth” in terms of promoting socio-economic development and addressing constitutional imperatives in the broader context of developmental local government. South Africans suffered from a lack of basic municipal services during the apartheid era. Accordingly, post-apartheid municipalities underwent a radical transformation to start delivering basic services, such as housing, water and electricity. Metropolitan governments were established to cover much wider areas to remedy the fragmentation and selective forms of service delivery of the past. However, a concomitant increase in the share of tax revenues has
The study found that new sources of revenue need to be identified. However, as recommended by the Financial and Fiscal Commission and SALGA, a local business tax would be the most appropriate funding mechanism to make a meaningful impact on the funding gap as it has good reach and impact. Several other recommendations are made in respect of privatisation, Private Public Partnerships (PPPs) and exploring other sources of revenues. Improved alignment of IDPs to budgets, as well as smart city investments to stimulate growth and investment, are also recommended.

Poor service delivery was also identified as one of the nine distinct challenges facing South Africa in the Diagnostic Report of the National Development Plan: Vision 2030 (NDP); (SA 2011). However, this cannot continue unabated and for this reason citizens are demanding greater value in the form of acceptable public services, even in informal settlements around South Africa.

In ‘Contextualising Perceptions of Service Delivery and Well-being in Bekkersdal Informal Settlement’, Melvin Diedericks and Elize Van Eeden report on research that was undertaken to investigate the overall well-being of citizens in the Bekkersdal informal settlement situated in the Westonaria Local Municipality (WLM), Gauteng Province. The article reflects on the perceptions of households within the informal settlement of the Bekkersdal community regarding their experiences and their impressions of public service delivery. The study was undertaken to understand and to determine the overall eco-health and well-being of a cross-section mining community. In terms of a research design, an Integrative Multidisciplinary-focused (IMD) team included a structured baseline questionnaire that was administered by trained fieldworkers by means of conducting face-to-face interviews with the occupants of 503 households. A review of the available literature was also conducted in order to attain the set research objectives. A systematic stratified sampling technique was used to increase precision in determining the sample for this project.

Research findings indicate that households in the Bekkersdal informal settlement perceive the level of service delivery as extremely poor. Notably,
78% of households were of the opinion that a lack of public services was affecting them negatively. The overall state of well-being of households residing in Bekkersdal informal settlement was therefore affected likewise. The environmental obstacles that local (and provincial as well as national) government faces regarding the construction and maintenance of proper local services in the informal section of Bekkersdal seem quite insurmountable. Given all the factors involved, it is impossible to meet the levels of service that residents demand. Environmental threats, such as the instability of dolomite which causes sinkholes especially during floods, apparently fails to satisfy or convince residents. Recently, a process of relocation to safer areas started, but it will probably take years to relocate all residents. Relocation will likely fail because of residents’ apparent ignorance of the environmental danger, and an attitude reflecting a preference to rather resettle in open spaces evacuated in the process of relocation (Van Eeden 2014 and WLM-IDP 2015:32).

Yet, municipal authorities such as the WLM should positively and with integrity approach and clearly address urgently all the perceived community concerns and complaints, as these may spiral out of control and may lead to yet more service delivery protests (Moses 2015). This can, for instance, be done by more inclusive public participation and consultation and information-sharing processes, in order to avert negative perceptions of poor service delivery by communities.

**In ‘Public Service Negotiation as an Administrative Tool in South Africa: The Case of the Department of Trade and Industry’, A Naidoo and N S Matsiliza consider the status of negotiations as an administrative tool, with particular reference to factors influencing the negotiation process in the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) in South Africa. According to the authors, public sector negotiation in South Africa has a long history of labour and legal issues, with relatively little emphasis on trade and industry for the exchange of commodities, benefits, resources and service. Naidoo and Matsiliza state that “The ever-growing complexity and increasing demands for public service delivery have pressurised the government to facilitate the taking of a wide range of decisions, using negotiation as a fundamental administrative tool” and requires South Africa, “as a member of regional and international signatories that impose a steadily growing number of responsibilities and compliance on the government” to engage in numerous bilateral talks and agreements, using various negotiation platforms. Their article reported that several stakeholders, both locally and abroad, require the government to respond to issues involving its seemingly inadequate response to the issue of domestic, regional and international collaboration in terms of trade and economic development. The findings of the study also drew attention to the numerous national, regional and global challenges impacting on negotiations in the DTI.**
Although remarkable progress has been made since 1999 with the implementation of the Intergovernmental Relations Framework Act 13 of 2005 (IGRFA), the mere existence of an Act and its impact is no guarantee that it will be translated into action, with the intended results. In the ‘Challenges of Managing Cooperative Intergovernmental Relations’, Sandra Greýling and Christelle Auriacombe state that challenges have been registered despite the fact that there are structures and policies in place for dealing with a constitutional framework on cooperative governance. “However, it is argued that the interpretation, meaning and implementation need to be addressed”, according to the authors. The authors point to the fact that cooperative governance principles are not (always) applied in practice and that the ability to manage the implementation of intergovernmental relations (IGR) is a mutual challenge across all spheres of government.

This core challenge of cooperative governance finds strategic expression in the work of the IGR forums (Edwards in Greýling and Auriacombe 2016). The authors state that despite structures and policies that are in place, many challenges have been registered in terms of good governance, tension between the relative autonomy of spheres of government, access and quality of services, coordination, role division and capacity building challenges. In order to address these challenges, the authors investigate various possible solutions and practical guidelines for the implementation of cooperative governance, for both managers and public policy-makers. They suggest identifying the locus and focus of the challenge, as part of a systematic approach to problem solving. In terms of reference to local government, the authors express the need to develop and maintain effective, integrated partnerships and common public goals successfully. Furthermore, the authors point to the importance of effective leadership, as well as developing and maintaining effective systems to quantify local government-based sustainable development, especially at community level. The authors also highlighted the importance of good practice approaches to fiscal management and the effective allocation of resources, with specific reference to the three tiers of government.

Irrespective of the apparent popularity of case studies in Public Administration research, there seems to be no generic conceptual framework for understanding the defining attributes of the concept ‘case study’ (Walker & Avant 2013:168) and assessing the outcomes (Flybjerg 2006:14; Gerring 2007:115; Yin 2009:47) of case studies. In ‘Variables Influencing Case Study Research Design in Public Administration: A Conceptual Framework’, J N Zongozzi and Kobus Wessels propose a conceptual framework for an increased understanding of the concept ‘case study’. The article reports on the methods followed in this research, the results of a concept analysis of the concept ‘case study’, the identification of categories of cases in public administration research, the purposes of case
studies, data collection and analysis methods, and the expected outcomes of case studies in Public Administration.

The authors propose a conceptual framework that could be applied for understanding and assessing Public Administration case study research. The framework was developed through a comprehensive review of the literature, and by applying the eight steps for a concept analysis, as suggested by Walker and Avant. According to the authors, “This framework consists of seven conceptual components related to the typical choices researchers have to make in planning and doing their research in order to meet the expected outcome of the research project”. The authors also add that three of these components, namely the case study as an instance of a larger phenomenon or unit of analysis, case selection strategies and case study designs, have been identified as defining attributes of the concept. In conclusion, the authors state that, “The conceptual framework serves as a thinking tool for an integrated and deepened understanding of the concept and for assessing and enhancing the practice of case study research in public administration”.

Corruption is widely cited as the key reason for under-development and poverty. It is often stated that developing countries could address developmental challenges if they manage to minimise corruption. In ‘Successful Anti-corruption Initiatives in Botswana, Singapore and Georgia: Lessons for South Africa’, Unathi Mphendu and Natasja Holtzhausen seek to provide a brief overview of successful corruption control in three developing countries, namely Botswana, Singapore and Georgia. According to the authors, “These developing countries have tremendously improved their rankings in Transparency International’s Corruption Perception Index”. In terms of the rationale behind the study, the authors stated: “There is a need to pause, reflect and propose sustainable solutions when the consequences of corruption are threatening the developmental goals of South Africa. The starting point is to learn from other developing countries that have successfully managed to control their levels of corruption”.

The article outlines the ethics and anti-corruption initiatives that each country has implemented. A desktop review was used to gather existing surveys, research and reports that different institutions have used to describe the selected developing countries’ corruption control systems. The arguments presented revolve around designing an implementation model for anti-corruption, political will, collective action, a dedicated anti-corruption agency and collaboration with other sectors of society. The authors reiterate that the general consensus among international institutions like Transparency International (2006) and the World Bank (2007) is that corruption is the key reason for under-development and poverty. “As a result, reducing corruption is thus not just a moral but also an economic imperative”.
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The Implications of Research Integrity for Studies in Public Service Corruption

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ABSTRACT

Research projects are increasingly subjected to an ethics regulatory framework. Research integrity has become an integral part of the planning and methodology of research. Research integrity involves *inter alia* that researchers are competent and accountable, undertake research projects that would benefit society and contribute to knowledge development, to guard against possible undesirable or harmful consequences, are honest during the capturing, analysis, and presentation of data, and not commit plagiarism, falsification or fabrication of results. Research findings should be accurate and truthful.

Universities appear to vary in terms of their processes to promote and ensure compliance with research integrity. In general, all research involving human participants, animals, and other living or genetically modified organisms must have ethical clearance. These policies are informed by *inter alia* the Declaration of Helsinki, and the Belmont Report 1978.

Researchers should be guided by the following *moral principles*: respect for the autonomy of participants, beneficence, non-maleficence and the need not to harm research participants, and justice. More *specific ethics principles* include maximisation of the public interest, competence, ability and commitment of the researcher, respect for and protection of participant’s rights, minimisation of risk; integrity, transparency, accountability; and informed and non-coerced consent.

Studies in public service corruption – specifically empirical studies – may be classified as more than minimal risk. Corruption is an illicit activity and in our attempts to design research that satisfies validity and reliability requirements, we may choose to work within a particular research
paradigm, select data collection methods, and identify a sample of respondents that do not meet the moral and ethical principles identified above. In this article, the background and rationale of research ethics, the current research ethics framework, and the moral and ethical principles are described. The implications of research integrity for studies in public service corruption are investigated.

INTRODUCTION

Research projects are increasingly subjected to an ethics regulatory framework. In this article I reflect on some of my own experiences as a member of the College and Departmental Research Ethics Review Committees (RERC) at UNISA – what in academic discourse is referred to as the Institutional Review Boards (IRB). Over the past more than two and a half years I have been involved in decisions to send researchers and postgraduate students back to the drawing board to reconsider their proposals. In one instance a doctoral candidate had to review his research report ex post facto to indicate to the committee that no harm was caused to both individual and institutional respondents during his fieldwork and data collection activities. This could have thwarted his attempts to complete his doctoral degree, but – in the end – only stalled the process of awarding his degree, for a short period of time.

Although many researchers have complained about the bureaucratic and cumbersome nature of applying for research ethics approval, the work of these committees do seem to have at least one positive spin off – albeit not within their primary mandate. Research proposals are often submitted directly after the stage where the applicant has identified a research problem and perhaps has reflected on some sort of research design and data collection methods. Rarely are these ideas subjected to tests of reliability and validity in achieving some degree of truthful findings. Consequently, when ethics clearance applications reach this committee, the proposals are often ill-considered and poorly designed (cf. Feeley 2007:768). Of course, it is argued–this could either lead to wasting respondents’ time, or even lead to some reputational risks of the institutions involved in the research project.

The experiences I have gained on these committees led me to think about the consequences of these regulatory frameworks on my own research interests – that of public service ethics, and perhaps more specifically the manifestation, causes, and remedies to public service corruption. In this article, I reflect on the principles, processes, and perhaps merits of the ethics
review framework in general, and its application to research studies in public service corruption.

THE MANIFESTATION OF UNETHICAL RESEARCH

Research misconduct in the social sciences seems to manifest in two different forms. Cosette (2004:213–234) identifies various forms of research misconduct including fabrication of information, falsification of plagiarism, self-plagiarism, misuse of research funding, and simultaneous multiple submissions. Research misconduct among editors and peer reviewers includes breach of confidentiality, unduly delayed assessment, theft of information, slapdash assessment, unauthorised delegation of assessment, and deliberately biased assessment. He identifies various causes for this misconduct including pressure to obtain tenure and the pressure to obtain external funding. Cosette identifies various solutions such as promoting publication quality instead of quantity and to offer a lecture on research integrity to postgraduate students. Perhaps his ideas on developing a code of conduct for researchers and imposing a sanction commensurate with the transgression would be received with mixed emotions among the community of scholars.

The Cosette study specifically excludes errors that researchers make in good faith, caused by incompetence, or due to a lack of rigour. It also excludes unacceptable behaviour by the researcher concerning his or her responsibility towards the research subjects (Cosette 2004:216). Much of the work of IRB concerns what Cosette excluded in his study: a lack of rigour in research design, and a concern for the impact of a research project on individual and institutional respondents. An awareness of this second form of research misconduct originated in the medical sciences but has in recent times become more significant in the social sciences.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ETHICS IN RESEARCH

The need for ethical clearance only developed recently (past 10–15 years) and has its origin in medical research. The Second World War brought medical ethics to the attention of the world. Soldiers travelled to distant parts of the world and came into contact with various diseases they would normally not encounter. During the period 1940–1950 an ethical vacuum existed. Research subjects included volunteers, prisoners and mentally ill patients in government facilities.

In 1945–1946 the Nuremberg Tribunal heard cases against 23 doctors and scientists on charges of murder in concentration camps. Another charge
brought against these doctors was experimentation on human subjects without obtaining the subject’s informed consent. There was little concern in the United States that the lessons from these trails would apply to non-Nazi doctors. These trails led to the Nuremberg Code of 1948 which contained 10 ethical principles *inter alia* voluntary consent of human subjects is absolutely essential, the experiment should yield fruitful results for the good of society, the degree of risk to be taken should never exceed the importance of the problem to be solved by the experiment, and the experiment should be conducted by appropriately qualified personnel. In discussions in the 1950s there was little debate about medical ethics. The emphasis was more on medical etiquette on, for example, how doctors should behave towards one another, and their rights and responsibilities.

In 1964 the Helsinki Declaration was adopted by the World Medical Association. The Declaration included recommendations to medical doctors in biomedical research involving human subjects. The fundamental principles in the Declaration are respect for the individual, their right to self-determination, and the right to make informed decisions regarding participation in research – both initially and during the course of the research.

The Belmont Report of 1979 further supported the ideas promulgated in the Nuremberg and Helsinki Reports. This Report presented three principles that should guide the conduct of research involving human subjects: respect for persons, beneficence and non-maleficence (which suggests that the research project should bring some form of benefit to the participants), and justice.

**PRINCIPLES OF ETHICAL RESEARCH**

Research integrity involves *inter alia* that researchers are competent and accountable, undertake research projects that would benefit society and contribute to knowledge development, guard against possible undesirable or harmful consequences, be honest during the capturing, analysis, and presentation of data, and not commit plagiarism, falsification or fabrication of results. Research findings should be accurate and truthful.

**Respect for Persons** as a principle recognises the human subject’s personal dignity and self-determination, as well as special protection needed by those with diminished autonomy. This principle is operationalised by careful adherence to securing informed consent (Stiles & Boothroyd 2015:4). The principle of **autonomy** demands that the researcher should respect the participant’s right to confidentiality and self-determination. The respondent should therefore have the right to decline participation, even after the research project has commenced.
Beneficence requires researchers to ensure that the aim of the research is to benefit people. It is difficult to determine benefit as there are often two stakeholders involved in research: the employees of the institution and the clients of the institution (citizens). What is of benefit to the employees may not be as beneficial to its clients. This principle is operationalised through timely, responsible, and objective risk-benefit analysis (Stiles & Boothroyd 2015:4).

Non-maleficence refers to the requirements that researchers should do no harm to individuals or respondents.

Justice refers to the need to treat all respondents fairly. For example, when a researcher identifies a specific problem common to most institutions, but selects one institution as a target population without any reason, it could be argued that the researcher was not fair in his/her dealings. That specific institution could become the centre of much public attention and criticism. This principle is practiced with the implementation of procedures to equitably select subjects for inclusion in research (Stiles & Boothroyd 2015:4).

Uys (2008:457–465) adds an additional perspective on the application of the above principles. Whereas much of the attention in the application of these principles has been directed to protecting the interests of the individual, not much attention has been paid to the rights of an institution. According to this author the rights of institutions should also be respected as these institutions have to protect their good names and reputations.

**MAIN ETHICAL CONCERNS FOR ACADEMIC RESEARCH**

Research integrity has become an integral part of the planning and methodology of research. After identifying a research problem, researchers are expected to reflect on the macro research paradigm, research design, and data collection methods. Social scientists continually reflect on their research decisions, for example: which macro research paradigms, measurement instruments, and data collection methods to use. This reflection on scientific research is part of the world of meta-science; in other words considering those aspects of research that are beyond science itself. Mouton (2008:138–139) describes this level of reflection as part of ‘World Three’.

In his evaluation of research in Public Administration, Wessels (1999:361–415) argues that researchers often do not carefully consider the context of their research when deciding on appropriate research methods. Furthermore, these researchers do not satisfy the epistemic imperative of scientific knowledge. Arriving at the most valid findings possible to contribute to scientific knowledge should be the overriding criterion when researchers decide on the most appropriate methodological paradigm, or as Wessels calls them macro research methods.
Remenyi, Swan, & Van Den Assem (2011:1–113) – at a general level – indicate the importance of ethics for academic research. Ethical concerns in academic research include the nature of the research question, the means by which the research question will be answered, the safety and well-being of the researcher and respondents, the necessity of honesty: Accurate and fair reporting of activities, misusing the ideas of others by for example not engaging in plagiarism, and the application of research results.

At a significantly more specific level and perhaps more within the mandate of this article, one may ask when should research – and specifically corruption research – be subjected to ethics review. A number of variables are important to consider *inter alia* the nature of the involvement of human subjects, the characteristics of the study population, the nature of the research procedures, the competence of researchers, the credibility of science, the potential risk of harming the subjects, and the equal distribution of benefits and risks (Wessels & Visagie 2015: 1–21). To consider the ethical implications of applicants’ design and data collection methods, review committees are required to work at a meta-scientific level.

**THE IMPLEMENTATION OF INSTITUTIONAL POLICIES ON RESEARCH ETHICS**

In their publication on fostering research integrity through institutional policies, Wessels, Visagie & van Heerden (2013:35–66) reflect on the forces in favour and opposed to the regulation of research ethics. In their selected case study they summarise the main determinants of the research ethics policy framework which include *inter alia* the Policy on Research and Innovation and the Policy on Research Ethics. As the authors note, those researchers in opposition to the institutional regulation of research ethics display defensive behaviour and reduced co-operation in the regulation process. Their main arguments against ethics regulation include its limiting impact on scholarly research and the constraining effect of research ethics review. Those in favour of this regulation argue the importance of a university to safeguard and sustain the integrity of knowledge.

According the Wessels, Visagie and van Heerden (2013:35–66) the research ethics review system at universities aim to protect potential human participants, animals, and other living or genetically modified organisms and contribute to the highest quality of scientific and ethical research. In turn, Research Ethics Committees are required to follow the relevant policy provisions to make sound decisions when reviewing research. Although the authors conclude that the research ethics policy framework is likely to foster an institutional
culture of research integrity, they caution that further research is required to
determine whether such policies have changed researcher attitudes toward
research integrity.

RESEARCH ETHICS PROTOCOL IN PUBLIC
ADMINISTRATION RESEARCH

A healthy sense of skepticism and opposition exists to the institution of research
ethics protocol, not only in Public Administration but also in other disciplines.
Feeley – at the time of his presidential address to the Law and Society Association
– notes the petty tyranny to which institutional review boards subject their
researchers that seems to have taken on the form and functions of censorship
boards. Feeley notes that it is perhaps empirical research that faces a serious
dilemma. Researchers doing fieldwork often only know after the research has
begun what problem it is that they intend to solve; yet ethics regulations require
the approval of research before initiating the study. In fact, a chair of a research
review committee admitted to Feeley that poorly designed research projects are
often rejected as the risk associated with wasting respondents’ time may be too
significant (Feeley 2007:757–776).

Various authors have reported on the growing significance of ethics in public
administration research, but not on the lack of enthusiasm it was met with by
the scholarly community. Dingwall (2012:3–26) reflected on the rise of ethics
regulation in the social sciences. In this publication, the author emphasises the
attention ethics regulation received in Anglo-Saxon countries. He cites various
examples of empirical research projects where covert observation, data linkage
and political manipulation could have led to an increase in the need for ethics
regulation. In one such project (Cressey’s The Taxi-dance Hall 1932) covert
research was undertaken to investigate young women who had been recruited
into prostitution through dance halls. Investigators were instructed to mingle
and to become as much part of the social world as ethically possible. In another
study, a researcher observed anonymous sexual contact between gay men in
a park toilet in a US city where such practices were at the time considered
to be criminal (Humphrey’s Tearoom Trade 1975). In an example of political
manipulation, Dingwall cites the relationship between US government agencies
and social scientists (Project Camelot). Social scientists were funded to study
social conflict in Central and South America, but it became known that the
objective was to provide a social scientific basis for counter-insurgency work. In
a similar project in the UK, the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC)
was ready to accept funding to investigate Islamic fundamentalism in support of
counter-terrorism policy. The European tradition – in contrast to Anglo-Saxon
countries – appears to cherish the traditions of professional autonomy and seems not to have accepted a system of control and command.

Dingwall (2012:3–26) also reflects on the rise of ethics regulation in the context of the corporatisation of universities. Managerialism has seen the appointment of professional managers where these positions were mainly occupied by academic staff often on a rotational basis. In fact, Dingwall cites the example at the University of Chicago where it was declared that conducting research is a privilege and not a right. Dingwall rightfully questions whether the benefits of ethics regulation outweigh its costs. In the author’s view the costs include the divergence of scarce research funding to ethics regulation, the inhibition of innovation as researchers design their projects to avoid the possibility of being subjected to fierce IRB criticism, and ignorance about the problems of those target populations that researchers should be concerned about.

Feeley (2007:757–776) is similarly critical of the imposition of ethics regulation on social science. To Feeley it is particularly empirical researchers that bear the brunt of IRB. Ethics regulation has resulted in the emergence of an elaborate bureaucracy to vet social science research, the subjection of researchers to petty tyranny, and the role of IRB as censorship boards. Feeley suggests as a remedy, to replace the elaborate regulatory system with a reactive regime of civil remedies following the demonstration of harm to respondents.

Jordan (2014:85–108) argues for reducing the level of IRB attention necessary for review of public administration research. In an effort to achieve this objective, she developed a checklist which researchers could use to self-evaluate their project and exempt their studies from IRB review. In this study, she reviewed publications in five Public Administration journals between 2000 and 2010. In one of these publications over 200 000 individual’s data and interview responses were reported. Of these publications only 3.2% reported evidence of ethics clearance. The author identifies the many negative consequences of ethics regulation including mutual frustration, sacrifices of efficiency and efficacy, investigator and reviewer burnout, and a drain on scarce funding.

Jordan (2014:85–108) draws interesting parallels between public administration research and quality improvement (QI) research. QI research is aimed at improving health care and is exempt from IRB review. Jordan argues that QI research shares many similar attributes to public administration research. These similarities include its problem solving focus, using multiple methods, and its more pragmatic nature. Other similarities include its focus on collective interests and the social profit which the research produces. In this publication, Jordan focuses on three aspects of both research disciplines: epistemology, ethics, and risk.

In both disciplines research appears to have a pragmatic focus and significant attention is paid to the question “what works?” rather than the question of “what’s
true?" Although both types of research could lead to theory development, these studies aim to improve processes. Research in both disciplines is guided by the following ethical considerations: beneficence, justice, and munificence. In respect of risk, the author argues that risk becomes insignificant when the envisaged benefit of the research is greater than its risk. Risk could further be minimised by obtaining informed consent (Jordan 2014:85–108).

Wessels & Visagie (2015:1–21) evaluated the prominence of research ethics protocol in two selected academic journals: International Review of Administrative Sciences (IRAS) and Public Administrative Review (PAR). The authors identified the following principles, convictions, and conditions reflected in the Belmont Report:

RESPECT FOR PERSONS: As respondents are individuals as autonomous agents (and sometimes with diminished autonomy), the researcher should apply the following measures: obtain informed consent, maintain confidentiality, and protect privacy.

BENEFICENCE AND NON-MALEFICENCE: The researcher should disclose conflict of interest, ensure that the research (and data collection methods) maximises the potential benefit and minimises the risks, ensure the well-being of human subjects in research of a sensitive nature, and the invasive nature of the data collection method.

JUSTICE: The researcher should provide evidence of just sampling (distribute risks equally in target population). This could also include the researcher’s intent on avoiding convenience sampling, as well as avoiding the potential for exploitation due to internal power relationships.

For the purpose of this evaluation the authors identified a conceptual framework consisting of four criteria:

- Whether HUMAN SUBJECTS are involved in the research project? The extent of this involvement may vary from no involvement, indirect involvement, and direct involvement. This involvement could either be direct (eg surveys, individual interviews, group interviews, observation) or indirect data (eg include secondary data analysis and conceptual research).
- Whether the research procedures meet the principles, convictions, conditions with reference to RESPECT FOR PERSONS?
- Whether the research procedures meet the principles, convictions, conditions with reference to BENEFICENCE and NON-MALEFICENCE?
- Whether the research procedures meet the principles, convictions, conditions with reference to JUSTICE?

It is evident from this evaluation that researchers in Public Administration do not often engage in empirical research. In respect of the first criteria above, in the case of IRAS 39% of the articles did not involve human subjects directly or
indirectly. In the case of PAR 41% of the articles did not involve human subjects directly or indirectly. Of the 70 published articles, 42 articles were eligible for ethics review. However, in only 18 of the 70 articles did the researchers make use of data collection methods of a direct nature eg surveys, individual interviews, group interviews, observation.

In respect of the second criteria above, Wessels and Visagie (2015:1–21) found that only two of the 18 articles reported on informed consent, protecting privacy, and maintaining confidentiality.

In respect of the third criteria above, Wessels and Visagie (2015:1–21) found that only one article reported on balancing the risks and the benefits of the study. This was achieved by maximising the credibility and integrity of the findings through prolonged engagement and peer examination of the findings. As indicated above, the risks of a study could increase substantially when one considers the invasive nature of the data collection method. In the analysis of the research methods used in the sampled articles, Wessels and Visagie identified 11 surveys, 10 interviews, two observations, 29 secondary data analyses, and 27 conceptual research studies. Only the studies which made use of surveys, interviews, and observation could be regarded as research with more than minimal risk of the potential to harm human subjects.

In respect of the fourth criteria above, the authors could not make a judgement on the fairness of the sampling methods due to the nature of reporting in the articles. The authors however reported on sample population and found that researchers showed a low preference for the inclusion of vulnerable populations.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

For the purpose of this article, I applied content analysis as research design. The major strength of this design is its unobtrusive nature (Mouton 2008:165–167). The international peer reviewed journal Public Integrity which is published under the auspices of the American Society of Public Administration was selected due to its prominence in the field of public service ethics. Public Integrity publishes only original articles from a variety of disciplinary perspectives concerning ethical issues that impact the public and introduce new discourse to the field. The purpose of the Journal is to advance knowledge in the social sciences and include research in inter alia corruption, law, criminal justice, and human rights. The Journal published four editions per annum.

The author identified volume 16 numbers 1–4 which was published during 2013–2014. These four issues contained 19 articles, two introductions to symposiums, and four book reviews. The author was guided by the principles,
convictions, and conditions reflected in the Belmont Report which includes respect for persons, beneficence and non-maleficence, and justice. The author set out to evaluate the prominence of research ethics protocol in the articles published in the abovementioned Journal and was guided by the same criteria used in the conceptual framework described above by Wessels and Visagie. These criteria included whether human subjects were involved in the research project, as well as the nature of their involvement; whether the research procedures meet the principles, convictions, conditions with reference to respect for persons; whether the research procedures meet the principles, convictions, conditions with reference to beneficence and non-maleficence; and whether the research procedures meet the principles, convictions, conditions with reference to justice.

**RESEARCH ETHICS PROTOCOL IN PUBLIC SERVICE CORRUPTION RESEARCH**

Research in public service corruption is often complicated. Corruption and fraud are illegal in most societies and occurs as a covert activity. Often only the perpetrators of corruption are aware that it occurred. Perpetrators try to hide their intentions to extort money or gifts from citizens. Citizens bribe public officials to gain an unjust advantage over other citizens, and when a competitive tender is to be selected for the provision of public services, over other competing companies. When such malfeasance is exposed both parties risk the possibility of losing not only their unjust advantage, but also their upward career prospects – in the case of public officials, and their business reputations and future contractual dealings with the public service – in the case of business owners (Webb 2010:158).

It could be argued that public service corruption research would carry greater risks and benefits as compared to other social science research. Corruption studies could contribute immensely to not only reducing malfeasance, but also enhancing much needed social and economic growth; specifically in developing states. Such studies could also carry greater risks, not only to the respondents engaged by researchers, but also those public and private institutions in which corruption is exposed.

Surprisingly, however, the findings suggest that corruption researchers do not appear to make a special effort in complying with a research ethics protocol. The findings below should however not be construed as a representative effort to determine the prominence of research ethics in corruption research. Only one volume of one journal was identified for the content analysis. This is a significant limitation on the findings for the purpose of this article.
Similar to the findings by Wessels and Visagie, of the researchers that published in the 16th volume of *Public Integrity* (PI), only a small number engaged in empirical research. In respect of the **first criteria** above, of the 19 articles that appeared in this volume (excluding the two introductions to symposiums authored by Podger and Menzel, and Schultz), only three articles involved human subjects directly. Consequently of the 19 published articles, three articles were eligible for ethics review. In these three articles, the authors made use of web casts, interviews and surveys. These data collection methods are of a direct nature as humans are involved in the study.

In the remaining articles, authors wrote conceptual and position papers and made use of secondary sources such as published work, journal articles or books. Some authors reported on applying content analysis as a data collection method where codes of conduct, journal articles and books were reviewed. These data collection methods are not of an invasive nature and do not include humans as respondents.

In respect of the **second criteria** above, it was found that none of the three articles reported on informed consent, protecting privacy, and maintaining confidentiality. In two of the three studies, the authors maintained confidentiality by anonymising their data sources. Respondents were referred to as subjects in the article.

In respect of the **third criteria** above, it was found that none of the authors of the three articles mentioned above explicitly reported on balancing the risks and the benefits of the study. In one article the authors attempted to maximise the benefit of the study by triangulating findings from the survey with responses to the open ended questions in the survey. As indicated above, the risks of a study could increase substantially when one considers the invasive nature of the data collection method. In the analysis of the research methods used in the sampled articles, the following data collection methods were used: Two surveys, two interviews, no observations, seven secondary data analyses, and nine conceptual research studies. Two position papers were published which could not ideally fit into any of the above categories. Only the studies which made use of surveys, interviews, and observation could be regarded as research with *more than minimal risk of the potential to harm human subjects.*

In respect of the **fourth criteria** above, the researcher is required to make a judgement on the fairness of the sampling methods reported in the articles. In one of the three articles the authors reported the use of convenience sampling targeting. The authors of the second and third articles made no reference to their sampling methods. In one of these two articles, two whistle blowers and five respondents with experiences of whistle blowing had been interviewed. Considering the nature of their experiences, and the risk associated with their
involvement in this study, one would have expected that the author would follow a process of research ethics clearance. Although the respondents’ identities were protected, no reference was made to research ethics clearance.

CONCLUSION

In this article, the author reflected on his own experiences as a member of a university ethics review committee, or perhaps better known as an IRB. The research protocol that emanated from the Nuremberg Code, Helsinki Declaration, and Belmont Report was initially meant to be applied within the medical sciences. However, this protocol seems to have taken on a momentum of its own and has more recently become part of the social sciences too. Although a case could be made for certain types of social science research – specifically where the risks are significant for human participants, it was not received with much enthusiasm among the scientific community.

This article was written with the objective to evaluate the prominence of research ethics protocol within corruption research. The author was guided by the principles, convictions, and conditions reflected in the Belmont Report which includes respect for persons, beneficence and non-maleficence, and justice. For this purpose I evaluated the extent to which authors that published in the 16th edition of the journal Public Integrity complied with this research ethics protocol. For this evaluation specific criteria was applied including whether human subjects were involved in the research project, as well as the nature of their involvement; whether the research procedures meet the principles, convictions, conditions with reference to respect for persons; whether the research procedures meet the principles, convictions, conditions with reference to beneficence and non-maleficence; and whether the research procedures meet the principles, convictions, conditions with reference to justice.

Although the validity and reliability of the findings are severely compromised by the limited sample identified, the findings pointed to the very limited extent of empirical work undertaken by authors. Of the 19 articles that appeared in this volume, only three articles involved human subjects directly. In those studies that involved human subjects directly, the following data collection methods were used: Two surveys and two interviews. Although none of the three articles reported on informed consent, protecting privacy, and maintaining confidentiality, in two of the three studies the authors maintained confidentiality by anonymising data sources. None of the authors of the three articles mentioned above explicitly reported on balancing the risks and the benefits of the study. These preliminary findings suggest that corruption
researchers do not appear to make a special effort in complying with the research ethics protocol.

NOTES

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**Ethics Versus Integrity**

**Framing the Response to Corruption in Public Governance**

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**ABSTRACT**

This article aims to elucidate convergent and divergent viewpoints on issues of ethics and integrity in governance and suggest building blocks for framing appropriate responses to the issue of corruption. In the scholarly discourse, divergent viewpoints are often overlooked, resulting in a discord that substantially impedes the understanding of the concern for improving the quality of good governance. The article synthesizes differences between what we characterize as “American” ethics viewpoint and “European” integrity viewpoint to exemplify how such differences lead to different starting and ending points for the understanding of public service ethics and integrity. The authors argue that the differences often result in narrowly-framed, unsustainable responses to corruption. To reconcile the differences, the authors propose a composite, broad-based approach that blends ethics and integrity viewpoints in a manner that enhances the prospect of addressing corruption and improving the quality of governance in a long-term, sustainable fashion.

**INTRODUCTION**

The *Introduction to Ethics and Integrity in Public Administration* (Cox 2007) based upon the Trans-Atlantic Workshop, co-sponsored by the Ethics and Integrity in Governance Study Group of the European Group on Public Administration and the American Society for Public Administration’s Section on
Ethics, found that the 41 papers at that conference represented both the breadth of scholarship on ethics and integrity and yet also, attested to the divergent starting points (and, therefore go to different end points) for understanding the issues of public ethics and public integrity (p. vii). That particular difference was the most fascinating and thought-provoking element of the shared endeavors in that and other dialogues and workshops over more than a decade.

To make sense of the differences between what at the time was simplistically described as the “European” and “American” approaches it is necessary to note the choice of the title for the conference – Ethics and Integrity. For all the easy shifting between the words, we have found that “European” academics strive to distinguish between the two: To them, integrity connotes behavior in a way that ethics does not. Integrity encompasses both the intellectualizing and the doing. It implies propriety. It implies competence. It implies what American academics would associate with the term “professionalism.” It is about doing things “right.” It does not imply choice. It does not imply an activist or “makes things right” approach that is common among “American” academics, who are assertively and even aggressively “ethical.” For some “American” academics, ethics has both political and organizational overtones. For their “European” counterparts integrity is decidedly and pre-eminently an organizational precept.

At that Workshop it became clear how different the approach of “Europeans” was from that of “Americans.” The comment that ethics was a component of government reform and organizational transformation attracted criticism. That activist tone struck the “Europeans” as somewhat odd. They saw integrity as fundamentally a conservative notion – one which protects, promotes, and preserves the status quo. This is about conservation in the old-fashioned sense that spawned the national park system in the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century. It is about values that are central to the operations of government as a tool of governance. It is a positive term (Cox 2009).

Yet, as suggested above, “American” academics use ethics rather than the term integrity, for some of the very reasons “Europeans” use integrity. A generation of academics in public administration has placed ethics and ethical decision-making at the core of “good” management. It has been assumed to be the basis of organizational leadership. From this stand-point ethics is synonymous with governance and management reform. Thus, for example “Americans” distinguish between two types of ethics codes—those which define present behaviors (legalistic codes) and those that define future behaviors (aspirational or normative codes). There is a strong bias within the academic community for normative or aspirational ethics: We both study and teach norms and aspirations. “Europeans” seem much more interested in the present behaviors of public servants. Interestingly they seem more likely to use traditional social science research methods to study integrity, while “Americans”
struggle to search for norms and often eschew social science methods, and especially quantitative methods. Those differences in research approaches and in the focus on the present or future behaviors are undercurrents in all the papers in that book. It is not a matter of one approach being better than the other. In reality, both “Americans” and “Europeans” emphasize different foci because the ground rules and standard practices within the respective bureaucracies are different. That aside, they both have much to learn from each other (Cox 2009).

The task of this article is to dig more deeply into the implications of the difference between the pursuit of “good” management reform and the pursuit of effective governance. Implicit in the different characterizations of ethics and integrity (again terms that Americans haphazardly use interchangeably) is the perspective for understanding behavior. The “American” version looks at the issue from that of the individual looking up through the organization, whereas the “European” version looks at behavior from the perspective of the organization. In the first perspective, ethics is the sum of the individual choices. In the second perspective, integrity represents, among other attributes a consistency of behaviors of all in the organization. Not only do these differences lead to different models of governing, but they also suggest different approaches to defining and addressing corruption. This latter topic is the centerpiece of this work. To critique existing approaches to corruption, the next section of the discussion offers a brief examination of the literature that defines both ethics and integrity. The point of this examination and critique is to unearth the organizational features of these definitions and how those definitions influence governance and also the concept of corruption.

CONCEPTUALIZING ETHICS

As conceptualized here, ethics is first and foremost an individual and a moral construct. The fundamental premise is that ethical behavior emerges from an individual’s ability to distinguish between right and wrong. French (1983) describes “ethical judgment” as having three components: the desire to act ethically; deliberative judgment (consideration of principles and circumstances); and, acting on the basis of principles. He emphasizes the importance of moral theorizing: “Ethical theories can serve many significant functions in the development of moral reasoning skill. They expose options and justifications of behavior that might otherwise escape serious consideration. A mature moral person holds a set of moral beliefs, makes moral judgments that are derivable from or based on those moral beliefs, and can, if challenged, provide convincing arguments in defense of his or her confidence in holding those particular beliefs, or making judgments that associate them with the general object of morality.
Moral theory functions at the background level. Disagreements between, for example Kantians and utilitarians should be seen more as disputes about competing background theories about human nature, social structure, and the proper interpretation of moral concepts rather than as disputes about moral judgments themselves” (French 1983:36).

Menzel (2012:40) expands on the need for ethical judgment: “In emphasizing the public good rather than personal reward or negative consequences, public sector ethical statements treat the public employee as a moral individual who is capable of making the choice to do that which is right, regardless of self-interest. The statement tells the public agent what is right and leaves the responsibility for choosing it up to the individual”.

On his part, Willbern (1984:102–103) developed a classification scheme for analyzing the types and levels of public morality, providing a concise framework that may be employed to examine the range of ethical orientations and dilemmas public officials may confront. His system offers the following categories:

- Basic honesty and conformity to law
- Conflicts of interest
- Service orientation and procedural fairness
- The ethic of democratic responsibility
- The ethic of public policy determination
- The ethic of compromise and social integration.

In terms of ethics education and training, Cox (2011) introduces the following ethical competencies:

- Using an ethical framework as a model for and the logic of decision-making.
- Decisiveness in making hard choices; to acknowledge that no alternative is going to “solve” the problem. It represents an approach to decisions that emphasizes the consequences of actions. It is tempered by considerations of public outlooks and perspectives. It also requires the conviction to act despite the likely negative consequences (for some, if not all) in the decision.
- While a compliance model is certainly an integral component of ethics systems, it nevertheless is only a partial model. The capacity for applying ethical concepts beyond mere rule compliance is needed.
- Defining conceptual foundations for how practical ethical guidelines should be set up. What is required is a dialogue on what the code means in easy to define terms, so that it can serve as a guideline for correct actions and becomes the basis for a cultural transformation. Then those practical rules must be made part of the training agenda of academics and departments.
- As long as ethics is taught as a retrospective look at past decisions to decide what to not to do, it will come across as little more than the mental equivalent of an Internal Affairs investigation. Only when ethics is introduced as a way
of exercising discretion and making “good decisions, in a timely manner” will students appreciate it as necessary to doing the job.

- Acting in a public environment implies the acknowledgement of the critical role of the public in shaping the definition of the problem and creating solutions.

Quoting Paine (1994:106), Menzel (2010:11) emphasizes that “ethics has everything to do with management.... Managers who fail to provide proper leadership and to institute systems that facilitate ethical conduct share responsibility with those who conceive, execute and knowingly benefit from corporate misdeeds”. He argues further that the validity of the system is in the ethical character of the individual, that ethical managers must demonstrate through their behavior that they believe what they say, that success is based on having the right people in the job, and having faith in leadership. We elaborate on the latter topic which lies within the core of public governance.

**Ethics and Leadership**

The idea and ideal of leadership has long been a topic of study for historians, sociologists, political scientists, social psychologists, and those in business administration. Intermittently, it has been a topic in public administration. Regardless of the orientation to leadership in the literature, one constant seems to be the importance of the leader in organizational decision-making and organizational effectiveness (Cox Plagens and Sylla 2010). Citing Bennis, Menzel (2012) asserts that managers and leaders are different. According to Bennis ‘the manager does things right; the leader does the right thing, the manager administers; the leader innovates, and the manager relies on control; the leader inspires trust’ (Menzel 2012:57). He admonishes that the mandate to serve the public interest must not be translated into making decisions that benefit the most people. “Ethics managers must not sacrifice the notion of doing the right thing by trying to satisfy too many people. The utilitarian trap is hazardous, as is the prospect of justifying an unsavory or unethical means to achieve a highly desired result. The ends do not justify the means” (Menzel 2012:60).

Such an outlook parallels that of Selznick (1957) who observed the importance of leadership to the organization almost 60 years ago. Selznick would add that leadership is a kind of work done to meet the needs of a social situation, that it is not equivalent to office-holding or high prestige or authority or decision-making and that it is dispensable, but above all institutional leaders are experts in the promotion and protection of values. Likewise, Burns (1978:422–443) offered a glimpse at a “general theory of leadership,” which constitutes a summary of the evolution of leadership theory after 60 years of
academic discourse. He begins from an assumption that there are two types of leadership: Transactional and Transformational. The distinction between the two types of leadership is in the values that form the basis of leading: Transactional leadership addresses modal values (values of means... honesty, fairness, responsibility) whereas transformational leadership addresses end-values, such as liberty, justice, and equality.

Burns then adds four elements to complete his general theory. First and most critically, leadership is “common,” in the sense that all in an organization are capable of leading. Secondly, organizational structures matter. Authority and power are important to the work of an organization, though it may not explain organizational success. The organizational structure is both a means by which to reach, or to be closed off from, followers. Third, “political” leadership is a useful model for understanding leadership because at its best it is both loosely institutional and closely interpersonal. Lastly, leadership is an activity; it is goal-oriented with strategic perspective, decisiveness and a focus on problem-solving (e.g., Cox, Plagens, and Sylla 2010). Burns concludes his assessment of transformational leadership by addressing the “elevating” power of leadership. It operates at a higher psychological level of need and value than followers expect by exploiting conflict and tension within people’s value structure through consciousness raising; it values Weber’s (1946) ethic of responsibility over ethic of ultimate ends; and it transcends the claims of the multiplicity of everyday wants and needs and expectations, to respond to the higher levels of moral development.

Ethics and Politics

The context in which the above discussions of leadership are framed is that of the public. Whether based on an “American” or “European” model, tension exists in the policy process, one characterized by the idea of the “politics-administration” dichotomy, placing a wall between the work of elected and appointed officials. From this perspective, bureaucrats implement policy framed and shaped by the political process. Thus, one of the most complex elements within the discipline of public administration is the attitude toward “politics.” The origins of the discipline and practice are intertwined with the concept of the “politics-administration” dichotomy which underlies much administrative theory. As a result, advances in theory are implicitly, if not explicitly, tested against the dichotomy. But as Waldo (1984) observed long ago, the actions and decisions of bureaucrats obtrusively and unobtrusively touch lives in countless ways, elaborating on bureaucratic involvement with virtually all aspects of society and even with civilization itself.

The increased involvement of public administrators in the actions and activities of organized society has continued over time, inevitably bringing
public administration into the realm of what is thought of traditionally as “politics.” Governmental decision-making is the product of the interaction of both administrators (civil servants) and politicians (both elected and appointed). Finding the proper balance of political and administrative participation is the central problem of governance in a modern representative democracy. Waldo (1980:65–66) offers a cogent and useful summary of the interrelationship: “In the United States, if one chooses to do so, nearly all contemporary public problems can be framed in terms of relating the political and the administrative: thus, randomly, the amount of autonomy the Federal Reserve Board should enjoy, the growth of Congressional research staffs, the propriety or impropriety of “whistle blowing,” tax reduction through popular initiatives, the development of synthetic fuels. Within self-aware Public Administration the relationship of the political and the administrative is germane to questions of inquiry: What kinds of knowledge are needed? Is the needed knowledge in principle obtainable? How can it be obtained? Should the relationship of the political and the administrative technology be reconciled with Constitutional-democratic norms? How can it be reconciled? To which political impulses is it proper for the public administrator to respond; to which improper”.

For decades public administration faculty have been telling students that the “dichotomy” is dead. We blithely relegated it to a historic artifact, or passed it off as an interesting “heuristic” device that was never quite understood. Yet, the dichotomy is alive and well. Ask a student that is a cop, or a firefighter, or a planner, or an engineer, or a policy analyst. They likely will tell you of the inappropriateness of political “interference” and will regale you with stories of good work ignored and “right” decisions overturned. The stories are not about the need for civil service (and thus a “neutral” workforce), but of the rejection of professional values and competencies. We have preached the need for a professional public sector workforce and have proposed the MPA as one indicator of professionalism, but largely we have been “neutral” toward the values espoused by “professionals.” We leave students with the impression that all problems can be solved by being “professional.” We commiserate with them over political decisions. Yet, how can a public servant be a true professional, when the very premises of their professionalism reject the values of a public service based on democracy, representation, participation?

The reality of modern governance is that public administration can be understood only by placing it within a historical/political/legal frame of reference. The interaction between the constitutionally mandated institutions and the bureaucracy is the key to understanding modern government. The tug-of-war between the legislature and the agencies, the chief executive and the agencies, the courts and the agencies, and even the states and the agencies
are outward manifestations of the process of defining and redefining of roles in determining a formula for governance. As Rourke (1992) has observed, political responsiveness and administrative professionalism will always remain highly ranked values in a democratic bureaucracy. The general public, especially in the United States, has consistently had a strong, well-recognized interest in preserving the responsiveness of its bureaucracy to political control. These conflicts serve to exacerbate and exaggerate the conflict that is referred to as the politics-administration dichotomy. To understand the dichotomy it is necessary first to explore its place in the historic evolution of public administration as elaborated in the next section.

The nature and character of government has changed radically since the beginning of the last century. The level of professional and technical skill needed to be a competent “manager” is quite different from that of earlier times. However, there remains a considerable “hangover” of older views. Research by Protasel (1994) and Svara (1999) concerning city managers noted that the makeup and character of those who serve on councils (and in United States legislatures and the Congress) are changing. The more critical problem is that, what most often concerns those who seek local office, are issues that would have in other times been thought of as issues of implementation. When they seek refuge in their “legislative” functions, it is often the constituent service aspect of the legislative function, not the broad policy-making responsibility, that attracts the councils’ attention. In fact it is often “constituent service” issues that are at the core of campaigns for election/reelection—assertions of administrative control become a political issue.

While at some point the desires and goals of managers and councils inevitably collide (this is the one profession where being fired is a badge of honor), the above phenomenon has put the manager much more in the spotlight. In some cases, the management practices of the manager are a topic of political debate. Whether the disagreement is primarily ideological (public service vs. private enterprise) or merely a matter of experience, the council assumes that careful scrutiny of the managerial and administrative decisions of the manager is its primary task. Judgments are made on very narrow grounds, or over specific decisions, not on the basis of “performance” in a broader sense. The relationship between the council and the manager that is at the very core of the council-manager form of local government has been altered by the presence of “mayors” and by the antagonism between council and manager that is presumed to be healthy and appropriate, rather than an aberration.

Where has this left the manager (any public manager)? The “professional” knowledge and understanding about responsibility for executing the policy directives of the council are replaced by the need for survival skills based upon juggling the competing demands of elected officials. The changing nature
of municipal and county government has meant that the local government manager is less the technical administrator of the early twentieth century and more a manager of diverse interests and perspectives. Many of the expectations and practices, which were the hallmark of the profession, are disappearing. Managers are much more deeply engaged in policy-making, rather than mere policy implementation, than has been acknowledged. Many council members seem more comfortable “judging” the management style and practices of a local government manager than they are wading through the complexities and idiosyncrasies of public sector regulations, rules, and mandates. Success as a manager now depends upon skills and relationships unlike those envisioned two decades ago. Having moved from technical-professional “administrator” to professional manager, the “new” manager needs the skills of leadership to be successful. The skills and competencies implied by the distinction between administration, management, and leadership are certainly not mutually exclusive (just the opposite), but the emphasis and application have changed. The city management profession at this junction is distinguished by the following:

- An inverting of the old policy-administration relationship
- The recognition that “leadership” skills are broader and more critical than “administrative or managerial” skills
- Positions are more precarious and more subject to influences beyond the control of the manager (now more than ever elections threaten longevity)
- The need to emphasize core values, standards of practice and ethical behavior.

Stillman (1991, 1999) offers yet another perspective, one that is both historical and theoretical. He argues that American public administration is different because of the unique way in which political institutions were evolved during the eighteenth century. He notes that the American conception of government was different than that emerging in Europe. The continental model involved an increasingly sophisticated governmental apparatus that offered to citizens the services and programs deemed appropriate. Weber’s (1946) concern about “dilettantes” is a product of the recognition that government was both a professional activity and the ultimate reflection of society. The American experience was decidedly different. The American experiment in governance was based upon the assumption that a “professional” governmental apparatus was not necessary. The professional administrator, whether a city manager, or a bureaucrat working for the US government; is caught in a contradiction. By training and expectation the notion of apolitical administration was an affirmation of the mandate of an effective government, yet that expertise was viewed as undemocratic.
In her discourse on *Guerilla Government* O’Leary (2006) offers a different view of the conflict. From this perspective it is potentially the “guerilla” public administrator who champions the “right” choices in the face of political opposition. She examines the actions of career public servants who work against the wishes – either implicitly or explicitly communicated – of their superiors. The form of dissent typically carried out by those who are dissatisfied with the actions of public organizations, programs, or people but who typically, for strategic reasons, choose not to go public with their concerns in whole or in part. She concludes the work with the following advice concerning managing Guerilla Government:

- Guerilla government is here to stay
- Guerillas can do it to you in ways you’ll never know
- All guerilla activity is not created equal
  - Who defines what is ethical?
  - The problem of ambiguity
- Most public organizations are inadequately equipped to deal with guerilla government
- The tensions inherent in guerilla government will never be resolved.

Whether it is manifest in the increasing policy role of administrators, or the response to “political interference by junior and senior administrators alike, there are unresolved ethics conflicts associated with the dichotomy.”

**WHEN THINGS GO WRONG: THE FAILURE OF THE INDIVIDUAL**

In several works it has been argued that the exercise of discretion can be safeguarded through ethics management (Cox 2001; Cox, Hill and Pyakuryal 2007; Cox and Pyakuryal 2012). Situations and circumstances drive the decision to exercise discretion. Whereas explicit knowledge allows organizations to react to events after the fact by using bureaucratic rules, tacit knowledge frees organizations from these confines. Arendt (2003), following Kant, asserts that thinking and judging are inter-related, but separate. Thinking is the result of forming abstractions. Judging is the first step toward deciding (deciding to decide as it were). It is the produce of understanding the situation in its fullest sense. She goes on to posit that some individuals are better at one activity than the other. Therefore, one could do well at abstract thinking and another could be better at judging. Judging follows thinking and knowing and emerges from understanding. It is the capacity to understand that is the key aspect of judging.
The obvious dilemma for organizations is in recognizing these different capacities and assigning people roles that fit those capabilities. The “problem” of the exercise of discretion is embedded in this dilemma – we need those with the capacity for judging, not those with the capacity for thinking, to exercise discretion. Those with the capacity to think can (and will) develop appropriate standards of performance and behavior, but those with the capacity to judge will understand when it is time to step outside the routine. What then are the sources of this mismatch between the capacity to judge and the responsibility to judge? This intertwining of tacit knowledge and discretionary judgment suggests four causes: inexperience; lack of knowledge; burnout (diminished capacity); and corruption.

**Inexperience**

While inexperience is most obviously a problem endemic in newly hired (or newly promoted) workers, inexperience also exists when persons have not yet been socialized into the organization. Weick’s (2001) notion of sense making in the workplace is gained through experience. Work that is very narrowly defined (faculty versus administrators in universities, especially in the United States), or done in isolation (the police officer on the street, or the worker in a field office) can also reflect a kind of inexperience. In both of these instances there is no opportunity (or the opportunity is not recognized) to combine and/or internalize knowledge. Inexperienced workers are not yet committed (Weick 2001). As such they cannot act and without that action they cannot make sense of the organization. They are hesitant and apparently indecisive because the cues, which lead to acting, are not recognized.

Inexperience in the workplace could be addressed in at least two ways: First is the simple reality of gaining experience by being engaged in the job itself. The second however and the more critical path is in understanding those experiences in the context of the work, i.e. to be open to tacit knowledge. Those who are new to the job but not new to the work have the capacity to gain new tacit knowledge because they have the work experience upon which to base new knowledge. Inexperience in one who has been promoted should be relatively brief. It should be apparent within a very few weeks or months whether or not a “promotion” within the work is a success. The understanding that is the basis for the capacity to do the earlier job serves to aid advancement in the new job. On the other hand where the “promotion” is into new work then the learning curve is longer. Organizational routines (both formal and informal) are new. Pathways of decision-making (which rarely match the hierarchy of the organization chart) are new. The exercise of discretion and ethical decision-making are complicated by that inexperience.
Lack of Knowledge

From one perspective inexperience and lack of knowledge are related. Without experience, knowledge and particularly tacit knowledge cannot emerge. There is also the question of the individual worker’s capacity to learn and gain knowledge. Some have a good “feel” for a job and learn quickly. For others learning is a struggle. Lack of knowledge is different from inexperience and the use of on-site trainers to help people unlearn theory is often the bridge. Police departments use Field Training Officers (FTO) in this way. While they would not characterize this as unlearning, this is what it amounts to — being introduced to the folk wisdom and folkways of the organization. The FTO is a mentor, preparing a new employee to be integrated into the organization both in terms of work and culture. Just like the guild model upon which it is based, this method of mentoring is predicated upon a fairly long apprenticeship. It is also highly dependent upon the skill and knowledge of the mentor. Creativity may be stifled and habits of corruption may be established here. The FTO/mentor roles are critical to the direction of one’s career, as they are the ones who introduce discretion as actions to ensure equity for another. Understanding the obligation to provide or help find answers is the basis of a successful organization. The organization is enhanced to the extent that every employee embraces the role of the FTO.

Burnout

In the United States the problem of “burnout” has been noted for many years. This problem is often associated with role conflict where the professional expectations of the worker and the organization work rules conflict (Hummel 1986, 1994). Here burnout becomes a problem of diminished capacity. The knowledge may still exist within the individual and potentially within an organization, but the role conflict leaves the worker without the will to act. Organizations, which are under threat of dissolution (a common problem in American government), often display the same ennui that Hummel (2007) sees in individual cases of burnout. These are organizations (much like the individuals) which go through the motions. If we were to frame this differently, these are organizations in which the informal organization is not performing properly; where organizational learning has ceased.

At its root, burnout is the suspension in the belief that things will change. It is loss of sense of mission and purpose. The burned out employee no longer seeks to understand a situation or circumstance and discretionary judgment is no longer an option. The stereotype of the rules-obsessed bureaucrat is a burned-out public servant. Convenience and minimal effort
are the basic behavior patterns. Formalized equality is the norm, regardless of the circumstances because that simplifies the decision process. Failure to distinguish circumstances becomes signs of acute burnout. In this state work is based upon looking backward. The reason why burnout often occurs in social services organizations is due to the “disconnect” between attitude fostered and the reality of the work (Sarros 1988). This creates a dissonance between perceived and actual mission.

Professional programs, which evoke compassion and advocate a distrust of politics leaves the public servant unsuited for the work, pushing them to become too naive and insufficiently skeptical. Although often labeled as role dissonance, this goes beyond role conflict (Cox, Buck, and Morgan 2011:164–165). Role conflict can be resolved in favor of the public servant (or at least can be ignored in the larger scheme and, therefore, continue with relative immunity from conflict). What is different here is that the public servant ceases to care. The distance between the work and the mission leads to mission failures, which directly impact the future of an organization. This dissonance transforms into an organizational phenomenon.

**Corruption**

Corruption is not a simple problem of individual bad behavior. Even where corruption is common the tendency is to focus on individual transgressors and imply that the problem is that of a few “bad apples” (Johnson and Cox 2005). This analysis would suggest that corruption is more ingrained. It is learned behavior and it survives because the organization has learned (it has become internalized tacit knowledge) that such behavior is justified. While those on the outside may find the behavior incomprehensible (Bok 1978; Hope 1999), those inside the organization have successfully rationalized the behavior and incorporated it into the organization’s customs. As Arendt (2003) noted, corrupt persons seemingly have an infinite capacity to excuse their own behavior. As far as criminals themselves are concerned, the chief common weakness in their character seems to be the rather naïve assumption that all people are actually like them, that their flawed character is part and parcel of the human condition stripped of hypocrisy and conventional clichés (Arendt 2003:268). Stopping corruption does not begin or end with identifying the criminal act of the individual, but in uncovering the organizational cultural behaviors that makes the behavior attractive.

One of the great puzzles of government reform is the frequency with which reformers become that which they sought to reform. Leaders who came to power on a pledge of democracy become tyrants. This behavior is the flip side of burnout. In this case the demands of the role push the public servant to value
equity exclusively. Equality of treatment comes to be seen as the opposite of
democratic ideals. So much time is devoted to righting wrongs that the public
servant becomes obsessed with the individual case without regard to the wider
circumstances. Corruption in the work place will manifest in an unwillingness
to follow the rules (though it may be justified as rule compliance). Cutting
corners and unwillingness to produce reports or other rule-driven work will be
common. This is not necessarily a disruptive employee but is certainly one who
will negatively affect others. This is a person who needs to be removed before
infesting the entire organization. The shift that occurs is that while discretion
is exercised to ensure equity on behalf of another, corruption is discretion
to advance oneself. The shift from the proper exercise of discretion to self-
serving corruption may be subtle. Examining the motivation for the exercise of
discretion is central. If equity is sought for a person/client then the choice can
be viewed as correct or incorrect. When it is done for selfish or self-serving
reasons (everyone does it) then the line has been crossed.

The Puzzle of Corruption in American States

Corruption goes beyond the discussion above. It is embedded in culture and
political myth of individualism. Adams and Balfour (2005; 2009) have devoted
considerable attention to the problem of “administrative evil”. They note:

The “good” public servant should avoid both the extremes of rule-bound
behavior and undermining the rule of law with individual judgments and
interests. It is fairly self-evident that public (and private) organizations
depend on at least this level of ethical judgment in order to function
efficiently and effectively, and to maintain public confidence in government
(and business). At the same time, it is important to recognize that these
ethical standards of an organization or profession are not adequate in and
of themselves to insure ethical behavior or even, we argue, competent

Furthermore, the obsession with individualism makes the relationship of
organizational action problematic with regard to the concept of a rule of law.
Both public servants and the clients they serve have a suspicion about rules that
encourages them to look for exceptions (for themselves) and see rules in general
as barriers to success.

While addressing the narrower topic of police ethics Johnson and Cox
(2004–2005) assert that: “Different strategies have been pursued in an attempt
to reform policing (Barry 1999)....While the “profession” of policing is less
corrupt today from even two or three decades ago, the problem remains. There
have been major policy changes as a result of court cases that have helped
clarify the correct method to deal with the public” (Johnson & Cox 2001 and Johnson, 2001). None of the reform efforts have been able to mitigate this perplexing problem. Techniques of reform, focusing on the malfeasance and misbehavior of individual officers (such as police citizen review boards), have not succeeded (Johnson 2001). Nor have better personnel screening, training, internal processes, or internal and external integrity units fully addressed the problem (Prenzler & Ronken 2001). In a very real sense police “management” has failed. As long as ethics is taught as a retrospective look at past decisions to decide what not to do, it will come across as little more than the mental equivalent of an Internal Affairs investigation (67–68).

Ethics violations may often be considered the “gotcha” aspect of public employment. It is the mistake of omission, rather than the illicit act of co-mission, that is regularly uncovered. While the “adherence to formal rules is critical, it is not the best basis upon which to train and educate public officials. Accordingly, ethics commissions may be of more value for their political symbolism than for their capacity to thwart corrupt practices” (Smith, 2003, quoted in Menzel 2012). More than any profession policing has been caught in a cycle in which corruption is blamed on the “bad apple”, the individual transgressor. Garofalo and Geuras (2009) assert that when ethical breaches and professional lapses of public officials occur public distrust is heightened. The much publicized examples of “bad apples” appear enormous when there is nothing else visible. Even in the wake of repeated incidents of police brutality (including deaths) toward citizens and residents, with likely associations of racism and religious prejudices, most will defend the occurrences as wrong, but isolated.

The problem of a police sub-culture that accepts corrupt practices is well documented (Klochars, Ivokovich, Harver, and Haberfeld 1997, 2000). The attitude rules should not apply because of uniqueness (collective individualism) of the group that places them beyond the reach of the law (or worse yet, that it is this group that defines, what is the law?). A variation on this view of the corruption in a subculture is the dynamic of small towns controlled for decades by a few (or in wards in cities) families. Those within the ranks who suggest that these problems are more deeply ingrained and even survive because of the organizational support of the sub-culture are rejected as disgruntled trouble-makers.

**INTEGRITY**

As suggested in the introduction, integrity is an organizational construct. In a sense integrity is an aspect of organizational culture and interpersonal relations. There is a human element in this. As Menzel (2012) suggests “… demonstrating
personal integrity requires, (1) taking personal responsibility for errors one may commit, (2) recognizing and crediting others for their work and contributions to the organization’s mission, (3) guarding against any conflict of interest or its appearance, and (4) being respectful of subordinates, colleagues, and the public (5).” Yet the focus here is on organizational outcomes. Again turning to Menzel’s explanation of an effective integrity system: “The guiding values and commitments make sense and are clearly communicated. Organizational leaders are personally committed, credible, and willing to take action on the values they espouse. The espoused values are integrated into the normal channels of management decision making and are reflected in the organization’s critical activities. The organization’s systems and structures support and reinforce its values. Managers throughout the organization have the decision making skills, knowledge, and competencies needed to make ethically sound decisions on a day-to-day basis” (Menzel 2012:78).

Six and Huberts (2008) suggest five perspectives on integrity. Importantly they emphasize the relational element of integrity. They, therefore, connect integrity to the concept of “trustworthiness”. They argue that: “Integrity is a concept similar to trustworthiness rather than trust. Both integrity and trustworthiness refer to attributes of a specific actor – in trust terminology, the trustee – that make that actor have higher or lower integrity or trustworthiness in the eyes of another actor – again in trust terminology, the trustor. In both cases, it is generally considered good to maximize the amount of each. The relationship between integrity and trust is such that the higher an actor’s integrity, the more he will be trusted by another actor. Both concepts differ in important ways. Trustworthiness is restricted to the specific relationships: is the other actor interested in maintaining a relationship with me? Is the other actor benevolent to me? Are their norms acceptable to me? …On the other hand, integrity, as shown above, is based on a ‘relevant set of moral values, norms and rules’, not what I, personally, may hold as values and norms, not my personal interests” (Six and Huberts 2008:70).

As the comments from Six and Huberts (2008) highlight integrity is grounded in the fundamental premises of the “Rule of Law”. Lexis/Nexus, UK defines the rule of law thusly: “The Rule of Law, in its most basic form, is the principle that no one is above the law. The principle is intended to be a safeguard against arbitrary governance, whether by a totalitarian leader or by mob rule. Thus, the rule of law is hostile both to dictatorship and to anarchy” (www.lexisnexis.co.uk/about-us/rule-of-law). The validity of the organization is grounded in the integrity of organizational performance, i.e. in the trustworthiness of the actions of those in the organization. Stated another way, organizational effectiveness (success) is based upon the presence of a culture of the rule of law. Rules serve as guides to implementation, rather than as statements of barriers.
Integrity and trustworthiness are core values and norms that form the basis for organizational behavior. In 2000 a “Model Code of Conduct for Public Officials” was released by the Council of Europe. The Code has a threefold purpose: “to define the ethical climate that should prevail in the public service, to spell out standards expected from public officials, and to inform the public of what conduct to expect from public officials when dealing with them” (De Vel and Csonka 2002:365). This definition is instructive in appreciating the importance of integrity as a bulwark against corruption. The first part of the definition is that of the climate in the organization. The third concerns informing the public about the standards of conduct expected of public officials. Thus integrity is first and foremost an organizational expectation for those both within and without the public service. The behavior of the public servant is to be trustworthy and as the notion of trustworthiness implies it is judged by the public.

**WHEN THINGS GO WRONG: INTEGRITY FAILURE AS A SYSTEMIC FAILURE**

Corruption in all its forms, from straight-forward bribery to influence pedaling to distorting the justice system to protect criminal behavior and money-laundering, sadly are common across the globe. There is also the problem that is endemic in certain parts of the world in which governments seeming fall into a dispiriting cycle of corruption, revolution and back to corruption (Hope 1999). Hope assessed the pattern in Africa of revolutionary leaders who promise abolition of corruption, but instead mimic the very same corrupt practices once in office. These are systems helpless against strong authority figures. This puzzle of corruption in former colonies seems to be a persistent problem. One partial explanation is that the political zeal which supported the revolution will wane in the face of the slow pace of reform. While there are many explanations for the slow change, frustrations with the idea of a rule of law, have the appearance of barriers. After more than 20 years of slow and erratic movement toward democracy, unrest in El Salvador and distrust of the government is rampant (Renderos and Cox 2013). When both elected and appointed public officials are viewed as corrupt then government itself becomes untrustworthy.

This may be the key issue in understanding the breakdown of integrity. Episodes of corruption by those in government may occur, but as long as the public continues to see the bureaucracy as fundamentally trustworthy then governance continues. It is when the expectation that no one in authority (political or administrative) is trustworthy that the governance process collapses. This also means that the collapse of trustworthiness means that the system is in
jeopardy. It is not the random actions of corrupt persons or even revolutions (actions which the governance system will survive), but rather it is the collapse of the internal systems which are the problem. The danger is in changing the system when the corruption is individual, rather than addressing actors. Regime change may result in a corrupt government when the foundational trustworthiness of the administration too is compromised (such as in the return to chaos after the Arab Spring or the collapse of government at all levels in Iraq). In contrast regime change, even change impelled by corrupt political officials, can survive when the trustworthiness of the administrative systems are maintained.

ANALYSIS

Gareth Morgan’s seminal work on organization theory, *Images of Organization* (1989), suggests that each of us uses metaphors by which to define how we think an organization should operate. When we observe an organization in action, we tend to see what we want to see. In other words, we see organizations operating as they “should”. Because of education, experience and culture, each of us has preferred metaphors. The metaphors that dominate our thinking about organizations are what we observe. If we think of an organization as a machine, we see a machine. But also, we will want it to operate as a machine (i.e. workers are parts, not people). We will define an effective organization based upon how closely it mimics our preferred metaphor. We will measure those aspects of organizational activity that can confirm or deny our expectations. The long ago “Hawthorne Experiments” (Roethlisberger 1939), particularly those related to illumination in the workplace, are good examples of performance expectations, i.e. there is an optimal level of illumination in the factory that will optimize output.

Ethics and integrity address issues of organizational behavior from different perspectives. And because of those differing perspectives, the assumptions about what can go wrong and, especially the causes of corruption are viewed from quite different perspectives. A caveat is important here. Even in the discussion of individual choice as a frame for ethics, there is an obvious organizational construct involved. Public servants after all work in organizations. Similarly the framework of integrity does not reject the possibility of individual ethical transgressions and illegal behavior. However, we tend to comprehend organizational behavior with the aid of metaphors (Morgan 1989). An individual’s dominant metaphor will affirm the “correctness” of behaviors that fit the metaphor. The dominant metaphor of integrity is linked to consistent collective, organizational behaviors. Macaulay (2007) would see
this as overly legal-rational inclination. The dominant metaphor of ethics is the isolated individual trying to make things right. Just as right behavior is defined here, the opposite, corrupt behavior, will emerge from a failure of the same metaphor. Integrity failure is the classic failures of bureaucratic structures. The ethics failure is the bad apple problem. More importantly the solutions to the problem of corruption are based upon conformance to the dominant metaphor. Organizational failures inevitably lead to wider systemic adjustments in either or both the political and administrative spheres. Bad apple failures lead to calls for better training, better hiring practices and more professional development. At a certain level these are not bad starting points, but they are limited to the perspectives acknowledged through the metaphor. Unethical behavior, particularly at senior levels, may bring down a government. The solution is not necessarily a major reorganization or even a reconceptualization of governance. As we are only slowly realizing in the US as we confront the racism that exists in many police departments, the sub-culture reinforces those beliefs; bringing new officers into the department will not change that. Tellingly, the problem of policing in the US is a lack of integrity in the organization itself. The bad apple is a reflection of the organization, not the exception.

**BLIND SPOTS**

Another way of thinking about Morgan’s metaphors is to examine what the metaphor prevents one from seeing. When we envision ethics as the expression of the values and norms of an individual we will tend to see corruption as the “behavior on the part of officials... in which they unlawfully enrich themselves” (Fijnaut and Huberts 2002:4). Fijnaut and Huberts (2002:5) define public ethics: “…as the collection of values and norms in the public sector, functioning as standards or yardsticks for assessing the integrity of one’s conduct. The moral nature of these principles refers to what is judged as right, or good conduct. Values are principles or standards of behavior that should have a weight in choice of action (what is good to do, or bad to refrain from doing). Norms state what is morally correct behavior in a certain situation. Values and norms guide the choice of action and provide a moral basis for justifying or evaluation of what we do.

While the context is international rather than organizational Fijnaut and Huberts’ elaboration about the definitions of corruption and integrity are informative. They note that “[Although organizations like Transparency International argue that cultural relativism concerning corruption should be out of the question, it is undeniable that culture, religions and ideologies differ in their appreciation of values and norms (Fijnaut and Huberts 2002:5).” The blind
spot is that an organizational sub-culture may define “correct behavior in a certain situation” differently than the broader society. If the broader society sees ethics as the manifestation of individual choice then violations of those norms and values would be the result of misjudgment or bad choices. This is the bad apple problem. Corruption is rooted out by finding the bad apple and removing it. The solutions to the problem of corruption are in changing the behavior of individuals through counseling and training, among others.

If we flip this around and see ethics as broadly reflecting social norms we are likely to see corruption as systemic. The solutions are to change the processes and procedures of governance. Political and administrative reforms become the solution to the problem of corruption. What happens when the loci of norms are wrong? For example, what happens if the bad apple is simply the one who got caught and the sub-culture supports and protects corrupt behavior? Or, what happens if there is a bad apple (and in particular a politically powerful bad apple) not the system that is the problem. In both of these cases our metaphors lead us to reforms and corrections of corruption that are at best incomplete and may even be counter-productive. The reality is that the sources of corruption are wider and possibly deeper than we assume. The problem of corruption is both cultural and individual. It manifests itself because it is tolerated and it thrives because it is accepted as the norm for that organization. Edmund Burke (see Browne 1993) famously argued that bad things happen when men of good character do nothing. The stable state of most organizations, especially in the US model, is one of good people doing nothing.

**SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

For organizational integrity to thrive it is not enough to have good people making good decisions that reflect norms and values. It is not enough for there to be a “transformational leader.” As Six and Huberts (2006) suggested a decade ago trust is critical. But trustworthiness is one aspect of social relationship that bonds persons and those bonds may as easily affirm a corrupt sub-culture as an ethical one. Ethics and integrity are social constructs manifested in actions. They cannot just be the product of individual choice or individual capacity to reason to an ethical choice. In the public service the norms and values supporting organizational integrity are social and cultural in nature.

In sum, the ethics versus integrity viewpoints often lead to narrowly framed anti-corruption programs with little to no impact on addressing corruption and improving the quality of governance. The normative theme of the discussion here is the need to develop a broader composite approach, one that encapsulates “ethics” and “integrity” as social constructs informed by and grounded in the
principles of moral philosophy (Haruna 2008). Such an approach clarifies the enduring themes of self and community in public administration. In Anglo-American society, it is argued that reform based on the notion of community could meet the practical need for, and theoretical demand of, public service (Stivers 2008; Denhardt and Denhardt 2000a; Box 1998; Fox and Miller 1995). Regarding African society, Gyekye (1997) explains how individuals regard their duties and responsibilities in relation to other people’s interests. He also explains how individuals appreciate the sense of the common good. This stream of theorizing does point to the notion of community in the construction of the normative grounding that can orient individuals and organizations to a fundamental obligation to the public interest.

NOTE

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The Role of Government in Sustainable Development
Towards a Conceptual and Analytical Framework for Scientific Inquiry

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ABSTRACT

Epistemological constructivism is generally the product of a priori knowledge and a particular interpretation of phenomena. Constructivism within the social sciences can be regarded as a foundational point of departure for purposes of scientific inquiry. A conceptual framework as product of constructivism is usually designed based on a sound theoretical framework, which lies on a much broader cognitive scale of abstraction. An analytical framework is thus forged from a conceptual framework in order to understand the potential (causal) relationships between concepts in the search for meaning.

The concepts sustainable development and government are both highly complex and multidimensional. This article attempts to ring-fence the question: What does the role of government entail in sustainable development? To gain understanding of this role a constructivist approach is followed in which a conceptual and an analytical framework are designed for scientific inquiry.

INTRODUCTION

“Sustainability concerns the global, long-term impact of our practices, relationships, and institutions because we live in a connected world”

Thiele (2013:3)
Much has been written about sustainable development and the topic is presented in various models and conceptual frameworks. Also as far as the concept of government is concerned, a multitude of conceptual models exist for specific applications, which include public policy, systems of government, and good governance. However, a comprehensive framework for a general theory on governance is largely absent (cf. Osborne 2010:6; Frederickson et al. 2012:222). A literature survey further revealed that a comprehensive framework has failed to place government as the central actor in a setting of sustainable development. Various scholars adopt specific vantage points, or focus on single aspects of government and development. Santinha and Anselmo de Catro (2010) for example, highlight the role of technology to facilitate urban resilience; Harpham and Boateng (1997), Portney (2005), and Savage and Dasgupta (2006) propose a governance framework for urban development; Van der Waldt (2015) focuses on government interventionism in developmental states; Roy and Tisdell (1998) and Kemp, Parto and Gibson (2005) concentrate on the significance of good governance in sustainable development; Woo-Cumings (1999) considers the significance of a developmental state; Trainer (1995) and Adelman (1999) accentuate the role of government in stimulating economic growth towards sustainable development; Haque (2004) points to a governance model considering partnerships with NGOs for development; and Cavalcanti (2000), Freire and Stren (2001), Farzin and Bond (2006) and Foray (2009) underscore the policy-making role of the government for development. From these studies the need is evident to combine the various perspectives to form a single framework for a general scientific inquiry into the topic.

According to Fiorino (2012) the role of government in sustainable development thus far has received limited attention in scholarly discourse. He argues that, to a degree, governmental issues are captured mainly in the social dimension of sustainability. Government’s role is also mainly described in qualitative and normative terms through concepts such as community participation, empowerment, equity, and transparency. Government and its governance functions, however, transcend these social-normative dimensions. The outcomes of governance also impact on the two other dimensions of sustainability namely ecological and economic factors. As the proposed fourth enabling dimension of sustainability, governments should integrate policies by adopting and implementing a sustainability agenda. Appreciating the instrumental as well as normative contributions of government to sustainable development requires a clearer understanding of how these interventions are linked to ecological, economic, and social goals.

This article attempts to ring-fence the question: What is the role of government in sustainable development? How should a social scientist respond to this
question? Is there is framework available to demarcate the possible theoretical approaches to answer this question and which aspects should be considered in structuring a comprehensive response? Both a government and sustainable development are highly complex phenomena, which demand a multi- and interdisciplinary vantage point. In dealing with this matter the author constructs both a conceptual and analytical framework to explore the role government plays in sustainable development. Within the limitations of a scholarly article this may seem an ambitious endeavour. Therefore, the article will only attempt to outline the potential dimensions by which to analyse the role of government in this matter. A further complication is that the concept of role is extremely vague, and wide open for diverse interpretations.

The proposed framework to analyse the role of government in sustainable development should make provision for the following dimensions:

- **who** – e.g. government institutions, political leaders, public managers, or pressure groups;
- **what** – i.e. framework or mandate;
- **how** – e.g. operational interventions, policy programmes, strategies, structures, systems, or resource allocation; and
- **where** – e.g. national, regional, industry, rural, or community.

Two basic assumptions serve as central theoretical arguments for the purpose of this article, namely that government and sustainable development are intricately aligned, and that government is a key actor in society to regulate, facilitate and act as catalyst for initiatives surrounding sustainable development.

**CONCEPTUAL AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORKS CLARIFIED**

Epistemological constructivism is based on a particular interpretation and understanding of the world, rather than a purely objective perception of reality. Therefore no individual construction can claim absolute truth (Shadish, Cook and Campbell 2002:29). Within social sciences research, the theory of constructivism is a fundamental point of departure in analysing phenomena. The design of a conceptual framework as product of constructivism is usually based on a sound theoretical framework, which lies on a much broader cognitive scale of abstraction. Such a theoretical framework or “idea context” (Miles and Huberman 1994:440), should be based on theories that embody the existing corpus of knowledge on the phenomena under investigation. The theoretical framework is essential to gain clarity about the relationships between elements or issues in a given phenomenon (Ravitch and Riggan 2011). After
a thorough theoretical exploration a conceptual framework emerges, which reveals the scope of concepts, assumptions, expectations, beliefs, and theories that supports and informs the investigation at hand.

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

In order to facilitate analyses, an analytical framework emerges from a conceptual framework. An analytical framework can be constructed by means of concept “mapping” (Miles and Huberman 1994:133). Concept mapping can take many forms, including:

- an abstract framework that maps the relationship among concepts;
- a flowchart-like account of events and how one thinks these are connected;
- a causal network of variables or influences;
- a treelike diagram explaining the meanings of words; and
- a Venn diagram, representing concepts as overlapping circles (Miles and Huberman 1994:133, 249).

An analytical framework should be useful for purposes of scientific investigation, and are most applicable for variance mapping in studies of complex social phenomena. Analytical frameworks generally reveal patterns and causal relationship between variances or variables. As such these frameworks include research instrumentation, possible solution patterns, a model, and a method for grouping complex information (Imenda 2014:187). Analytical frameworks, on the other hand, further map the potential dimensions or vantage points that researchers could use in their analyses (Hasna 2007:48). Both conceptual and analytical frameworks provide the epistemological paradigm, which a researcher applies when examining a given research problem. Such frameworks also establish a structure that guides the research.

In operationalising the research question of this article, the author had to consider higher-level complexities regarding the design of both a conceptual and analytical framework as basis to analyse the interrelationship between the government and sustainable development. Typical complexities include the following:

- “thick” descriptions of concepts associated with government;
• the multidimensional nature of concepts and variables surrounding sustainable development;
• the nature and wide range of approaches for the design of a conceptual framework; and
• the level of sophistication such an analytical framework may have.

In light of the above-mentioned points the article will attempt to “map” the concepts related to government’s role in sustainable development.

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: TOWARDS CONCEPT MAPPING

Thiele (2013:1) states that sustainability is one of the very few ideals or values such as democracy and human rights that receives near universal recognition. Climate change, depletion of the natural resources, and failing states, brought the notion of sustainability to the forefront. The word “sustainability” derives from the Latin sustinere, which literally means to “hold up”. Sustainability should not be seen as the effort to maximise a singular good. Rather, it requires an integrated and balanced response to ecological health, economic welfare, and social empowerment (Thiele 2013:9).

Sustainability in a developmental context refers to the apparent contradiction between, on the one hand, development, requiring environmental modification and intervention in nature and which exhausts natural resources; and, on the other hand, sustainability, which is a characteristic of a process or state that can be maintained for an indefinite period (Trainer 1997:219). The role of a government in this respect is to balance this paradox and to strive towards reconciling ecological (sustainability) and economic (development) interests, in order to cope with the ecological crisis without affecting existing economic growth (Sachs 1993; Baeten 2000).

The concept of sustainable development generally gained popularity during the 1970s with the Club of Rome’s report, Limits to Growth. This report can be regarded as the foundational document that stimulated thought on sustainability, the environment, and development (Simmons 2000:1). The most frequently used definition of sustainable development appears in the Brundtland report (World Commission for Environment and Development 1987:46) and reads: “... development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”. The United Nations’ Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro (1992) is furthermore regarded as the first major event that coordinated development efforts of countries, scientists and social service organisations to reduce humankind’s “footprint” (Wachernagel and Rees
Furthermore, the United Nations’ Agenda 21 (referring to a sustainable development agenda for the 21st century) provides a comprehensive list of activities the global community should undertake to facilitate sustainability.

Some dimensions of sustainable development receive more attention from the government and its political leaders, hence an integrated approach is imperative (cf. Hasna 2007:49). Without an integrated approach governments may direct their focus only on some dimensions (i.e. political and economic) and neglect others. Humankind’s impact on the ecology resulted in waste accumulation, pollution, “squeezing” of the natural resources (water, marine life, timber, etc.), the so-called greenhouse effect, and climate change. This condition makes it clear that present levels of output, as well as the impact on resources and the environmental are unsustainable. Yet it seems as if the global community is committed to an economic system that multiplies consumption levels (Van der Waldt 2015:37). This makes the role of the government as catalyst for change even more indispensable.

Regarding concept mapping it should be noted that sustainable development is highly dynamic and multidimensional. This method has environmental, material, ecological, social, economic, legal, cultural, political and psychological dimensions. These dimensions are deeply interrelated and interdependent. A literature review of sustainable development generally reveals the absence of a comprehensive theoretical framework to help understand the phenomenon and its complexities (cf. Beatley and Manning 1998; Jabareen 2009). Some researchers have argued that the existing definitions of sustainable development are vague (Gow 1992; Mozaffar 2001) and devoid of operative specification (Villanueva 1997). Others such as Redclift (1994), Sachs (1999) as well as Berke and Conroy (2000), point out the current lack of consensus on what exactly should be sustained. Conducting an analysis based on a conceptual framework (as described above) to the phenomenon of sustainable development will not only provide a theoretical framework. It will also shed light on the causal relationships between the framework’s core dimensions (cf. Jabareen 2009:55).

GOVERNMENT’S ROLE

The critical question on the government’s role in sustainable development concerns the extent to which a government can shape, or is inevitably shaped by, the society and environment of which it is part. Classical and contemporary political theory of government, ideological perspectives, as well as the system of government influences the role that a particular society ascribes to its ruling entity. This role is highly case sensitive and depends on specific factors such as:
- demographic circumstances (e.g. size or composition of the population);
historical realities (e.g. colonialisation, conflict, or stability);
geographical and geological realities (e.g. size, location, availability of natural resources, or urban-rural settings);
state of development (e.g. socio-economic status or growth trajectory);
ideology and politics (e.g. Marxism, capitalism, liberalism, state interventionism, policies, prioritisation, distribution of wealth, development approach, or awareness); and
system of government (e.g. spheres and tiers, level of decentralisation, constitutionalism).

Moreover, it should be noted that the role of the government in society in general has expanded dramatically over the past century. In comparison to pre-20th century functions, governments have taken on new and vast roles that typically comprise a modern state (Brown 1991:12; Greig, Hulme and Turner 2007:23; Barbier 2010:637). In his classic work, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, written in 1776, Adam Smith outlines three major government roles: national defense, administration of justice (law and order), and the provision of certain public goods and services. There are contemporary conceptions of the government’s role, notably the seminal contribution of Musgrave in his *Theory of Public Finance* (1959). This theory explains the roles in their most fundamental level:

- allocative (e.g. resources, maximise efficiency, service delivery);
- distributive (e.g. equity, social security, services);
- regulatory (e.g. enforce law, policy making, protection, social justice);
- stabilisation (e.g. fiscal, monetary and economic policies to pursue objectives for control of inflation, unemployment, etc.) (cf. Zhang and Pearse 2011:10).

It is generally accepted that governments should act as catalysts for change. They should champion and set the pace for transformation, establish conducive statutory frameworks to protect the environment, and make resources available (Bovaird and Löffler 2009:29). Governments are also responsible for economic prosperity, the general welfare of the population, and overall socio-economic development. The key issue in the debate on governments’ role as catalyst for socio-economic development is striking a healthy balance between environmental protection and economic growth (Jabareen 2009:180). Without a growing economy a country cannot prosper and fulfil the needs of its citizens. Without the protection of the environment, citizens of a country will not have a healthy and safe place in which to live and will not have access to clean water, air and soil (Payne and Phillips 2010:23; Hopper 2012:15).

Growing populations and rapid economic growth significantly increase the demands for natural resources and infrastructure. It has become crucial for
governments to find ways of managing these demands efficiently (Fiorino 2012). Governments need to regulate actions to protect the environment and at the same time facilitate economic growth. They should also establish a “steady-state” (Daly 1973), which implies a near-constant rate of energy and material throughput that is compatible with the production and assimilative capacities of the ecosphere (Rees 2014:194). Governments, furthermore, must establish and adhere to international protocols, conventions, and treaties. In addition, governments should develop special support strategies and programmes to foster sustainable development.

Scholars are in agreement that governments need to build trust within society. As democratic institutions, governments should create a culture of openness and transparency (Berke and Kartez 1995). This requires frequent reporting on initiatives to develop, among others, communities, stimulate economic growth, and to deal with political unrest (cf. Beder 2002:55). Society should develop trust in government as the custodians of their general well-being and thus support proposed government strategies and programmes (Stymne and Jackson 2000). With regard to social equity, governments should establish the following means and structures: environmental, social, and economic justice; equal rights for development; equal economic distribution; freedom; democracy; public participation; and empowerment (Meadows, Meadows and Randers 1992; Agyeman, Bullard and Evans 2002).

A further role of government is to ensure that its executive branch, the civil service, is adequately competent, skilled and sufficiently capacitated to deal with issues of sustainable development (De Wet and Van der Waldt 2013:58). Public officials’ expertise is vital to manage the implementation of various strategies and programmes that governments develop. The civil service needs to be resourced for the roll-out, built-up and operation of, for example, renewable energies.

Based on this brief overview it is evident that an integrative response to sustainable development is a necessity. Governments need to design integrative strategies for sustainable development, which should combine social, economic, and environmental concerns in planning and management to work towards sustainability (cf. Dodds 2000). Decisions taken by governments should ensure that a careful balance is struck between the need for economic growth, social development, and the protection of the environment (Pearce, Markandya and Barbier 1989:5). These three major dimensions of sustainability are drawn from an essay by John Robinson and Jon Tinker (1997), which identifies the standard elements of sustainability, namely ecology (nature/environment), economy, and society, as three “interacting, interconnected, and overlapping prime systems”. The ecological dimension concerns the need to remain within the earth’s biophysical capacity. The economic dimension is “to ensure and
maintain adequate standards of living for all people”; and the social focus is “to provide social structures, including systems of governance, that effectively propagate and sustain the values people wish to live by” (Robinson and Tinker 1997:72–82). Each system is essential for the collective survival of a society in particular and humankind in general.

ROLE OF GOVERNMENT: POTENTIAL DIMENSIONS FOR THE DESIGN OF AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Phenomena such as the dynamics underlying sustainable development can be studied at different levels of abstraction and from diverse perspectives. These levels may range from specific events (the micro-level of analysing specific events or issues), to macro-level analyses, the “big picture” studying broad trends and patterns (cf. Hasna 2007; Lozano and Huisingsh 2011). Based on an extensive literature survey, the article identified relevant dimensions for the design of an integrated conceptual and analytical framework.

Theoretical dimension

According to Sinclair (2007:39) a theoretical framework can be conceptualised as a map or system of concepts, assumptions, expectations, beliefs, and theories that support and inform scientific inquiry. Analysts start off with a specific theoretical perspective, or paradigm, which provides scholars with an orienting framework, or philosophical predisposition for asking certain types of questions about the indicated focus and locus of study. The sources of data consist of numerous discipline-oriented theories that deliver the empirical data of the analysis based on the conceptual framework.

The conceptual-framework analysis thus generates theories or further frameworks from multidisciplinary bodies of knowledge. On the other hand, metasynthesis, a systematic synthesis of findings across qualitative studies, seeks to generate new interpretations for which there exists consensus within a particular field of study (Jensen and Allen 1996; Sandelowski, Docherty and Emden 1997; Nelson 2006). In metasynthesis, researchers generally aim to expand their interpretation beyond the parameters of existing knowledge (Paterson et al. 2009). Chinn and Kramer (1999:252) view concepts as the components of theory that “convey the abstract ideas within a theory”. A conceptual analysis aims to uncover related concepts and thereby facilitate a metasynthesis (Nelson 2006).

Researchers normally use a dominant theory to deal with a given research problem, or may combine different theoretical perspectives to construct a
generalisation that can guide analyses (Liehr and Smith 1999:13). Theories that could add value to the design of a comprehensive framework on the role of government in sustainable development include the following:

- World Systems Theory
- Path Dependency Theory
- Growth Theory
- Modernisation Theory
- Human Development Theory
- Classical and neo-classical theories of government
- Stewardship Theory
- Systems Theory
- Social Contract Theory
- Behavioural Theory
- Game Theory
- Principal-agent Theory
- Theories of Political Control of the Bureaucracy
- Public institutional theory
- Postmodern Theory
- Theories of Governance
- Theories of Public Organisation
- Communication Theory
- Public Choice and Rational Choice Theory

The above-mentioned theories may underpin the knowledge base of scientific inquiry into the role of government in sustainable development.

**Case-study dimension**

The identification and interpretations of concepts are largely influenced by its context (Hornby 2005:5). Concepts often reflect ideological conflicts (Liehr and Smith 1999:7). In the same vein Van der Waldt (2014:69) argues that the role of government is highly case-sensitive. A dimension built on a case study could add value to uncover the role of the government in particular contexts. Case studies may include single cases with individual units of analysis to multiple cases, including “north-south” and “east-west” perspectives. Cases could also focus on the government’s multidisciplinary role in addressing sustainable development. Comparative analyses of various cases could further reveal best practice for governments’ interventions. Such comparative analyses of various cases could, for example, compare “good” governance indexes with “bad” government practices, and contrast developed with developing countries, as well as assesses the divergence between developmental states and weak or fragile states.

**(Multi-)disciplinary dimension**

Most so-called “wicked” social phenomena (Rittel 1973) require “thick” descriptions (Ryle 1949; Geertz 1973). The reason is that these phenomena are highly complex and linked to multiple bodies of knowledge produced from diverse disciplines. For this reason, better understanding of such phenomena requires a multidisciplinary approach. Qualitative methods serve as adequate
### Table 1: Disciplinary perspectives on sustainable development dimensions and concepts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Discipline</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Global context</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Treaties, protocols, conventions</td>
<td>• Political Sciences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Global Governance</td>
<td>• (International) Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Institutions (i.e. UNDP, IMF, World Bank, etc.)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>State context</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Weak, failed, or fragile</td>
<td>• Political Sciences</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Night-watchman, minimal or nanny</td>
<td>• Law</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Welfare, paternalistic</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Enabling, regulatory</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Developmental</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Government</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- System of government</td>
<td>• Political Sciences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Executive authority/bureaucracy/institutional/administration/service delivery dimensions</td>
<td>• Public Administration</td>
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<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>• Administrative Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sustainable Development</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Social dimension</td>
<td>• Sociology (people dynamics)</td>
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<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>• Anthropology (cultural dynamics)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>• Political Sciences (power dynamics)</td>
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<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>• Psychology (individual dynamics)</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Economic dimension</td>
<td>• Economics</td>
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<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>• Financial Management</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Environmental dimension</td>
<td>• Environmental Sciences</td>
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<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>• Development Studies</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>• Geology</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>• Biology</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>• Chemistry (e.g. water, air and soil analyses)</td>
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<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>• Town &amp; Regional Planning</td>
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<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>(Spatial dimensions)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
tools to investigate these complex phenomena (Miles and Huberman 1994; Harris 2003; Myers 2009).

Sustainable development has been dealt with in a large number of disciplines, including geography, economics, ethics, law, sociology, anthropology, urban studies, planning, design, and architecture. Table 1 briefly outlines some of these disciplinary perspectives.

**Modeling as dimension**

A further possible dimension according to which the role of government in sustainable development can be analysed is by employing analytical and computer-generated models. Models are abstractions from the real problem understood in terms of key variables and relationships. These aspects are abstracted in order to simplify the problem as such. Modelling allows researchers a better understanding of the problem. The model also presents a means to manipulate the situation, in order to analyse the results of various inputs by subjecting it to a changing set of assumptions. Models may be based on decision-supporting systems such as Geographical Information Systems and computer-generated mathematical simulations and models. These models may be utilised to assess the role of government on global, regional, national, and local scales. Possible models include:

- Log frames;
- Three-dimension or Three Pillar Basic models;
- AtKisson Pyramid 2030 Model;
- The Amoeba Model;
- Greensoft Model;
- Urban Development and Human Geography models;
- Green Readiness Model;
- National Energy Modelling;
- Sustainability Toolkit;
- Driving Force Pressure State Impact Response (DPSIR) model; and
- System Dynamics software modelling.

**Normative dimension**

The ecological ethos of a country in general, and government in particular, differs from country to country. This includes issues of ethics, equity, culture, behaviour and attitude of senior public managers. Governments have the moral obligations to protect, safeguard, facilitate, regulate and enable their citizens, society and the environment. Meta-perspectives of governments’ role could, for example, consider issues of ideology, diverse world views, and thereby
help assess a government’s decisions for the benefit of certain interests. The normative dimension focusing on the role of the government in sustainable development could reveal the “best paths” towards such development. It could also consider issues where governments’ should prioritise their interventions and allocation of resources. Such a dimension could serve to evaluate the degree to which governments succeed in balancing prosperity and the general welfare of society with the protection of the environment.

The normative dimension could further be aided by existing indices that could help analyse the extent to which governments comply with internationally-accepted criteria, standards and conventions. Some of the most significant indices include:

- Environmental Performance Index;
- Sustainable Societies Index;
- Happy Planet Index;
- Ecological Footprint Analysis; and
- Millennium Development Goals.

The latest addition to these global indices is the UN’s post-2015 Sustainable Development Agenda and the Sustainable Development Goals. The new post-2015 development agenda builds on the Millennium Development Goals’ (MDGs) eight anti-poverty targets, which partnering countries committed themselves to achieve.

**Legalistic dimension**

The legalistic dimension to the study on the role of government is primarily about the powers and authority of various branches of government agencies and institutions, and in particular, the legal and constitutional provisions (Bhushan 2006:14). The latter dimension helps to assess law (e.g. national legislation, departmental policies, regulations, municipal by-laws) and legal systems in a country, and considers the government’s response to it. The legalistic dimension should include legal and constitutional aspects of political and administrative decisions.

**Functional-institutional dimension**

The functional-institutional dimension considers the role of government in sustainable development by focusing on the executive branches in the different spheres or levels of government, depending on the system of government in a particular country. The executive branch needs to be studied in detail to understand the mandate, role and functions the respective institutions and
agencies take on in sustainable development. This dimension will thus highlight the nature of the strategic and operational functioning (i.e. functionalism) of government institutions. A particular useful aspect of this dimension is that it regards each aspect of society as an interdependent unit and thus emphasises the contribution of government to society’s functioning as a whole (Gillett 2013:162). Functionalists generally believe that society is held together by social consensus, or cohesion, in which members of the society agree on, and work together, to achieve what is best for society as a whole (Block 1980:11).

**Sustainability Reporting Framework dimension**

Sustainability reporting is becoming increasingly important to develop global development standards and to coordinate a country’s endeavours in following sustainable development goals. Governments of countries that ascribe to these reporting frameworks thus play a significant role by adhering to the criteria, protocols, conventions, and standards contained in these frameworks. Some of the major global imperatives in this regard can be divided into mandatory requirements, voluntary guidance and other initiatives (cf. Kell 2005:71; Van Daele 2008:486; Lozano and Huisengh 2011:101; Vigneau, Humphreys and Moon 2013). Two of the prominent International standards, which provide guidance on policies and norms regarding acceptable goals for sustainability performance, are:

- United Nations Global Compact; and
- OECD Guidelines for multinational enterprises.

On a managerial dimension, frameworks that provide detailed and integrated guidance on how to integrate the management of social and environmental issues with public and private sector operations, include:

- ISO 26000 and 14001;
- International Labour Organisation’s Triplicate declaration of principles concerning multinational enterprises and social policy;
- Core Labour Standards;
- United Nation’s Guiding Principles on Human Rights;
- Social Accountability 8000 standard;
- Carbon Disclosure Project;
- Greenhouse Gas (GHG) Protocol; and
- Eco-Management and Audit Scheme (EMAS).

In terms of reporting systems, various initiatives provide guidance on the measurement, communication and assurance of standards for sustainable development such as the following:
Global Reporting Initiative (GRI); International Integrated Reporting Council (IIRC); and Socially Responsible Investment Index.

It is governments’ role to design appropriate responses and initiatives in compliance with these frameworks.

**GOVERNMENT’S ROLE IN SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: TOWARDS AN INTEGRATED FRAMEWORK**

Based on a comprehensive literature survey and founded on the respective potential approaches for analysis, this section aims to operationalise the research question: What does the role of government entail in sustainable development? As stated previously, the design of a conceptual and analytical framework is a complex task and is not without certain challenges. These challenges involve the researcher following the exercise, as well as the processes followed to design the actual framework:

● the *a priori* knowledge of the researcher regarding government and sustainable development; and
● the setting in terms of ideology, culture and belief system of the researcher.

It is evident that such a framework cannot be regarded as fully neutral, objective or complete. This reality is, however, not foreign in social sciences. Regarding the actual process, the following challenges are involved:

● presenting or illustrating the frameworks;
● overcoming the possibility of reductionism – avoid excluding important elements of both multidimensional concepts;
● determining the level of sophistication and detail to include;
● the classification and categorisation system to be utilised;
● level of theoretical foundations and underpinnings to support or substantiate the inclusion of certain elements; and
● balancing the approach between a technical exercise of framework construction and the theoretical framework as such.

In light of the arguments above, Table 2 offers a significant contribution to ring-fence or demarcate the analysis of a government’s role in sustainable development.

It is suggested that this broad conceptual and analytical framework could lead to the design of a *Government Charter on Sustainable Development*. Such a charter, similar to the Earth Charter and various Citizen’s Charters, could make
Table 2: An integrated framework to direct scientific inquiry into the role of government in sustainable development

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Analytical framework (Government’s-role dimensions)</th>
<th>Conceptual framework</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metatheoretical and theoretical dimension</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• (Social) Contract Theory</td>
<td>• (Social) Contract Theory</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Stewardship Theory</td>
<td>• Stewardship Theory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Growth and Catch-up theory</td>
<td>• Growth and Catch-up theory</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Dependency Theory</td>
<td>• Dependency Theory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Agent theory</td>
<td>• Agent theory</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Human Development Theory</td>
<td>• Human Development Theory</td>
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<td>• Development Theory</td>
<td>• Development Theory</td>
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<tr>
<td>• World Systems Theory</td>
<td>• World Systems Theory</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Path Dependency Theory</td>
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<td>• Public Choice and Rational Choice Theory</td>
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| Case-study dimensions:                          |                      |
| Macro- (global) cases                           | • North-south and east-west perspectives |
| • North-south and east-west perspectives         | • Developmental states vs. weak or fragile states |
| • Developmental states vs. weak or fragile states| • Global environment |
| • Global environment                            | • Bi-lateral and multilateral co-operation and coordination |

| Meso- (national, state) cases                    | • National government’s eco vision |
| • National government’s eco vision               | • National legislation, strategies, programmes, administrative and executive, bureaucratic structures and systems, leadership, decisions |
| • National legislation, strategies, programmes, | • Infrastructure |
| administrative and executive, bureaucratic       | • Energy mix |
| structures and systems, leadership, decisions    |                      |

<p>| Micro- (institutional) cases                     | • Service-delivery capacity |
| • Service-delivery capacity                      | • Administrative capacity (i.e. skills, competencies, processes, procedures, methods, organising, coordination, finance, and budgeting) |
| • Administrative capacity (i.e. skills, competencies, processes, procedures, methods, organising, coordination, finance, and budgeting) | • Project execution |
| • Project execution                              | • Monitoring and evaluation |</p>
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<tr>
<th>Analytical framework (Government’s role dimensions)</th>
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| Legal dimension (including policies, statutory and regulatory frameworks) | • Statutory framework to deal with issues such as petroleum products, agricultural pests, development facilitation, genetically modified organisms, water, environmental management, mineral and marine resources, forests, biodiversity, air quality, and energy regulation  
• Monitoring and evaluate implementation of sustainable development programmes and projects  
• Penalties for environmental pollution  
• Central control or decentralisation  
• Health and Safety  
• Setting of parameters (i.e. water and air quality standards)  
• Conservation  
• Monitoring systems to report on environmental damage |
| Functional-institutional dimension (facilitation role of government) | • Executive branches on the different spheres or levels of government  
• Mandates, role and functions of the respective institutions and agencies in sustainable development  
• Nature of the strategic and operational functioning  
• Coordination between institutions i.e. “whole-of-government” approach  
• Education, awareness campaigns, skills development of public officials,  
• Structures for services and products  
• Funding for tertiary and research institutes involved in sustainable development  
• Spatial planning  
• Incentives for business to recycle (e.g. tax rebates)  
• Alternative energy  
• Technological advancement  
• Statistics  
• Administrative leadership  
• Full-spectrum and integrated sustainability strategies and programmes (e.g. food, water, energy, health, shelter, safety, ecological health, or climate stability) |
| (Multi-)disciplinary dimension | • Public Administration  
• Geography  
• Economics  
• Philosophy  
• Law  
• Sociology  
• Anthropology  
• Urban studies/planning  
• Political Science  
• Engineering (energy mix) |
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<th>Analytical framework (Government’s role dimensions)</th>
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<td>• Log frames</td>
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<td>• Three-dimension or Three Pillar Basic models</td>
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<td>• AtKisson Pyramid 2030 Model</td>
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<td>• The Amoeba Model</td>
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<td>• Greensoft Model</td>
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<td>• Urban Development and Human Geography models</td>
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<td>• Sustainability Toolkit</td>
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<td>• Driving Force Pressure State Impact Response (DPSIR) model</td>
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<td>• System Dynamics software modelling</td>
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<th>Normative dimension (including good governance and social justice)</th>
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<td>• Fairness, equity</td>
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<td>• Responsiveness and accountability</td>
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<td>• Transparency and information flow to test public opinion on environmental concerns</td>
<td>• Transparency and information flow to test public opinion on environmental concerns</td>
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<td>• Intergenerational welfare</td>
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<td>• Inclusive decision making</td>
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<td>• Living standards (i.e. housing, transportation, food, and health)</td>
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<td>• World views</td>
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<td>• Participatory and representative democracies, civil engagement, public participation</td>
<td>• Participatory and representative democracies, civil engagement, public participation</td>
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<td>• Honesty and fair dealing in government</td>
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<td>• Level of corruption and maladministration</td>
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<td>• Culture of consumerism which is ecologically destructive</td>
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<td>• Renewal of the social contract</td>
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<td>• Sustainable Societies Index</td>
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<td>• Happy Planet Index</td>
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<td>• Ecological Footprint Analysis</td>
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<td>• Millennium Development Goals</td>
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<td>• Social capital, resilience of communities</td>
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<td>• Eco-literacy, human-earth relationship</td>
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<td>• Gender equality</td>
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<td>• Inclusion of marginalised communities</td>
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<td>• Positive feedback loops</td>
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<td>• Protection of whistle-blowers on environmental damage /pollution</td>
<td>• Protection of whistle-blowers on environmental damage /pollution</td>
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<td>• Encourage self-help, home-grown initiatives, community-focused development</td>
<td>• Encourage self-help, home-grown initiatives, community-focused development</td>
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<tr>
<td>Analytical framework (Government’s role dimensions)</td>
<td>Conceptual framework</td>
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</table>
| Economic growth and prosperity                     | - Creation of a steady state  
- Monetary and fiscal policies  
- Priorities for government spending  
- Interventions in the market  
- Capital, cost of production (total production costs)  
- Ecological accounting, taxation (e.g. pollution taxes)  
- Cooperation with private sector PPP, NGOs  
- Foreign Direct Investment, global competitiveness  
- Leverage points to intervene in systems  
- Trade barriers  
- Farmer subsidies  
- Market regulation  
- Build capital (housing, transportation, energy, industry)  
- Ecological fiscal reforms |
| Stewardship dimension (environmental and ecological) | - Reduction of ecological and carbon footprint  
- Risk and uncertainty  
- Peak oil, peak water  
- Ecological sustainability  
- Green zones  
- Resilient cities  
- Funding research and development in new greener technologies |
| Sustainability-Reporting-Framework dimension (global cooperation, indexes, treaties, conventions and protocols) | - United Nations Global Compact  
- OECD Guidelines for multinational enterprises  
- ISO 26000 and 14001  
- International Labour Organisation’s TriPLICATE declaration of principles concerning multinational enterprises and social policy  
- Core Labour Standards  
- United Nation’s Guiding Principles on Human Rights  
- Social Accountability 8000 standard  
- Carbon Disclosure Project  
- Greenhouse Gas (GHG) Protocol  
- Eco-Management and Audit Scheme (EMAS)  
- Global Reporting Initiative (GRI)  
- International Integrated Reporting Council (IIIRC)  
- Socially Responsible Investment Index  
- Global decision-making structures  
- Balance global responsibility and regional autonomy  
- Balance cosmopolitanism and communalism  
- Fair use of common resources  
- World trade policy  
- Loans from World Bank and IMF  
- Shared cultural and economic endeavours  
- Border/migration control  
- Participation in initiatives such as MDG and the Millennium Consumption Goals, International Conferences on Population and Development, Cairo Consensus, Kyoto Protocol, Earth Summits, Rio Declaration, etc. |
a significant contribution to frame a government’s response to (or role in) the multifaceted issue of sustainable development.

CONCLUSION

This article has argued that, within the context of scientific inquiry, both conceptual and analytical frameworks help guide the researcher to identify, classify, and investigate the (causal) relationships between variables that may influence the role of a government in sustainable development. Both conceptual and analytical frameworks provided the researcher with a general approach or methodology, and guided the research in terms of data collection, interpretation and explanation. The various dimensions and concepts identified for this purpose make a considerable contribution to demarcate such an inquiry.

It is evident that the role of government in sustainable development entails various elements (i.e. who, what, where, and how), and is highly multidimensional. Governments should facilitate the creation of a shared societal and global vision for sustainable development. Such a vision can provide economic prosperity within the biophysical constraints of the natural world in a way that is fair and equitable to all of humanity, to other species, and to the vulnerable future generations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


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Adherence to the Public Participation Principle in Oil Exploration and Production in Uganda

An Exploratory Case

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D E Uwizeyimana
Department of Public Management and Governance
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ABSTRACT

This article examines an apparent dislocation between the right to public participation embodied in the Ugandan Constitution and public perceptions of low levels of their participation in oil extraction processes in the Buliisa District of Uganda. The methodological approach used in this article is essentially qualitative in nature. The historical origins and modern development of the concept of public participation is presented, both as an element of good public governance and as a natural right. The embedding of public participation principles in the conventions of international bodies is reviewed followed by how these principles have been acceded to and naturalised in Ugandan law. The history of oil exploration and extraction in Uganda is outlined. A desktop research is used in order to gain the rich and complex understanding of residents of Buliisa District’s experience which is reported in this article. A number of studies and reports are reviewed that deal with community perceptions of their participation in the oil extraction business in Buliisa. This issue has become a centre of attraction in the media in recent years—yet few researches have been conducted to analyse the impact of the discovery of oil and gas on the human rights and democratic rights of ordinary citizens.
in areas such as Buliisa District. By highlighting the disconnect between legislation and application in the oil and gas exploration and extraction in Buliisa District in Uganda, this article seeks to contribute to the current debate on democratic consolidation.

**INTRODUCTION**

The aim of this article is to examine the apparent dislocation between the right to public participation embodied in the Ugandan Constitution and public perceptions of low levels of their participation in oil and gas exploration and extraction processes in the Buliisa District of Uganda. The term “public participation” has been widely accepted as a core value of democracy, a basic human right and an indispensable condition for good governance (Vivier and Wentzel 2013:240). There can be hardly any constitution in the world which does not embody the concept of public participation or similar terms such as participation, citizen participation, citizens’ engagement, stakeholder engagement, stakeholder participation, community involvement, popular participation etc. These terms are often used interchangeably. However, while each one of these terms is generally used to indicate a process through which citizens have a voice in public policy decisions, each has a distinctive meaning and conveys little insight into the process it refers to (Parker 2003:1). These terms are very popular in the political sphere of developed and developing countries and may be found in the constitutions of countries which are widely regarded as repressive states such as China.

The right to public participation is one in a range of freedoms of participation recognised in the China Post-Cultural Revolution of 1982. The Constitution of countries whose leaders are portrayed by western media as dictators such as the Republic of Zimbabwe and North Korea have constitutions that provide for elections at various levels of government (Mentan 2015:16). Even the Constitutions of countries ruled by non-elected rulers such as the hereditary monarchies of Swaziland and Morocco enshrine public participation. The Libyan Arab Republic under the former “Revolutionary Leader” Muammar Gaddafi, the (former) contained a section recognising the right to public participation (Uwizeyimana 2015:146). The different contexts of countries that claim to practice the principles of public participation have led to it being variously defined and interpreted. It is not the intention of this article to try to provide a universally acceptable definition but for the sake of consistency, various attempts in the literature to define it are reviewed.
DEFINING PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

The term public participation and its relationship to public decision-making has evolved without a general consensus regarding either its meaning or its consequences (Mize 1972 in Parker 2003:1). The term “participation” is widely understood but imprecisely defined. It may take many forms in different contexts, with different types of participants, requirements and aims and with different mechanisms applied to maximise effectiveness (Schroeder 2013:11).

Goulet (1989:165) defined the term public participation as “the practice of involving members of the public in the agenda setting, decision-making, and policy forming activities of organisations or institutions responsible for policy development”. Bernhardt (2015:136) defined public participation as “the direct or indirect involvement of members of the community in the policy process (either individually or as group actions) using elected political office bearers, appointed officials, courts of law, interest groups and the media”. Muyinda and Habasonda (2013:13) defined public participation as “an instrument of deliberative democratic systems” used by democratic governments to capture the concerns, aspirations and opinions of the citizens who are affected by governments’ decisions.

Auriacombe (2015:60) expanded on these definitions and argued that the term public participation refers to the process through which the government seeks to get input from communities on what they want their government to do, how, when and where they want it to do it. In addition, public participation requires government to find out what the community thinks of the services they are receiving from government and any changes in needs and expectations (Auriacombe 2015:60). This variety of definition of the same concept led Rowe and Frewer (2005: 88) as well as Munyinda and Habasonda (2013:1) to argue that most definitions of the term public participation lend themselves to variable interpretations and misinterpretation.

Public participation has been regarded as a political principle or practice which is sometimes recognised as a right (Mchunu and Theron 2013:106). Therefore any organisation, private or public, operating in a country where the right to public participation is legally binding, practices public participation when that organisation involves interested or affected parties. Based on this principle, it could be inferred that public participation refers to the process by which an organisation (public or private) consults with interested or affected individuals, organisations and government entities before, during and after making or implementing a decision and that the consulted people must remain part and parcel of the whole process. This definition is adopted because it seems to be in line with that by Pierre André, a Professor of Public Administration at the University of Montreal and his colleagues, of P. Martin and G. Lanmafankpotin
who defined the term public participation: “as a process in which ordinary people take part – whether on a voluntary or obligatory basis and whether acting alone or as part of a group – with the goal of influencing a decision involving significant choices that will affect their community. Such participation may or may not take place within an institutional framework, and it may be organised either by members of civil society (for example, through class action, demonstrations citizens’ committees, etc.) or by decision makers (for example, through referendums, parliamentary commissions and mediation, etc.)” (André, Martin and Lanmafankpotin 2012:1).

The analysis of whether the right of the residents of Buliisa District, Uganda to public participation in the oil and gas exploration and extraction has been adhered to, hinges on this definition.

### HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

Muse & Narsiah (2015:415) traced the history of public participation to ancient Athens around 6th century BC. However, given that Greece developed its complex social and political institutions long after the emergence of the earlier civilizations in Egypt and the Near East; these authors argued that it is possible that public participation practices could have occurred somewhere else long before the Greeks knew about it (Muse & Narsiah 2015:415). For example, according to Muse & Narsiah (2015:416) even primitive peoples, including hunter-gatherer tribes in different parts of the world engaged in different types of participation. The view that public participation was part of ancient civilisations was also held by Parker (2003:1) who traced its roots to ancient Greece and Colonial New England. Before the 1960s, according to Parker (2003:1) “governmental processes and procedures were designed to facilitate external stakeholders’ participation in public policy making and implementation”. However, despite its long history, public participation in modern societies, such as the one we live in today, was first institutionalised in the mid-1960s with President Lyndon Johnson’s “Great Society programs” (Cogan & Sharpe 1986:283, in Parker 2003:1). In his address to the Michigan University students in 1964, President Johnson made a passionate call to all American citizens to work with their government (i.e. to participate in government programmes) in order to make the US a “Great Society” (Johnson 1964:232). The main goal of President Johnson’s Great Society programmes was “the elimination of poverty and racial injustice in the United States of America” (Johnson 1964:232).

However, while Muse & Narsiah (2015) and Parker (2003) seemed to be confident about the origin of the term public participation, Olivier (2003:5–6) argued that a thorough and comprehensive analysis of the origins of public
participation within the local government sphere (such as Buliisa District being discussed here) could not be easily ascertained. According to Olivier (2003:5–6) its origin can probably be traced to three root sources, the first being “participation as good development project practise”. He argued that participation in this context” was first used in the 1950’s by social activists and project field workers as a necessary dimension of development (Olivier 2003:5–6). After the 1950’s, international financial organisation such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and international aid and development agencies such as the United Nations Development Programmes (UNDP) and international financial institutions (IFIs) have, at least in rhetoric considered the notion of public participation to be a prerequisite for successful project implementation (Olivier 2003:5). He argued that the second source of the term participation tended to denote “Participation as good governance” (Olivier 2003:5). He defined the term governance as “the nature of the relationship between the state and civil society” and also argued that “participation within the context of good governance has its origins from within Western democracies since the 1980’s and 90’s” (Olivier 2003:5).

The final source of the term participation within the local governance sphere was considered to be “participation as political empowerment” (Olivier 2003:6). He argued that “this approach locates participation within a wider political struggle that links the condition of under-development with access to political power”. In practice however, as he further argued, “these three dominant strands of thinking and approaches to participation intermingle and are sometimes confused in practical engagement between communities and local governments”. He gave an example whereby, “municipalities in South Africa often intermingle participation on a project-based engagement in a similar manner as consultation in their Integrated Development Programmes (IDP) process that falls more within the good governance realm” (Olivier 2003:6).

**PUBLIC PARTICIPATION APPROACHES**

The analysis of the history and development of public participation approaches suggests that they have progressed through a series of recognisable phases (Reed 2008:2418). The first phase was, according to Reed (2008:2418), “the awareness raising in the late 1960s”. The second phase entailed “incorporating local perspectives in data collection and planning in the 1970s” (Reed 2008:2418). The third phase involved “the development of techniques that recognised local knowledge and ‘put the last first’ such as farming systems research and rapid and participatory rural appraisal in the 1980s” (Chambers 1994:953, in Reed 2008:2418). The fourth phase included increasing the use of
public participation as a norm in the crafting and implementation of sustainable development agenda and this dominated the early 1990s (Reed 2008:2418). The fifth phase was “the subsequent critique of participation and disillusionment over its limitations and failings” (Reed 2008:2418). The sixth and current phase was concerned with the “growing ‘post-participation’ consensus over best practice, learning from the mistakes and successes of this long history” (Reed 2008:2418). Newig (2007:51) argued that the different phases of development of public participation practices “have taken place in parallel geographical and disciplinary contexts”.

Modern research, especially in the field of project management (where public participation is referred to as stakeholder engagement)catalogues the following public participation approaches.

According to Morphy (2015:2) it is important to ensure that a public participation approach is appropriate to each stakeholder group. Different approaches can also be combined to maximise the effectiveness of public participation.

**RATIONAL FOR PUBLIC PARTICIPATION**

Nzewi (2012:49) argued that public participation is so important that it is often seen as a means of “establishing legitimacy and authority” of government.
Citizens, whether individually or as group, have the inalienable “right to participate in matters of the government that will in one way or another affect their lives” (Mavee 2014:203). No government can convincingly and validly claim to be democratic and responsive if its citizens have no mechanisms to participate in the “delivery of services, policy making and implementation and decision-making” (Mavee 2014:203). However, not everybody in the public participation discourse has agreed with the rationale for public participation. Parker (2003:1) argued that “many agencies or individuals choose to exclude or minimise public participation in planning efforts claiming public participation is too expensive and time consuming”. Public participation is not appropriate in all circumstances (Uwizeyimana 2011:119). He argued that “tough times need tough decisions” and though decisions do not need to be popular ones. De Leon and De Leon (2002:4) warned that an overemphasis on public participation may sometimes slow down the implementation process. Thus, some such as Dunn and Legge (2002:2–3) advised striking the balance between the pursuit for efficiency and the pursuit of democracy.

While the debate between those who are for and those who are against public participation seems to continue, Parker (2003:2) argued that there are more reasons for it than there are reasons against. He questioned the wisdom of undermining public participation, yet “many public participation programs are initiated in response to public reaction to a proposed project or action” (Parker 2003:2). Auriacombe (2015:136) argued that public participation should not be reactive. She argued that public participation should be encouraged in the policy process in order to influence the outcomes of the policy and to obtain as many benefits as possible from its outcomes. Reed (2008:2420) argued that public participation is important because well planned and executed participatory processes have the potential of leading to “higher quality decisions”. Public participation provides more complete information. Cogan and Sharpe (1986:284 in Parker 2003:1) identified the following five benefits of public participation.

- Gaining and sharing information and ideas on public issues;
- Gaining public support for planning and implementation of decisions;
- Avoidance of protracted conflicts and costly delays;
- Building public trust and gaining good will which can be carried over to future decisions; and
- Creating the spirit of cooperation and trust between the agency and the public (Cogan and Sharpe 1986:284, in Parker 2003:1).

The importance and rationale for public participation have also been highlighted by Muyinda and Habasonda (2013:13) who argued that “effective and meaningful public participation can have a profound impact on democratic
governance and the realisation of other human rights such as economic, social and cultural rights”. Du Plessis (2014:70) argued that in order for public participation to benefit the participants, it must be centred on the following values and principles:

- “The belief that those affected by a decision have the right to be involved in the decision-making process.
- The promise that the public’s contribution will have an influence on the decision.
- The promotion of sustainable decisions through the recognition and communication of the needs and interests of all participants.
- Seeking inputs from participants regarding how participation will take place, i.e. the mechanisms for participation.
- Providing participants with the information they need to participate in a meaningful way.
- Communicating to participants how their inputs affect decisions” (Du Plessis 2014:70).

The questions are then, how far can public administration be allowed? At what level of the decision making can public participation be implemented?

**TECHNIQUES FOR PUBLIC PARTICIPATION**

A number of techniques of public participation have been identified, including:

- **Publicity:** “Publicity techniques are designed to persuade and facilitate public support, relating to citizens as passive consumers” (Parker 2003:2). This technique is what has been referred to as “ratification” by Bernhardt (2015:131). According to Auriacombe (2015:131) ratification in a process in which the public participate in approving and legitimising decisions that already have been made by someone else. The public demonstrates support for these decisions, but cannot change them (Bernhardt 2015:131).

- **Public Education:** “Public education is a program that empowers the ordinary people. It presents relatively complete and balanced information so that citizens can draw their own conclusions” (Parker 2003:2).

- **Public input:** “Public input techniques solicit ideas and opinions from citizens. Public input is similar to what Auriacombe (2015:131) referred to as Consultation. According to Hogwood 1987:53, in Bernhardt 2015:130) consultation can cover a wide range of practices, depending on the number of participants and the role and objectives of government and formal and informal consultation. These techniques are “most effective when combined with feedback mechanisms which inform participants
of the extent to which their input has influenced ultimate decisions” (Parker 2003:2).

- **Public interaction**: “Public interaction techniques facilitate the exchange of information and ideas among citizens, planners, and decision makers” (Parker 2003:2). When these techniques are effectively utilised, according to Parker (2003:2), each participant acts the opportunity to express his or her views, respond to the ideas of others, and work toward consensus. Public interaction is similar to what Bernhardt (2015:131) referred to as “Negotiation and joint decisions”. According to Auriacombe (2015:131), this technique requires direct involvement of stakeholders in decisive discussions to reach agreement. Negotiation can be over fundamental points or points of detail. Bernhardt (2015:131) argues that internalising the processing of issues within a structured policy community, promotes greater predictability.

- **Public Partnership**: Public partnerships are often considered to be the best options of public participation. They offer citizens a formalised role in shaping the ultimate decisions (Parker 2003:2). These include direct involvement in planning, drafting, implementation and evaluation of programmes once the decision is made to adopt such plans (Cloete & Meyer 2006:115). These techniques of public participation lie along the passive-to-active continuum shown below where the first two are passive, and the last two are the most active.

### Table 2: Public participation continuum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publicity</th>
<th>Public Education</th>
<th>Public Input</th>
<th>Public Interaction</th>
<th>Public Partnership</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Building public support</td>
<td>Disseminating information</td>
<td>Collecting information</td>
<td>Two-way communication</td>
<td>Securing advice and consent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Parker 2003:2)

### THE CHARACTERISTICS OF AN EFFECTIVE PUBLIC PARTICIPATION TECHNIQUE

According to Parker (2003:3) successful public participation program must cover the full cycle of the policy process. They have to be integral to both the planning and implementation processes. Most importantly, they must be focused on the unique needs of the communities; they must be designed to function within available resources (of time, space, personnel, and money); and finally must be responsive to the citizen participants (Cogan *et al.* 1986:298, in
Parker 2003:3). Because no one shoe-fit-all in the public participation process, each specific policy, programme, project and action that requires community participation will always demand the application of a different technique and approach to public participation (Ngcamu 2014:156). A study by Cogan in 1998 found that despite the uniqueness in each public participation processes most successful public participation initiatives had the following common elements (Cogan et al.1998:298):

● “Meet legal requirements;
● Clearly articulate goals and objectives;
● Command political support;
● Be an integral part of the decision making structure;
● Receive adequate funding, staff, and time;
● Identify concerned or affected publics; and
● Delineate clear roles and responsibilities for participants” (Cogan 1998:298 in Parker 2003:3).

The next section address the legislative context in Uganda, that serves as backdrop to what is happening in the oil and gas exploration and production business in Buliisa District in Uganda.

**LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN UGANDA**

The right to participate in the conduct of public affairs has been acknowledged and protected in many global human rights instruments such as the “Universal Declaration on Human Rights (UDHR), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)” (Pycroft 1999:188), the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights (ACHPR) (Shivji 1989:71) and is protected in most, if not all democratic countries’ constitutions (Munyua 2011:1). In regard to the right to participate in the public affairs of one’s own country, Article 21 of UDHR states that:

● “Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.
● Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.
● The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures” (United Nations-UN 1948:2)

The UDHR principles are also articulated in Article 25 of ICCPR, which states that:
“Every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity, without any of the
distinctions mentioned in article 2 and without unreasonable restrictions:
• To take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen
representatives;
• To vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by
universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing
the free expression of the will of the electors;
• To have access, on general terms of equality, to public service in his country”
(UNHR 1966: Article 25).

The Government of Uganda ratified the ICCPR on 21 June 1995 (Karugonjo-
Segawa 2012:4). In addition, Article 13 of ACHPR, states that:
• “Every citizen shall have the right to participate freely in the government
of his country, either directly or through freely chosen representatives in
accordance with the provisions of the law.
• Every citizen shall have the right of equal access to the public service of the
country.
• Every individual shall have the right of access to public property and services
in strict equality of all persons before the law” (African Commission of

According to Karugonjo-Segawa (2012:15) Uganda has been party to the
ACHPR since 1986 and is therefore subject to the African Commission. The
African Union (AU) adopted the “African Charter on Democracy, Elections
and Governance (ACDEG) during the 8th Ordinary Session of the Assembly
of the Heads of State and Government convened in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia on
30 January 2007” (AU 2007:1, in Matlosa 2008:5). Chapter 3 Article 3(7) of
the ACDEG states specifically that all parties to this declaration shall abide to
“promote effective participation of citizens in democratic and development
processes and in governance of public affairs” (AU 2007:1).

Public participation as a fundamental Human Right Based Approach is
emphasised by Paragraph 6 of the African Charter for Popular Participation in
Development and Transformation, signed in Arusha on 12–16 February 1990. It is
also protected in Article 1 of the UN’s Declaration on the Right to Development
signed on 4 December 1986 which states that “the right to development is an
inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples
are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural
and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms
can be fully realized” (UN 1986: Article 1; also Muzaale 2014:5).

As a signatory to these international commitments Uganda is obliged to
adhere to the standards laid down in these universal human rights documents.
Indeed, not only has the Government of Uganda ratified most of these International Conventions, the principles expressed in them have also been domesticated in Ugandan law (Leslie-Anne 2012). Therefore, the Government of Uganda is obliged to respect them. This is for example expressed in Article 287 of the Ugandan Constitution (1995), which states that: “Where, (a) any treaty, agreement or convention with any country or international organisation was made or affirmed by Uganda or the Government on or after the ninth day of October, 1962, and was still in force immediately before the coming into force of this Constitution; or (b) Uganda or the Government was otherwise a party immediately before the coming into force of this Constitution to any such treaty, agreement or convention, the treaty, agreement or convention shall not be affected by the coming into force of this Constitution; and Uganda or the Government, as the case may be, shall continue to be a party to it” (Republic of Uganda 1995:171).

These fundamental rights are also enshrined in the Ugandan Constitution of 1995 and its subsequent amendments, the most recent being the Constitution (amendment) Act, No 11 of 2005 (Nakayi 2013). For example, Article 38(1) (2) of the Constitution (1995) dealing with “Civic rights and activities” states that “Every Uganda citizen has the right to participate in the affairs of government, individually or through his or her representatives in accordance with law”. The article also states that “Every Ugandan has a right to participate in peaceful activities to influence the policies of government through civic organisations” (Republic of Uganda 1995: Article 38 (1) (2)). Furthermore, in terms of the protection and promotion of fundamental and other human rights and freedoms the Constitution of Uganda respects and protects the “Role of the people in development” by stating that: “The State shall take all necessary steps to involve the people in the formulation and implementation of development plans and programmes which affect them” (Republic of Uganda 1995:21).

The above discussion demonstrates that there is sufficient international, continental and national legal framework to promote citizens’ participation in the conduct of public affairs. Following is a brief historical outline of the oil production in Buliisa District.

**HISTORICAL AND CONTEXTUAL PERSPECTIVES OF OIL EXPLORATION AND PRODUCTION IN BULIISA DISTRICT**

Early efforts of oil exploration in Uganda began in 1925 when a Government Geologist E.J. Wayland, in his 1925 publication “Petroleum in Uganda”, documented its petroleum potential (Muzaale 2014:7). Wayland identified several oil seepages along the entire length of the Albertine Graben. Later
satellite imagery confirmed the oil seepages on Lake Albert (Kiiza, Bategeka & Ssewanyana 2011:6). According to Adebowale, Church, Kairie, Vasylkivsky & Panina (2001:1) “between 1936 and 1945 one deep well was drilled at Waki Butiaba in 1938 to a depth of 1 232 meters”. In the years 1945 to 1980 oil exploration stagnated, as a result of the Second World War having interrupted the earlier efforts. Oil exploration activities had also been halted because of changes in colonial priorities favouring agriculture in the East African zone and oil production in the west. Political instability in Uganda between 1970s and 1980s also inhibited oil exploration (Kiiza et al. 2011:6). In 2006, “Uganda confirmed the existence of commercially viable oil deposits in the Albertine Graben” (International Alert 2013:10). The exploration and confirmation of commercially viable oil deposits was done by Australia’s Hardman Resources and UK’s Tullow Oil companies (Muzaale 2014:7), with the support of a team of “25 Ugandan professionals, 20 of whom had by 2006 acquired Master of Science degrees in a variety of oil related disciplines from abroad” (Kiiza et al. 2011:7).

The confirmation of “the existence of commercially viable oil deposits in 2006 set in motion the scramble to explore and extract oil in Western Uganda” (International Alert 2013:10). To date, according to the research titled “Governance and livelihoods in Uganda’s oil-rich Albertine Graben” carried out in 2013 by organisation called The International Alert, “the Albertine Graben is subdivided into 10 exploration areas” (International Alert 2013:10). Of these 10 exploration areas, according to the same organisation, “the government of Uganda has licensed five, both onshore and offshore in and around Lake Albert, to oil exploration companies” (The International Alert 2013, in Muzaale 2014:7). To date, according to the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development (MEMD 2013:2), “104 exploration and appraisal wells have been sunk, of which 92 were successful”. The discovered oil and oil related resources in the Albertine Graben are currently “estimated at over 3.5 billion barrels of oil equivalent in place with at least 1.2 billion barrels recoverable” (Kiiza et al. 2011:10). According to the Uganda Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development (MEMD) Report (2013), appraisal of the discoveries is still ongoing and is expected to result in the development of other nine oil and gas fields in the near future (MEMD 2013:2).

**ADHERENCE TO PUBLIC PARTICIPATION PRINCIPLES IN THE OIL AND GAS EXPLORATION IN BULIISA DISTRICT**

The legislative outline presented earlier showed that Uganda has sufficient legislative framework binding its government to adhere to public participation principles. However, most, if not all studies by independent national and
international researchers point to that adherence not happening. In a study titled “Right to participation in the governance of natural resources in Uganda: a case study of oil exploration and production in Buliisa District” conducted by Muzaale in 2014 the researcher found that regular interactions do take place; but these interactions are limited between government and oil exploration companies and their contractors. Such interactions totally excluded the residents of Buliisa District, their local leaders, the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Civil Societies that operated in that district (Muzaale 2014). The same study also found that while representatives of oil companies tended to claim that they had regular interaction with the communities affected by the oil exploration and production activities in the area, these claims were rejected by representatives of the communities and by residents.

A closer analysis of Muzaale’s study seems to point to a disagreement between the communities and the local leaders’ claims. For example, while ordinary residents in the Buliisa District claimed they: “have never seen government officials coming around to sensitise them on oil related matter, local leaders said: government did indeed interact with them – but only in workshops” (Muzaale 2014:51). Thus, the community leaders’ complaint about lack of public participation points to the ineffectiveness of the participation approach used by the Government of Uganda, rather than a lack of public participation initiatives or programmes. The finding that community leaders were not satisfied with the participation through workshops (Oladojaoluwaseun 2014:1) could be addressed by using other approaches to public participation such as public partnerships which would involve the whole communities. Cogan et al. (1986:292–294, in Parker 2003:2) argued that public partnerships offer citizens a formalised role in shaping the ultimate decisions. Public partnership also provide for direct involvement in planning, drafting, implementation and evaluation of programmes once the decision is made to adopt such plans (Cloete & Meyer 2006:115). As shareholders in the oil business in their area, the residents of Buliisa District could have been able to use their natural resources to deal with socio-economic problems such as poverty and underdevelopment which characterise their area (Global Witness 2010).

The prospect that the method of public participation could be the real cause of unhappiness among the people affected by oils exploration and extraction companies in Buliisa District, is compounded by the erratic and top-down nature of consultations which have taken place between the oil companies, government and the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Community Based Organisations (CBOs) working in the communities in and around the oil production areas. Two studies conducted independently by international organisations, such as the one titled “Governance and livelihoods in Uganda’s oil-rich Albertine” conducted by International Alert in 2013, and the other titled
“Buliisa people decry raw deal in oil wealth” conducted by Eduard Ssekika, a journalist of the Observer News Paper in 2011, led to the same conclusion: There are “interaction between donors, NGOs, industry (oil companies) and government officials at quarterly stakeholder meetings and formal events” but the ordinary poor residents of Buliisa District have been left in the dark. These interactions seem to be for public relations purposes rather than dealing with residents’ concerns (Kakuba 2013).

In addition, it appears that community leaders and the NGO Forum have been invited to ratify (i.e. approve and legitimise) the decisions that have been already made by the Government and the oil companies (Olupot 2012). Ratification has been defined by Auriacombe (2015:131) as one of the approaches to public participation in which the public or their representatives are duped into believing they are part and parcel of the decision-making process while they are not. The ineffectiveness of whatever government is doing to involve the communities in oil-rich areas such as Buliisa District has been further demonstrated by Muzaale (2014:51) and Van Alstine, Manyindo, Smith, Dixon, Ruhanga (2014:2) who reported that collaboration or engagement on how the oil companies could improve company-community relations and the potential for development benefits at the village level have not taken place. If there have been genuine public participation initiatives, and if these initiatives did not deal with the issue of how to use the oil and gas discovery to develop the residents of Buliisa District, what else could have been on the agenda?

The observation that residents of Buliisa District felt that their concerns and well-being did not matter to either government or the oil companies is not surprising given reports suggesting that the limited form of public participation had largely focussed on security issues in and around the oil production areas. According to Van Alstine et al. (2014:2) public meetings were often convened “through the District Internal Security Officers and Sub-county or Gombolola Internal Security Officers who are political and technical appendages of central government”. The role of Government in the marginalisation felt by residents of Buliisa District was further elucidated by the Global Witness’ allegation that: “The President’s son controls the forces guarding the oil area”; while “his brother is reported to be a major shareholder in the private security company guarding some of the sites” (Global Witness 2010:4).

Why is it practically difficult to adherence to public participation principles in the oil and gas exploration in Buliisa District? The analysis in the above sections of this article points to the fact that the residents of Buliisa District are not satisfied with the limited level of involvement in the oil and gas exploration and extraction processes. Unfortunately, there seems to be no hope that the situation is likely to change in the near future. It is difficult to see how the public participation enshrined in the international conventions ratified and
domesticated by the Government of Uganda can be adhered to if government is indeed conniving with the oil companies and using its power monopoly against the very people who are negatively affected by the oil exploration and extraction activities (Kivumbi 2012). For example, according to the NGO Forum Report (2013, in Muzaale 2014:68), the secrecy surrounding the oil and gas operations in Buliisa District has made the issues related to public participation (and other rights such as expressing unhappiness about the prices paid to people who lost their land to make way for oil companies) so sensitive that people are reluctant to discuss oil-related matters for fear of being arrested by security services. A study by the Ssekika in 2011 alleged that an NGO forum leader, who took the initiative to sensitise people on oil issues was arrested in 2011 on the orders of the Resident District Commissioner (RDC) for sensitising the community on oil issues without informing the District leaders (Ssekika 2011:1). Ssekika also alleged that some of the participants in his research, such as “the coordinator of Kakindo Orphans Care, a community-based organisation neighbouring Kasemene oil well in Kakindo village, Buliisa Town Council, was arrested in 2011 for convening a community meeting on oil issues without permission” (Ssekika 2011:2, in Muzaale 2014:68).

These arrests and harassment of researchers and Buliisa residents who cooperate with researchers and human rights organisations seem to be driven by the government’s fear that the human rights abuse taking place in the oil exploration and production areas will be exposed. In its efforts to keep the world in the dark about these human rights abuses, according to the Global Witness (2010:14) the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development in 2009, issued a directive that all organisations and individuals wishing to pursue research and/or advocacy in the oil bearing region must get Ministry and President’s office approval”. At the moment, according to the Global Witness (2010:14 in Muzaale 2014:80), “gaining access to communities, particularly at the village level in the oil bearing regions, is controlled by the President’s office. Indeed, as the Global Witness (2010:14) puts it: “when pursuing research in Uganda, protocol dictates that when arriving in a district the research team needs to report to the Resident District Commissioner who alerts the District Security Officer of the visitor’s presence”.

The appearance that the armed forces (both private such as G4S plc, a British multinational security services company headquartered in Crawley, West Sussex and the Ugandan Defence Force (UDF) guarding the oil area were under the direct control of Uganda’s President’s son leaves little room for the residents in the Buliisa District oil-reach area to demand proper participation in the oil and gas being extracted in their backyard (Kasimbazi 2012). According to Van Alstine et al. (2014:2, in Muzaale 2014:80) “this exertion of presidential control and authority over the oil bearing region has been a significant barrier for international NGOs, donors, researchers and media to access communities”.
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this article was to find out how the rights of the public to participation in the affairs that affect their lives been adhered to in the oil and gas exploration in Buliisa District. Analysis of the available literature leads to the conclusion that limited public participation did indeed take place, but the approach used to carry out these public participation did not meet the criteria for an effective public participation. It appears that most, if not all important decisions were taken by senior people in the Ugandan Government and the owners of oil companies without consulting the residents where the oil and gas was discovered. Therefore, contrary to the prescriptions of the International Conventions and the Ugandan Constitution which have been discussed in this article, ordinary people in Buliisa District did not get appropriate opportunity to influence policy decisions that had the high potential of removing them from their ancestral land. The government ability to protect the interests of people negatively affected by the oil and gas exploration and extraction in Buliisa District has been compromised by senior government leaders having seemed to be conniving with the oil companies.

The fear of being victimised by politicians with vested interests in the oil production companies explains why Buliisa residents avoid publicly discussing or questioning matters related to oil and gas policy exploration and production activities. It is hard to imagine how residents could participate meaningfully in the oil and gas exploration and production policy and operations if they have been kept in the dark by their government and the oil companies.

Based on the challenges outlined in this article, it could be recommended that the state uses its statutory powers to defend the rights and protect the interests of the residents of Buliisa District who have been negatively affected by the oil exploration and extraction companies. It is important that public participation and all the other human rights enshrined in International Conventions ratified by the Government of Uganda and incorporated in its own Constitution of Uganda are not violated. This cannot be achieved without genuine commitment on the part of the Ugandan government.

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Evaluation Capacity Building (ECB) in Uganda
Trends, Approaches, Actors and the Future

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ABSTRACT

It is no longer an issue of contestation that evaluation; (often christened M&E) in African vogue has recently enjoyed exponential growth and popularity from several perspectives—as a profession, as a field of practice and as an academic discipline. Professionally, professional associations, units/departments and positions for evaluation experts are being established in the public, private and civil society sectors in most African countries. Throughout the continent, professional meetings, workshops and conferences in evaluation are now a common feature. Several continental bodies also exist to spearhead ECB efforts. As a field of practice, evaluation now has become a growing area of interest for practitioners and policy-makers. Not only are countries establishing public sector M&E policies but elaborate institutional frameworks continue to be designed. As an academic discipline of study, academic courses and specialised departments have been established in universities and evaluation graduates have steadily entered the job market although the demand still outweighs the supply. A number of journal articles and researches on evaluation are being published. While undisputedly these efforts have scaled up the evaluation capacity of African governments to monitor and evaluate policies, projects, programmes and interventions among other evaluands, evaluation capacity challenges still exist at individual, group, organisational, government and society levels. There is a meagre presence of efforts to take stock of various ECB initiatives that have tended to characterise Africa; and Uganda in particular. Yet it is such an ‘evaluation’ of various approaches and trends that ought to guide future evaluation interventions especially after assessing what has worked and what has not worked. This article attempts to fill this
knowledge gap and takes a rear mirror view of the ECB efforts in Uganda from 2001 to 2016.

INTRODUCTION

Scholarly attempts at documenting ECB trends, approaches, actors and projections of what the future holds for this young discipline are rare in Africa’s context. This article examines the trends, approaches and major actors who have been involved in M&E capacity building in Uganda and predicts the future of this young discipline. This debate is housed within the context of similar developments in Africa and the rest of the world. ECB sometimes labelled Evaluation Capacity Development (ECD) remains a hot topic of conversation, activity, and study within the evaluation field. Arguments advanced in its favour include the need to enhance stakeholders’ understanding of evaluation concepts and practices, and the need to create evaluation cultures. Organisations thus have been implementing a variety of strategies to help their members learn about evaluation (Preskill and Boyle 2008:1). Kuhl (2004:15) reports that in spite of extensive discussion of the subject, the exact meaning of ECD remains elusive and that it has become so overloaded with meaning that it has become, in effect, a synonym for ‘development assistance’. This position is however far-fetched as not all capacity development interventions are done through development assistance. The fact that some capacity development interventions have been supported by development partners does not imply the concept is equated to development assistance. It is equally true that donors often use M&E initiatives to keep projects on track and this insistence may be construed to imply development.

Coinciding with numerous public sector reforms of the late 1980s under the New Public Management (NPM) doctrines where the state was reduced from being a key institution in delivery of public services in preference for full private sector involvement, there came a huge demand for accountability which itself necessitated significant interest in results-based decision- making. Within Africa, the interest in evaluation appears to have been driven by two other related factors in addition to public sector reforms and the need for accountability. On the one hand, there was a belief that African systems were weak (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) 2005:1) and needed strengthening. Something needed to be done by development partners to reverse this trend. This explains why the evaluation capacity interventions have predominantly been undertaken by development partners. Secondly,
the globalisation requirements and the undeniable hidden realisation that Africa offered potential and hidden opportunities to a wider array of external players propelled a significant push for the revolutionisation of M&E. There are however important pre-conditions for effective ECD that actors need to be cognisant of.

ECB in any country requires top level commitment at political and organisational level. Unfortunately as Khan (1998:315) suggests some parts of the developing world, such as Africa, find themselves with top political leadership who are unaware of the benefits of M&E. This dilemma is worsened by mismanagement, corruption and manipulation of government institutions to serve the interests of a vested few and this makes it difficult to establish M&E mechanisms that seek accountability and transparency in the public sector. Everything however is not lost in Africa. Dabelstein (2003:365) avers that while evaluation institutions exist in many developing countries, most have little impact on policy and management decisions due to a number of barriers including poor demand; lack of a culture of accountability (often related to ethics or corruption); and lack of feedback mechanisms into decision-making processes. The strongest barrier appears to be the lack of demand: credible evaluation is a function of good governance, i.e. demand for accountability more than of institutionalisation of evaluation and/or professional capacity. These barriers have an effect on the kind of capacity individuals, groups, organisations, governments and societies will attain.

The rest of the article is arranged as follows: Section two describes the context and background to evaluation. The next section describes the conceptual framework where evaluation and ECD concepts are discussed and operationalised. The various forms and dimensions of ECD are dissected. In section four, the ECD approaches in Uganda are covered. This debate is traceable to similar efforts at African and global levels. In the next section the various interventions undertaken in Uganda and the actors at different levels are given attention. This is followed by a discussion of the challenges faced by Uganda in ECD before concluding remarks and policy suggestions are made.

**BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT**

Evaluation, considered as old as mankind and traceable to biblical times (Genesis 1.21) has three analytical contexts. First it is regarded as a professional area. Second, evaluation is regarded as a field of practice. Third, it is used to imply the academic study (the theory) concerned with understanding the act of evaluation, the process of conducting it, managing evaluation and producing graduates with appropriate knowledge, skills and competencies
on how to execute an evaluation undertaking. The practices of evaluation are older than the academic study. Building comprehensive evaluation capacity in any country needs to embrace the three perspectives. Unfortunately, most efforts of capacity building are directed at the practitioners (practices) and professionalisation (profession), and the academic part has always been rather unfairly neglected. There are hardly any entrenched capacity building strategies to scale up the capabilities of people within universities and institutions that impart knowledge and skills of evaluation. Even more disturbing is the fact that building capacity to ensure synergy between theory and practice remains a dilemma. Related to this dilemma is the lack of a comprehensive and integrated approach to considering ECB at individual, group, organisational, government and society level.

Historically, evaluation has been a central tool in the management of public affairs of any society. Historicising this fact is outside the scope of this article but what is vivid is that within Africa, the 1990s were undisputedly the incubation years of the evaluation field—as a profession, field of practice and as an academic discipline. The fruits enjoyed in the field today are a result of deliberate efforts started in the 1990s. Both domestic and global forces worked in synergy to propel a number of players to upscale efforts of evaluation capacity. Preskill and Boyle (2008:1) argue that evaluators may well look back on the first decade of the 21st century and note that these years marked an important evolutionary stage in the evaluation profession’s history. It was during this time that participatory, collaborative, and stakeholder forms of evaluation became commonplace. Evaluators and organisational leaders became interested in, and committed to, building the evaluation capacity of their members. This desire was not however a smooth ride in the African context.

The OECD, (2005:3) previously reported how while globalisation offered opportunities to help African countries enhance their national capacities, such effort had also undermined efforts by the continent through contributing to widening domestic income gaps, pulling highly trained talent out of Africa, and accentuating Africa’s lack of competitiveness in international research and development and investment. Haruna and Vyas-Doorgapersad (2015:vii) also demonstrate how while some global interest in Africa has been driven by the genuine desire to improve the quality of life of its people, and since the 1990s both multilateral and bilateral donors factored governance agendas into their financial assistance to developing countries; other motives have been tagged to the exploitation of natural resources. Irrespective of the views on negative impacts of global influence on the continent, the need to have well-functioning systems through effective application of M&E practices cannot but be re-emphasised. The domestic and international forces that favoured the need for evaluation capacity outweighed those against efforts directed at ECB.
The globalised trends demanding more accountable, responsive and efficient government bolstered the appeal for M&E capacity development in African countries more than the opposing forces. In an attempt to improve the governance credentials of aid-recipient countries in Africa, M&E became increasingly important to Africa because of stagnant and negative economic growth rates. Concerns related to governance and doubts about the efficacy of development assistance worked in favour of the need to have several capacity development interventions. Indeed as Dabelstein (2003:367) asserts, the donor community considered ECD crucial for engaging more fully with developing countries in a partnership strategy for evaluation. It was argued that by jointly analysing opportunities, both donor and partner countries enhanced their sense of ownership and responsibility for results. Evaluations of development assistance programmes could then be effectively carried out with the participation of donor and partner countries, as both would share the interest in accountability for results, lessons learned, and improved programme effectiveness.

ECD has the potential to help countries build sound governance systems. Consequently, in line with its 2000 public sector reform strategy, even the World Bank broadened the scope of its capacity building interventions to include strengthening of public institutions (OECD 2005: xiii). Public sector institutions would be strengthened through a robust M&E mechanism. Parallel to the unfolding reform in Uganda, increased international attention was directed at the role that M&E played within public management and development effectiveness. Moreover, in Uganda M&E was identified as a priority area of cross-cutting public sector reform. The observations of Uganda’s National Development Plan of 2010 and the successor plan as well as Vision 2040 all pointed to the urgent need to upscale evaluation capacities.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Concepts that present some definitional challenges to a wide range of audiences need to be clarified in scholarly works to guide appropriate comprehension of what is being discussed. Evaluation and capacity building or capacity development, or the combined words of ECD are concepts at the heart of this article and need clarity to set the pace for a deeper understanding of the trends, approaches and major actors involved in the capacity building initiatives in Africa. In the context of this article, the capacity to be developed is within the area of evaluation hence the need to define evaluation first. Stockman (2011:14) reminds us how evaluation’s meaning is not always clear, much as it is enjoying a steep climb in popularity. To him the term appears in a very wide range of contexts and is used to denote a great variety of procedures but in its general
form, it is an assessment or judgement of a circumstance or object on the basis of information.

Khan (1998:311) reports how it is not easy to define evaluation and it becomes more complex when one tries to make a distinction between M&E as many use the terms interchangeably. In the context of the logical framework concept of a project cycle, monitoring would look at the input-output processes (i.e. implementation), whereas evaluation would examine the output-effect (i.e. project results) and effect-impact (i.e. project impacts) processes. This understanding of evaluation leads us to evaluation capacity. Milstein and Cotton (2000:1) conceive evaluation capacity as the ability to conduct an effective evaluation. An effective evaluation is one that meets the accepted standards of the discipline. Their definition however falls short of telling explicitly who is to have that capacity to conduct an effective evaluation – individuals or organisations.

Gibbs, Napp, Jolly, Westover, & Uhl (2002:261) in a rather elaborate definition consider evaluation capacity as the extent to which an organisation has the necessary resources and motivation to conduct, analyse, and use evaluations. Resources may relate not only to the people but finances and other materials which are needed to undertake an evaluation through the planning, implementation and utilisation phase. Evaluation capacity is expected to lead to certain outcomes at individual, group, organisational and society level. Capacity building on its own as a concept remains a term, a notion, a strategy and a solution to problems recommended by different disciplines. As a term however, even when it is used differently by different disciplines, a mere mention of it signifies certain factors which are universally accepted. Nanfosso (2011:196) justified how capacity building covers three activities: professional enhancement, procedures improvement and organisation strengthening. In all these activities, the importance of individuals’ development, the role that work can play, the scope of interaction between the individual and the organisation in capacity building takes centre stage. Capacity building aims at giving skills and competencies to individuals and groups as well as strengthening organisational systems which ultimately should lead to societal capacity enhancement.

ECD covers institution building at the national level or conducting joint evaluation with local experts/institutions or both (Schaumburg-Muller 1996:8–9). Wing (2004:154) posits that whatever capacity building might be, it is not going to be the same across such a diversity of [nonprofit] organisations. Capacity building is about helping an organisation increase its ability to fulfill its mission and this invariably consists of all activities designed by the initiators to increase the competence and effectiveness of individuals and organisations (Stryk, Damon, & Haddaway 2011:56). Capacity building is inherently connected to human capital and the two have a symbiotic relationship.
ECD is not a simple construct as it often involves the combination of multiple constructs (Clinton 2014:122). Moreover, different people and disciplines tend to attach different strengths to the constructs. In a general context however, there are some variables that could be measured to evaluate the effectiveness of ECD initiatives which may include: (1) the ‘dosage’ of an intervention (measured by the amount of invested resources as well as the number of people, organisations and communities targeted through such initiatives), (2) other mediating variables, such as the degree of evaluation use towards programme adaptation, the level of stakeholders’ engagement, the degree of stakeholders’ willingness and capacity to engage in future evaluations, and (3) process variables, such as organisational development, leadership and collaboration. These variables are pointers to the various levels at which ECB can be conceived. Working with capacity and its development requires recognition of the many dimensions involved and the complexities that each level presents. We conceptualise ECB from the following levels:

| Individual evaluation capacity | The primary component of any organisation is its people. Individual evaluation capacity aspires to build staff with skills to design, plan, conduct and manage evaluation undertakings of development strategies, policies, and programmes; deliver services; and monitor results. They must possess appropriate evaluation skills, competencies, attitudes and behaviours to produce a good evaluation. |
| Organisational evaluation capacity | This relates to constituent groups of individuals bound by a common evaluation culture, with clear objectives and the appropriate internal structures, processes, systems, staffing, and other resources to achieve them. The precursor to effective organisational capacity is the individual evaluation capacity possessed by the organisation. |
| Institutional evaluation capacity | The formal “rules of the game” and informal norms—like in planning, reporting and using evaluations to guide decision making. |
| Professional evaluation capacity | The ability by professional associations to build a professional group of individuals into which organisations interested in getting upright individuals can channel their requests. |
| Theoretical evaluation capacity | The ability by universities and other educational institutions to produce graduates with appropriate skills, competencies, values, attitudes to design, plan, conduct and manage evaluation undertakings of development strategies, policies, and programmes; deliver services; and monitor results. This also covers the ability of the academic system to elaborate on the linkage between evaluation theory and practice. |
| State evaluation capacity building | The state’s capacity building refers to the ability of state institutions to develop competences and skills, or improve the performances of their personnel and structures for the benefit of all members of society. It is the capacity given to various state institutions. |
Horton et al. (2003:20) describe the various dimensions of capacity although they perceive a high degree of connections and multidimensionality of this capacity and more so organisational capacity. First, they argue organisational capacity refers to an organisation’s potential to achieve its mission and objectives based on the extent to which it has certain attributes that have been identified as critical to goal achievement. In simple terms, an organisation’s capacity is its potential to perform—it’s ability to successfully apply its skills and resources to accomplish its goals and satisfy its stakeholders’ expectations (Horton et al. 2003:18). Organisational capacity refers to the resources, knowledge, and processes employed by the organisation which includes staffing; infrastructure, technology, and financial resources; strategic leadership; programme and process management; networks and linkages with other organisations and groups (Horton et al. 2003:20). As the organisation develops an evaluation culture, beliefs become manifested in the ways members talk about evaluation, their inclination to ask evaluative types of questions, their interest in using data for decision-making, and their over-all commitment to conducting meaningful, timely, and useful evaluations. And the continuing interest in improving public sector performance and accountability leads to various efforts to build the evaluation capability of public sector agencies or regions. Rather than simply increasing the budget for external evaluations, these efforts usually focus on making changes within the agency (McDonald, Rogers and Kefford 2003:9). This is institutional evaluation capacity as opposed to individual capacity.

The second dimension of capacity by Horton et al. (2003:23) is the human resources capacity which is regarded as the ability to deploy human capital and includes the competencies, knowledge, attitudes, motivation, and behaviours of individuals in the organisation. It is the greatest single element that impacts directly on all other capacities (Hall et al. 2003:5). The third capacity is financial capacity which relates to the ability of an organisation to develop and deploy financial capital. This includes marshalling appropriate financial resources for evaluation and practicing prudent financial management for those resources as well as ensuring proper accountability to the various stakeholders. Financial capacity challenges are a common problem among organisations; some find difficulties fulfilling their missions due to problems associated with project funding and the lack of financial support for infrastructure.

The fourth dimension of evaluation capacity identified by Hall et al. (2003:5) is structural capacity which itself has three sub-categories including relationship and network capacity which by its nature is about the ability to draw on relationships with clients, members, funding agencies, partners, government, media, corporations, and public and any other stakeholders that have a stake positive or negative regarding the evaluation; infrastructure and process capacity which is the ability to deploy or rely on infrastructure, processes and
culture, products related to internal structure or day-to-day operations (e.g. databases, manuals, policies and procedures), information technology, and intellectual property; and planning and development capacity which is the ability to develop and draw on organisational strategic plans, programme plans and designs (including fundraising and volunteer management), policies, and proposals (Hall et al. 2003:6).

**ECD TRENDS, APPROACHES AND ACTORS**

Generally, ECD in Uganda cannot be understood in isolation of the trends at continental and global levels. More specifically, all ECD interventions in Uganda are easily contextualised within the historical evolution of similar interventions on the rest of the African continent. As such ECD in Uganda has moved side by side to similar ECD in the rest of the African countries and common strategies have been applied. This statement requires some elaboration.

Within Africa, the most probable and well documented genesis of ECD initiatives appears to be an event in March 1987, OECD to give donors and beneficiaries the opportunity to discuss evaluation, was held (Basheka and Byamugisha 2015:80). This conference was used to discuss and document the capacity gaps that bewildered the developing countries; including Africa. It is however safer to trace the momentum from the main body that introduced greater professionalism in the evaluation of official development assistance which was the Expert Group on Evaluation of the DAC of the OECD created earlier in 1982 and which subsequently became the DAC Working Party on Evaluation. Basheka and Byamugisha (2015) further give a detailed historical account of M&E in Africa as described below.

As a result of the 1987 meeting, there was a second Abidjan seminar held on 2–4 May 1990 which set in motion the demand for evaluation capacity on the African continent. The objectives of the conference included clarification of evaluation needs as perceived by the countries themselves and it explored avenues for strengthening self-evaluation capacity. The deliberations were later to shape the agenda and direction of the 1998 second Abidjan conference that brought together teams of senior officials from 12 African countries and 21 international development assistance agencies. Uganda was represented during this workshop whose participants acknowledged that M&E capacity development in Africa was an integral part of a more extensive initiative for good governance and effective public resources management. It was subsequently suggested that institutional support at the continental level, and more training in evaluation designs, methodologies and practices, were fundamental to any efforts aimed at strengthening M&E capacity on the continent. Unfortunately,
academic institutions were not yet considered among the key allies hence limited interest was generated by universities in designing M&E courses.

From the 1998 Abidjan conference, participants recommended establishing various databases, including one of evaluators in Africa who were to include practitioners, consultants, and officials in charge of M&E, bodies of inspectors and auditors, and private sector firms. Again the academic community was excluded from this initiative partly due to the fact that not many universities had lecturers who were specialising in this area. The database of evaluators was to be a key foundation for the establishment of the African Evaluation Association (AfrEA). The 1998 Abidjan conference further recommended establishment of a database for collecting lessons learned and examples of good practice in M&E. In September 1999, the inaugural AfrEA conference attended by over 300 evaluators from 35 countries was convened in Nairobi-Kenya under the auspices of the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) with the assistance of the Kenya Evaluation Association, the Kenyan Graduate Mobilization Program, African Development Bank, CARE, Catholic Relief Services, Family Health International, United Nations Development Program and United Nations Habitat. Financial support was received from the African Development Bank, Danish International Development Agency, International Development Research Center (Canada), the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and UNICEF.

The AfrEA conference saw members commit themselves to developing indigenous evaluation capacity through among others high-level training throughout Africa by means of national professional associations that would conduct peer-to-peer training. Professional associations however would not provide permanent academic knowledge as expected in a university postgraduate qualification. Had academic representatives been involved, a more long-term resolution on academic training would have surfaced. It was within the AfrEA resolutions that the Uganda Evaluation Association was conceived. In a longer-term, it was expected that evaluation associations would collaborate with their governments to create national evaluation policies and capacities.

There were other important developments at the continental and global levels that increased ECD in Uganda. ECD requires a collaborate approach beyond government and professional associations.

In 2000, there was another landmark Johannesburg workshop and seminar which in itself was a follow-up to a regional conference held in Abidjan in November 1998 and the Nairobi AfrEA conference. The Johannesburg workshop and seminar presented a good opportunity for fostering networking among M&E practitioners and for sharing knowledge on M&E in the context of improved governance, accountability and effective development delivery and results. The main objectives of the Johannesburg 2000 workshop and seminar were five-fold to:
Defining the requirements and capabilities of M&E in the context of good governance and accountability for better results

- Familiarise the participants with the development, requirements and uses of M&E systems
- Present ways of designing and conducting cost-effective evaluations of issues such as human development, gender, human rights, governance and corruption, environment and infrastructure, through new approaches including participation and the sharing of local knowledge
- Build professional teams using national M&E associations and networks
- Develop a collaborative strategy and infrastructure for a pan-African M&E network, which could review and evaluate sound practices with a view to adopting them in Africa.

The seminar was attended by 56 participants from 11 countries including Cameroon, Ghana, Kenya, Mozambique, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia. It was hosted by the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) representing national governments, NGOs, universities, research institutions and the private sector, and 32 participants from multilateral and bilateral donor agencies – the World Bank, African Development Bank (AfDB), UNICEF, International Development Research Center (IDRC), Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID), United States Agency for International Development (USAID), UNDP, Norway and the Netherlands. A task force from AfDB, DBSA, the Eastern and Southern Africa Regional Office of UNICEF and the World Bank organised the conference, and acted as facilitators and resource persons, together with a small number of donor representatives. Suggestions from participants for institutional support at the continental level, and more training in evaluation designs, methodologies and practices formed the backbone of every action of M&E capacity strengthening. It was also suggested that various databases, including one that would list evaluators (practitioners, consultants, officials in charge of M&E, a body of inspectors and auditors, and private sector firms), be established to form the AfrEA. A database for lessons learned and good practices in M&E was also proposed.

At the global level there were significant developments that could have arguably influenced ECD in Africa, including Uganda, especially in the practice and professional fields. The progress posted by two international associations, namely the International Organisation for Cooperation in Evaluation (IOCE) and the International Development Evaluation Association (IDEAS) and regionally based evaluation associations set a momentum that Africa and Uganda could not miss. The IOCE launched at an inaugural assembly in Lima, Peru at the end of March 2003 is the “world umbrella” of evaluation associations and networks. Representatives from 24 evaluation groupings from Latin America, Africa,
Australasia, North America, Asia, Europe and the ex-Soviet Union attended the assembly. Observers were also present from various sponsor organisations. Support for the assembly was received from the WK Kellogg Foundation, UNICEF, the World Bank, UK Department for International Development, the International Fund for Agricultural Development, Global GreenGrants Fund as well as from the American Evaluation Association, the Canadian Evaluation Society and other national and regional groups who sent their representatives.

The IDEAS which had its first conference in New Delhi in April 2005 was created with the support of the World Bank and the DAC Network on Development Evaluation for the purpose of attracting individual members world-wide particularly from developing countries and transition economies. At a regional level, the American Evaluation Association, regarded as the first national association to be created with approximately 4000 members representing all 50 states of the USA, as well as over 60 countries, provided momentum for ECB in other countries. In October 2005, AfrEA together with the Canadian Evaluation Society (CES) held a joint meeting in Toronto where some 2500 evaluation practitioners attended four days of more than 525 concurrent sessions dealing with evaluation themes and issues. Many participants took advantage of 50+ pre- and post-conference training sessions in evaluation.

There is also the Australasian Evaluation Society which was among the earliest regional associations. With a membership estimated above 700 from the region mostly from Australia and New Zealand, AES collaborated with the Malaysia Evaluation Society and the Sri Lanka Evaluation Society to upscale evaluation capacity through numerous professional activities. Meanwhile, AfrEA was created in 1999. At the time about 18 evaluation associations or networks existed in only six African countries but presently more than 18 such associations or networks have been established all with the common goal of promoting evaluation on a national basis in their respective countries.

In Europe, the European Evaluation Society (EES) founded in 1994 with a goal to promote theory, practice and utilisation of high quality evaluation, but not exclusively, within the European countries has been at the centre of efforts in ECB. The association; unlike other associations brought theory closer to practice by bringing together academics and practitioners from all over Europe and from any professional sector, thus creating a forum where all participants can benefit from cooperation and bridge building. The society was founded in The Hague in 1994 and its first official board was elected in autumn 1995 and started its work in January 1996. Within Europe, national evaluation associations and networks also exist in Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.

In October 2004, the Latin American and Caribbean Evaluation Network (ReLAC) was launched in Peru. Present members are the Brazilian Evaluation...
Association, the Central American Evaluation Association and networks from Chili, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru. ReLAC plans to hold its second biennial conference in Colombia in May 2007. Finally, the International Program Evaluation Network (IPEN) mainly composed of evaluators from the former Soviet Union countries cannot be forgotten in an effort to historicise some of the global efforts that have contributed to increased interest in professionalising evaluation in Uganda. IPEN was founded in 2000 and the fifth conference was held successfully in Almaty, Kazakhstan in September 2005. About 150 participants from 20 countries from Central and Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States attended the conference.

Khan (1998:326) concluded while giving an overview of Status, Issues and Options of ECD in developing countries that the key challenges facing ECB work appear to be: (1) sensitisation of top political leadership to the benefits of evaluation; (2) identification of the most viable institutional framework of evaluation, which may include more than one organisation to carry out various types of evaluation (such as project, programme and thematic or issue-based evaluation, etc); (3) introduction of a cost-effective method of evaluation, if possible, with standardisation of definitions, concepts, etc; (4) linking evaluation to governance reform and bringing NGOs and beneficiaries into the evaluation process; and (5) introduction of innovative feedback mechanisms and establishing linkages, both nationally and internationally, to ensure maximum access to and utilisation of evaluation information. In addition, steps should also be taken to integrate donor inputs to enable more extensive inputs and sharing of various ECB responsibilities in a balanced and comprehensive manner.

**WHAT CAPACITY INITIATIVES HAVE BEEN UNDERTAKEN IN UGANDA?**

Capacity development is not an easy undertaking in any country especially more so given the various dimensions it takes. Capacity can be at individual, group, organisational, government, and society levels. Capacity can also be structural capacity, financial capacity, or human resource capacity. As Khan (1998:312) demonstrates, successful capacity development needs a systems approach, whereby skills are seen within a broader context of organisational mandates, patterns of decision making and institutionalisation and the prevailing managerial culture, values and incentives. This means going beyond individuals and groups but it should aspire to build strong systems. ECB should be regarded as a set of interrelated activities that when effectively applied can contribute to the establishment of evaluation capacities. It should also be equated to
‘evaluation institution building’ at the national level as Schaumburg-Muller (1996:9) strongly suggests.

In an endeavour to build the needed capacity, the major actors need to boldly agree on the degree to which theory and the practices of evaluation need blending with the professionalisation efforts if a solid base for positive progression in ECB is to be attained. Universities, development organisations, government, consultancy firms and evaluation professional societies, are among the important actors that can upscale evaluation capacity in any country. In Uganda, it is increasingly noticeable that most evaluation capacity interventions have directly benefitted from various continental and global initiatives. Dabelstein (2003:369) argued that when evaluation capacity is judged to be insufficient, activities should be carried out, simultaneously to support the development of the necessary capacity. Donor agencies who have been champions of this evaluation capacity in Africa are utilising different tools like ‘learning by doing’ training (e.g. their involvement in the definition of questions, data collection, methods); or technical assistance to personnel, as part of monitoring of programme/projects; or other kinds of training.

The actors in ECD in Uganda just like other African countries, have involved development partners, evaluation associations, academia, evaluation consultants, government and civil society organisations. While the practices of evaluation could arguably have been in existence before 2000, ‘professionalisation’ of evaluation started in May 2001 when the Uganda Evaluation Association (UEA) was conceived and formally registered in 2002 as a national chapter of AfrEA. UEA was first hosted by the Uganda National Council of Science and Technology (UNCST) which at the time was developing its own M&E capacity. The executive director of UNCST spearheaded this process alongside a steering committee of seven members and within a period of two years it was joined by another member who as of 2016 was the secretary of the association and officially worked in the Budget Monitoring Unit (BMU) of the ministry of finance, planning and economic development of the government of Uganda.

At an international level, the major champions of ECB have been the development partners (Khan 1998:310). This same fact was witnessed in Uganda as without the assistance of the development partners, the current state of the field would have been different. The German government, DFID, World Bank, DANIDA, USAID and others were central champions for ECD in Uganda. They assisted the government (Office of the Prime Minister (OPM)), the Parliamentary Forum on Evaluation, the UEA, private consultants and universities through financing evaluation capacity activities, short course delivery and seminars which were mainly facilitated by international experts. Khan (1998:310) reported how donor agencies have played a role in planning,
implementing and financing various socio-economic development programmes and projects. Overall, donors have played an important role in ECB in Uganda through assisting the governments to develop well-defined, organised and effective M&E systems that provide those governments with a solid information base to make future policy decisions which have significantly benefited from development partners.

By 2003, a few years after the establishment of the UEA a baseline study was conducted among 49 members of the association at the time to establish the level of skills and capacities of members of the evaluation association. This provided a comparative approach of skills requirements across different membership categories which in turn would guide the capacity building interventions. It is important to note that at the time, membership to the association was restricted to those who had a measurement degree (quantitative and qualitative) until around 2012 when the membership category was opened up to all disciplines which saw membership grow. The baseline study of 2003 found the following skills possessed by members of the association:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of Expertise</th>
<th>% Age Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rudimentary research skill</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic M&amp;E skills</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advanced impact evaluations</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantitative data collection skills</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantitative data analysis</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualitative data analysis</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involved in project evaluations</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involved in programme evaluations</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involved in policy evaluations</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above analysis indicates a country and an association that had members with limited skills and capacities in M&E especially owing to its multi-disciplinary nature. Project management skills, communication skills, ICT skills among others, were generally lacking yet no evaluator can effectively conduct an evaluation without these skills and competencies related to the areas. While respondents possessed some qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis skills, these were too basic and were not connected to specialised data collection and analysis methods in evaluation. Nonetheless, as
a result of the glaring capacity gaps in evaluation, the association embarked on various capacity building initiatives centred largely on awareness creation–training workshops, membership recruitment, seminars and evaluation talks. Professional associations (at national and African level) were used for sharing information and news on evaluation methodologies and pieces of work. The association invited professional evaluators (especially foreign ones) to speak to members and share the methods being used in ongoing evaluations. Other efforts involved encouraging members to enroll for professional courses and degrees in evaluation as evidenced by the regular opportunities posted on the association’s website regarding evaluation courses in universities.

Directly benefiting from support by the World Bank, USAID, OPM and Ministry of Finance, the association had institutional development efforts, training for some members, awareness raising meetings and workshops and information exchange. Donors delivered aid directly through projects and at times they established their own M&E system for their particular projects, rather than working with the existing M&E systems that were in place in the relevant government ministries. The results of this approach however meant that the established project M&E systems were shared with the ministry, although evaluation took place outside the existing government systems. UEA and OPM’s collaborative work to develop the Uganda Evaluation Standards commenced in September 2012, which provided a major milestone in ECD efforts in Uganda.

National evaluation standards were developed in collaboration with the Evaluation Sub-Committee (ESC) of government (which in itself was an institutional structure established with the help of development partners) and the UEA. The standards were prepared by a working committee of the UEA, consisting of representatives of the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, the Parliament of Uganda, and a number of NGOs and private sector actors. Academia was largely not represented in these meetings. The association has often adopted a partnership approach to ECB working in close collaboration with government institutions and various international organisations to consolidate and strengthen evaluation capacity in Uganda. Creating a national network to facilitate sharing and exchange of literature, methods, and practical evaluation frameworks among evaluators has been a common strategy. Working together with the evaluation association, other stakeholders in Uganda, and development partners has also seen successful engagements which built government’s M&E systems.

Donors contributed to the establishment of new or stand-alone M&E units in government, and these reforms were anchored in the broader Public Financial Management (PFM) reforms or governance activities which targeted improved transparency. An early initiative in this regard was the creation of the BMU
in the ministry of finance, as part of a broader suite of PFM reforms with the aim of providing high-quality monitoring and analysis of government services – but which exists in addition to numerous other similar teams in the sectoral ministries, OPM and the Inspectorate-General of government.

In different countries, most monitoring activities are conducted through a central agency but the mandate spreads to other departments based on the concept of sharing evaluation responsibilities among different agencies. In Uganda, the OPM is a key agency that coordinates ECB in government and the country. The office works closely with the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development as well as the National Planning Authority plus other ministries, departments and agencies. The OPM spearheaded the establishment of the Public Sector M&E Policy for the Government of Uganda, the Public Sector M&E Guidelines and the Parliamentary forum on M&E. It also spearheaded the establishment of the evaluation sub-sector group and the Government Evaluation Facility (GEF). Its annual performance assessment reports have reawakened the need for M&E across all government ministries, departments and agencies. The cabinet often uses the assessment reports to make strategic decisions and ministries, departments and agencies now understand the importance of M&E. OPM is spearheading the recruitment of M&E officers in each of the government ministries, departments and agencies.

OPM has been running a series of evaluations financed by international donors and has carried out these undertakings in close cooperation with ministries and public authorities. These evaluations have increased the capacity of the local evaluation consultants as most of the initiatives have been undertaken jointly with international evaluation experts and firms. Development partners have provided the needed financial support. GIZ supported OPM for example; with its capacity development activities it supported a three-year ECD project which closed in 2015. With this facility, OPM trained staff of other ministries and authorities, and of a number of civil society organisations as well as supporting the UEA. The project was used to support annual evaluation weeks, which brought together M&E practitioners and managers from Uganda, other African countries and the international community to discuss the challenges and opportunities of the evaluation field. GIZ through the project provided support in four core areas:

- Information events for policymakers;
- Development of national evaluation standards, in collaboration with the UEA;
- Short-term training courses for ministries, departments, agencies, parliament and civil society;
- Development of a master’s degree course in evaluation, in cooperation with UTAMU.
A Master’s of Evaluation (MEVAL) was designed as a part-time blended course that allows students from both public administration and the private sector to gain the new qualification while continuing in their jobs. The degree was piloted by UTAMU based on an established degree course taught at Saarland University in Germany, but adapted to the context of Uganda. It was later transformed into a blended-learning master’s degree after merging the UTAMU curriculum and that of MEVAL. The number of students currently pursuing this degree programme cut across a wide range of African countries. Evaluation talks have been another key approach for ECB in Uganda and this perfectly fits with Toulemonde’s (1999:154) observations that underscored the importance of developing the demand for evaluation and reinforcing an evaluation culture through intense and sustained communication about evaluation. This goal can be attained through keeping the conversation going about developing and implementing evaluation activities, processes, structures, and systems that sustain high-quality evaluation practice. By doing so, organisations are in a better position to respond to the everyday challenges of organisational life that may otherwise interfere with ECB efforts. This goal needs to be undertaken through collaborative approaches. Universities and other educational institutions need to spearhead the design of long-term courses which aim at imparting appropriate skills, knowledge and competencies. The curriculum should be able to blend theory and practice and should offer generic skills as well as specific foundational evaluation courses fit for the purpose.

WHAT ACADEMIC COURSES IN EVALUATION EXIST IN UGANDA TO BUILD THE NEEDED CAPACITY?

If ECB is an activity or a set of activities that contributes to the establishment of evaluation capacities within the development administration structures of developing countries and the development of such capacities is to assist lesson learning from ongoing or past projects, ECB and the role of universities deserves a central focus in scholarly debates. There is within this context an urgent need for evaluation institution building at the national level or conducting joint evaluation with local experts/institutions or both as Schaumburg-Muller (1996: 8) demonstrates. Different actors are involved. For example, Khan (1998:312) reports how until recently, more donor initiatives were geared towards monitoring than to evaluation. This was due to (1) early development management experience which revealed weaknesses in implementation that required vigorous coordination and monitoring inputs; and (2) it was also (naively) believed that once implementation was completed, projects would automatically generate the projected benefits. However, experience with poor
project hypotheses, less than optimum results and, in some cases, negative outcomes (social as well as environmental), prompted many to place equal, if not more, emphasis on evaluation. Recent donor interest in ECB is a direct outcome of this shift in emphasis.

Beyond the short courses in evaluation that have been championed by the UAE, the OPM and National Planning Authority, the academic institutions have been fundamental in upscaling the number of long-term academic programmes in M&E. Higher education, including the research carried out in universities, plays a crucial role in the development process and by extension provided an important ingredient for ECB. The following postgraduate qualifications are currently being offered by various universities in Uganda:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University/Institution</th>
<th>Qualification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Uganda Technology and Management University (UTAMU)</td>
<td>Master’s in M&amp;E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Uganda Marty’s University</td>
<td>MSC in M&amp;E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Mountains of the Moon University</td>
<td>PGD in M&amp;E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Uganda Christian University</td>
<td>PGD in Development Evaluation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Uganda Management Institute</td>
<td>PGD in M&amp;E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Civil Service College of Uganda</td>
<td>Performance Improvement short courses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**UTAMU**

A Master’s of M&E Programme (which started as a Master’s in Project M&E) was established to strengthen the relevance, efficiency, effectiveness, impact and sustainability of interventions by governments, civil society and NGOs as well as development partners in sub-Saharan Africa through the development and enhancement of long-term capacity for M&E. The programme provides a long-term strategy for training opportunities for graduates at higher levels of the education system. While existing programmes tended to focus on in-country context, the Master’s in M&E was designed with global reach and offers generally accepted knowledge and skills across different countries. With its focus on a wider African context, the knowledge, skills and competencies imparted in the master’s degree can be applied anywhere in the world. The programme adopts a multi-disciplinary approach and orientation throughout the content delivery and assessment. It has foundational compulsory courses, core methodological compulsory courses and interdisciplinary elective...
courses. It is delivered through a blended learning mode with multimedia content developed for each of the modules and it enables distance learners to excel through their graduate work using the e-learning platform of the university.

**Uganda Management Institute (UMI)**

This course was according to the Institute’s website designed for senior and mid-level government officials, development managers and other professionals covering development trends, as well as those who are managing sustainable and people-centred development programmes and organisations. It was developed out of the need to build adequate capacity in M&E across the government structures from the ministries through to the local government structures at the district and community levels. The postgraduate diploma is an entry qualification to a master’s degree in Management Studies.

**Uganda Christian University (UCU)**

The postgraduate diploma course was according to information on the university’s website designed to increase the capacity of indigenous professional health and human development leaders to effectively participate in the creation and M&E of projects aimed at fulfilling the Millennium Development Goals. After completion of the programme, the university anticipated to have ‘enlightened professionals and leaders’, able to not only do their professional work, but do it with dedication and integrity.

The postgraduate diploma was designed to produce graduates with project evaluation skills like data management, data interpretation, learning from success, learning from failure and building sequential vs iterative development projects.

**Mountains of the Moon University (MOU)**

Not much is written about the philosophy of the postgraduate diploma programme at this university. The university website describes how a sound approach to M&E that supports judicious management of resources and appropriate tools to measure progress and results of projects and programmes, was critical in the design of the programme. The university developed the programme given that M&E supported the documentation of accountability and impact and answers questions related to how well a project, programme or policy is working. M&E was also regarded as being critical to improving management.
Uganda Martyr’s University (UMU)

This degree programme located in the faculty of agriculture, was introduced to create a pool of professionals who will effectively monitor both private and government projects whose success has been limited by lack of expertise.

CHALLENGES OF ECD IN THE AFRICAN CONTEXT

Development partners have increasingly used M&E to keep projects on track and maintain acceptable levels of accountability. They have thus approached the ECB initiatives differently based on the sectors where their funding has tended to focus. As Mackay (2006:1) reports, that is why there exists a growing literature on the topic of country efforts to strengthen M&E capacities and systems with a considerable part of this literature, written by evaluation specialists, having a strong advocacy flavor; that M&E and M&E systems are a ‘good thing’ and have intrinsic merit. Unsurprisingly, this kind of argument is a hard sell to skeptical or over-stressed governments in the developing world. Having M&E information and the necessary capacity does not guarantee that it will actually be used as expected. The overall goal of any ECB effort is to increase the skills and capacities to undertake and manage evaluations efficiently and effectively. Such an outcome entails building a strong evaluation system in a country.

Conlin and Stirrat (2008:194) commendably laboured to contextualise the environment in which ECD has been undertaken in Africa through a description of how, since the mid-1990s, the development world experienced a series of major changes which undoubtedly had an impact on their support for ECD. While the traditional roles of evaluation, primarily accountability and lesson learning, were still important, they became more challenging in the new world of development. Evaluators experienced increasingly complex situations and the demands being made upon them by their sponsors became correspondingly more difficult. In his analysis of the challenges facing ECB, Khan (1998:326) sheds light on five key challenges facing ECB work: (1) sensitisation of top political leadership to the benefits of evaluation; (2) identification of the most viable institutional framework of evaluation; (3) introduction of a cost-effective method of evaluation, if possible, with standardisation of definitions, concepts, etc; (4) linking evaluation to governance reform and bringing NGOs and beneficiaries into the evaluation process; and (5) introduction of innovative feedback mechanisms and establishing linkages, both nationally and internationally, to ensure maximum access to and utilisation of evaluation information. These challenges are inherently relevant and applicable to the Ugandan situation.
In the context of Uganda, the challenges to ECD fall under three areas: (1) the challenges of ECD in the evaluation profession; (2) the challenges in the evaluation discipline; and (3) the challenges in the field of evaluation practice. As a profession the UEA continuous to grapple with low membership enrollment despite the numerous practitioners, graduates and those teaching the discipline at universities. Low membership is partially attributed to the restricted criteria that the association started with during the inception years. In 2012 when the association started, membership was restricted to those persons with a minimum academic qualification of what was referred to as a measurement oriented degree (quantitative and/or qualitative) plus at least certificate training in M&E or any related field, of two years. The restrictive criteria saw membership stagnate at about 50 between 2003 and 2011. It was when the criteria included all interested professionals that membership increased from 50 in 2012 to 175 by 2014. This still is low compared to the people in the country working in the M&E field.

The association also has had funding challenges which directly affects the capacity building initiatives that can be successfully implemented. The association has tended to rely on external funding to undertake ECD initiatives and this has its challenges. International ECD funders seem to be currently oscillating between supporting short-term evaluation training initiatives – despite acknowledging the limitations thereof – and endorsing global flagship evaluation initiatives (Tarsilla 2014:8). This approach has neglected ECD attention to universities which have significant capacity gaps in terms of the calibre of teachers. The evaluation field has also persistently suffered a locus and focus problem. Locus relates to where evaluation courses should be located within universities while focus relates to methodological issues. In Uganda, evaluation courses have no known home. Some are located in schools of business and management, others in faculties of development studies, others are in management faculties and others exist in faculties of agriculture. Alongside this locus problem has been the divergent methodologies adopted by different universities.

The reliance on short-term ECB courses and the use of international experts to conduct most ECB training is problematic. Tarsilla (2014:6) on this subject recently reported the gravity of this challenge, stating that ‘parachuting international consultants – of unverified experience – from outside of Africa do not enhance the development of national evaluation capacities across the continent’. Africa and Uganda lacked professional certification of evaluators’ competencies and the subsequent lack of comparable qualifications on which to base the selection of evaluation trainers and other professionals to be employed in the design and delivery of ECD programmes have been a contributing factor to what the author concluded as ECD initiatives’ modest results.

The academic study still faces the locus and focus dilemma. In terms of locus, it remains unclear in which faculty or school within universities
M&E courses should be located. This has created the focus problems as the methodology adopted has tended to favour the school where the course is located. In a university where M&E is located in the economics departments, the economics approach to its teaching has been adopted. Some universities offer M&E courses in schools of public health and a public health lens to evaluation is taken. In some universities, evaluation is taught under faculties of business and management and they also tend to take a business and management orientation. Evaluation should have its foundation knowledge base that ought to be covered by any student irrespective of where the course is located at universities.

The practice of evaluation has not been without its own challenges. Most importantly has been the challenge for ‘management for results’ where the evaluators now have to move far beyond considering whether or not the ‘deliverables’ have been achieved to considering whether or not ‘deliverables’ have had the impact that was hoped for. This obviously raises major problems in attribution: how far can one be certain that particular changes have been the result of particular development interventions? The influence of other factors outside the control of development policy-makers and practitioners becomes increasingly important and difficult to determine (Conlin and Stirrat 2008:195).

The practice area of M&E has also had to grapple with an increasing entry of evaluators most of whom have not been brought into the culture of evaluation professional standards. While there are a good number of people claiming to be evaluators, they do not have formal qualifications in the field of evaluation and are not members of known professional associations. Unethical tendencies have thus cropped up in evaluation process management.

Utilisation of evaluation findings has been another major problem. As Hardlife and Zhou (2013:72) recently reported, when an M&E system is institutionalised it should serve as an integral part of the development policy or programme cycle to improve performance accountability and to provide effective feedback to improve planning, budgeting and policy-making to achieve development effectiveness. For this to work, sensitisation at political level may again influence the decision to adopt a national evaluation policy to guide evaluations. Once evaluation findings are generated, they need to be used.

On the lack of an African evaluation culture, Mackay (2006:1) reports that while there is a growing appreciation within the development community that an important aspect of public sector management is the existence of a results or performance orientation in government, which constitutes an ‘evaluation culture’, African countries have not yet fully embraced this culture. While it is indeed true that a number of countries like Benin, Uganda and South Africa are working to ensure results orientation through building or strengthening their M&E systems, this culture is far from being entrenched across government-wide
activities. For the maturity of evaluation in any country the culture for evaluation needs to be elevated and this approach should involve a variety of stakeholders.

CONCLUSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

This article dwelt on the subject of ECB in Uganda but with some comparative examples on the rest of the African continent. The article has enumerated the various approaches which have been used in ECD, major actors who have been involved, and the challenges. The insights presented offer useful lessons to an audience far beyond the one that was intended by the author in this article. The future of M&E in Uganda and Africa lies in appreciating where the field has come from and building a common ground for taking it to new levels. This requires different actors to take lessons from what has worked and what may not have worked. Lessons from Mackay’s (2006:13) writings posit that the experience of African countries in evaluation is relevant not only to poor countries but other regions, especially those preparing ECB interventions.

Uganda’s approaches and strategies in ECB have moved side by side with similar developments at continental and global levels. Important lessons on ECD in Uganda and Africa generally are on how to build M&E capacities incrementally, especially when there is the possibility of intensive donor assistance. Just as the OECD (2005:6) concluded that capacity building often lacked a fully articulated framework for assessing capacity needs, designing and sequencing appropriate interventions, and determining results; countries like Uganda ought to adopt an appropriate framework. The systems approach is prudently more plausible in this regard. It is also important to appreciate at this juncture that M&E systems are neither easy to introduce nor are they easy to sustain, especially good quality systems (Khan 1998:324). Effective ECB is possible when there is a strong evaluation community with a critical mass of professional evaluators and strong and consistent leadership in the evaluation society/association. The actors must play a champion role to create wide awareness and appreciation of the evaluation function in public decision-making by all political and administrative players. The mechanisms for continuous professional development of evaluators and evaluation managers, and functional links between government, CSOs and private sector evaluation processes; is a critical ingredient.

In ECB and country M&E systems, there are crucial variables that need attention. First, the political environment must be conducive for undertaking evaluations which are driven by the desire to ensure accountability. Second, substantive government demand is a prerequisite for successful institutionalisation. This demand will accelerate capacity building efforts and will also work to create an evaluation culture. Third is the need to have true and committed champions to
propagate the good principles and ethical guidelines for conducting evaluations. The champion can be located in a central government ministry or agency. The experience of Chile suggests that M&E systems have been developed under the powerful ministry of finance. Fourth is the involvement of different actors—academia, government, civil society organisations, evaluators, professional evaluation associations and other non-state actors.

Mackay (2006:15) notes that evaluation associations have a role to play. They cannot only help share experience and expertise, but they also can provide a forum for greater dialogue between civil society, academia, governments and donors. But building national evaluation associations takes time, commitment, and at least a minimum level of resources; and sustaining them is likewise a challenge. Experience with evaluation associations in many regions is that they have depended on dynamic, committed individuals, and with this type of leadership, associations can be very active and by any reasonable yardstick highly successful.

ECB efforts in Uganda like in other countries have taken different forms and various actors have been involved. The common interventions have been the use of seminars, workshops and short training courses. Currently an increase in long-term courses is visible and there are positive signs of the significance of the professional association, the development partners, government and other actors. Evaluation associations help share experience and expertise, and they provide a forum for greater dialogue between civil society, academia, governments and donors. Experience with evaluation associations in many regions is that they have depended on dynamic, committed individuals, and with this type of leadership, associations can be very active and by any reasonable yardstick highly successful (Mackay 2006:15). Consultancy firms also provided short-term consultancy training opportunities. Most of these have been used by external experts. Government created the appropriate environment and donors provided necessary financial assistance. Academia has a unique role of training experts with the right attitudes.

NOTE

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Narrowing the Municipal Funding Gap

A Metropolitan Perspective in South Africa

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ABSTRACT

Metropolitan municipalities in South Africa can be viewed as the “engines of economic growth” in terms of promoting socio-economic development and addressing constitutional imperatives in the broader context of developmental local government. The primary aim of the article is to assess the financial resources in metropolitan municipalities to fund their service delivery backlogs, rehabilitate ageing infrastructure and economic growth need. The findings demonstrate that there is a huge funding gap experienced by metropolitan government. A new business tax has been proposed as the most effective way of addressing this challenge. In addition, a financial model has also been developed as a possible strategy to address the key issues highlighted relative to the metropolitan funding gap. The article also proposes sustainable measures that can be implemented to increase the resources pool to achieve the constitutional imperatives of municipalities, given the large service delivery backlogs inherited from the apartheid era and more recently over the past two decades of local democracy in South Africa.

INTRODUCTION

Countries in Africa currently face substantial social, environmental and economic problems that have served as constraints to development. While
urban issues contribute directly towards these problems, they are still not regarded as priorities for local governments globally. This is a serious concern, especially as the African continent has the highest rate of urbanisation in the world. It is anticipated that in the next 20 years, there will be an additional 300 million people living in cities. These new city dwellers will increase the demand for capital funding of infrastructure, basic services, and social facilities. This demand, in conjunction with energy shortages and poor roads, adversely affects the economic productivity of countries in Africa (Paulais 2012:7).

Apart from the objectives of local government highlighted in the Constitution, all municipalities in South Africa are also expected to fulfil a developmental role. It is the role of all municipalities to work independently, as well as in collaboration with their local communities to ensure that peoples’ needs are met and quality of life is uplifted. Accordingly, it is of utmost importance for the entire country that the sphere of local government is capacitated and transformed to play its constitutionally envisaged developmental role. This cannot be achieved without the help and support of the provincial and national governments, especially from a financial perspective (Bekink 2006:9).

The extent of the backlogs, service delivery challenges and deteriorating infrastructure is placing increasing pressure on municipal finances. The local government framework outlined in the White Paper on Local Government (The Department of Provincial Affairs & Constitutional Development 1998) recognises that the provision of municipal services requires significant capital investment. Notwithstanding the great strides being made in service delivery, the backlogs in metropolitan councils are massive, which is further impacted upon by rapid urban migration. In addition, the state of repair of infrastructure and the adequacy or inadequacy of funding for maintenance and rehabilitation is also a cause for concern (South African Cities Network 2013:3), particularly as metropolitan councils are the prime drivers of gross domestic product (GDP) in the economy, currently accounting for more than 80% of the GDP (Financial and Fiscal Commission 2013a:6). Accordingly, to improve growth, which is currently just above 2% (South African Reserve Bank 2014), and make reasonable progress in reducing the backlogs, there needs to be significant investment in metropolitan councils.

**RESEARCH PROBLEM AND OBJECTIVES**

The main objective of this research is to establish the shortfall in the financial resources of metropolitan municipalities to fund their service delivery backlogs, rehabilitation and economic growth needs and identify sustainable measures that can be implemented to increase the pool to achieve these imperatives. The first
research objective is to determine the service delivery backlogs and funding gaps of metropolitan municipalities while the second objective is to determine what can be done to address any funding gap identified to ensure sustainable service delivery.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT RESTRUCTURING AND TRANSFORMATION WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO METROPOLITAN COUNCILS

Municipalities have inherited several problems from the apartheid regime, especially in respect of segregation created through the Group Areas Act No 41 of 1950 (The Union of South Africa 1950). Municipalities were created and managed based on racial grounds, which resulted in major differences in the level of services provided in white and black communities. For example, municipalities did not supply basic services, such as water, electricity, health care and housing, equally to all South Africans. The resulting social, spatial and economic inequalities created in black communities must now be addressed. However, the task is a daunting one. The service delivery backlogs inherited are massive.

Restructuring and transformation

During the pre-1994 political dispensation, the local government sector comprised 1 262 different structures, but post-1994 the Provincial Demarcation Board reduced these structures to 843. With the establishment of the Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB) in 1999, the number of municipalities was rationalised to 284 in preparation for the 2000 local government elections (David 2009:69).

The number of municipalities was further consolidated to 283 in preparation for the 2006 local elections. Ahead of the 2011 local elections, the number of municipalities was reduced even further to 278. The 278 municipalities comprised eight metropolitan municipalities, 44 district municipalities, and 226 local municipalities. The restructuring has severally impacted metropolitan councils. Apart from the disparity and inequity in service delivery, the rationalisation of those local authorities in terms of systems, procedures, asset management and staffing was a major task and currently many issues are still in the process of being resolved (David 2009:70).

Municipal demarcation

One of the key contributory factors to the sustainability of municipalities was the demarcation process (Ncube & Vacu 2013:13). The MDB recognised that
financial viability was one of the most important criteria, but was hamstrung by the lack of available financial statistics. It was therefore not possible to ascertain who was cross-subsiding whom. Another impediment was the absence of a comprehensive needs analysis survey (Cameron 1999:124).

**Integrated city development**

South Africa’s metropolitan municipalities face profound development challenges. Apart from striving to achieve the core objects of local government, all municipalities are constitutionally obliged to fulfil certain developmental duties (Bekink 2006:59). These challenges are magnified by the process of urban growth, but are often rooted in the history of deep structural inequalities in the South African society. They are evident in high unemployment, significant backlogs in access to adequate housing, poor performing public transport systems, environmental degradation and low levels of citizen satisfaction (National Treasury 2013:7).

The ‘second generation’ challenge is to build more sustainable, productive, liveable and inclusive cities. This requires metropolitan councils to more actively integrate public investment in the built environment, and is being aided by a legal process of devolving human settlement functions to metropolitan councils through housing accreditation and assignment, strengthening their role in public transport management through the implementation of the National Land Transport Act, and confirming their leading role in land use management in the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (National Treasury 2013:21).

While the devolution of these functions is accepted from an integrated built environment perspective, the potential impact on a metropolitan council’s sustainability is a cause for major concern.

**Urbanisation**

One of the key reasons for the huge backlogs experienced is that: “Apartheid has fundamentally damaged the spatial, social and economic environments in which people live, work, raise families, and seek to fulfil their aspirations. This is the basis for a democratic, integrated, prosperous and truly non-racial society” (Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs 2013:6).

President Jacob Zuma highlighted in his State of the Nation Address in February 2013 that due cognisance should be taken of the increasing urbanisation that is currently occurring. The 2011 Census shows that 63% of the population of South Africa is living in urban areas. It is anticipated that this will increase to over 70% by 2030. It is apparent that municipalities on their
own cannot deal with these challenges. A national approach is needed with support from provinces and all key sectors within national government. While it is agreed that the development of rural areas should remain a key priority at a national level, it is also crucial that an integrated urban development framework is developed at a national level to help municipalities to manage effectively the ever-increasing rural-urban migration. Through implementing the National Development Plan, all three spheres of government need to review how they are going to manage rural-urban migration through supporting rural development (Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs 2013:21).

Currently, the population growth rate in South Africa is greater than the economic growth rate. There are an increasing number of informal settlements and poor communities in cities. This has resulted in a huge demand for land, housing, basic services and jobs. Cities are battling to cope with this demand (National Treasury 2013b:6).

The poor and vulnerable are flocking to urban areas where they live in dysfunctional and unserviced informal settlements with no or limited basic services and/or social and economic infrastructure. Most of these informal settlement inhabitants are not able to afford municipal services charges and this has a negative impact on the fiscal sustainability of the affected municipalities (National Treasury 2013:11).

The rate of urbanisation is the key risk, as well as the inability to proactively plan for the provision of services. There are also high expectations in terms of the provision of free housing, free basic services, as well as jobs (Paulais 2012:66).

**Metropolitan government financing**

The adequacy of funding of metropolitan councils is a concern. This view is supported by the DBSA (Development Bank of South Africa 2010:12), which has indicated that funding infrastructure is a challenge. The primary mandate of municipalities is to provide infrastructure for delivering services. The South African government committed its municipalities to remedying the service delivery backlogs by 2014. This was regrettably not a target set with local government, but was imposed and did not come with the full funding requirement. It is not surprising therefore that the target was not met. The estimated costs of building, upgrading, rehabilitating and expanding the required water, transport, power and city/town infrastructure exceeds R473 billion (Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs 2010:23).

In addition, sources of funding for the delivery of municipal services is exceeded by the demand for capital to fulfil this role and the affordability of repaying these loans continues to be a major cause for concern. (Co-operative
Governance and Traditional Affairs 2010:26). Such constraints impact on tariffs for services and rates and continue to render South Africa’s cities uncompetitive in their ability to attract new businesses and grow the economy. Moreover, theoretical modelling shows that borrowings of R242 billion over a period of 10 years, starting more than seven years ago in 2007, are needed to keep pace with the dramatic challenges of the delivery of services (Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs 2010:33). Such circumstances make it difficult to determine which dimensions and what sectors are most important for investment planning and service stability.

There is certainly a need for further investment in infrastructure and a balance needs to be maintained in terms of economic, rehabilitative and social expenditure. This challenge requires modelling and technical preparation with affordability and sustainability being given due consideration.

In 2011, the Financial and Fiscal Commission (Financial and Fiscal Commission 2013b:11) undertook a comprehensive review of the local government fiscal framework (LGFF) in an attempt to quantify the possible funding constraints in local government. One of the primary findings from the review was the existence of a potential vertical funding gap in supporting municipal capital expenditures. The research found that the current quantum of infrastructure grants that accrue to local government does not cover the difference between the current capital expenditure needs of local government and their own revenue sources. Therefore, the combination of own revenue contribution, borrowings and grants are insufficient in funding the local government infrastructure that is needed (Financial and Fiscal Commission 2013b:11).

**Sources of local government funding in South Africa**

While municipalities in South Africa participate in the equitable share process, the Division of Revenue Act (DORA) does not provide for an open process. It is not the same as the process municipalities follow with their budgets, especially in terms of consultation and participation with all relevant stakeholders. Municipalities would welcome a similar process with the equitable share in terms of openness and transparency. Accordingly, there is a need to determine how democracy can be deepened by improving taxpayer participation and engagement in the national budget.

The DORA provides for the financial support of local government through the national fiscus to enable local government to fulfil its constitutional mandate. The equitable share is an unconditional grant as opposed to other grants from national government, which are conditional. The DORA process in effect recognises the fact that municipalities have very limited taxation powers
and there is a need for them to share in the national fiscus to provide services to their local communities (Khumalo, Dawood & Mahabir 2013:14).

Table 1 shows the division of revenue between the three spheres of government for 2013/14:

As can be seen from the Table, national government receives 48%, provinces 43%, and municipalities only 9% of the total national revenue.

Table 2 reflects the sources of local government funding in South Africa.

The primary sources of metropolitan council revenue in South Africa are property tax (19.6%), services charges/fees (66.6%) and grants (12.18%) (National Treasury 2013a:61).

The following taxes have not been devolved to local government in South Africa (Steytler 2005:30):

- Tax on motor vehicles (this is a provincial tax).
- Local sales tax (value added tax (VAT) equivalent in South Africa and levied by national government).
- Tax on local business and service (an application has been made by eThekwini Municipality to National Treasury for approval to levy this tax).
- Tax on tourism, hotel, restaurants and entertainment (this is a provincial tax).

Taking due cognisance of the fact that local government is an independent sphere of government, the current funding fiscal framework should be reviewed to give local authorities additional taxing powers to levy entertainment tax as well as a value added tax. This will ensure total fiscal autonomy for local authorities and also improve their financial sustainability (Steytler 2005:31).
### Table 2: Sources of local government funding

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipal own revenue sources</th>
<th>Section of Act</th>
<th>Act / Legislation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rates on Property</td>
<td>Section 229 and 227 (2)</td>
<td>Municipal Property Rates Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surcharge on fees for services provided by or on behalf of the municipality</td>
<td>Section 229 and 227 (2)</td>
<td>Municipality Fiscal Powers and Function Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service charges/fees</td>
<td>Section 229 and 227 (2)</td>
<td>Local Government: Municipal Systems Act; Municipal Finance Management Act; Electricity Act and Electricity Regulations Act; National Water Act; and Provincial land use planning ordinances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other taxes, levies or duties</td>
<td>Section 229 and 227(2)</td>
<td>Municipal Fiscal Powers and Function Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative fees</td>
<td></td>
<td>Local Government: Municipal Systems Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fines</td>
<td></td>
<td>National Road Traffic Act.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borrowing</td>
<td>Section 230A</td>
<td>Municipal Finance Management Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Credit control and debt collection</td>
<td>Section 230A</td>
<td>Local Government: Municipal Systems Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transfer from national and provincial government</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations Act; and The annual Division of Revenue Act</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local government equitable share of nationally collected revenues</td>
<td>Section 214 and 227</td>
<td><strong>Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations Act; and The annual Division of Revenue Act</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuel levy sharing with metropolitan municipalities</td>
<td>Section 229 (1) (b)</td>
<td><strong>The Annual Taxation Laws Amendment Act</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional grants from national government</td>
<td>Section 214 (c), 226(3) and 227(1) (c)</td>
<td><strong>Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations Act; The Annual Division of Revenue Act; and The Annual Appropriation Act of the relevant province</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (National Treasury 2013:27)
Financing constraints/gap

The issue of financing gaps in local capital investment and the trend of such gaps increasing is not only apparent in the context of South Africa. McKinsey Global Institute (2013:3) found that this trend is in line with projected global GDP growth rates in developing economies. Alam (cited in McKinsey Global Institute 2013:3) indicates an estimated US$250 billion capital financial gap per annum for Asian municipalities for the 25 years subsequent to 2010. Mirza (2007:66 as cited in McKinsey and Company 2013:3), through the use of a survey, estimates a US$123 billion financing gap for Canadian municipalities, which comprises both new and existing infrastructure investment backlogs. These studies clearly indicate that municipal funding constraints have not been receiving the research attention they deserve given the growing quantum of infrastructure gaps (both existing and new).

Unfunded mandates

An additional issue that materially impacts on total government financing is unfunded mandates. Chapter 3 of the South African Constitution establishes a system of cooperative governance with national, provincial and local governments being distinctive, interdependent and interrelated. This system was designed to ensure effective and efficient service delivery as per the principles of fiscal decentralisation, while promoting a government of national unity. Within this cooperative governance framework, the Constitution and supporting legislation, such as the Local Government: Municipal Systems Act (MSA) makes provision for the assignment of national and provincial functions to local government (South African Local Government Association 2013:1). Accordingly, important provincial competencies currently carried out by some municipalities include the provision of library services, primary health care and museums. In addition, services such as housing, transport and roads, are concurrent in nature, with various aspects of these functions being undertaken by all three spheres of government. While provision of these services is undertaken in the spirit of cooperative governance, with each sphere responsible for certain aspects of the service, in many instances it is beyond the control of local government due to the political demands made (South African Local Government Association 2013:1).

Smart cities

McKinsey & Company (2013a:2) suggest that to be successful and to prosper, modern cities must achieve smart growth. This requires a strategic approach.
Accordingly, a financing model for South African metropolitan municipalities will assist in informing a smart growth strategy by ensuring that service delivery backlogs, maintenance of assets and economic development are all sufficiently addressed. This is in line with the vision of metropolitan municipalities becoming smart cities. It must be noted that this is not only about technology (a digital city), but also about how effectively the metropolitan municipalities spend their funds to ensure value for money. There needs to be a balance between economic development and growth on the one hand, and social expenditure on the other. This means metropolitan councils need to critically review the strategy that they have employed over the past 20 years and its effectiveness and consequently review their vision going forward.

**RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

The study adopted a mixed research methodology approach employing the quantitative and qualitative research methodologies. Quantitative research was undertaken using a questionnaire while the qualitative research was undertaken through interviews conducted with the respondents.

A random and simple probability sampling was used. The sample frame comprised the eight metropolitan councils in South Africa. From the sample frame, three metropolitan councils were chosen as the sample for the study. The participants were from the City of Cape Town, eThekwini Municipality and the City of Tshwane.

**Key results of the study**

- Migration and urbanisation are having a huge impact on service delivery in metropolitan councils. The ever-increasing number of informal households is leading to growing backlogs. Accordingly, while excellent progress has been made in rolling out service delivery, the influx of informal residents undermines the achievements made.
- The unemployment rate for the three metropolitan councils is 24.3%, which is a major cause for concern and will continue to escalate if growth and job creation are not prioritised. Metropolitan councils are contributing significantly to the national and provincial GDPs at an average of 10% and 56%, respectively. It is apparent that metropolitan councils are the engines of growth in the economy and there needs to be due support given to them.
- There is very little scope to increase the current funding sources, service charges, (electricity, water, refuse and sanitation), rates and grants, as these have been maximised. There is also a major issue of affordability of
further tariff increases. Therefore, additional, or new sources of revenue streams need to be explored, in particular, development levies and a local business tax.

- As regards capital expenditure, a similar challenge of affordability and sustainability exists in meeting the service delivery backlogs and investing in new areas for growth. While borrowings can be increased, this will impact on tariff increases and consumer affordability.
- Not all metropolitan councils are recording backlogs, rehabilitation, replacement and maintenance in a uniform way thus making comparisons difficult. In addition, all metropolitan councils did not respond to these questions. Accordingly, the financial model has been developed using appropriate benchmarking and norms set by the World Bank.
- A number of development challenges have been identified by the metropolitan councils, which are either included or excluded from their Integrated Development Plans (IDPs). However, they have not been costed. Accordingly, there needs to be better alignment between IDPs and budgets.
- While the collection rates for all three metropolitan councils are above 95%, their debtors are growing and debt needs to be written-off by making additional provisions for bad debts. The cash on hand is reasonable, however, relative to the outstanding loans and funding of backlogs, the writing-off of bad debts will be a major challenge.
- In terms of smart city initiatives, the metropolitan councils have identified and ranked in order of priority the following initiatives:
  - Roll out of fibre optic networks
  - Reduction in distribution losses and theft of electricity and water
  - Technology improvement
  - Attracting new investments
  - Smart metering
  - Increasing productivity
  - SCM improvement
  - Cost rationalisation
  - Value for money

- A financial model was developed: The financial model clearly indicates a funding gap when more realistic expenditure for repairs and maintenance and replacement of assets is used, while also providing for growth and smart city initiatives. Moreover, additional funding sources have been considered and the impact of debt write-offs and improved fiscal effort resulting in an adjusted deficit that is more realistic. The model can be replicated by other metropolitan councils to determine their funding deficit or surplus.
The financial model

The results of the study show that the key challenges facing municipalities are financial sustainability, asset management and the provision of infrastructure and services. Accordingly, the model developed will focus, as per the research objectives, on identifying the funding gap and alternate funding sources. The model emanates from the results and findings of this study.

This model covers the following:

- The investment in repairs and maintenance and the replacement of existing infrastructure, backlogs; investments required to create smart cities; impact of debtors outstanding on financial viability; and the need to increase the provision for bad debts to write-off these debts.
- The loans outstanding and cash/ investments.
- In addition, alternative sources of revenue will be considered, both in respect of capital expenditure as well as operating expenditure, which will result in a restated bottom line for the metropolitan councils, which will provide a far better perspective on the challenges that the three metropolitan councils are faced with in terms of sustainability, asset management and provision of new infrastructure.

The model commences with the 2012/13 financial year income and expenditure, which reflects a surplus of R8 273 205 000 for all three metropolitan councils. Adjustments are made for the various expenditure and income areas resulting in a revised deficit of R15 396 200 000. The model is detailed in the Tables below.

Assumptions

- A rate of 4% was used to determine the repairs and maintenance and replacement costs of assets. This rate is recommended by the World Bank (McKinsey Global Institute 2013b:2)
- A borrowing rate of 10% was used. This is the current borrowing rate of the eThekwini Municipality for a loan of R1.5bn for the 2013/14 financial year. The borrowing rates will differ for each municipality, dependent on their credit rating, quantum of the loan, duration of the loan, and market conditions at the time that the tenders for the rates are advertised.
- The actual bad debt provision has been increased by 10%.
- The average of Cape Town’s and eThekwini’s free basic services has been applied to Tshwane to determine the rates forgone.
- A 1% increase has been provided for property tax and trading services to determine the increased revenue collection. This is because there is little scope to generate further revenue from these sources.
• A 1% decrease in salaries, wages and allowances is used in the model. This is the estimated gain from productivity, cost cutting measures and alternative service delivery mechanisms. Salary increases are determined nationally.
• A reduction in unfunded mandates has been provided for at a rate of 5%. This is based on a conservative reduction in unfunded mandates due to current tight economic conditions resulting in poor growth of national taxes, and accordingly, limiting national government’s ability to fund additional expenditure.
• To determine the backlog, the World Bank backlog study was used and the figure of R320bn (after inflation) was apportioned to the metropolitan councils on the basis of their capital expenditure (McKinsey Global Institute, 2013:2). This is a very conservative approach.
• A 0.5% per annum increase in the population was applied. This is in line with the 2011 census results.
• The eThekwini Cost Services Model for water, electricity, sewerage and roads was used to determine the cost of R130 000 to service a site.
• An additional investment of R1bn per annum for smart city initiatives was assumed. This is an estimated cost. A conservative figure is used as the focus of developmental local government is still on basic service delivery.
• No further provision from depreciation can be used for funding. This is because the full depreciation provision is already being utilised.
• It is assumed that a further R53m per annum could be generated by Cape Town from development levies, in addition to the current R147m. This figure of R200m was then applied to Tshwane and eThekwini as well.
• An additional R21.835bn needs to be borrowed by the three metropolitan councils. This is not sustainable and is being used only for modelling the impact. Only the interest repayable on the loan has been provided for as this is the impact on the income and expenditure statement. The repayment of the loan is a cash flow item.

Total income less total expenditure provides the net surplus. Additional revenue sources need to be added to this. However, the shortfall in respect of repairs and maintenance, the additional cost of capital, the write-off of debt and the cost of free basic services need to be deducted from this to provide the true/adjusted deficit.

The operating surplus based on the modelling decreases from a net surplus of R8.2bn to a net deficit of R15.4bn. This will require a further tariff increase of 30%, over and above the tariff increases that are already approximately 2% to 3% above the consumer price index (CPI). Moreover, a further increase of 1% in revenue collection and a 1% increase in the tariffs have also been factored into the model. This will result in increases in tariffs of above CPI, and will be
Table 3: Operating Expenditure & Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cape Town R’ 000</th>
<th>eThekwini R’ 000</th>
<th>Tshwane R’ 000</th>
<th>Total R’000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Operating</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>27,363,454</td>
<td>24,602,951</td>
<td>21,716,294</td>
<td>73,682,699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditure</td>
<td>23,919,728</td>
<td>21,873,017</td>
<td>19,616,749</td>
<td>65,409,494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net Surplus</td>
<td>-3,443,726</td>
<td>-2,729,934</td>
<td>-2,099,545</td>
<td>-8,273,205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net Shortfall in Repairs and Maintenance and Rehabilitation of Assets (Note 1)</td>
<td>7,373,994</td>
<td>9,144,477</td>
<td>3,929,277</td>
<td>20,447,748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional Cost Capital Financing (Note 2)</td>
<td>778,900</td>
<td>747,000</td>
<td>612,600</td>
<td>2,138,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debtor Write-Off (10% pa) (Note 3)</td>
<td>417,223</td>
<td>302,895</td>
<td>312,496</td>
<td>1,032,614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free Basic Services (Note 4)</td>
<td>342,231</td>
<td>678,490</td>
<td>510,360</td>
<td>1,531,081</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less: Additional Revenue Sources (Note 5)</td>
<td>566,877</td>
<td>486,248</td>
<td>427,413</td>
<td>1,480,538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted Deficit</td>
<td>4,901,745</td>
<td>7,656,680</td>
<td>2,837,775</td>
<td>15,396,200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Kumar 2014:202)
### Table 4: Capital Expenditure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cape town R' 000</th>
<th>eThekwini R' 000</th>
<th>Tshwane R' 000</th>
<th>Total R' 000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Capital Expenditure (2012/13)</strong></td>
<td>5,868,809</td>
<td>3,468,740</td>
<td>3,343,692</td>
<td>12,681,241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Funded by:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grants and subsidies</td>
<td>3,335,821</td>
<td>1,794,910</td>
<td>1,089,692</td>
<td>6,220,423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borrowings</td>
<td>1,784,935</td>
<td>1,600,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,384,935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own sources (Depreciation etc)</td>
<td>600,597</td>
<td>1,673,830</td>
<td>654,000</td>
<td>2,928,427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development levies</td>
<td>147,456</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>147,456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Balanced Capital Budget</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Add:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Backlogs (Note 6.1)</td>
<td>6,441,000</td>
<td>6,198,000</td>
<td>4,861,000</td>
<td>17,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) informal settlements (Note 6.2)</td>
<td>401,000</td>
<td>472,000</td>
<td>465,000</td>
<td>1,338,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) Smart city investment (Note 6.3)</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
<td>3,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Additional Expenditure</strong></td>
<td>7,842,000</td>
<td>7,670,000</td>
<td>6,326,000</td>
<td>21,838,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development Charges (Note 6)</td>
<td>-53,000</td>
<td>-200,000</td>
<td>-200,000</td>
<td>-453,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>7,789,000</td>
<td>7,470,000</td>
<td>6,126,000</td>
<td>21,385,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Kumar 2014:205)
unsustainable to both residents and business. It should also be noted that this increase will merely be to break even, to ensure that the metropolitan council is able to meet unforeseen expenditure and/or a drop in collection rates, so a further increase of at least 5% will be required, resulting in an overall increase of 37%.

**Table 5: Cash on Hand/Gearing**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cape Town R’000</th>
<th>eThekwini R’000</th>
<th>Tshwane R’000</th>
<th>Total R’000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cash Balance as at 2013-06-30</td>
<td>4,735,253</td>
<td>5,559,709</td>
<td>1,376,970</td>
<td>11,671,932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less: General Insurance Fund</td>
<td>511,743</td>
<td>965,842</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,477,585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinking Fund</td>
<td>900,880</td>
<td>1,039,838</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,940,718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspent Grants</td>
<td>858,556</td>
<td></td>
<td>126,494</td>
<td>985,050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>UNENCUMBERED CASH</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,464,074</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,554,029</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,250,476</strong></td>
<td><strong>7,268,579</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(90 days norm)

|                    | 8,617,883       | 7,700,000       |               | 16,317,883  |
| 5-Year Projection of Cash (need to deduct GIF and Sinking Fund) | | | | 16,317,883 |

| Loans Outstanding as at 2013-06-30 | 7,371,000       | 9,044,012       | 8,136,085     | 24,551,097  |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>5-YEAR PROJECTION</strong></th>
<th>15,183,000</th>
<th>10,240,000</th>
<th>15,164,000</th>
<th>40,587,000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gearing 5 Year projection</td>
<td>43.7%</td>
<td>32.0%</td>
<td>53.0%</td>
<td>43.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gearing after R2bn additional expenditure per annum</td>
<td>65 %</td>
<td>57 %</td>
<td>82 %</td>
<td>68 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gearing after full shortfall being borrowed 21.388bn</td>
<td>134%</td>
<td>130 %</td>
<td>143 %</td>
<td>135 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Kumar and Reddy 2016)
In addition, there is also a major funding gap in the capital expenditure of R2 1385bn, after providing for the increase in borrowings for each metropolitan council, which is also not sustainable. The gearing ratio based on R2bn additional capital expenditure over five years increases from an average of 43% to 75%, which is also not sustainable. This will increase even further to 135% if the R21.385bn is borrowed over the next five years (see Table 5).

Moreover, as per Table 5, the cash on hand after deducting unspent grants, and ring-fenced cash for the General Insurance Fund (GIF) and Sinking Fund for repayment of loans, is well below the National Treasury norm. Furthermore, the depreciation provision is not cash backed, which will put further strain on borrowings when assets need to be replaced.

From the above it should be noted that the metropolitan councils have maximised all funding sources, namely, property taxes and tariffs, as well as borrowings in respect of capital expenditure. Accordingly, should new funding sources not be identified, the metropolitan councils will be in a precarious financial position that will clearly not be sustainable and they will be unable to deliver the services they are mandated to provide. Metropolitan councils would suffer the same consequences as Eskom, of not providing for growth, asset maintenance and rehabilitation, and not appropriately providing funding for the replacement of assets.

**KEY CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

The main aim of the study is to determine whether there is a funding gap in metropolitan councils, and if so, to quantify same and provide ways to address this problem. The findings clearly demonstrate that there is a huge funding gap in metropolitan councils.

**Key conclusions**

- All three metropolitan councils have maximised their primary existing funding sources in respect of tariffs for electricity, water, sanitation, refuse removal and property tax. The scope to increase grants is dependent on the state of the national economy and the fact that local government would have to compete with other provincial and national fiscal priorities. As regards capital expenditure there is scope to increase borrowings, however, this is not sustainable and will also impact on the tariff increase. There is scope to increase development levies, however, this must be looked at in terms of affordability to developers, as well as the overall impact in terms of global competitiveness to attract investors.
The FFC (representative interviewed on 18 February 2014 in Kumar 2014:168) has recommended a local business tax as well as several other non-traditional sources, such as congestion charges; levy on local payroll; tax on tourist bed-nights; surcharge on water consumption; surcharge on electricity consumption; duty on property transfers; tax on vehicle licenses; tax on outdoor advertising/billboards/signage; levy on fuel sales; tax on non-residential parking bays; tax on municipal road use; and road-tolling.

All three metropolitan councils have huge service delivery backlogs. Regrettably not all cities have appropriate systems that quantify their backlogs. However, based on the World Bank guideline of 2.8% to 4% required to be spent on repairs and maintenance and replacement of assets, all three metropolitan councils have major funding gaps. There are also huge service delivery backlogs amounting to R178.62 billion for the three metropolitan councils, arising from the apartheid-era inequity of services and the major urbanisation that is currently taking place. The key areas of service delivery backlogs are in basic infrastructure and services, i.e. water, sewerage, roads and electricity, with the biggest challenge being informal settlements and the provision of houses where the backlog for all three metropolitan councils is currently 801 123 units and growing rapidly due to urbanisation.

The total Investment required to address the expenditure is R43.8bn per annum, which will increase annually with inflationary increases and the huge urbanisation that is currently taking place. Accordingly, any delay in addressing this will result in further poor service delivery and costs growing rapidly.

There are a number of critical issues that the metropolitan councils have raised that are not covered in the IDP and/or funded. This clearly reflects that there is a major challenge with balancing the existing resources and the IDP requirements as reflected in the huge backlogs in service delivery, replacement and maintenance of assets, and lack of investment in growth to open up new developments and create jobs. In addition, all metropolitan councils have recognised inequality, poverty, climate change and urbanisation as major challenges in their IDP. However, not all the challenges have been budgeted for.

The current level of funding is not sustainable as the tariff and rates increases are above CPI. These increases need to be affordable and realistic but at the same time deliver a level of service that is acceptable. The unfunded mandates for the three metropolitan councils amount to R2.481bn. The collection rates for all three metropolitan councils are above 95% and there is a risk of not sustaining these high levels of collection rates. Debtors are also growing in number. A further key issue that has impacted on one of the
metropolitan councils is boundary changes. The re-demarcation of Tshwane has had a material impact on its viability and sustainability.

- The impact of additional sources of revenue from existing tariffs and improved efficiencies amounts to R1.4bn. This funding is not sufficient to meet the current funding gap of R43.8bn, or after borrowing for capital expenditure, a gap of R22bn. Moreover, not all of the additional funding sources will have a recurring benefit. The increased revenue collection, reduced expenditure, improved productivity and unfunded mandates will ultimately reach a zero return. However, tariff increases above CPI, while not recommended, could be sustained, but this would lead to unaffordable tariffs, which could lead to consumer resistance. The borrowings to fund capital expenditure will also not be sustainable. Accordingly, new revenue sources need to be identified.

- The following are the prioritised issues that the metropolitan councils in the study have identified in order to become smart cities (listed in order of priority): roll out of fibre optic networks; reduction of distribution losses and theft in electricity and water; technology improvements; attracting new investments and smart metering; increasing productivity; SCM improvements; cost rationalisation and value for money; mobility optimisation; urbanisation – improve spatial planning and densification; improved economic growth; and, climate change strategy. These smart city initiatives require huge investments. They need to be pursued urgently, while the others may be prioritised based on the ROI and other IDP priorities. Alternative funding sources must be considered for certain initiatives.

- All three metropolitan councils have good credit ratings, unqualified audit reports and very few matters of emphasis in their audit reports. This will certainly inspire confidence from investors, as well as financial institutions (which will impact favourably on the cost of borrowings). In addition, businesses and residents in the metropolitan council areas will also appreciate these achievements. However, the introduction of the campaign for clean audits by the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs has created a great deal of confusion and adverse publicity for the metropolitan councils and South African cities. This is not an audit opinion that is in accordance with the Public Audit Act of SA, 2004. As regards credit ratings, the drop in the sovereign rating has had a knock-on effect on the rating of municipalities resulting in Cape Town’s, as well as several other local authorities’ ratings dropping a notch.

**Key recommendations**

- That the use of development levies must be maximised. This should be regulated in terms of a national framework to avoid developers playing off one
municipality against another and to ensure consistency. National Treasury has indicated that the framework for development levies will be finalised in 2014. This framework will require an amendment to the Municipal Fiscal Power and Functions Act (MFPFA).

- That a new source of income that relates to economic development and the growth in GDP needs to be introduced. As per the recommendation from the FFC, a source of income that will meet this need could be a local government turnover tax. The South African Local Government Association (SALGA) should pursue this tax through the Budget Council and Parliament. The Davies Commission on tax should include in its current study on taxation in South Africa a local business tax for local government as one of the new tax instruments.

- That, notwithstanding the current state of the economy, SALGA should be actively pursuing with National Treasury through the Budget Council and Parliament the need for additional operating and capital grants.

- That all metropolitan councils need to have a uniform system of determining backlogs based on a common set of standards that need to be set by National Treasury. This must be included in the IDP and Built Environment Performance Plan (BEPP). The number of units in respect of informal settlements, as well as the service delivery gap, needs to be recorded.

- That metropolitan municipalities need to improve productivity, economies and efficiencies in order to reduce the costs that could be redirected to fund this huge gap in expenditure. A zero-tolerance approach to non-payment of debt must be introduced to ensure that all those who can pay are paying.

- That investment in growth-related infrastructure that leads to an increase in the rates base, as well as creating jobs, needs to be prioritised.

- That there needs to be better alignment between the IDP and the budget. All resource challenges identified must be costed even if it is done on an estimated basis.

- That a greater focus in the IDP needs to be placed on building more sustainable, productive, liveable and inclusive cities with greater integration of investments in the built environment with effective spatial planning that encourages mixed use and ensures effective public transport management and human settlement developments. In this regard, the metropolitan councils should embrace the opportunities created by the CSP (City Support Programme) to maximise the potential of these initiatives. This will go a long way to ensuring more inclusive, integrated and compact (more densified) cities, which will improve their financial viability and sustainability.

- That SALGA must ensure that the grants for metropolitan councils are increased rather than decreased to ensure that there is sustainability.
addition, the issue of unfunded mandates must be given further attention to ensure that these are eradicated. The impact of the roll out of the Integrated Rapid Public Transport Network (IRPTN) and housing accreditation requires close monitoring as they have a huge potential impact on the finances of cities.

- That while each municipal boundary review is dependent on the contextual issues and political influences that are at play, there needs to be a structured methodology that carefully analyses the financial impact independently with no political influence, and accordingly, the terms of reference of the MDB should be reviewed to ensure that its independence is strengthened.

- That an improvement in value for money must be sought by:
  - Reducing wasteful expenditure and improving efficiencies in SCM.
  - Improved productivity must be sought by benchmarking the work of all sectors, as salary, wages and allowances make up approximately 30% of total expenditure.
  - Bulk purchases of electricity and water, which make up approximately a further 30% of expenditure, also need to be managed by ensuring that NERSA (National Electricity Regulator of South Africa) and DWAF (Department of Water Affairs) allow increases that are based on inflation, and are affordable, realistic, and effective (with productivity and cost efficiencies maximised).

- That smart city initiatives are critically examined and “creative ways” identified to fund them based on the IDP priorities and return on investments.

- That attracting new investments must continually be pursued to ensure growth of the revenue base. However, these must be targeted spatially. The opening of new areas for development and investment must be carefully analysed and developers must be put on terms to commence development within a defined timeframe, failing which they must pay penalties. This will improve and ensure a return on investment that would enable metropolitan municipalities to be more effective

- COGTA, National Treasury and the Auditor-General must drop the issue of clean audits as this is not in keeping with South African and international auditing standards.

**CONCLUSION**

Metropolitan municipalities play a vital role in service delivery at grassroots level. South Africans suffered from a lack of basic municipal services during the apartheid era. Accordingly, post-apartheid municipalities underwent a radical transformation to start delivering such basic services as housing, water and
electricity to all. Metropolitan governments were established to cover much wider areas to remedy the fragmentation and selective forms of service delivery of the past. However, a concomitant increase in the share of tax revenues has not been forthcoming to metropolitan municipalities to help them provide these services in a financially sustainable and viable manner. This article seeks to determine whether there is a funding gap in metropolitan councils, and if so, what the quantum of the gap is, and what can be done to address such a funding gap? This is one of the most important issues facing local government presently as it has a direct impact on service delivery, as well as the long-term sustainability and viability of municipalities.

The study found that there is a huge funding gap in metropolitan municipalities. A model was developed to quantify the gap. Accordingly, this study provides a major breakthrough in terms of an enhanced understanding of the funding of metropolitan municipalities and informing discussions by National Treasury and the Financial and Fiscal Commission around the national fiscus, especially regarding equitable share and how much goes to the metropolitan municipalities in future.

The study found that new sources of revenue need to be identified. However, as recommended by the Financial and Fiscal Commission and SALGA, a local business tax would be the most appropriate funding mechanism to make a meaningful impact on the funding gap as it has good reach and impact. Several other recommendations are made in respect of privatisation, Private Public Partnerships (PPPs) and exploring other sources of revenues. Improved alignment of IDPs to budgets, as well as smart city investments to stimulate growth and investment, are also recommended.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


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Contextualising Perceptions of Service Delivery and Well-being in Bekkersdal Informal Settlement

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North-West University: Vaal Triangle Campus

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to report on research that was undertaken to investigate the overall well-being of citizens in the Bekkersdal informal settlement situated in the Westonaria Local Municipality (WLM), Gauteng Province. This was done by way of assessing the perceptions of households regarding the availability or apparent lack of public service delivery. In a mini follow-up study of the views of Bekkersdal citizens about public participation in local government, the issue of service delivery was also assessed (Moses 2015:1-68). This article, however, will mainly focus on the initial survey that was undertaken to assess the perceptions of households regarding the availability or apparent lack of public service delivery. The research design of an Integrative Multidisciplinary-focused (IMD) team included a structured baseline questionnaire that was administered by trained fieldworkers by means of conducting face-to-face interviews with the occupants of 503 households. A review of the available literature in order to attain the set research objectives was also conducted. A systematic stratified sampling technique was used to increase precision in determining the sample for this project. This involved dividing the population of the Bekkersdal informal settlement into strata (the existing four wards) and sampling from each stratum (from each ward) was taken. Every third household within the stratum was chosen and visited for completion of the household questionnaire. Some of the
findings included, that 78% of households were of the opinion that a lack of public services was affecting them very negatively. The overall state of well-being of households residing in Bekkersdal informal settlement was therefore affected likewise. Due consideration should be given to the fact that residents of Bekkersdal informal settlement were allowed since 1949 to settle on unsafe ground with underlying dolomitic rock. This area is therefore landlocked for any future development due to the risk of a possible environmental disaster. Dolomite eventually weathers or deteriorates very slowly. This is caused by too much or too little water in its cavities; yet the formation of a sinkhole can be sudden and quite dramatic (Cech 2010:109). The aforementioned is also discussed within the ambit of this article.

INTRODUCTION

The service delivery protests in the local government sphere of South Africa will always be remembered – especially since 2008. There are news reports of service delivery unrest in poor urban areas daily (Thompson, Nleya and Africa 2011:1). Poor service delivery was also identified as one of the nine distinct challenges facing South Africa in the Diagnostic Report of the National Development Plan: Vision 2030 (NDP); (SA 2011). However, this cannot continue unabated and for this reason citizens are demanding greater value in the form of acceptable public services, even in informal settlements around South Africa. These demands are in line with the duties of municipalities as transcribed into the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996 (hereafter referred to as the SA Constitution 1996), Section 152(b), which clearly states that one of the “objects of local government is to ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner”. The issues of public service delivery are no different in Bekkersdal.

As a matter of fact, it is especially the informal community of Bekkersdal that currently experiences serious challenges with service delivery, with issues such as lack of potable water, inadequate housing and sanitation, to name but a few. The discussion to follow reflects on the perceptions of households within the informal settlement of the Bekkersdal community regarding their experiences and their impressions of public service delivery. A reference to the legal obligations of municipalities to informal settlements is also provided. The results were retrieved from data gathered from an IMD Baseline questionnaire process.
The study was undertaken, among others, to understand and to determine the overall ecohealth and well-being of a cross-section mining community. In order to achieve the aforementioned research objective within the framework of service delivery locally, the discussion in this article is organised into providing an overview of, among others, the research objectives of the study; a description of the study area, namely Bekkersdal informal settlement; a contextualisation of the responsibilities of a municipality in providing basic public services to informal settlements; a thematic discussion of the empirical findings; recommendations for public service delivery; and the ecohealth and well-being of a typical poor urban South African mining community.

**OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

The study under discussion addresses the following research questions:

- What are the perceptions of public service delivery as experienced by households situated within the Bekkersdal informal settlement?
- How does the level of access and availability to basic municipal services impact on the ecohealth and well-being of these households?

**THE INFORMAL SETTLEMENT OF BEKKERSDAL**

WLM in which both the formal and informal settlements of Bekkersdal are situated, is a category B municipality with an Executive Mayor Governance System (Westonaria Local Municipality – Integrated Development Plan Review (WLM-IDP) 2015:4). A category B municipality shares legislative and executive powers in its area with a category C municipality (SA Constitution 1996). Category B municipalities would have to deliver typical municipal services according to Part B of schedules 4 and 5 of the SA Constitution of 1996 (as amended).

Bekkersdal was established in 1945 as a mining township to house migrant Africans who worked in surrounding towns and gold mines (Van Eeden 2014:46). It has a population of approximately 153,614 inhabitants. For approximately 80 years, the area provided substantial economic strength for the region due to extensive gold mining activities (Van Eeden 1994), but it currently faces an abundance of poverty-stricken, unemployed community members that struggle to make ends meet. This is because of a downscaling in mining operations that has resulted in a slow economy that has to compete with the economies of other financially stronger cities and towns close by (Van Eeden 2014:1–10). Both the formal and informal communities of Bekkersdal developed as a result of mining
activities since the 1940s, regardless of the then political restrictions regarding black citizens on land close to economically active mining areas. The gradual downscaling of mining activities since the turn of the 20th century coupled with new legislation regarding the functions of local governments (Udesh, Hagg, and Nyamnjoh 2013:98–123; Van Eeden 2014) gave rise to serious challenges for, among others, the WLM. Service delivery challenges include risks such as those in particularly the WLM dolomitic area which, in the past two and more decades, has posed potential dangers to those living in the area due to sinkhole formation (Coetzer 2013). A graphic aerial map of the area is given below.

The Bekkersdal informal settlement was therefore, among others, investigated as a study area in order to obtain a sense of the perceptions and levels of satisfaction of the community of either the availability or the lack of basic municipal services. Part of the investigation included an attempt at understanding and determining how this issue affected and influenced inhabitants’ overall state of well-being. Further motivating factors for choosing Bekkersdal as the study area from a Public Management and Governance perspective included the fact that the WLM was reported as being on the brink of insolvency in 2001 and that residents perceived the municipality to be occasionally arrogant regarding the rendering of basic services (Van Eeden 2014:18). The WLM also became involved in the financial burdens of inhabitants’ housing reallocation, from
dolomitic areas perceived to be dangerous. Sanitation, road building and other services were required. All of these issues turned out to have an indelible effect on this area.

Furthermore, the township history was rooted in an unhealthy racially divided economic environment, one that over many years surfaced with numerous ecohealth and well-being scars among the members of the community because of decades-long senseless and self-centred political decision-making on several governing levels (Van Eeden 2014:18). Subsequently, public service delivery and its related challenges in the informal settlement of Bekkersdal, as well as the availability or apparent lack of public services, currently impact daily on the lives of residents. These issues are the focal point of this article. Consequently, a concise theoretical overview of public service delivery is deliberated in the next section. Reference will also be made to key terms used such as “ecohealth and well-being” as understood in the context of the NRF-driven project on community engagement in mining communities such as Bekkersdal and the ecohealth and well-being status of the said community. The research focus of this article is an investigation from the point of view of the community and their “perceptions” regarding service delivery in the WLM area. To follow then, is a theoretical overview as context.

CONTEXTUALISING PUBLIC SERVICE DELIVERY

Basic public services are mainly provided by the local government sphere in South Africa. According to Van der Waldt, Khalo, Nealer, Phutiagae, Van der Walt, Van Niekerk and Venter (2014:13), the historical burden of transforming South African society is, to a significant extent placed on local government. Prior to 1994, public service delivery was organised along racial lines but since the democratic dispensation, local government was seen to play an essential role in bringing about fundamental changes in the lives of communities who had to endure long years of uneven provision of municipal services (Manyaka and Madzivhandila 2013:175). The closeness of local government to communities means that it is strategically located to perform its mandate of providing basic services to the public, as a first step towards community development and secondly to eradicate poverty (Shaidi, Taylor and Raga 2014:108). The transformation of local government was therefore inevitable to ensure a developmental service delivery approach in South Africa.

Considering the transformational agenda and developmental mandate of local government, service delivery can be defined as “the provision of public activities, benefits or satisfactions to the citizens” (Van der Waldt et al. 2014:164). These services relate to both the provision of tangible public goods
(ie safety and security or national defence) and intangible services such as potable water, sanitation and refuse removal, to name but a few. Craythorne (2006:158) delineates a basic municipal service as one necessary to ensure an acceptable and reasonable quality of life and which, if not provided, would endanger public health or safety or the environment. A municipality must thus render and prioritise services to satisfy the needs of residents living within its boundaries in accordance with section 152(1) (b) of the SA Constitution, 1996. The Local Government: Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000 defines a municipal service as one that a municipality, in terms of its powers and functions, provides or may provide to or for the benefit of the local community, irrespective of whether the municipality provides the service, engages an external mechanism, or whether fees, charges or tariffs are levied in respect of the service or not. According to Venter and Landsberg (2012:144), basic service provisioning should be rendered in a sustainable manner. This implies that, once commenced, such a service must continue and may not be easily abandoned. A service, however, is only sustainable if it is affordable and addresses the real needs of the public. Furthermore, such services should be equitable, accessible and be conducive to the prudent, economic, efficient and effective use of available resources as well as the improvement of standards over time, be it financially and environmentally sustainable, and should be regularly reviewed with a view to upgrading, extension and improvement (Van der Waldt et al. 2014:164). The latter conceptual definition of basic municipal service delivery is important for purposes of this article because the availability of and access to basic services were measured in order to determine how it affected and influenced the well-being of Bekkersdal informal households. Households perceived the availability and access to basic services in their own particular way. However, it was important to determine by means of the objectives of this study, what constituted the actual situation regarding service delivery in the Bekkersdal informal settlement. It was also intended to determine to what extent the well-being of residents was affected by the availability (or apparent lack) of basic municipal services. “Perception”, for purposes of this discussion, can refer to a particular way of understanding or thinking about something such as basic service delivery in this case (MacMillan English Dictionary 2007:1107). Well-being denotes perceptions of the satisfactory state levels of households in the Bekkersdal informal settlement. It was also intended to determine to what extent the well-being of residents was affected by the availability (or apparent lack) of basic municipal services. “Perception”, for purposes of this discussion, can refer to a particular way of understanding or thinking about something such as basic service delivery in this case (MacMillan English Dictionary 2007:1107). Well-being denotes perceptions of the satisfactory state levels of households in the Bekkersdal informal settlement regarding basic public services provided by WLM. One’s state of well-being is determined by feelings such as happiness, being healthy and safe and having enough resources at one’s disposal. In 2013, the IMD team (of 22 members) for the NRF project on community engagement accepted a broader ecohealth and well-being understanding (Van Eeden 2014:1–8) as outlined by Charron (2011), and the International Journal of Ecohealth (2004); namely that it can be researched on the basis of:
• the built-up environment (e.g. housing, service delivery, local governance, security, etc.);
• the immediate and/or natural environment (e.g. environmental capacity, experiences, issues, concerns, etc.); and
• the well-being environment (e.g. financial, physical, social, emotional, psychological etc.).

The SA Constitution of 1996 is regarded as the supreme law of the country. From a constitutional point of view, the local government sphere is “autonomous” and possesses relevant powers to deal with its mandate including the public services outlined in Part B of Schedule 4 and Part B of Schedule 5. This principle of “autonomy” is only a philosophical reference, since local government as a sphere is dependent on the provincial and national spheres of government for policy guidance, financial support and governance imperatives, thus strengthening the capacity of local government (Thornhill and Cloete 2014:21–22). Responsibilities of municipalities in terms of service delivery also go hand-in-hand with challenges such as the local government sphere in South Africa is currently facing. The typical and journalistically well-reported situation in Bekkersdal recently, forms part of this broader challenge (Van Eeden and Khaba 2016).

CHALLENGES OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT SPHERE IN RENDERING AND PRIORITISING PUBLIC MUNICIPAL SERVICES TO HOUSEHOLDS SUCH AS THE BEKKERSDAL INFORMAL SETTLEMENT

According to the Department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA) report (2009:27) on the state of Local Government in South Africa, the central challenge for the sphere has been its viability and ability to build strong organisations capable of delivering on the principles of Section 53 of the SA Constitution 1996, which states that:

“a municipality must structure and manage its administration and budgeting and planning processes to give priority to the basic needs of the community, and to promote the social and economic development of the community, and participate in national and provincial development programmes.”

If a municipality can achieve the above objectives consistently within its financial and administrative capacity, it can be described as a functional, well-performing municipality. On the contrary, reports of poor service delivery and
resultant service delivery protests have been reported to such an extent that, in August 2009, a report on service delivery protests was commissioned by the Parliament House Chairperson Committees on Oversight and ICT (SA 2009). The findings according to Dassah (2012:19) revealed causes such as:

- Either total lack of or poor service delivery in critical areas such as water, sanitation, electricity, refuse removal.
- Either a lack of or inadequate housing; evictions; high rate of unemployment; lack of communication with communities; lack of leadership in the municipality; corruption; nepotism; maladministration; and financial mismanagement.

The Presidency (2014:39–41) attributes poor public service delivery in South Africa to certain challenges experienced in the South African local government sphere as outlined in the 20-year review of government. These constraints, which cannot be separated from institutional capacity and poverty, are attributable to service delivery problems and the category of a municipality. Municipal service delivery weaknesses are compounded by a range of local governance, institutional and financial weaknesses and a weak nationally developed revenue service. Insufficient infrastructure and appropriate service standards also hamper municipalities in rendering effective basic services, as does the general neglect of maintenance and repairs to municipal infrastructure, which may also be a result of inadequate financial proficiency.

What aggravates the aforementioned constraints in municipalities include recorded increases in population growth, escalating urbanisation, an increasing demand for municipal services and infrastructure maintenance, as well as the predominance of slow budget growth and slow economic growth. Municipalities in general are under constant pressure to improve and expand local infrastructure and services such as solid waste management and electricity distribution (The Presidency 2014:39–41). Category B municipalities such as WLM are generally unable to meet the quality of supply required of them, as they are heavily under-resourced in terms of financial and human capacity. Moreover, they are to supply basic public services as well to the Bekkersdal informal settlement situated within municipal boundaries. Considering the latter statement, the local government sphere should remain responsive to the needs, wishes and aspirations of its citizenry. However, such cardinal responsibility of local government rests on the sphere’s ability through various municipalities to mobilise resources and exploit existing potential and capacity to grow and be prosperous. On condition that they do achieve the aforementioned, municipalities are deemed able to fulfil their primary objective, namely service provision and promoting the general welfare of the South African population. Such an achievement raises the legitimacy of the local government sphere to a higher level (De Visser 2009:11).
Given the quantity of constitutional provisions and the degree of institutionalisation of local government in South Africa, the challenges mentioned above are threatening the considerable achievements made to date (South African Local Government Association (SALGA) 2015:1–132). De Visser (2009:15-19), for example notes that most municipalities are relatively large to deal with day-to-day issues, especially in rural areas. Appointment of qualified and capable staff members at the administrative level also remains a challenge.

Notably, some municipalities are able to deal with the above-mentioned realities, thus achieving satisfactory results; for instance, 13 municipalities (5% of the 287 existing municipalities in South Africa) received clean audits in the 2010/2011 financial year. The remaining 95% of municipalities received either a qualified report, unqualified report with outstanding issues, or disclaimers and adverse opinions (Municipal IQ Report 2015). These findings by the Auditor-General point to a collapsing municipal financial regime with negative and adverse consequences for the future of the local government sphere in South Africa. Most municipalities also lack basic skilled personnel to prepare and execute their IDPs. IDPs are an embodiment of the socio-economic plans of municipalities to deliver on basic needs through a service delivery framework. Naidoo (2010:106–123) further advances the debate and need for strong municipal leadership if municipalities intend to adopt and promote a developmental agenda. Through community participation frameworks, public institutions and processes, communities are engaged by their respective municipalities. Communities are able to influence municipal decisions through, for instance, budgetary responses and presentations (De Visser 2009:22–23), and through municipal elections (Kotze 2006:207–218). In a report published by the Good Governance Learning Network (2008:51), 28% of officials in municipalities lack the basic know-how for preparing an IDP document. Only 35% of municipal officials have the ability and skill to prepare an IDP report. An additional 37% of officials in municipalities have independent capacity to prepare an IDP document (De Visser 2009:23). Again, these figures reflect a picture of a struggling sphere of local government impacting negatively on basic municipal service delivery, which is no different from the situation in WLM as discussed within the parameters of this article (WLM-IDP 2015).

The authors of this article also support the observation by De Visser (2009:18–19) that community participation in local government has not been positively perceived in recent years. Instead of community members utilising the existing opportunities and channels of community engagement with local government, they have mostly resorted to protests instead of dialogue and diplomacy. According to De Visser (2009:19) and Nyalunga (2006), community members perceive their living conditions as being subjected to poor service delivery, misguided decisions and the negative attitudes of councillors and officials.
Ababio (2004:276–279) holds the opinion that a lack of civic education, public accountability, ethical conduct, and poorly skilled municipal officials, as well as the reality of non-representativeness, also contributes negatively to promoting community participation. For any local government sphere to operate optimally, Ababio (2004:281–287), Masango (2009:123–132), Míene (2009:216–217) and Draai and Taylor (2009:112-122) suggest that positive counter-measures be taken against poor service delivery in order to facilitate a workable local government sphere. Observations and principles, such as the right to universal franchise driven by mere interest in municipal elections, expressing interest in the affairs of the immediate municipal council, basic community participation through local civic organisations, community consultations, setting high public service-delivery standards and promoting the Batho Pele principles, must be promoted.

A particular challenge to the WLM, as outlined in previous sections of this article, is the reality that the informal settlement of Bekkersdal is located on dangerous dolomitic ground with potential dangers associated with living in the area due to possible sinkhole formation. At the time of the baseline research and even currently, those living there appear to remain in denial about this given (Van Eeden 2014), since most continue to refuse to heed this argument as a reason to be relocated elsewhere. According to Section 26 of the SA Constitution 1996, no persons may be evicted from their homes, nor have their homes demolished, without a court order after considering all the relevant circumstances. The WLM is therefore faced with the dilemma of providing services in an informal settlement area not earmarked for any formal future developments due to the lurking potential danger, aggravated by the already mentioned socio-economic factors, involving a hazardous environment. There are, in addition, other broader challenges such as, among others, a slow economy, high unemployment and poverty rates and low education achievements (Van Eeden 2014:6–15; WLM-IDP 2015:15–17).

In the empirical findings deliberated next, the challenges and perceptions associated with prioritising and rendering basic public services to the Bekkersdal informal settlement by the WLM are presented, discussed and contextualised.

**RESEARCH METHODOLOGY, DESIGN AND EMPIRICAL FINDINGS**

This study forms part of a National Research Funded project (NRF) by the North-West University (NWU), which has been undertaken since 2013 to investigate the ecohealth and well-being of mining communities. The integrative nature of the team has also made it possible to review the area’s local governing status and history from several disciplinary perspectives, such as Public Management
and Governance. The team investigated perceptions of public service delivery as experienced by households in order to determine how the availability or apparent lack of basic services affected and influenced the overall ecohealth and well-being of households.

The team adopted a mixed methods approach consisting of quantitative and qualitative data collection procedures for purposes of this study. According to Maree, Creswell, Ebersohn, Eloff, Ferreira, Ivankova, Jansen, Nieuwenhuis, Pietersen, Plano Clark and Van der Westhuizen (2007:268), the mixed methods approach allows for contextual interpretations, the use of multiple methods and flexibility in choosing the best strategies to address the research questions. Quantitative and qualitative strategies are thus combined to collect numeric data and text data either concurrently or in sequence. Researchers choose variables and units of analysis that are most appropriate for addressing the purpose of the study and to find answers to research questions (Maree et al. 2007:268). In 2013, researchers developed a survey instrument known as the IMD Baseline questionnaire consisting of 18 pages (trained fieldworkers administered this by conducting face-to-face interviews with 503 households). The questions were arranged around different disciplinary-related themes and respondents spent approximately 90 minutes to complete the questionnaire. The sample of 503 households was selected from all the households situated in Bekkersdal informal settlement. Households consisted of two to eight persons per family. The systematic stratified sampling technique was used to increase precision in determining the sample for this project. This involved the population of Bekkersdal informal settlement being divided into strata (the existing four wards) and sampling from each stratum (from each ward) was taken (see aerial map above). Every third household in a stratum was chosen and visited for completion of the household questionnaire. The inclusion criteria furthermore allowed for only the main household on a municipal stand to be included in the survey. All other temporary households on the stand, serving as additional accommodation that raised additional income for the main household, were merely mentioned. Researchers, however, excluded information concerning the household members from the study. The team used Atlas.ti research software to process the qualitative responses from the IMD Baseline questionnaire.

The characteristics of the study population included that:

- 54% of the respondents were female, while 45% were male.
- 79% were South African citizens; 15% were immigrants; 1% represented visitors to the area, while 4% indicated that, although they were working in SA, they were not citizens. The remaining 1% indicated that they were from another descent.
- 20% had no school qualifications; 33% had primary education; 44% had secondary school qualifications; while 2% had no schooling at all. The
remaining 1% indicated that they either attended trade school, college or university.

For purposes of this article, only the applicable themes from the IMD Baseline household questionnaire that are directly related to issues of public service delivery and connected with aspects of ecohealth and well-being were analysed and interpreted. The empirical findings from the data are therefore described below according to themes by means of a process better known as thematic analysis. According to Aronson (1995), thematic analysis focuses on identifiable themes and patterns of living and/or behaviour. The first step is to collect the data (which was the Bekkersdal IMD household baseline questionnaire in this case) and to identify patterns of experiences (service delivery issues related to ecohealth and well-being issues were identified from responses to the questionnaire). The next step to a thematic analysis is to identify all data that relates to the already classified patterns and then to combine and catalogue related patterns into subthemes.

Themes are defined as units derived from patterns such as recurring activities, meanings, feelings, or perceptions in this case. For purposes of this article, the identified themes and subthemes are centred on the following areas:

- Availability and/or necessity of water and electricity
- Lack of public services
- Service providers
  - Perceptions regarding the municipality, provincial and national governments as providers of public services; and
  - Government officials that have assisted community members
- Family well-being.

**AVAILABILITY OR NECESSITY OF WATER AND ELECTRICITY**

In order to determine the perceptions of households, the researchers asked respondents in this instance to respond to the question related to the availability or necessity of water and electricity in informal Bekkersdal where they resided. Water and electricity are influential determinants according to a Likert-type scale. 66% indicated that the availability in response to the necessity of water and electricity was not important at all while 22% regarded it to be of little importance. Only 12% reported that the availability or necessity of water and electricity was very important while 6% failed to make a choice.

The results indicate that respondents chose to stay in the area regardless of the availability or necessity of water and electricity as determining factors. The results were, however, contradictory in the sense that the availability or
The necessity of water and electricity plays a vital role for residents in any specific area. Surely this would also be applicable in the case of the Bekkersdal informal settlement. The availability of water specifically dictates the use of land and particularly land where terrestrial life can occur. Water is therefore undoubtedly a necessity. Owing to this ever-increasing need and the scarcity of this resource, human beings began to organise their settlements around available water sources for their mere survival (Diedericks 2013:84). It can also be deduced that respondents settled in the area in order to first find employment and were therefore not prioritising the privilege of having access to available water and electricity. Respondents also mentioned that their settling in the area was simply to be close to family members and to be near to their places of work.

### STATUS OF PUBLIC SERVICES IN BEKKERSDAL INFORMAL SETTLEMENT

The researchers measured the perceptions of households on a Likert-like scale to determine how the availability or apparent lack of public services was affecting the community. As mentioned in the theoretical overview of this article, the ecohealth and well-being of citizens of any community are determined by the satisfactory state of households having basic public services as provided
by government and local government in particular. One’s state of ecohealth and well-being is determined by feelings such as happiness, being healthy and safe and having enough resources (*MacMillan English Dictionary* 2007:1693). 78% of respondents indicated that the status of public service provisioning was affecting them very badly, while 19% indicated that services were not so bad. Only 3% were of the opinion that it was not a problem.

The above results indicate that the majority of households have a negative perception of public services rendered particularly by the WLM. Furthermore, the deduction can be made that the status of public services also contributed negatively towards the well-being of residents and how they perceived effective governance in WLM.

**SERVICE PROVIDERS**

This theme, consisting of five relevant subsections, measured the perceptions regarding service delivery rendered by the three government spheres as the service providers. Government as service provider relates to the authority of government to carry out formal governmental functions such as the allocation of resources (Van der Waldt *et al.* 2014:4). This is ultimately what service delivery is all about.
Respondents were first asked to indicate how they felt about WLM as their service provider. This was an open-ended question that elicited both negative and positive responses from respondents. Negative perceptions were, however, overshadowing the positive impressions.

Negative perceptions included feelings of sadness, unhappiness, hopelessness and disgust towards WLM due to poor services experienced and, for example, for having to pay for water while being unemployed. Furthermore, negative perceptions were rife because the WLM was apparently neglecting its duty to attend to complaints of service delivery by 2013. It furthermore was accused of allegedly being corrupt (Van Eeden 2014; Moses 2015). Positive impressions included that refuse was collected regularly and that streets were cleaned. Some respondents felt that the local authority was indeed doing the best it could – given the circumstances.

Secondly, the respondents were asked to indicate whether the local municipality was aware of their dire living conditions and whether it had assisted them in any way whatsoever to significantly improve their living conditions. 77% indicated that the local municipality was aware of their situation while 16% disagreed with the statement; 6% were unsure and therefore did not make a choice. This theme also included an open-ended question section that evoked both negative perceptions and positive impressions. Negative perceptions again overshadowed the positive reactions. Negative perceptions included that there was barely any service delivery in the informal area and that the municipality was not delivering on its promises according to IDP targets. Furthermore, respondents perceived the municipality as arrogant and demanding bribes in order to provide proper services. Positive impressions included that clean water from the Rand Water Board was provided by the WLM for informal household consumption.

In a third question posed to respondents they were asked to indicate whether the provincial government as direct authority over the local government was aware of their living conditions and whether it assisted the community in any way. 44% agreed that they were aware while 39% disagreed; 17% were unsure and therefore did not make a choice. Negative perceptions as responses included that no assistance was received from the provincial government and that they were ignorant, equally corrupt while also practicing nepotism.

Of the respondents 62% also disbelieved that there was any threat of dolomite in the area and that the visible sinkholes as well as the occasional appearance of new sinkholes posed no threat either; as the provincial government so frequently communicated (Van Eeden 2014). As mentioned in earlier sections, most land occupied by the informal Bekkersdal community in especially the western parts of Bekkersdal is situated on dolomite and dewatered underground springs, which makes it a risky sustainable area to occupy (Van Eeden 2014; WLM-IDP 2015:32). The provincial government ordered that residents should
rather be relocated to avoid any casualties and fatalities. Residents are sceptical whether this truly is the case (Van Eeden 2014). Positive impressions were limited to this theme, but included that there were signs of development in Bekkersdal. However, the type of development was not clarified.

In the fourth instance, respondents were required to indicate whether the national government was aware of their situation and whether it had assisted the community in any way. 58% agreed that government was informed, while 28% disagreed with the statement; 14% were unsure and therefore did not make a choice. The respondents had mixed reactions regarding this question in an open-ended invitation to participate. Some were positive by noting that they were impressed that a high political official such as the president had visited the area to acquaint his office of the challenges and problems affecting the area. Respondents indicated that some roads were fixed by national government and that they were receiving grants to alleviate their state of poverty. 75% of households were dependent on social grants as their main cushioning mechanism. In a negative response, respondents felt that central government was equally corrupt and that nepotism was the order of the day. There was also a perception that national government offered no actual assistance to help the community to overcome problems locally, even though politicians as representatives of national government had visited the area. Respondents were thus of the opinion that national government was aware of their dire situation in Bekkersdal, yet did little or nothing at all to alleviate conditions.

In the last instance, respondents were requested to name any local government official(s) that had assisted them in the past 12 months. Only 21% indicated that they would be able to name government officials that had actually assisted them, while 79% indicated that they were unable to name any official. This could indicate that the expected outreach to this particular community was perceived as not being meaningfully prioritised and monitored accordingly. Respondents were therefore unable to name any official(s) that might have assisted them with their problems.

**FAMILY WELL-BEING**

In order to ascertain whether respondents were satisfied about residing in Bekkersdal, they were asked to indicate (on a Likert-type scale) whether they were happy or unhappy. 42% indicated that they were happy as opposed to 58% that were unhappy. Furthermore, respondents were asked to share their thoughts on what contributed to their family’s happiness or well-being. Respondents identified factors such as having something to eat, to be safe and secure, to own a house, to get services and appropriate care from the municipality, and
to have water and electricity. The latter response, however, was once again contradictory to the question posed earlier to respondents on whether the availability or necessity of water and electricity was a deciding factor to stay on in the Bekkersdal informal settlement. Earlier, they indicated that it was not a determining or deciding factor, and yet, regarding this theme, both water and electricity influenced their well-being, according to their responses.

To conclude this theme, respondents were asked to identify any deterring or negative factors impacting on their family’s happiness. They raised issues such as waiting for a long time for an RDP house, having to live near a dumping site, not having basic services such as water, electricity and a flushing toilet, the risk of illnesses due to the foul smell of sewerage, not having any services – in fact, as experiencing poor service delivery considering the limited service that there might be; living in a dusty and unhealthy environment and having to survive with only the empty promises of the local municipality. Other factors such as a lack of education, not having identity documents, substance abuse, and competition for the few available jobs in a vastly overpopulated area, were withholding the respondents from experiencing an improved lifestyle as elsewhere in South Africa.

The empirical findings and interpretation of the research data above give rise to a somewhat negative perception of the selected households about WLM municipal service delivery in the Bekkersdal informal settlement. The above findings are to be deliberated in the next section.

**DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS**

The focus and purpose of this article was to determine the perceptions regarding public service delivery as experienced by households located within the Bekkersdal informal settlement and to understand how the actual availability or the perceived lack of basic services affect and influence the community’s overall ecohealth and well-being. An almost similar study was done by Helliwell and Huang in Canada in 2008, linking good government and well-being. The authors found that aspects of good governance as well as the quality of said government dominated as determinants of the everyday satisfaction of citizens. As demonstrated by the above empirical findings as deliberated, perceptions of insufficient public service delivery in the informal settlement of Bekkersdal have also been affecting and influencing the ecohealth and well-being of residents – though in a somewhat negative way.

Households clearly experience feelings of hopelessness, sadness, unhappiness and disgust towards the WLM due to poorly perceived service delivery. However, in reality, the WLM cannot be entirely blamed for service delivery problems. According to Van Eeden (2014:20), residents living within
the municipality’s boundaries are not paying monthly taxes and rates and therefore the WLM had to outsource the function to a credit control and debt-collection company. A reason for the non-payment of services was, however, that a large percentage of households were part of the “no-income” category of the population. This implies that these were indigents living in abject poverty.

Bekkersdal township has also become a township settlement characterised by violence, one in which political factions compete for the majority of local community votes. This has contributed to an unstable political era (Van Eeden and Khaba 2016:1-16) that has made it equally difficult for the WLM to carry out several service delivery tasks within its jurisdiction (Van Eeden 2014:34; 48). It is important for local services rendered to be efficient, ethical and honest; as must be all communication with the local community (Van Eeden 2014). Planning with a view to rendering more effective services as part of local developmental processes must occur in advance. In this regard, provincial governments also need to fulfil their significant roles by securing regular funding in order to avoid the challenge of local service needs piling up (Van Eeden 2014). Likewise, communities should pay for basic services of which they avail themselves in order to ensure well-functioning governance processes and systems.

The next section provides a conclusion and relevant recommendations regarding the perceptions of public service delivery investigated in this article.

**CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

The provision of public services remains the priority and responsibility of firstly the national, then the provincial, and lastly the local government. Public service delivery should be equitably distributed without fear or favour in order to satisfy citizens. The research findings of this article indicate that Bekkersdal informal settlement households in the WLM environment perceive the level of the provision of services to affect them very badly and negatively. A perceived lack of service delivery has therefore been regarded as negative towards the ecohealth and well-being of respondents. Well-being in the context of this article was investigated specifically and according to the perceptions of Bekkersdal locals regarding local governance and basic municipal service delivery in general. Well-being is measured by both health and wealth indicators, therefore necessitating a well governed municipal environment. The environmental obstacles that local (and provincial as well as national) government faces regarding the construction and maintenance of proper local services in the informal section of Bekkersdal seem quite insurmountable. To meet the levels of service demanded by residents is unattainable given all factors involved. The argument of (and in-depth research done on) environmental threats such as the instability of dolomite that causes
the occurrence of sinkholes especially during floods or which will be affected by a change in the groundwater levels, apparently fails to satisfy or convince residents. Recently, a process of relocation to safer areas started, but it will probably take years to relocate all residents. Relocation will likely fail because of residents’ apparent ignorance of the environmental danger, and an attitude reflecting a preference to rather resettle in open spaces evacuated in the process of relocation (Van Eeden 2014; WLM-IDP 2015:32).

Yet municipal authorities such as the WLM should positively and with integrity approach and clearly address urgently all the perceived community concerns and complaints, as these may spiral out of control and may lead to yet more service delivery protests (Moses 2015). This can, for instance, be done by more inclusive public participation and consultation and information-sharing processes, in order to avert negative perceptions of poor service delivery by communities. Sometimes these types of perceptions may occur because of a lack of knowledge due to a lack of efficient communication. Fully informed residents will in turn show their appreciation by cooperating with the authorities.

An inability to pay for services due to unemployment, and nurtured by low education levels that allows for levels of abject and relative poverty, seems to be part of the bigger complicated scenario of residents in informal Bekkersdal. Initiatives from all sectors, via an integrative indaba approach, ought to be a very important activity to be considered in the current untenable situation. If carefully designed plans of action involving residents can be implemented in a coordinated manner and those involved assist in addressing the main challenges; the negative attitudes and mentalities of residents should pave the way for more progressive cooperation between residents and local government. Perceptions of service delivery and well-being, as observed in the Bekkersdal informal settlement in 2013 (and still observed by Moses in 2015), should then gradually change for the better (Van Eeden 2016).

As was also noted earlier, communities should be trained with respect to what constitutes the duties and responsibilities of local government as enshrined in the SA Constitution 1996 (as amended). Furthermore, the decisions regarding the affairs of the municipal council should be well communicated and motivated in the spirit of the Batho Pele principles in order to uphold service-delivery standards.

**NOTE**

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Public Service Negotiation as an Administrative Tool in South Africa

The Case of the Department of Trade and Industry

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ABSTRACT

The study on which this article is based considered the status of negotiations as an administrative tool, with particular reference to factors influencing the negotiation process in the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) in South Africa. Public sector negotiation in South Africa has a long history of labour and legal issues, with relatively little emphasis on trade and industry for the exchange of commodities, benefits, resources, and service. The ever-growing complexity and increasing demands for public service delivery have pressurised the government to facilitate the taking of a wide range of decisions, using negotiation as a fundamental administrative tool. South Africa, as a member of regional and international signatories that impose a steadily growing number of responsibilities and compliance on the government, is required to engage in numerous bilateral talks and agreements, using various negotiation platforms. The study reported on in the current article argues that several stakeholders, both locally and abroad, require the government to respond to issues involving its, as yet inadequate response, to the issue of domestic, regional and international collaboration in terms of trade and economic development. The study employed a qualitative research methodology, whereby data on public service negotiation was examined and cross-referenced with the relevant interdisciplinary literature. The
findings involved drew attention to the numerous national, regional and global challenges impacting on negotiations in the DTI. The researchers recommend that the theory on public service negotiation be broadened to contribute to the existing administrative tools and techniques applied in the field of public administration.

INTRODUCTION

Despite the growing amount of interest that has been shown in the issue of negotiation in the 21st century, South African practices of negotiation still dominate only in the labour industry, with them playing a less significant role in respect of broader issues of public management. Therefore, the recent concern and sense of public outrage that has been voiced regarding how public service negotiations have been conducted in the Republic of South Africa requires much attention to be given to the issues of efficiency, effectiveness and productivity with reference to trade and industry. However, the negotiated settlement of the Congress for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) on the eve of the launching of the democratic government in 1993 set a precedent in terms of the significance of the need to conduct public service negotiation professionally. Inevitably, the need to attempt to better understand and utilise negotiation as an administrative tool has surfaced in the South African public service.

However, research is required to add more value to the most crucial factors influencing efficient, effective and productive public service negotiations. In other words, research is required to enable the South African public service to evaluate and adapt the different theories, models and processes of public service negotiation. There is also a need to implement approaches and mechanisms that serve to strengthen the process of public service negotiation. The South African public service, in particular public service negotiation capability, is a source of discomfort among the South African public and businesses. At present, the South African public service is faced with criticism at both national and international level within the context of the supply of public goods and services. Consequently, an increased amount of public service negotiation is required of the South African public service and of the national DTI for the improvement of economic, social and infrastructure development in South Africa.

Furthermore, with the increasing size of public service spending in the Republic of South Africa, more pressure is being placed on the public service
to provide a wider range of public resources than before, making research into the issue of public service negotiation fundamental and imperative. Insufficient economic gains and service delivery protests at the expense of public and fiscal imperatives are increasingly coming to be regarded as guaranteeing mediocre, inefficient, ineffective and unproductive public service negotiations. Furthermore, the study was intended to address the argument regarding the status of public service negotiation, focusing on the factors affecting the negotiation process, as it is conducted in the DTI. Public service negotiation has become central to political and social debates among such worker representative institutions as the National Union of Mineworkers, the Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union, and the South African public service. This article focuses on the factors affecting public service negotiation in the South African public service, with specific reference to the national DTI. After the introduction, the conceptualisation and the theorisation of matters relating to public sector negotiation have been covered, the challenges and positive aspects encountered in applying negotiation as an administrative tool are discussed before the conclusions and recommendations are presented.

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION: NEGOTIATION

There is a paucity of literature relating to the conceptualisation of public service negotiation in the public administration and management literature. The reason for such lack of clarity lies in the still-existing need to unravel the complex meaning of the term ‘negotiation’. Zartman (1999:147–148) argues that the existence of such a need indicates the vast extent of difference in opinion and the varied perspectives that prevail among scholars as to how the subject of negotiation should be handled. Couto (2010:726) confirms that the systematic study of negotiation as a private sector negotiation tool has expanded and flourished across several disciplines, most notably since the early 1970s. Kriesberg (2007:35) confirms the increased multidisciplinary interest in the issue of negotiation by providing some reasons for its existence, including the overburdened courts, matters of interdependence and competition, ramifications of the information and technology age, and the ever-increasing force of globalisation.

The conceptualisation of negotiation by Couto (2010:726) and Kriesberg (2007:35) necessitates a reasonable generalisation of the interpretation of the concept across the various disciplines. Therefore, a need to import, analyse, modify and adapt multidisciplinary negotiation in relation to public service negotiation as an administrative tool arises. In order for the public negotiator to
be able to understand the application of public service negotiations in the South African public service as well as the different related opinions and varying perspectives, the term ‘negotiation’ requires analysis.

In terms of the above, game theory is applied to a wide variety of public service negotiation situations in which the choices of parties interact to affect the public service negotiation outcome (Sebenius 2009:453). Game theory is used in regard to:

- coalitions or business conglomerates [that] are likely to form,
- the optimal price at which to sell products or services in the face of competition,
- the power of a voter or a block of voters … [and] … the legality of certain voting systems (Davis and Brams 2013:1).

In the context of this study, game theory is also used to support public service negotiations by means of conveying an understanding of the negotiation process through the study of games. Therefore, the study of negotiations may be defined by integrating the various existing negotiation situations and approaches with one another (cf. Pruitt 1981:1; Raffia 1982:7). The researchers in question describe negotiation as a repeated or frequent communication and decision-making process between two or more parties who:

- cannot achieve objectives through unilateral actions;
- exchange information comprising offers, counter-offers and arguments;
- deal with interdependent tasks; and
- search for a consensus, which is a compromise decision.

Impelled by the above statement, public service negotiation is seen as being a key component of the public organisational strategy that renders an efficient, effective, economical and accountable public service delivery in good faith.

**THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

The theories of negotiation and the increase in negotiation-related publications result in many different forms and situations within which negotiations take place, such as public service negotiations, industrial negotiations and economic negotiations (Nieuwmeijer 1992:vii). The different negotiation forms and situations focus mainly on the various negotiation aspects, such as the psychological state of the negotiators, and the social conditions of negotiations (Turan, Dai, Sycara and Weingart 2009:94). However, this study is theoretically informed by the decision-making and games theories. The South African approach towards decision-making has been ‘incremental’
in nature, with the various parties having their bargaining power based on various interests. Cloete and De Coning (2011:38) assert that the taking of an incremental approach is the result of amendments being made to policies, based on the previous history of the institutions concerned, with the approach in question being regarded as expeditious and less expensive to take than the rational approach might otherwise be. Anderson (2006:125) contends that incrementalism is essentially remedial in nature, and that it is geared more towards ameliorating the present, concrete social imperfections, than it is to promoting future social goals.

Anderson, Sweeney and Williams (2013:1) maintain that a decision-maker must choose the most affordable decision from a finite set of alternatives when there are two or more possible future events that might occur, which are referred to as states of nature. The list of possible states of nature includes everything that can happen in public service negotiations, from attaining an outcome to reaching an impasse. It is important to define the states of nature in public service negotiation so that only one of the states will occur, for instance either an outcome will be reached, or the public service negotiation will end in an impasse.

In the current study, the factors affecting negotiation were also analysed using game theory. Neumann and Morgenstern’s (2007:2) seminal work regarding game theory is based on the theory of games and economic behaviour, with the intention of solving problems in economics using an understanding of mathematics. On the contrary, Hodgson and Huang (2012:346) point out that, in 1950, Nash, a prominent scholar in classical game theory, hinted at the later evolutionary approach, while making the distinction that game theory consists of a strategic equilibrium that describes a state of public service negotiation in which no individual party can gain an advantage by deviating unilaterally from its strategy.

Game theory involves the choices made by parties when interacting to effect outcomes applied in a wide variety of public service negotiation situations (Sebenius 2009:453). Larsén’s (2004:3) analogy of the two-level game model is adopted from Putnam’s (1988:433) theory of the use of delegation in an agenda-setting role involving the power of the mediator, as can be seen in the negotiations of the European Union (EU) with South Africa. Larsén (2004:3) asserts that Putnam’s two-level (extended to three-level) game model highlights an overall framework for the negotiation process at different levels with actors in relation to whom the arbitrator might have wielded its power of influence as it tried to push through its own negotiation agenda. The three-level game model is an extension of the two-level game model. Level I refers to the negotiation process at the international level, and level II to the national discussions between domestic groups. Level III refers to the
Public service negotiation is a process that is required for establishing a trade relationship between partners. Penetrante (2012:279) contends that an effective application of public service negotiation involves identifying those factors that affect the process of negotiation between parties. However, economic and financial resources can be important bargaining instruments during negotiations, since they involve the distribution of resources and the management of funds in the public service. Bailer (2010:238) is of the view that the size of economic resource can be considered as a power resource. Other intangible factors also require managing during negotiations, like such psychological issues as fears and ego, as well as the tactics employed in the negotiations (Lewicki, Barry, Saunders and Minton 2003:6).

Similarly, information can be used for communication during negotiations. The context of communication includes mode of expression, body language and the use of electronic technology. Information resource is a key aspect that is a viable means of promoting oversight, control and scrutiny in policymaking (Bendini 2015:11). Parties that are involved in negotiation have a right to obtain independent and political oversight and review of any denials in respect of the right to access information. In addition, Bakar (2010:1185) notes the importance of such advanced technologies such as e-procurement as being imperative for facilitating communication effective solutions between trading partners. Parties that are involved in negotiations can also decide on the type of information to which they require access. Bendini (2015:10) asserts that the denial of access to information by public officials and tribunals should always be accounted for in terms of evidence and the reasons for such acts, especially if the possession of such information could be harmful in respect of public use during international trade negotiations. Notably, voting power can also be considered as an important analytical skill that can influence negotiations (Bailer 2010:237). However, institutional power can also influence a party to realise its goal against the resistance of other parties. It is also important that the information used be handled with discretion, and that it be credible, so as to avoid misleading clients and ending up with trade disputes.

During bargaining, exchange of information occurs between the public negotiator and the opposing party, with the exchange taking the form of offers, counter-offers and arguments. Overall, the effective exchange of information can promote the development of integrative negotiations. The costs and benefits
of trade disputes due to the misrepresentation of information to international trading partners may not neatly accrue to only those who are directly involved in the dispute, but it might have consequences that impact on the poor and disadvantaged producers (Maurer 2015:105). Maurer (2015:106) asserts that the maintenance of secrecy and the lack of access to international trade documents and classified information have yielded bad publicity for the EU, as many parties have become concerned about the comparative lack of transparency and accountability in the organisation. Bailer (2010:240) also asserts that domestic constraints can influence negotiations in a negative way, especially when actors at domestic level, e.g. interest groups, are too strong to pressurise the government. However, it is clear that access to information can influence trade negotiations.

Lewicki et al. (2003:135) note that some common objective or goal sharing by parties might facilitate the development of integrative agreements. Some common goals may be equally shared by parties, with each one benefiting in a way that would not be possible if they did not combine forces on attaining them. For instance, the South African democracy was conceived through a negotiated settlement in 1993, in terms of which interdependent relationships among the different political party leaders were characterised by the setting of interlocking goals for a democratic and free South Africa. Having commenced with public service negotiations, the Republic of South Africa began to realise significant investment in the country only after the democratic elections had taken place. Such investment followed on the sharing of common goals with CODESA during negotiations that occurred in the following year. The sharing of goals during negotiation can also enable the parties concerned to have faith in their ability to solve their problems, to believe in one another’s position and perspective, and to be motivated to work together (Lewicki et al. 2003:137).

Carrell and Heavrin (2008:141), together with Saner (2008:64), emphasise that the public service negotiation process often concerns power. In many public service negotiation situations, either participant has a substantial amount of power, which it is able to leverage to influence an agreement. In contrast, negotiators without skills can be powerless. Vasiu and Vasiu (2006:11) note that the possession of negotiation skills empowers public managers to express their competency during competitive times, resulting in rendering the outcomes of public service negotiation effectively. Important skills that can influence negotiation include strategy, negotiation, legal capacity, research, and specialist skills (Hartzenberg 2004:11). In contrast, a public negotiator lacking in negotiation skills can impede the progress of public service negotiations, whereas one who is so skilled can advance them. Literature reviewed notes that the possession of resources that are economic, financial, information, skills, and policy-orientated in nature, as well as legal instruments, can influence the negotiation process.
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURES

The main objective of the current study was to explore factors influencing negotiation, with the intention of recommending methods that can be applied to importing, analysing, modifying, and adapting multidisciplinary negotiations to be imported, analysed, modified and adapted into the requirements of the public service, especially the national DTI. The study was intended to answer the research question pertaining to which factors influence public service negotiation. The study employed a qualitative research methodology in collecting and analysing data, so as to obtain the required findings. The unit of analysis was the DTI, which was represented by the population of employees working with the functional aspects of trade and investment. A sample of 15 was composed of employees from the DTI. One of the researchers is a participant observer and has learnt that the participants were experts who have been involved in trade negotiations between the South African government and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) member states, as well as with other international trading blocs, like the European Community.

Riccucci (2010:33) points out that good public administration and management research requires varied and different methodological tools. This study notes the scarcity of experts within such government departments as the national DTI, who are equipped to handle public service negotiations in South Africa. The DTI was selected for this case study due to the experience of the Department in bilateral and multilateral trade agreements with SADC, the African Union (AU) and EU member states. In addition, consideration of the DTI’s role in public service negotiations is relevant to this study because the Department is an institution that handles negotiations at a central level and that facilitates economic and trade processes in the Republic of South Africa. The primary aim of the national DTI is to promote economic growth, employment and equity in the Republic of South Africa. In general, the national DTI seeks to achieve this primary aim through the employment of a multilateral trading system and public service negotiations on a bilateral, multilateral and regional level through the pursuit of a specifically targeted investment strategy, and by means of improving the competitiveness of the economy through the intensifying of broadened economic participation and policy coherence (Republic of South Africa 2012:1).

According to Aggarwal and Urata (2013:9) bilateral negotiation consists of two parties that are involved in a trading negotiation to pursue political and economic gains. A multilateral public service negotiation trading system has value for the Republic of South Africa, in that the system encourages investment, allows for the development of small businesses, contributes towards the creation of jobs, and seeks to guarantee the economic satisfaction of the
country’s citizens. In the current study, the researchers acknowledged that they would abide by set ethical considerations, and that they would respect the integrity of the data during the data collection and analysis, as well as during the report writing. They also undertook not to misrepresent information and not to mislead others intentionally as to the nature of the findings. In addition, the researchers obtained permission to conduct the study from the head of the national DTI, Pretoria, and ethical clearance from the University of South Africa.

For the purposes of this study, data was collected from various primary and secondary sources, such as through an in-depth interview, the making of observations, and a literature review of scholarly articles drawn from accredited journals. In addition, the data was collected from various journals, handbooks, newspapers, professional papers in international studies, encyclopaedias, dictionaries, seminal works, scholarly works, and research reports. The sources of information included the following:

- public administration and management policies and reports;
- public service trade agreements;
- articles from accredited national and international journals in the field of public administration and management;
- journals of political studies;
- scientific journals made available through e-libraries, databases and websites;
- documents on the development of the New Partnership for Africa (NEPAD) and other trading blocs, like Great Britain, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS);
- various SAGE handbooks; and
- a series of the Third World Quarterly.

The undertaking of a qualitative data analysis enhanced the integration of primary and secondary sources to enable the collation of findings. The researchers employed a qualitative research paradigm in order to come to an understanding of, and to describe participants in the study’s views on their real-life experiences (Brynard, Hannekom and Brynard 2014:39). In public service negotiation, an exchange of information occurs between the public negotiator and the opposing party, with the exchange taking the form of offers, counter-offers and arguments. Overall, the effective exchange of information can promote the development of integrative negotiations. Brynard et al. (2014:38) assert that qualitative research is more concerned with gaining an understanding of an issue than it is with providing an explanation of it. It does so by means of naturalistic observation rather than via controlled experimentation.

The main research question that was asked, in the study on which this article is based, pertained to what factors influence public service negotiation.
The research sub-questions asked were:

- Have you recently been involved with negotiations on behalf of the national DTI?
- In your opinion, how can public negotiators build up a sense of trust and encourage the establishment of cooperative relations while busy with the process of negotiation?
- What skills are required for public service negotiation?
- Do you decide on a best alternative to a negotiated agreement (BATNA) before you enter into negotiations?
- In your opinion, what factors should be considered when establishing a BATNA?
- Do you obtain political backing or a mandate prior to embarking on the negotiations?

**FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS**

The following section deals with the factors affecting negotiation processes, with specific reference to the South African DTI.

**Demographics of the participants**

A purposive sample was taken of 15 negotiation experts, consisting of 80% women and 20% men, from the national DTI. The participants in this study were all selected based on their work experience in the area of public service negotiation. The study did not focus on the gender of the participants, but rather on the insights that were obtained from being able to learn the participants’ opinions regarding public service negotiations. However, traditionally in the South African public service, men have tended to dominate the field of public service negotiation. Garcia (2004:2) asserts that there is little empirical information available about women’s involvement in trade expansion, as very few women seem to participate in trade negotiations. The ratio of 80% women to 20% men might be attributed to the fact that the national DTI is focusing on redressing past gender inequalities by appointing women as public negotiators, in line with the South African public service equity targets of having at least 50% women in crucial positions within the South African public service (Republic of South Africa 2012:1).

Of the participants, 60% were English first language speakers, followed by Afrikaans and isiXhosa home language speakers, who formed a collective total of 40% of the participants. However, none of the participants had any difficulty in conversing with the researchers, or in understanding any of the
statements that were presented to them, despite them only being in English, which was also the language medium of the interview protocol, as well as being the official language medium of the national DTI. In terms of race, the sample was composed of 40% coloured people, 40% white people and 20% African people. No Indian people or members of other race groups participated in the study. These distinctions are made for statistical purpose only.

Of the participants, at the time of the study, 60% were engaging in multilateral public service negotiations, while 20% were engaging in bilateral public service negotiations. Participants who engaged in public service negotiations in the National Economic Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC) constituted 20% of the total number of participants. No participant was engaged in any other form of public service negotiation at the time of the research. It was also noted that the national DTI tended to be involved in varied and diverse public service negotiations from an Afrocentric bilateral perspective, such as NEPAD and the AU, and from a multilateral perspective, such as the United Nations (UN), Europe, the Americas, and Asia.

**Factors influencing public sector negotiations at the DTI**

The literature and the primary data collected from the participants reflected on the issues discussed in the following subsections, in terms of the negotiation process in relation to trade and industry.

**Exposure of participants to different types of negotiations**

The participants were asked whether they had recently negotiated on behalf of the national DTI in order to link current public service negotiation practices. All the responses indicated that they had negotiated on behalf of the national DTI within the previous year, and that they were currently engaged in bilateral, multilateral or NEDLAC-based public service negotiations. The responses of the participants indicated that they all had experience in public service negotiations, and that they were familiar with the environment of public service negotiation. Ahadzi and Bowles (2004:975) agree with the fact that exposure to different negotiations and previously working together influence success in negotiations and produce efficient and effective service delivery.

**The building of trust and the encouragement of cooperative relations**

The participants were asked to respond to a question on whether trust and cooperative relations are important to negotiations, and whether they
considered trust and cooperative relations important factors in public service negotiations. One of the respondents replied:

*The only way to get a deal that is satisfactory for both sides is through trust, honesty and cooperative relations. At the national DTI, trust, honesty and cooperative relations are encouraged through obtaining an acceptable deal that satisfies both parties.*

The responses that were made in the above respect were also consistent with the arguments made by Fells (2010:6) and Carrell and Heavrin (2008:141), who assert that building trust and encouraging the development of cooperative relations while engaged in negotiations is important for public negotiators to be able to deal with the complex and dynamic public service negotiation process. The participants’ responses indicated that trust and cooperative relations are earned when there is a satisfactory conclusion to the proceedings, which is accepted as being important for public service negotiations.

**Skills and capacity required for public service negotiation**

The participants expressed varied opinions as to what skills were required for public service negotiation. In addition to negotiation skills being important for public service negotiations Neumann and Morgenstern’s preparation, decision-making and communication were regarded as being the most fundamental skills required. It was felt that the possession of such skills should be enhanced by honing the additional skills of interpersonal interaction, mental agility, active listening, argumentative ability, and verbal cognition. One participant suggested:

*Listening skills. Producing the more relevant, reasonable, rational argument. Convince through argument. Prepare, make good decisions and communicate.*

In addition to being required to be relevant, reasonable and rational decision-makers, negotiators should also be able to communicate professionally and to produce convincing arguments. Public service negotiators require a variety of public service negotiation skills, such as agility, and prowess in the use of communication and technical skills. Likewise, the above opinions show that, in public service negotiation theory and practice, decision-making and communication are fundamental skills that are required for achieving an effective, efficient and productive public service negotiation outcome. This is in line with the assertion made by Carrell and Heavrin (2008:6–7) that
the difference between the success and failure of public service negotiation lies in the contrast between a skilled public negotiator and one who is only average. These views also emphasise the need to validate the effectiveness, efficiency and appropriateness of adopting the BATNA approach in terms of the negotiations of the national DTI, as well as of other significant role-players in the South African context. As has previously been discussed, BATNA refers to the course of action that is taken by a party if the current negotiations fail, or when an agreement cannot be reached (Kim and Fragale 2005:375). As such, it is the key focus and the driving force behind the actions of multi-skilled and successful negotiators.

In order to produce a relevant, reasonable and rational argument, public negotiators require listening skills, decision-making skills, and communication skills, which assist experts in the field to produce convincing arguments towards successful outcomes. On the same issue, in the current study, another participant suggested that the public negotiator should:

> Have a variety of skills. Mostly [the] ability to be agile. Contribution of verbal, written and technical expertise. Public negotiators require a variety of public service negotiation skills, such as, agility skills, communication skills and technical skills.

Likewise, the above opinions show that, in public service negotiation, theory and practice, the application of decision-making and communication skills are fundamental to achieving an effective, efficient and productive public service negotiation outcome. This is in line with the conclusion drawn by Carrell and Heavrin (2008:6-7), who argue that the difference between the success or failure of public service negotiation lies in the contrasts that lie between a skilled public negotiator and one who is only an average public negotiator.

**Whether a BATNA was decided upon before entering into public service negotiations**

In reference to the question of whether public negotiators formulated a BATNA before entering into public service negotiations, one participant explained:

> Not really. Negotiations are pursued in line with Africa’s growth. Public negotiators do not always have a BATNA, since the public service negotiation is pursued in terms of the growth prospects of the African continent.

Similarly, another participant stated:
Never seen a BATNA. Who leads the negotiation will depend on what we can live with. I am not familiar with the concept of the BATNA. The public negotiator that leads the public service negotiation determines an acceptable outcome on behalf of the national DTI.

In contrast, another participant echoed the above opinions in saying:

*Never a best way. If you operate on [an approach of] good, better, best you will come out a loser, because the goal is not to be reached on what others bring to the party. Under the circumstances what is the most – seemingly the outcome must be a win-win situation. In any negotiation there is a winner and a loser. Better and worse, nature of the game.*

As can be seen from the above examples, the participants responded with varied opinions and perceptions, which implied that there is a need for clear comprehension as to how to formulate a BATNA in terms of the national DTI, especially in line with the impending use of the suggestions offered by Thompson, Peteraf, Gamble and Strickland (2012:34-37). The mixed views voiced also emphasise the need to validate the effectiveness, efficiency and appropriateness of the BATNA in order to establish whether that which has been formulated by the national DTI is working for the Republic of South Africa in terms of the public service negotiation process. Some perceptions are also consistent with those of Fells (2010:155), who supports the argument of Hames (2012:61), in noting that a BATNA is not an object for which to strive, but that, rather, such an agreement is a sign of the harsh reality that is involved when a public negotiator is compelled to accept a public service negotiation outcome.

**Factors considered when formulating a BATNA**

In light of the above-mentioned statement on BATNA use, the need to understand how public negotiators formulate a BATNA in practice arises. The participants were, consequently, asked about the factors that they considered when establishing a BATNA. One participant stated:

*Bottom line, for example, what we can’t do without in the agreement. What is critical, what is good to have, what can be traded?*

When formulating the BATNA, the factor of bottom line is considered. In other words, those terms in the agreement that are critical to the development of the national DTI in achieving an acceptable outcome, and those issues that can be traded in the process of the public service negotiation, are decided upon.
Another participant suggested:

*Focusing on a win-win situation. The reality is, two out of ten is better than ten out of ten.*

The formulation of the BATNA is based on a win-win situation and on the principle of the bottom line. However, it is also noted that the respondents’ usage of the BATNA in public service negotiations at the national DTI requires further development. This finding is consistent with Hames’ (2012:32–33) argument that a common problem is that public negotiators are reluctant to recognise the real BATNA formulated; instead, public negotiators tend to fall prey to wishful thinking and unrealistic optimism about their negotiations.

**Political backing of the negotiation process**

The participants were asked whether political backing or a mandate is obtained prior to the start of the negotiation process. As illustrated in Table 1, all the participants agreed that they obtained political backing or a mandate prior to beginning the public service negotiation process. The explanations also showed that, without gaining the political backing of the ministers, public service negotiations tend to be subject to delays. This finding is consistent with those made by Fells (2010:135) that the nature of public service negotiations is so complex that the agreements reached in an international arena are often subject to ratification by the government.

**Table 1: Participants’ responses as to whether they obtain political backing or a mandate prior to starting with negotiations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Do you obtain a political backing or a mandate prior to the start of negotiations?</th>
<th>Participants’ responses</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total = 100
The contents of a negotiation brief

In reference to the question regarding the contents of the public service negotiation brief, the participants expressed various perceptions and opinions as to what was typically included in the public service negotiation brief. One participant suggested:

Research issues. Get other parties’ issues and a complete briefing note. Analysis on the other party’s pursuance, our key issues, compromise on what, and analyse the process.

The public service negotiation brief consists of an enumeration of negotiable concepts that were derived through research. An analysis is undertaken of the interests of the opposing party, as well as of the key issues and the issues that constitute a compromise in the process of public service negotiation.

On the same issue, another participant explained:

What is it that you want? Receive mandate, and consult. It is a process that involves different sectors. Both parties must do background work to see if it is still in line with what we want as a country. Sit down, draft text, circulate text, analyse text to see if it is making legal sense.

On the receipt of a mandate from the national DTI, the different sectors in the public service are consulted to determine the negotiable concepts involved. The negotiable concepts are identified in line with the objectives of the South African public service, notably the national DTI. Thereafter, a public service negotiation brief is drafted, analysed and circulated to all the relevant role players, to ensure that there are no legal gaps in the public service negotiation brief.

Another participant was of the following opinion:

Always for me, on each subject, technical issues, rules of origin, textual, example, text to put forward, where we are, what we need, what is the priority, what is the minimum, (there is a need to) have all this in arguments. Always prepare, stand out every point. Explain the position. From that explanation, try and get real issues, ask further questions to get to the bottom of real issues. You can use this information going forward. What will you have to give and make (to ensure that this is) a better assessment (than that which has gone before)?

The various perceptions and opinions voiced indicated that the participants, although they did not necessarily share information or knowledge with one
another, yet they understood the contents of the public service negotiation brief. The various perceptions and opinions expressed are in line with those of Hames (2012:10) and Starling (2011:136–141), who offer suggestions as to how public negotiators can improve their public service negotiation skills, as well as plan and prepare for the public service negotiation process. The reaching of an understanding on the issues or positions to surface in the public service negotiation engagement consequently results in the drafting of an effective negotiation brief.

CONCLUSION

The current study analysed the use of negotiation as an administrative tool in the public service, by focusing on the factors influencing negotiations in the DTI. The interesting and significant associations between the different theories and the literature were explored, in line with the research findings, the objectives and the questions pursued. The factors influencing public service negotiations include the exposure to negotiation types, the encouragement of trust and cooperative relations, the development of skills and bottom-line political backing, and the negotiation brief. It was found that effective, efficient and productive public service negotiations are necessary to transform the available public resources into the maximum output or outcome, in accordance with South African public service priorities. The continued popularity of interdisciplinary negotiation research lies in the fact that negotiation is considered to be a fundamental management and life skill, both in the public service and in the private sector.

In light of the above, it is therefore concluded that the demand for public service negotiation skills, as well as exposure to the conditions of negotiation, trust, the negotiation brief, the bottom line, and political backing, expands the development of the corpus of knowledge respecting negotiation. Consequently, it is bound to give rise to numerous books, courses, seminars, cases and teaching materials on the subject that all require to be subjected to theoretical rigour and background investigation. Impelled by this conclusion, the current researchers concede that public service negotiation is a key component of the strategy of the South African public service, specifically the national DTI, towards rendering efficient, effective, productive, economical and accountable public service delivery in good faith to South African citizens. Interdisciplinary research is capable of contributing invaluable scholarly insights and a seminal structure to public service negotiations, thereby contributing to the body of knowledge that is available in the field of public administration and management. In this regard, the conclusion has been reached that the benefits of importing multi-
disciplinary negotiation tools into public service negotiations, where they can be suitably modified and adapted, are fundamental to the attainment of profitable outcomes for all.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings of the study have given rise to the following recommendations:

- It is essential that the process of obtaining regional cooperation through such forums as SADC be compared and contrasted with the public service negotiation activities taking place throughout Africa. In this way, it should be possible to reach an understanding of the possibilities and the limitations that impact on the public service negotiation process in South Africa.

- The negotiation forums within the different regional blocks should further deal with the challenges that take the form of insufficient economic gains and service delivery protests at the expense of the public and fiscal imperatives that are increasingly regarded as resulting in mediocre, inefficient, ineffective, and unproductive public service negotiations. Furthermore, this study recommends that the factors affecting the negotiation process as it is pursued in terms of SADC, the EU and the BRICS countries must be given due consideration. This is because they impact on the formation of a platform for the national DTI from which it can enter into debates and round-table sessions on public service negotiations with Africa and the rest of the world, specifically in relation to the development goals that have been formulated for South Africa and for the rest of the African continent.

- To influence public service negotiation outcomes favourably in order to support the broader priorities of South Africa and the rest of Africa, the national DTI must approach its public service negotiation work on the basis of well-founded scholarly research and engagements in associations and round-tables within the field of Public Administration and related management fields.

Future research with regard to factors influencing public service negotiation

The relative value of the various aspects of public service negotiation could be further explored by answering critical questions as to whether such public negotiators are currently more likely than in the past to seek effective, efficient and productive public service negotiation outcomes under all circumstances. Future research should also examine not just whether public negotiators have
a BATNA in place prior to the start of the negotiation process, but also what
the effect of having an effective or ineffective BATNA is on public service
negotiation interactions and outcomes.

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Challenges of Managing Cooperative Intergovernmental Relations

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ABSTRACT

Cooperative governance principles are not (always) applied in practice and many challenges have been registered despite the fact that there are structures and policies in place to deal with the existing statutory framework on cooperative governance although the interpretation, meaning and implementation needs to be addressed. Challenges have been reported from good governance; tension between the relative autonomy of spheres of government, access and quality of services, coordination, role division and capacity building.

The ability to manage the implementation of intergovernmental relations (IGR) is a mutual challenge across all spheres of government. The core challenge of cooperative governance finds strategic expression in the work of the IGR forums. In order to address these challenges, the article investigates various possible solutions and proposes some practical guidelines for the implementation of cooperative governance, for both managers and public policy-makers. The article also expresses the need to find viable sustainable development systems that includes developing and maintaining effective, integrated partnerships and common public goals. Furthermore, the article points to the importance of effective leadership, as well as developing and maintaining effective systems to quantify local government-based sustainable development, especially at community level. The importance of good practice approaches to fiscal management and the effective allocation of resources are also highlighted, with specific reference to the three tiers of government.
INTRODUCTION

Although remarkable progress has been made since 1999 with the implementation of the Intergovernmental Relations Framework Act 13 of 2005 (IGRFA), the mere existence of an Act and its impact is no guarantee that it will be translated into action, with the intended results (Edwards 2008:77). Challenges have been registered, despite the fact that there are structures and policies in place for dealing with a constitutional framework on cooperative governance. However, it is argued that the interpretation, meaning and implementation need to be addressed. According to Coetzee (2010:88) cooperative governance principles are not (always) applied in practice.

The ability to manage the implementation of IGR is a mutual challenge across all spheres of government. This core challenge of cooperative governance finds strategic expression in the work of the IGR forums (Edwards 2008:73). In terms of IGR/cooperative governance, various sources have reported challenges regarding good governance; tension between the relatively autonomous spheres of government; access and quality of services; and coordination, role division, capacity and capacity building.

GOOD GOVERNANCE

Because South African society is fragmented along the lines of political, social and economic relationships, it makes the operation of good governance extremely difficult (Mhone 2004:37). In this regard, the following is highlighted:

- McLean (2004:161) states that national government’s role in service delivery is to introduce legislation, formulate policy and monitor provincial and local government. Notably, national government’s policy instruments that are used to influence and control provincial and local governments need to be reviewed (Gildenhuys and Knipe 2007:303 and Msaseni and Hilliard 2000:155).

- According to Burger (2001:71), provinces on the other hand were established as mechanisms to enhance democracy, not management. The democratic role of provinces is undermined by the fact that national government makes decisions without considering the unique differences between provinces (Burger 2001:71). Government claims that policy shifts have been made, but without much public discussion or consultation (Mhone 2004:39). Mhone (2004:43) explains that the “politician’s dilemma is seen to be the need to contain parochial and clientelist policies, and redistribution policies, by empowering distanced agents to make recommendations and therefore rely on technocrats who (may) favour their own interests and not the masses.
of peoples’ interest” (Mhone 2004:43) (The same can also be said about politicians). Mentzel (2000:138) is of the opinion that provinces are the weakest link in the governmental chain of government. This can, among others, be attributed to the lack of skills and incorrect power sharing between the spheres of government (Coetzee 2010:92-93). However, national government’s perspective is that the provinces have too much latitude in decisions on allocating resources. Furthermore, by deviating from national guidelines, they may undermine national policy (Implementation of the IGRFA of 2005 Report 2005/6–2006/7:31 in Coetzee 2010:93).

- The country must encourage autonomously elected local authorities and give local authorities binding decision-making power in policy-related areas (Msaseni and Hilliard 2000:157) to implement decentralisation and improve democracy. However, there is insufficient, imperfect and fragmental information available to guide and direct national government in designing policy instruments (Gildenhuys and Knipe 2007:303). Undeniably, this does not contribute to good governance (Coetzee 2010:91-92). The reason for the situation is that the three spheres of government might have different views and different policy choices. This is especially the case with local government, as this sphere is closest to the electorate. Local government is thus accountable for its policy choices to the communities. They must act responsively and responsibly to solve and address community problems (Gildenhuys and Knipe 2007:302 and Msaseni and Hilliard 2000:154). The constitutional division makes public participation possible, which in turn enables decision-making at a local level (Napier 2008:164). Public participation must be emphasised to improve the functioning of local government, (Napier 2008:165). In the words of President Jacob Zuma (in Coetzee 2010:7): “Local government must work”. In his speech, Zuma also acknowledges that there are problems that need to be addressed (Zuma 2010:7 in Coetzee 2010:92).

- The following examples and tendencies with the implementation of the main principles and real working situations of good governance and IGR are found within municipalities (Coetzee 2010:98):
  - There has been a decline in enthusiasm for political participation, while the roles of managers and policy implementers are increasing (Mogale 2004:224). The Mo Ibrahim Index of African Governance gave the country 77% for participation and human rights. However, the same institute awarded South Africa (SA) only 45% for democratic governance in 2009/2010 (Anon 2010:6). Napier (2008:171–173) states that, due to a lack of interest, only a small percentage of the public will attend and participate in ward committee elections within Tshwane Municipality. Public participation is therefore inadequate (Coetzee 2010:99).
The result of an inefficient and ineffective governance system is an unstable situation. From a theoretical political system perspective, if needs and demands (input) of citizens are not met by the different policies of government (outputs), a situation of instability (feedback) exists. Instability in municipalities manifests through uproar and violent behaviour.

No coherent system is in place to measure service delivery (Botes et al. 2006a:5), which implies that the entire aspect of service delivery is a non-existent exercise. This leads to re-emphasising the importance of effective monitoring, support, oversight and intervention mechanisms to improve the situation (Coetzee 2010:100).

Poor financial, technical and general management within the three different spheres of government has contributed to protests (Botes, Lenka, Marais, Matebesi and Sigenu 2006a:5). In terms of poor management, it is worth mentioning that some municipal managers cannot read or write (Roodt and Eddy 2010:5). Furthermore, 28% of municipal workers’ posts are not reflected in the organisational structures (Roodt and Eddy 2010:6). In Johannesburg, there is a shortage of 560 personnel within one operational department (Disaster Centre) (Roodt and Eddy 2010:6). Poor management can be attributed to the fact that “many functions have already been ‘informally’ delegated to municipalities, without effective legal provision, or without adequate financial resources having been transferred” (Botes et al. 2006a:12). This could lead to political instability and, if not addressed, it could result in violence and protests (Coetzee 2010:100).

The institutional lack of transparency. Transparency refers to the extent to which the function of government institutions is open to public scrutiny (Vyas-Doorgapersad and Ababio 2006:392). Therefore, transparency is also one of the principles of good governance to which there is no compliance (Coetzee 2010:99).

There are also other challenges that the three spheres of government have to deal with.

**TENSION BETWEEN THE RELATIVE AUTONOMY OF SPHERES OF GOVERNMENT**

Chapter 3 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996 does not provide enough detail regarding cooperative government (Coetzee 2010:156). This lack of detail in the understanding of IGR which brings about a more flexible and negotiable relationship was not intended by the original legislation. It is
crucial that the powers and functions of the different spheres must be interpreted correctly; if not, cooperation may, or may not, take place (Implementation of the IGRFA of 2005 Report 2005/6–2006:44 in Edwards 2008:73). In this respect, different spheres are not truly equal, since the Constitution provides for extensive overriding and overseeing. In other words, government spheres overstep their boundaries in terms of powers and functions. As such, there is tension and confusion over the roles of various spheres of government (McLean 2004:158, 173 and corroborated in the previous section).

The tension and confusion that Malan (2005:227) also identifies, manifests itself in the fact that each individual local or provincial government claims to be independent (Gildenhuys and Knipe 2007:302). However, independence does not imply that one sphere dominates another. However, the challenge lies in the fact that national government has the power through Parliament to set conditions for provincial and local duties and functions. Therefore, it directly controls and influences the decisions of provincial and local government.

Tension also exists vertically between departments within the same sphere. For example, at a national level when one department oversteps its mandate and interferes with the functions of another department (the Department of Cooperative Governance (DCoG) and the National Treasury has some debates about this), as well as between district and local municipalities at a service delivery level.

**ACCESS AND QUALITY OF SERVICES**

The effective provision of services usually requires the participation of more than one organ of state. Therefore, it is important to have an effective intergovernmental system at local level to ensure that a people-centred integrated development plan (IDP) is implemented (Anon 2004:16 in Edwards 2008:72). Since 2000, there has been a single-sphere structure within metropolitan areas and a two-sphere system in non-metropolitan areas, which are structured for both local and district municipalities. It is important to define the functions that each of these structures should perform (Anon 2004:16 in Edwards 2008:72).

Improving access to services and offering better quality services also remains a crucial developmental outcome. However, investing in maintenance and rehabilitating municipal infrastructure has become a crucial prerequisite for continued quality service delivery. Within a cooperative approach, this requires that national government should help struggling municipalities to carry the burden of funding and the poor state of bulk infrastructure. Where municipalities have an insufficient revenue base, there should be full support
through the National Fiscus to ensure service delivery implementation (DCoG: RWP 2011:8).

Furthermore, many municipalities that play a central role in the implementation of government policies still do not have the necessary capacity to implement government programmes and ensure that there is a sustainable delivery of basic services – even where resources are available. Importantly, each municipality should have a realistic IDP, a credible local economic development (LED) programme, material and human resources, as well as management and operational systems needed to implement programmes.

Coordination is a further challenge that needs to be addressed.

COORDINATION

The Presidency’s Ten Year Review in 2003 observed that, in practice, there was little alignment between planning, policy and implementation within the three spheres of government. As such, national government’s priorities did not filter down to provincial and local government (and vice versa) (Implementation of the IGRFA of 2005 Report 2005/6–2006/7:19 in Edwards 2008:73).

Moreover, discrepancies in policies at a national level may not receive the necessary funding at sub-national government levels. Furthermore, unrealistic national policies fail to consider operational context, human resources and capacity constraints at sub-national government level (Implementation of the IGRFA of 2005 Report 2005/6–2006/7:29 in Coetzee 2010:91).

The inclusion of civil society is often seen as a prerequisite for a sustainable and representative policy process (Clark et al. 2000:10 and White and Müller 2009:153). In SA, policy processes are highly regarded for their high levels of public participation. But this process, although necessary, is cumbersome and presents an additional challenge to the policy process. By definition, local communities are diverse and consist of a myriad of income groups, races and social classes, all with different interests, priorities and values. This diversity results in a conflict of interests. As such, local government must act as the final arbitrator in this volley of conflicting interests, and it is unlikely that any one interest group will have its desires met in full (Deegan 2002:52 and White and Müller 2009:153). Acting as arbitrator and managing public participation is time consuming and costly and it stretches local government’s capacities.

Furthermore, while the Municipal Systems Act (MSA) of 2000 has given excellent instructions for developing and reviewing IDPs, an emerging reality is that notions of ‘integration’ and ‘coordination’ may actually be constraining municipal integrity and decision-making. This is because ‘alignment’ of
national, provincial and local planning may not necessarily be appropriate or necessary for all municipalities. National government leads by setting in motion the planning cycle – the agenda may then be interpreted according to the spatial and socio-economic realities of each sphere. What is necessary is joint planning, communication of planning priorities, discussion and negotiation, and the recognition of inclusive and empowered local communities (DCoG: RWP 2011:34).

As such, the idea of cooperation is both ‘underdeveloped’ and ‘overextended’ in relation to effective service delivery. The fiscal requirement for a single point of accountability works against the sharing of contributions that are implicit to the concept of integrated planning. The lack of a ‘how’ for joint decision-making across spheres further isolates success in coordinated planning. Notably, this could lead to planning for coordinating rather than planning to deliver (DCoG: RWP 2011:34).

Furthermore, there is no proper coordination regarding current legislation and new legislation that the three spheres of government produce (Coetzee 2010:91).

IGR should promote relationships with a wide range of stakeholders through multi-sphere dialogue to promote cooperative governance. This includes liaising with local government, provinces, sector departments and other state and non-state actors to promote service delivery, economic growth and social upliftment. Ideally, municipal IGR and IDP coordinators should lead the policy analysis and coordination process to ensure provincial and local cohesion. It is crucial that the system of cooperative governance continually operates in ways that result in better coordination and integrated planning, budgeting and service delivery within and across the spheres of government. This is not only to promote sustainable community development, but also to create a better life for all the citizens of our country (Edwards 2008:73).

Challenges also exist regarding role division within the municipal council.

**ROLE DIVISION**

The Constitution of 1996 does not provide for separating executive and legislative powers at municipal level. A municipal council can therefore exercise both legislative and executive functions. In terms of legislation impacting on IGR, the mayor of a municipality is the key political office-bearer. The mayor also drives the preparations and implementation of the municipality’s budget and this can be seen as another important activity in terms of IGR (DPLG 2005:18 in Edwards 2008:73).

Capacity challenges in terms of IGR are said to be far reaching.
CAPACITY AND CAPACITY BUILDING CHALLENGES

A municipality’s existing individual, institutional and/or environmental capacity can be strong or needs to be improved relative to whether the municipality:

- Is functional, as per the benchmarks in terms of individual, institutional and environmental capacity.
- Is performing at a specific level; i.e. underachieving, achieving or overachieving, on the objectives, as set out in its IDP and SDBIP. These objectives should be cascaded down to functional units in the form of business plans. In turn business plan objectives should be cascaded down to staff performance agreements at all levels.
- Is delivering its services inadequately, adequately or exceeding expectations. This is in line with relevant legislation and/or sector norms and standards, but specific to the powers and functions, as contained in the Constitution and agreed to with its community.
- Has a complaints management system in place to address the community’s perceptions on service delivery.
- Is comparing itself to other municipalities within its category as a whole, per functional unit and/or per occupational grouping, as per benchmarks in terms of individual, institutional and environmental capacity.
- Is determining why there are discrepancies between municipalities within similar categories and addressing challenges.
- Is complying with legislation and reporting requirements, such as implementing the principles contained in the Batho Pele White Paper. If not, determine the reason and what can be done to assist. Should assistance not be requested it could be offered, with due regard to sustainability as outcome.

It is also important to understand the following when involved in building capacity:

- Impact is to have an effect that is predetermined when choosing an initiative to address a strategic gap/need identified within municipalities at an individual, institutional or environmental level. As an initiative, the level of impact is equivalent to an outcome. The overall aim with the initiative should be to move 278 municipalities towards sustainable functionality, performance and adequate delivery of service benchmarks (NCBF 2012:5–9).
- Support is to capacitate staff and municipalities to be optimally and sustainably functional, capable of performing their jobs, functions or services (NCBF 2012:5–9).
- Training for the purposes of the NCBF also covers education and development thus in essence learning. Each is a separate initiative used to
address different individual capacity gaps. For example, if a person does not possess the relevant qualification he/she should be sent for formal education, whereas if a person lacks competence, he/she should be sent for relevant training (NCBF 2012:5–9).

Although they are distinct, individual, institutional, and environmental capacity, are interrelated terms. The distinction is for purposes of policy and effective strategic interventions.

Certain capacity challenges to implement and promote IGR should be addressed as a matter of urgency. According to Edwards (2008:77), these are:

- **Legislative capacity:** Deals with the ability of National Council of Provinces’ (NCOP) delegates to voice their opinions when legislation directly affects the interests of their region. Another problem is the lack of effective
communication between the national assembly, NCOP delegations and provincial legislatures. Draft Bills are often provided to the NCOP, but not enough time is set aside for provinces to provide proper feedback (Simeon and Murray 2001:77-84 and Edwards 2008:77). What is needed is to create a culture of cooperation that requires cooperative governance capacity building.

**Administrative capacity:** Provinces and local spheres of government need to ensure that the public administration functions effectively. In light of this, provinces find it difficult to create effective administrative structures, systems and processes for managing and delivering efficient services to the public in the various regions. The Ten Year Review Report (PCAS 2003:14 in Edwards 2008:77) concluded that the performance of both provincial and local government reflects great imbalances. Some leading provinces and local spheres were doing well, while others were still struggling to achieve a basic acceptable level of operational efficiency and effectiveness (Mathebula 2004:189 in Edwards 2008:78).

**Fiscal capacity:** It is said that revenue-raising in SA is by and large reserved for national government. For example, all broad-based taxes (such as income and corporate taxes, value-added tax (VAT), fuel levy and customs revenue) are assigned to national government. Effective IGR involves the transfer of funds between the spheres to achieve government’s developmental objectives. For SA, intergovernmental finances are a matter of fulfilling developmental and social obligations, and are based on a revenue-sharing model that is negotiated annually, taking local needs into consideration (DPLG 2005:10-11 in Edwards 2008:78).

The Division of Revenue Act 2 of 2006 published annually by the National Treasury, sets out the allocations to national, provincial and local governments and details the various conditional grants to provinces and municipalities. The annual budget speech further details the division of revenue each year, in line with the respective functions and fiscal capacity of each sphere. It is clear that the provinces largely depend on the unconditional equitable share and conditional grants. However, local governments can raise more of their own revenue (such as property tax and user charges), although there are large variances among municipalities (DPLG 2005:10–11 in Edwards 2008:78). Local government is also entitled to an equitable share of national revenue, including transfers to allow people to receive a minimum basket of free basic services, such as water and electricity.

In addition, capital transfers are made to local government, for example via the Municipal Infrastructure Grant (MIG). Thus, the equitable share is unconditional and provinces and local government can spend the grant as they see fit, within national guidelines, plans and priorities. The Municipal Finance Management Act (MFMA) of 2003 makes provision for interaction
between the three spheres of government and the need for assistance and capacity-building. It also regulates the timing for intergovernmental grants to assist municipalities with preparations for multi-year budgeting (DPLG 2005:10-11 in Edwards 2008:78–79).

Lastly, from a government official’s perspective, National Treasury officials have unfair access to funding to promote their projects. In view of this uneven funding access, it is proposed that there should be a separation of functions. One institution should deal with government funding and another with financial, supply chain management, and internal audit norms and standards.

- **Intergovernmental capacity:** Since 2000, approximately 65 intergovernmental bodies have been created. Among the first was the Intergovernmental Forum (IGF). Its main aim was to bring provincial premiers and national ministers together on a quarterly basis for policy discussions. The provincial governments questioned the effectiveness and efficiency of the IGF as an instrument of IGR. Criticism against this instrument includes the following:
  - The agendas of the IGF do not include many critical or important matters.
  - Most of the IGF meetings are informative instead of consultative.
  - Ministerial attendance at these meetings has been poor.

It is said that ministers and members of executive councils (MinMECs) have taken over the coordinating function between national and provincial departments and the creation of the NCOPs has further marginalised the IGF (Doyle and Naude 2007:76-77 and Edwards 2008:79). To ensure effective coordination, the President’s Coordinating Council (PCC) replaced the IGF in 1999. The specific purpose of the council is to coordinate and implement policy for effective coordination to follow an integrated approach to planning and to ensure the effective allocation of resources.

Although the MinMEC structures have made significant contributions to intergovernmental cooperation and coordination, the structure as a whole has also been criticised for being too limited. Some of the limitations of MinMECs are that they are too sectorally focused and tend to encourage the fragmentation of policy formulation; they are poorly attended (in particular by low-ranking officials who cannot make decisions at MinMEC meetings). MinMEC meetings are also dominated by national government and are not structured to accommodate decision-making consensus. Despite these criticisms, MinMECs are some of the most important instruments for promoting IGR (Doyle and Naude 2002:77–78 and Edwards 2008:79–80).

The technical committees and structures set up to facilitate IGR have achieved mixed results. Although some of the technical structures that coordinate activities between national and provincial line departments have
been effective, the Technical Intergovernmental Committee (TIC) failed to achieve more effective IGR within the national sphere (Presidential Review Commission 1998). The TIC was replaced by the Forum of South African Directors-General (FOSAD) in 1998.

Since 1997, the national Minister of Finance and the provincial ministers have been meeting regularly as the Budget Council to govern fiscal relations. About 20 other MinMECs have been formed to discuss policy in specific areas.

Other challenges relating to cooperative governance will be discussed in the following section.

OTHER CHALLENGES OF COOPERATIVE GOVERNANCE

The lack of cooperative governance within the different spheres of government has been attributed to the fact that the three spheres had to deal with issues such as bureaucracy, and a lack of:

- properly coordinated and structured information systems to facilitate provincial monitoring;
- effective communication between different role players;
- capacity to implement policies and programmes;
- trained personnel; and
- commitment to cooperate (mandates of the different government departments in legislation contradict one another) (Edwards 2008:75–76).

In defining the challenges, it is obvious that they are registered from varying policy perspectives. Thus, in addressing each challenge, policy changes may be inevitable. However, Edwards (2008:80) argues that particular strategies need to be developed to overcome the IGR challenges and that this is where attention must be focused. The following section includes proposals to address the identified challenges.

PROPOSALS TO IMPROVE THE SA SYSTEM OF COOPERATIVE GOVERNANCE

The DCoG’s Draft Revised Green Paper on Cooperative Governance (RWP 2011:64-69) has identified the following proposals and sub-proposals to improve the SA cooperative governance system; also identified in the DCoG’s Review of the White Paper on Local Government of 1998 (2011:7), as summarised in Table 1. These are also supported by Edwards (2008:76–77) in the recommendations to address the IGR Audit Report 1999.
Table 1: Proposals and sub-proposals to improve the SA cooperative governance system

<table>
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<th>Proposal</th>
<th>Sub-proposals, some also contained in the Draft Revised Green Paper on Cooperative Governance (RWP)</th>
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| To improve the way national government regulates provincial and local government | • All departments that administer legislation that influences provincial and local governments must ensure that they establish the capacity to systematically administer, oversee, review and enforce their own legislation.  
• Outstanding regulations under existing legislation should be introduced and outdated existing municipal regulations should be reviewed, with all regulations and guidelines systematically reviewed at least every three to five years.  
• A single integrated system of administering municipal legislation based on standardised regulations, guidelines and circulars should be developed, similar to the system employed by the National Treasury. A technical support agency should assist sphere-wide and sector-wide regulators to develop a consistent and effective system of administering their own laws.  
• A standing interdepartmental committee of DCoG, the National Treasury and the Department of Public Service and Administration (DPbSA) should be established to ensure that these departments share knowledge and information, their respective regulations and guidelines are consistent, that they engage with the regulations and guidelines of sector departments with one voice, and that they have the space to recommend options to Cabinet when they do not agree on the scope or content of sector regulations. As this will influence the legislative mandates of departments, the standing committee should be established by Cabinet and report as a committee to Cabinet.  
• A special Cabinet committee on provincial and local government should be established that should discuss and scrutinise all policy and legislation that influence sub-national government before they go to Cabinet for decision. |
| Improving supervision of provincial and local performance | • A complete review of reporting provisions in sections 47 and 48 of the MSA is needed.  
• The publication of a bi-annual State of Local Government Report to Parliament is required.  
• The introduction of a State of the Province Report to National Government, as well as the publication of a national State of Provincial Government Report to Parliament.  
• National government should assume responsibility for conducting capacity assessments in relation to municipal powers and functions. |


### Improving supervision of provincial and local performance

- The Constitution should be amended to give national government a discretionary power of intervention in the event that provinces fail to intervene in local government without providing due cause for the non-intervention.
- National government must define provincial monitoring responsibilities with respect to local government, as well as propose minimum resource requirements.

### Clarifying and governing the allocation of functional responsibilities between the spheres (also supported by Simeon and Murray 2001:85 in Edwards 2008:81)

- National government, the DCoG, National Treasury and relevant national line departments should embark on a systematic process of reviewing the functional responsibilities of the three spheres where there is uncertainty, and make proposals for clarification.
- The assignment provisions in the MSA and the authorisation and adjustment provision in the MSA must be reviewed comprehensively to formulate a new governance model for powers and functions.
- The system for functional assignments needs to be integrated into supervision procedures and protocols to enhance accountability for the duties and obligations of each sphere.

### The review of district, government and the two-tier system

- Key options for reform (decisions need to be made on whether to):
  - Abolish the two-tier system altogether: Re-demarcate local municipal boundaries and assign district functions to local municipalities or provinces.
  - Complete a re-demarcation of the local sphere according to the differentiated approach and mandating high-performing districts to support poor-performing, non-viable local municipalities.
  - Provide national government or agency support to locals that would eliminate the need for districts.
  - Retain and restructure districts as shared administrative and service centres for locals, managed externally, or by national government.
  - Retain districts as political government in only some areas of the country.
  - Combine provincial and district levels into a single tier of government.
  - Leave the system as it is, and review the role of district municipalities as set out in Sections 83 and 84 of the MSA.
The review of provincial government

- Options for provincial government include (decisions need to be made on):
  - Leaving the system as it is and discount major structural change as an option.
  - Abolishing provincial legislatures, thereby removing the provinces’ status as representative government.
  - Constituting legislatures differently.
  - Retaining provincial government with a number of reforms.
  - Amalgamating existing provinces into fewer provinces.
  - Establishing more than nine provinces.
  - Retaining some provinces, but not with a wall-to-wall provincial system.
  - Retaining provincial government as a sphere of government under the Constitution, but constituting its role, demarcation and functions through national legislation.

Developing whole-of-government policy coherence

- There has to be greater clarity about the respective planning powers and functions of the three spheres of government.
- Craft coherent strategy across all three spheres for the National Development Plan (NDP).
- Craft a progressive strategy for the application of differentiations across provincial and local government.
- Strengthen role of intergovernmental structures, such as the PCC, MinMEC in giving direction to planning strategy.
- Strengthen the role of provincial premiers and local government leaders regarding implementation.
- Consult and gain support for the NDP with civil society.
- Confer with the National Treasury on improving fiscal and functional skills for planning within the different cycles of the spheres of government.
- IDPs should position municipalities and communities to better manage cities’ growth, urbanisation and rural dynamics.

### Table 1: Proposals and sub-proposals to improve the SA cooperative governance system (continued)

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### Deepening Local Democracy

- The policy to improve the functionality of ward committees must be finalised and discussed together with the new framework legislation.
- Ward committees should more clearly represent a range of civil society stakeholders, such as local residents’ associations, as well as women’s, youth, cultural, religious, taxi, professional and other organisations.
- Wards covering a large geographical area should have area-based sub-structures of ward committees. These could include street, village and other sub-committees.
- More funding and other resources should be allocated to ward committees, and the proposed new funding model assessed by DCoG and National Treasury for viability.
- Council should be legally obliged to seriously consider proposals from ward committees.
- Each ward committee should be allocated a community development worker (CDW) to act as its chief executive officer (CEO).
- Each ward committee should oversee the adoption of a ward development plan that should feed into the IDP. Ward committees should take responsibility for small projects within the ward using local labour – for example, fixing potholes, pavements and street lights. These committees should also oversee larger projects within the ward.

### The Intergovernmental Fiscal Committee (IFC)

- Conduct research into alignment of reforms in the allocation of powers and functions, including emerging policy on differentiation, with fiscal arrangements.
- Ensure that revisions to the equitable share formula are aligned with emerging policy on differentiation, and any structural reforms, such as municipal boundaries or revisions to the two-tier system.
- Prepare a discussion paper on the issue of discretionary spending by provinces.
- Improve the oversight on spending of conditional grants by provinces and municipalities: e.g. the MIG and special purpose grants, such as for major infrastructure development.

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The Intergovernmental Fiscal Committee (IFC)

- Produce discussion paper based on the IFC recommendations with respect to allocating more exclusive powers and functions to a particular sphere.
- Work with key fiscal intergovernmental stakeholders to improve management functions.
- Review cause and effect of ‘fiscal dumping’ and ‘unfunded mandates’ and propose controls and procedures to align with governance arrangements for powers and functions.

Coordination and sharing of data and information on government

- Promote the use of e-Government platforms for easy access to government information by multiple users.
- With the guidance of relevant bodies, consider establishing a single authority or agency to manage data and information (particularly on local government), that can inform a service delivery facility, and an ‘early-warning’ service.

Proposals to support organisational form to support cooperative governance priorities

- A special cabinet committee should be established that will discuss and scrutinise all policy and legislation impacting on sub-national governments before they go to Cabinet for decisions.
- Government’s coordinating departments should review and institutionalise the forms required to improve core national government functions, such as administrating policy and legislation, regulatory and policy impact assessments, as well as intervention and monitoring mechanisms to pursue the overall coherence of the cooperative governance system.

Source: [DCoG’s Draft Revised Green Paper on Cooperative Governance 2011:64–69]
Other proposals to improve the SA cooperative governance system that are not included in the above Table are:

Nealer and Naude (2011:113–115) and other authors who propose some practical guidelines for the implementation of cooperative governance, for both managers and public policy-makers:

- **Identify and define the locus and focus:** First and foremost, an accurate identification of the **locus** (context) and **focus** of the development challenge(s) at hand should take place through a systematic approach to public problem-solving. Development should shift from a ‘command and control’ type of state towards an ‘enabling’ state. In this model, the State is not proactively governing society but is more concerned with defining objectives and mustering resources from a wide variety of sources to pursue those goals (Peters and Pierre 2001 in Nealer and Naude 2011:113–115).

- **Define sustainable development for the specific organisation:** It is crucial that organisations and institutions define sustainable development within their organisation and community to ensure consistency of understanding and implementation. A recommended definition of sustainable development clearly includes the economic, social and environmental dimensions (UN 1992 and UN 1997) with a focus on equity, growth and environmental maintenance (Brundtland 1987 in Nealer and Naude 2011:113–115).

- **Develop and maintain effective partnerships:** Establish partnerships and mechanisms where all the participants agree on how to cooperate, work together and add value to each other’s contributions, rather than duplicate or compete with one another. Governments now realise that they can no longer manage on their own. They have to try to facilitate and combine different groups of actors and arrange integrated quests to public problem-solving. The nature and extent of this collaboration will be the key to achieving common public goals successfully (Salamon 2002:8 in Nealer and Naude 2011:113–115).

- **Adopt an approach of integration:** Fox and Meyer (1995:65) regard integration as “…the condition in which all the parts of the total organization are held together in a state of dynamic equilibrium; concerned with the means organizations coordinate the work between differentiated task groups”.

- **Develop and maintain effective leadership:** Strong leadership (donors) is needed to direct and steer cooperative governance towards sustainable development (Nahavandi 2009; Tubbs, Husbys and Jensen 2009; Robbins, Judge, Millet and Waters-Marsh 2008 and Wells and Hejna 2009:67).

- **Develop and maintain effective systems:** As some areas of sustainable development can only be assessed by inference from what is observable and not always through quantifiable measurement (Becker 2010; Wallis, Kelly and
Graymore (2010), continuous monitoring, reporting and evaluation systems need to be in place to facilitate more effective cooperative governance (Burger 2009 in Nealer and Naude 2011:113–115).

- **Implement good practice approaches:** It is fruitful to utilise good practices, lessons learnt, and to expand capacity throughout the participating community. Continue to identify possibilities and keep the process simple, clearly defined, well structured, properly communicated, coordinated and managed, to ensure effective roll-out of sustainable development programmes.

- **Allocate and effectively manage needed resources:** Adequate resources and capacity to deal with the task at hand (i.e. strengthening civil societies to act on equal footing, awareness-raising, skills development, and modern technology) are prerequisites.

- **Manage diversity effectively:** The vital role of women and youth in environmental (and other resource) management and development must also be recognised and their full participation therein must be promoted. A sincere attempt must also be made to incorporate different cultural beliefs and traditional knowledge.

Coetzee (2010:102-103) makes the following core suggestions:

- **One of the first issues that must receive attention is reviewing all inter-governmental structures across government.** Along with this, policies and legislation of local government must be reviewed in order to improve implementation. This will also improve stability. In order to bring about coordination and cooperation, good communication and discussions between the three spheres of government are essential. Underlying is establishing trust between the spheres, which has been absent to date. Monitoring, evaluation, oversight and support systems must be established to promote accountability. The relationship between local, provincial and national governments must be shaped to provide enough policy choices to provincial and local governments.

- **Secondly, capacity building and coordination must be enhanced.** There must be a review of the integration process to build capacity in coordinated planning, budgeting and the use of implementation protocols in every sphere of government. In order to address capacity building, direct attention must be given to skills. The Skills Development Programme (SDP) will make a contribution to address this issue, which in turn will improve service delivery. “The right balance between coordination, performance and accountability may be the key to better IGR and to improving the capacity of government to deliver on key priorities” (Malan 2005:238). Although the IGRFA of 2005 makes provision for specific implementation protocols in conducting
IGR, as well as the internal procedures of intergovernmental structures, the relationship between these structures and institutions is not always clear. Therefore, specific operational principles regulating intergovernmental structures need to be established.

• Thirdly, it is essential that definite attention be given to good communication between the ward committee and the community. Tension between the ward committee and the community contributes to instability in communities. It is a positive step that the Local Government Turn-Around Strategy (LGTAS) should address this issue. Performance management systems for councillors should be established and councillors should be responsive and accountable to communities (LGTAS 2009 in Gre½ling 2015:222). Finally, it will be beneficial if programmes are set in place to measure the efficiency and implementation of service delivery.

Lastly, the following proposals are also made:

• A strategy to restructure local government representation on the MinMECs. Although representatives of the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) have membership on MinMECs, municipal managers and mayors should also be included. Alternatively, a forum for members of executive councils and mayors should be established alongside MinMECs to facilitate relations between the province and local governments within the provinces (Mettler n.d.:3 in Edwards 2008:81).

• One of the immediate priorities is to ensure that implementation and coordination agencies of basic services engage in “full service lifecycle costing and management”, including capital, operational and maintenance costs, as well as factoring in the environmental externalities. Ways need to be found to make full service lifecycle costing the norm, linked to funding incentives that reward good practice in this regard (LGSETA Local Government, Economic Growth and Development 2011:7).

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**NOTE**

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ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the variables influencing case study research design in Public Administration and proposes a conceptual framework for an increased understanding of the concept ‘case study’. The framework has been developed through a comprehensive review of the literature, and through the application of the eight steps for a concept analysis as suggested by Walker and Avant (2013). This framework consists of seven conceptual components related to the typical choices researchers have to make in planning and doing their research in order to meet the expected outcome of the research project. Three of these components, namely the case as an instance of a larger phenomenon or unit of analysis, case selection strategies and case study designs, have been identified as defining attributes of the concept. The conceptual framework serves as a thinking tool for an integrated and deepened understanding of the concept and for assessing and enhancing the practice of case study research in Public Administration.

BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

This article contributes to the literature on case study research in Public Administration by proposing a conceptual framework that could be applied for understanding and assessing Public Administration case study research. This framework determines the components related to crucial choices researchers
have to make in planning and doing their research in order to meet the expected outcome of the case study research project. The framework has been developed through a comprehensive review of the literature by way of a desktop analysis. This article subsequently explains the methods followed in this research, as well as the results of the conceptual analysis of the concept ‘case study’. It also provides an identification of categories of cases in Public Administration research, the purposes of case studies, the research design and methods of data collection and analysis and the expected outcomes of case studies in Public Administration.

Case study research in Public Administration has come of age. This category of research has been seen to grow, not only in Public Administration (Brower, Abolafia and Carr 2000; McNabb 2010), but in various other social sciences such as Psychology (Hersen and Barlow 1976), Sociology (Hamel 1992 and Ragin and Becker 1992) and Political Science (George and Bennett 2005 and Gerring 2004).

The long standing popularity of case studies in Public Administration was confirmed through two independent studies by McCurdy and Cleary (1984) and Perry and Kraemer (1986:223) 30 years ago. The study by Perry and Kraemer (1986:223) revealed that approximately 20% of articles published in the Public Administration Review (PAR) between 1975 and 1984 were case studies. This growing trend was confirmed by Brower, Abolafia and Carr (2000:373) who found, 14 years later, that the bulk of the articles in the following three major Public Administration journals, reported on case studies:
- PAR: 94%
- Administration and Society (A&S): 82%
- Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory (JPART): 72%

The popularity of case studies was not only evident from the articles published in scholarly journals, but also in doctoral theses. In 1994 Adams and White (1994:574) found that 69% of dissertations (doctoral theses) reported on case studies. Their findings were confirmed by Orosz, McKenna and Reding (1997:1983) in a similar study three years later. The above studies were conducted mainly by researchers in the United States (US) who reported on completed research projects that had been published in the US. These researchers all confirmed a strong preference for case studies by Public Administration researchers. Despite its apparent popularity among researchers, case study research remains one of the most puzzling and contested research endeavours (Adams and White 1994; Orosz, McKenna and Reding 1997; Perry and Kraemer 1986 and Yin 2014:3).

A preliminary literature review revealed a certain degree of ambiguity about the meaning of the concept ‘case study research’ within Public Administration.
For example, Brower et al. (2000:371) refer to a case study as a research design, McCurdy and Cleary (1984:49) regard a case study as a technique while other scholars refer to a case study as an approach (Adams and White 1994:567), a methodology (Perry and Kraemer 1986:224) or a method (Garson 2002:209). Despite the ambiguousness of the concept ‘case study’, several authors criticised case studies in Public Administration as having limited value for Public Administration theory building (McCurdy and Cleary 1984:49) and being of low quality (Adams and White 1994:573 and Perry and Kraemer 1986:224). However, irrespective of the apparent popularity of case studies in Public Administration research, there seems to be an absence of a generic conceptual framework for understanding the defining attributes of the concept ‘case study’ (Walker and Avant 2013:168) as well as assessing the outcomes of a conducted case study research project (Flybjerg 2006:14; Gerring 2007:115; Yin 2009:47).

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

Notably, this article has a non-empirical research design. The research consisted of a conceptual and theoretical study, using a concept analysis technique to “handle and clarify” (Wilson 1963:vii) the concept ‘case study’ in order to craft a conceptual framework. The authors regard a conceptual framework as “the current version of the researcher’s map of the territory being investigated” (Miles and Huberman 1984:33). The focus of the investigation on which this article is based, is research methodology in general and the concept ‘case study’ as a qualitative research method in particular. The conceptual framework to be developed will thus serve as a map in the quest for the meaning of this phenomenon “by identifying and specifying the conditions under which any entity or phenomenon is (or could be) classified under the concept in question” (Furner 2006:233).

For the purpose of this study, the authors applied the eight steps of concept analysis as suggested by Walker and Avant (2013:165) in their seminal work Strategies for Theory Construction in Nursing to analyse the ‘case study’ as a research method:

- Select a concept.
- Determine the aims or purposes of analysis.
- Identify all uses of the concept that you can discover.
- Determine the defining attributes.
- Identify a model case.
- Identify borderline, related, contrary, invented, and illegitimate cases.
- Identify antecedents and consequences.
- Define empirical referents.
By applying these steps, the authors aimed to obtain optimal clarity regarding the characteristics and meaning of the selected concept (Trafford 2008:274 and Walker and Avant 2013:165). Bearing in mind Trafford’s (2008:274) view of the three origins of conceptual frameworks (theoretical perspectives obtained from reading scholarly literature, personal experiences and assumptions, and reflections on the topic), this conceptual analysis relied mainly on scholarly literature and reflections on the interpretation and interrelationships of the various related concepts and variables influencing the phenomenon. In order to identify the key concepts related to ‘case study research’, the researchers undertook a thorough review of the literature from various subject fields employing case studies, such as Public Administration, Psychology, Business Management and Sociology (Adams and White 1994:573) as well as authoritative research methodology literature. Databases such as Sage research methods and Taylor and Francis were instrumental in providing access to most of the journals consulted. Articles and books containing the concepts ‘case study’, ‘case study method’, ‘case study design’, ‘case study strategy’, ‘case study methodology’ and ‘case study approach’ in their titles or abstracts were selected and thereafter organised according to a funnel approach (Hofstee 2006:94).

**CASE STUDY RESEARCH: A CONCEPT ANALYSIS**

This study analysed the concept ‘case study’ by means of the above-mentioned framework developed by Walker and Avant (2013:166). This section highlights *inter alia* the meanings of phenomena related to ‘case study research’, the categories of cases which can be studied in Public Administration, the various strategies for selecting cases to be studied, the possible purposes of a case study, the methods for collecting and analysing data for case studies and the expected outcomes of case studies.

**Selection of concept**

In selecting the concept to be analysed, the authors took note of the distinction made by Pauw and Louw (2014:8) between words and concepts, with words having various meanings and concepts having one meaning, which can be expressed in different words. Considering that concepts are regarded to be thinking tools (Pauw and Louw 2014:8), the authors have selected the concept ‘case study’ not only due to the apparent popularity of case study research in Public Administration, but specifically to clarify the ambiguity in the use of this thinking tool (see Adams and White 1994:567; Brower et al. 2000:371; Garson 2002:209; McCurdy and Cleary 1984:49 and Perry and Kraemer 1986:224).
The purpose of the concept analysis

The purpose of analysing the concept ‘case study’ is thus to clarify the meaning of the concept and to use this concept as a thinking tool by crafting a conceptual framework mapping the locus of the case study research in Public Administration. Considering the existence of “normal, ordinary usage of the concept and the scientific usage of the same concept” (Walker and Avant 2013:167), the conceptual analysis and the subsequent conceptual framework will also serve to explain its distinctive scientific meaning in relation to other related but different concepts.

Uses of the concept

Similar to Pauw and Louw (2014:8) the authors also regard concepts as thinking tools and consequently assume that a concept with a clear meaning, will significantly contribute to clarity of thinking, informed decision-making regarding the planning and executing of a research project, as well as to the scholarly reporting on research (Walker and Avant 2013:168). Being a thinking tool, the concept ‘case study’ is expected to distinguish the specific phenomenon from other related though also different phenomena. The distinctiveness of the phenomenon is imbedded in the defining attributes of the concept and its broader methodological and disciplinary application framework.

Determine the defining attributes

The defining attributes of a concept, referring to those characteristics that are most commonly associated with the concept, are indeed “the heart of concept analysis” (Walker and Avant 2013:168). A search for the defining characteristics of the concept ‘case study’, revealed two dimensions of the concept, namely activity (study) and object (case). The activity refers to strategies for selecting cases, case study designs, and methods of data collection and analysis. The object refers to the concept to be selected, model cases of the concept, as well as borderline, contrary and illegitimate cases of the concept, as well as antecedents and consequences of the selected concept.

Single instance of a specific phenomenon

It seems that the most defining attribute of this concept is its nature, namely being a single instance of a specific phenomenon (Rule, Davey and Balfour 2011:302). This defining attribute is also emphasised by Stake (1995:xi) referring to a case study as the “study of the particularity and complexity of a single case”. Gerring (2004:342) also draws attention to the singularity of cases by referring
to case studies as the intensive study of a single unit in order to understand a larger class of similar units.

Considering that a case or a single instance of a phenomenon or event (Odell 2001) has been shown to be a key defining attribute of the concept ‘case study’, it is crucial for a deeper understanding of case studies in Public Administration to also understand the concept ‘case’. A review of the general scholarly literature on case studies, revealed various examples of cases, namely persons (Gerring 2004 and Walshe, Caress, Graham and Todd 2004), processes (Andrade 2009), organisations (Walshe et al. 2004), programmes (Baxter and Jack 2008), or revolutions (Gerring 2007). In Public Administration research, Adams and White (1994:573) provide the following examples: single, small country agencies, state governments, and a policy area of the federal government. The larger class of similar units or cases refers to the units of analysis of the study (Gerring 2004:342; Rule et al. 2011:302 and Stake 1995:xi), which is not regarded as a defining attribute of ‘case study’.

Closely related to the single nature of the object dimension of the concept, is the activity (study) dimension of the concept. The defining attributes of this dimension include utilising an appropriate case selection strategy (Yin 2009:54) for the selection of the single instance (case) and the following of a single or multiple research case design (Brower et al. 2000:371; Yin 2009:54).

**Strategies for selecting cases to be studied**

The case selection strategies are regarded as defining attributes of the concept ‘case study’ as these strategies meet the criteria of representativeness and purposiveness ensuring the selection of information of rich cases (Flyvbjerg 2006:230). The logic of selecting cases is theoretical with the goal of replicating or extending emergent theory (Daymon and Halloway 2011:120; Meyer 2001:333). The literature review revealed the existence of distinct selection strategies for selecting, *inter alia*, critical cases, extreme cases, representative or typical cases, revelatory cases, longitudinal cases and replication logic in multiple case studies (Bengtsson 1999:3; Flyvbjerg 2006:230; Yin 2009 and Zongozzi 2015). The case selection strategies, each with a sound theoretical basis that aims to achieve a specific goal, are discussed briefly as follows:

**Critical case**

A critical case selection strategy, also known as a crucial case selection strategy (Flyvbjerg 2006:231), is followed to challenge, confirm or extend a hypothesis (Bengtsson 1999:3 and Yin 2009:47). These strategies search for “most likely” or “least likely” cases and cases of strategic importance in relation to a general problem and are likely to either confirm or falsify hypotheses and propositions. Instead of selecting a representative sample, a strategic sample is selected with
the intention that a proposition or hypothesis will be falsified or confirmed if specific results are achieved. Therefore, in a critical case study a “clear set of propositions as well as the circumstances within which the propositions are believed to be true” are specified by the relevant theory (Yin 2009:47).

**Extreme case**
The second case selection strategy entails the selection of extreme or unique cases applicable when the case as variation or example of the specific phenomenon or unit of analysis, is rare or unusual and thus worth documenting and analysing (Bengtsson 1999:3 and Yin 2009). Extreme cases are selected for the purpose of hypothesis generating studies (Gerring 2007:89).

**Typical or representative case**
This is the third case selection strategy involving the selection of representative or typical cases whose goal is to “capture the circumstances and conditions of an everyday or common place situation” (Yin 2009:48). A typical case study is by definition representative of the unit of analysis (Gerring 2007:89).

A typical example of this selection strategy is a study by Madzidzela (2008) with the title *An analysis of factors affecting housing delivery in the Nyandeni Local Municipality with specific reference to the Extension 4 Housing Project: A case study of Ward 21 in Ngqeleni*. The Ngqeleni area is comprised of wards 12 to 26. This case became a typical case as the entire Extension 4 was established in 1997. Ward 21 was selected because of its cross-case relationship (Gerring 2007:89) with the other wards, in terms of its period of existence and lack of clean water and sanitation.

**Revelatory case**
The fourth strategy comes as an opportunity for researchers to investigate a phenomenon that was previously not accessible in their specific social science discipline. This strategy entails the selection of revelatory cases (Bengtsson 1999:4; Yin 2009:48). As a revelatory case study is used to explore a phenomenon never studied before, there is an absence of theory on the phenomenon which makes it unlikely to formulate hypotheses to be tested (Bengtsson 1999:4). One may regard this type of case selection strategy as more applicable to exploratory studies because of the absence of theory (Kohn 1997:3; Babbie and Mouton 2001:79–81).

**Longitudinal case**
Researchers can also study the same case at two or more different points in time through the selection of the longitudinal case. Gerring (2007:90) refers to these cases as pathway cases. In this instance, the theory of interest would
likely stipulate how certain conditions change over a specific period of time, and the desired intervals will presumably reflect the anticipated stages at which the changes should reveal themselves (Yin 2009:49). A Public Administration example of a case or analogy would be to conduct a study on the implementation of a specific public policy (the case) pre-1994 and post-1994.

**Replication logic (Multiple-case study design)**
Although this article has not yet explained what a multiple-case study design is, it is worth detailing it in the context of this section as it forms part of the case selection strategy. Replication logic which is relevant in multiple-case studies (Yin 2009:54) consists of the selection of cases using two selection types: First, the researcher can select similar cases with similar predicted results. This is known as literal replication. Choosing similar cases could imply that the contextual conditions are the same in all cases. Secondly, cases can be selected based on the assumption that they will produce contrasting results – specifically for theoretical replication purposes (Bengtsson 1999:3 and Yin 2009:60). In this instance cases may be purposefully selected because of their different conditions with the assumption that they will produce contrasting results.

Nevertheless, in a study conducted to analyse South African Public Administration case study dissertations between the periods 2005 to 2012, Zongozzi (2015:80) revealed an imprecise articulation of reasons for the selection of specific cases. As these reasons are supposed to justify the selection strategy used by the researchers, this lack of information may endanger the reliability of their findings.

**Case study design**
This section will provide a review of the literature regarding the identified case study designs below.

**Single-case study design**
So far, two types of case study designs have been identified, namely the single- and multiple- case study designs (Yin 2009:47 and Baxter and Jack 2008:548). The single-case study design allows the researcher to conduct an in-depth (but narrow) exploration of a phenomenon wherein the interest is on small numbers which are carefully examined at a single or delimited point (Daymon and Holloway 2011:119). This type of design can be divided into two sub-categories, firstly a single-holistic design where the focus is on one case (Yin 2009:50) and conclusions are drawn about the phenomenon as a whole (Bengtsson 1999:4). Secondly, the other sub-category of a single design is a single-embedded case study design which can have more than one unit of analysis (Yin 2009:50). The
conclusions are therefore drawn by studying and analysing the subunits of the investigated phenomenon (Bengtsson 1999:6).

The reviewed literature associates this design with specific intended outcomes, for example theory or hypothesis testing or theory building by either confirming, challenging, or extending a theory (Flybjerg 2006:14; Gerring 2007:115 and Yin 2009:47). To be specific, theory or hypothesis testing as the specific intended outcome in case study research can be associated with critical and extreme case selection strategies as discussed above. Theory testing means investigating, to determine whether a specific theory is supported by empirical facts. For instance, if a researcher has a theory about a specific issue, the researcher embarks on a study regarding that issue to determine if the facts support that particular theory (Hillebrand, Kok and Biemans 2001:652).

On the other hand, theory building is a possible outcome of empirical case study research (Wacker 1998:373–375). According to Andrade (2009:45) the act of building theory from case studies inductively is more than simply generating a hypothesis, where the alleged “goal is not to conclude a study but to develop ideas for further study” (Yin 2009:120). Reynolds (as cited in Lynham 2002:225) proposes a theory building method called a research-to-theory strategy. The author associates his strategy with the procedure followed when developing the laws of nature by carefully examining all the data available in the following manner:

- By identifying a phenomenon and listing all its characteristics.
- Measuring all the characteristics of the phenomenon in diverse situations.
- Carefully analysing the resulting data to determine if any systematic patterns among the data are worthy of further attention.
- Once the patterns are found, “formalization of these patterns as theoretical statement constitutes the laws of nature” (Reynolds as cited in Lynham 2002:225).

Meanwhile, Carlile and Clayton (2005:2) suggested a three step iterative process of theory building by observation, classifying and defining relationships. The researcher observes a phenomenon, provides a description of that phenomenon and then measures what he or she sees. The aim of describing the phenomenon is to allow classification of it into categories. Subsequently, the researcher explores the relationship between the categories by defining attributes and the outcomes observed.

Andrade (2009:45–46) seems to provide an important input by advocating for a combined fashion of a case study with grounded theory as a systematic process for substantive theory building. The author advocates for the complementary nature of the two approaches as he asserts that while the case study is useful in defining the study boundaries and the unit of analysis,
grounded theory focuses on the existing processes where theory will be ultimately constructed. This strategy is almost similar to the strategy applied in this study although this article used a triangulation of grounded theory with a concept analysis method. Hence, the envisaged role of the case study by Andrade seems to overlap with that of Walker and Avant’s (2013) conceptual analysis as explained above. Nevertheless, this article supports the idea of separating the roles into literature reviewing and analysis to simplify the process rather than attempting to use a one method fits all approach.

Multiple-case study design
On the other hand, case study researchers can select a multiple-case study design which focuses on two or more cases. Each case within these cases can involve either holistic or embedded units as in the single-case design (Yin 2009:59). The multiple-case study design should not be confused with the single-embedded case study design because in this case the context for each of these cases is different. As opposed to the single design with embedded units whose goal is to understand either one unique or critical case, the multiple-case design enables the researcher to analyse phenomena within a setting and across settings (Baxter and Jack 2008:550). In a multiple-case study design, the researcher focuses on making a comparison between two or more cases by exploring their similarities or differences (Leedy and Ormord 2010:137 and Daymon and Holloway 2011:119) or captures varieties between cases (Schurink and Auriacombe 2010:438). By doing this, the multiple-case study design allows the researcher to generalise to some extent to a wider universe (Daymon and Holloway 2011:119).

Generalisation of findings is one of the intended outcomes of multiple-case study design. Generalising in this instance is based on the replication logic, namely the degree to which a study repeats the results or findings of a previous study, thus replication can be claimed when two or more cases support the same theory (Rowley 2002:20–21). It is achieved by comparing and contrasting the conclusions from one case with the results from another case (Bengtsson 1999:2). This type of replication study requires the development of a rich, theoretical framework stating the conditions under which a specific phenomenon is more likely to be found (literal replication) as well as the conditions under which it is not likely to be found (theoretical replication) (Yin 2009:54). There are two ways of making generalisations, namely statistical and analytical, the latter is more relevant when conducting case studies as opposed to statistical studies (Daymon and Halloway 2011:124-126; Yin 2009:38 and Rowley 2002:20).

The choice of a specific case study design has direct implications for the choice of data collection and analysis methods, as discussed in the next section.
Methods for collecting data

Case studies are normally placed within an array of methods of a qualitative design. The literature, however, shows that the case study goes beyond being a mere qualitative design by using a combination of both qualitative and quantitative evidence (Yin 2009:19). The literature shows that case studies use multiple sources of evidence (Rowley 2002:18; Yin 2003:13; Walshe, Careless, Graham and Todd 2004:678; Grunbaum 2007:80; Van Wynbersghe and Khan 2007:2 and Andrade 2009:44 and Yin 2009:18). The research of these authors is documented in a study analysing the South African Public Administration case study dissertations (Zongozzi 2015).

The qualitative and quantitative sources of evidence reported to be used in qualitative research, not excluding case studies, include focus group interviews, participant observation, document analysis and the study of artefacts (Bassey 1999:1, Creswell 2013:105; Yin 2009:11 and Zongozzi 2015). Surveys, on the other hand, have been identified as the instrument or technique used to gather data in case study research from a quantitative perspective (Zongozzi 2015). The use of quantitative data in case studies, however, may not mean that the study is quantitative. Instead, it may be merely for the purpose of triangulation.

Methods for analysing data

It can be expected for the case study design to allow a wide spectrum of data collection methods and techniques considering its diverse case study designs and expected nature of outcomes. Yin (2009:136–156) identified pattern matching, explanation building, time-series analysis, logic models and cross-case synthesis, as techniques used to analyse case study evidence.

Pattern matching

Pattern matching involves specifying post-intervention results that will either show effects or no effects through a series of data for different intervals over a specific period of time and with enough data pre-intervention to make claims for changes or improvements to be credible, thus, it can be regarded as a predictive approach. For instance, if a researcher analyses accident statistics for one year pre-intervention and the results of the post-intervention rates appear to have improved, it might mean that that one specific year was not as bad as it appeared and that the pattern for the previous years had been no different from the improved rates. Whereas, if data for four or five years prior to the intervention, and the post-intervention rates several years later are lower, or were declining steadily, then one can presume that there is some causal relationship (Gilham 2010:82). Pattern matching also compares an empirically based pattern
with a predicted one of which the results can strengthen the validity of the case study if the patterns coincide (Yin 2009:136).

**Explanation building**
Another case study data analysis technique is explanation building, a special type of pattern matching that analyses data by building an explanation about the case through the following iterative process: Beginning with an initial theoretical statement or proposition about the specific case; comparing the results from an initial case against the previously mentioned initial statement or proposition; revising the statement or proposition; comparing other details of the initial case against the revision; comparing the revision with the facts of a second, third or even more cases; and repeating the same procedure as many times as necessary (Yin 2009:141–143).

**Time-series analysis**
Time-series analysis is another technique that can be used to analyse case study evidence. It involves matching the observed (empirical) trend with either the theoretically significant trend (specified before the beginning of the investigation) or with some rival trend, which is also specified earlier. The time-series involves different designs, namely; a simple-time series in which there may only be a single dependent or independent variable, a complex-time series wherein the trends within a given case are said to be complex, for example when an investigator identifies some rise followed by a decline trend within the same case instead of only rising or declining (or flat) trends, and a chronological compilation of events allowing the researcher to trace events over time (Yin 2009:144–148).

**Logic models**
Researchers can also use logic models when analysing case study evidence especially in case study evaluations. A logic model “deliberately stipulates a complex chain of events over an extended period of time” (Yin 2009:149). This is another special form of pattern matching involving the matching of the observed events (empirically) to theoretically predicted ones (Yin 2009:149).

**Cross-case synthesis**
The last technique is cross-case synthesis which is useful specifically in multiple-case studies as opposed to the other above-mentioned techniques which can be used with either of the case study designs. This technique treats each individual case study separately where the investigator begins by creating tables that display data from the individual case following some uniform framework. The
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of units of analysis</th>
<th>Description of category</th>
<th>Possible cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individuals</td>
<td>Where a human being is the unit of analysis, it means that a researcher seeks to know more about the behaviour, orientations or characteristics of an individual human being (Babbie and Mouton 2001:648 and Houston and Delevan 1990:679).</td>
<td>As an individual is already “a single instance” (Odell 2001), a case study of an individual is not possible. This category of units of analysis is thus excluded from case study research.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groups or collectives</td>
<td>Groups or collectives refer to “people who are (or define themselves as) members of larger geographical, political or cultural entities”. These may include, for example nations, developing countries, provinces, cities, towns, communities and tribes (Mouton 1996a:48).</td>
<td>Examples of cases are thus a single nation, or a group or individual within that nation, a single country within the category of developing countries, a single province within a category of provinces, or a region within a province, a single city within a collection of cities, or a suburb within a specific city.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organisations and institutions</td>
<td>This category consists of groups of people with a formal structure. Typical examples include the South African Defence Force, Public Service and the Office of the Premier (Wessels and Thani 2014:170).</td>
<td>If the unit of analysis is national government departments, the South African Defence Force may be a case. If the unit of analysis is the South African Defence Force, the Air Force may be a case.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social actions and events</td>
<td>The researcher is interested in actions as a phenomenon rather than the individuals, group or organisations involved and their actions or behaviour (Babbie and Mouton 2001:87). Public Administration examples may include public participation and intergovernmental relations (Wessels and Thani 2014:170).</td>
<td>If public participation is the unit of analysis, small and big local authorities in Norway and Sweden may be the cases.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social artefacts or cultural objects</td>
<td>These entail the “study of the products of human beings and their behaviour”. Examples include code of conduct, books, scientific journals and articles in these journals (Wessels and Thani 2014:170).</td>
<td>If the unit of analysis is accredited South African Public Administration journals, Administratio Publica is a case.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
examination of these tables for cross-case patterns relies more on argumentative interpretation than numeric tallies (Yin 2009:160).

**Model cases for the concept ‘case study’ in Public Administration**

Crucial to the understanding of any concept, and in this case the concept ‘case study’, is the identification of a model case in which all the defining characteristics are present. In our discussion of the defining attributes of a case study, we have referred to the activity and the object (case) of a case study. This section specifically focuses on the ‘case’ aspect by referring to model cases. Wilson (1963:28) describes a model case as “an instance which we are absolutely sure is an instance of the concept”. A model case of a concept is thus an example of the application of that concept signifying all the defining attributes of the concept (Walker and Avant 2013:168). A model case is thus a “pure case of the concept, a paradigmatic example, or a pure exemplar” (Walker and Avant 2013:168).

Considering that one of the defining attributes of a case study is the selection of a case as a single instance of a phenomenon, one can thus expect that model cases in Public Administration case studies will be single instances of phenomena which fall within the specific categories of units of analysis (see Table 1). Model cases in Public Administration case studies will describe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of units of analysis</th>
<th>Description of category</th>
<th>Possible cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interventions</td>
<td>This category refers to the “set of actions and decisions that are structured in such a way that their successful implementation would lead to clearly identifiable outcomes and benefits” (Mouton 2001:88). Examples may include “legislation, policies, plans, programmes, courses and systems” (Wessels and Thani 2014:170).</td>
<td>If the unit of analysis is policies of the national government in South Africa, the Policy for the Provision of Distance Education in South African Universities in the Context of an Integrated Post-School System is a case.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constructs</td>
<td>This category consists of theories, models, frameworks, concepts and research methods (Babbie and Mouton 2001:16).</td>
<td>The concept ‘case study’ is a case within the unit of analysis ‘research approaches’.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: (Adapted from Wessels, Pauw and Thani 2009:10–12) and Wessels and Thani 2014:170)*
single instances of e.g. nations, countries, provinces, cities and towns (groups or collectives), government departments, non-governmental organisations, and staff unions (organisations or institutions), disciplinary hearings, public participation, corruption and intergovernmental relations (social actions or events), books, newspapers, and articles in scholarly journals (social artefacts or cultural objects), legislation, policies, procedures, implementation programmes, and training programmes (interventions), and theories, models and concepts (constructs) (Wessels, Pauw and Thani 2009:10–12 and Wessels and Thani 2014:170).

Considering that the reason for the researchers’ decision to embark on this research journey, was the degree of ambiguity regarding the meaning of the concept ‘case study’ in Public Administration, the next step in the process of concept analysis as suggested by Walker and Avant (2013:165), is crucial for conceptual clarity.

**Borderline, contrary, invented, and illegitimate concepts**

Conceptual confusion is most probably the result of the use of the term ‘case study’ with borderline, related, contrary, invented, or illegitimate meanings. The different meanings attached to the use of similar terms are examples or instances of concepts that contain either none of the defining attributes of the concept being examined, or some, but not all of them (Walker and Avant 2013:171 and Wilson 1963:29-32). Regarding the concept ‘case study’, a case study referring to either a research design (Brower et al. 2000:371), a technique (McCurdy and Cleary 1984:49), an approach (Adams and White 1994:567), a methodology (Perry and Kraemer 1986:224) or a method (Garson 2002:209), may be related but not meet all the defining attributes of the model case discussed above. A meticulous analysis of these related concepts is thus an imperative of conceptual clarity.

**Identify antecedents and consequences**

The preceding steps of concept analysis have shown that the concept ‘case study’ has not only specific defining attributes, but is distinct from other seemingly related concepts. The seventh step of concept analysis proposed by Walker and Avant (2013:174) requires the researcher to identify the antecedents and consequences of the concept. Antecedents refer to “those events or incidents that must occur or be in place prior to the occurrence of the concept” while consequences refer to “those events or incidents that occur as a result of the occurrence of the concept” (Walker and Avant 2013:174).
What are the possible antecedents of the concept ‘case study’? The most logical antecedent is probably the formulation of the research purpose (Yin 2009:8-10) as this formulation will most probably determine all the other research decisions. The purpose of case studies is not defining attributes of the concept ‘case study’ as they have shown to be categorised in a similar way as the purposes of other research endeavours, namely exploratory, explanatory and descriptive (Yin 2009:7–8). However, the selected research purpose does have implications for the defining attributes (e.g. research design) of a case study. An example is case studies with an exploratory purpose, focusing mainly on ‘what’ questions (Yin 2009:9) aimed at exploring areas or issues wherein “little theory is available or measurement is unclear” (Kohn 1997:3). The selection of such a research purpose will most probably result in a decision to use a revelatory case selection strategy that would be more relevant in such studies. Although the research purpose is not a defining attribute of the concept ‘case study’, Leedy and Ormrod (2010:182) as well as Yin (2009:50) provide evidence of the influence of a specific research purpose on the defining attributes of a case study. The concept ‘case study’ as well as the practice of case study research will evidently not exist in the absence of the antecedent ‘research purpose’.

Another example of an event or incident to be present for a ‘case study’ to exist is the phenomenon or the unit of analysis of which the case is a single instance (Gerring 2004:342; Rule et al. 2011:302 and Stake 1995:xi). Although a unit of analysis is not regarded as a defining attribute of ‘case study’, it is an attribute of research in general. However, an appropriately designed study of a purposefully selected single instance of a phenomenon cannot exist without the presence of the phenomenon of which the case is a single instance. A unit of analysis is thus an antecedent to the defining attribute ‘single instance’ of the concept ‘case study’.

What are the consequences or outcomes of the concept ‘case study’? The implications of an appropriately designed study of a purposefully selected single instance of a phenomenon is the use of scientific methods and techniques for data collection and analysis (Rowley 2002:18; Yin 2003:13) leading to scholarly findings and outcomes (Flybjerg 2006:14 and Gerring 2007:115 and Yin 2009:47). None of these methods of data collection and analysis as well as expected outcomes summarised in Table 2 can be regarded as unique consequences of case study research therefore defining attributes of the concept ‘case study’. These methods and outcomes are supposed to be attributes of all scholarly research. However, a ‘case study’ not utilising generally accepted scientific methods and not leading to specific scientific outcomes such as comparison, theory generalisations, theory testing, theory building, hypothesis testing and replication, will by implication not be appropriately designed for the selected single instance of study, and not a ‘case study’.
Define empirical referents for the concept ‘case study’

The previous steps in this process of concept analysis not only assisted us to identify the defining attributes of the concept ‘case study’ but it also contextualises the concept within a network of related but also non-related concepts. This last step in the process of analysis, aimed at proposing “empirical referents for the defining attributes” of the concept ‘case study’ (Walker and Avant 2013:174) describes empirical referents as “classes or categories of actual phenomena that by their existence or presence demonstrate the occurrence of the concept itself”. Empirical referents are deemed necessary when the concept to be analysed and its defining attributes are highly abstract (Walker and Avant 2013:174). Considering that the defining attributes of ‘case study’ are relatively abstract concepts such as ‘distinct case of a unit of analysis’, ‘case selection strategy’ and ‘specific research design’, empirical referents may assist in recognising and measuring those defining attributes of the concept.

CONCLUSION: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING THE CONCEPT ‘CASE STUDY’ IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

By applying the eight steps suggested by Walker and Avant (2013) to analyse the concept ‘case study’, one can deduce that the defining attributes of the concept ‘case study’ are two dimensional, namely distinctive activities (selection strategies and research design) focusing on a distinctive object (an instance of a larger class or phenomenon). The concept ‘case study’ thus refers to the appropriately designed study of a purposefully selected single instance of a phenomenon.

### Table 2: Consequences of the concept ‘case study’ in Public Administration research: methods and expected outcomes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of data collection methods</th>
<th>Nature of data analysis methods</th>
<th>Expected outcome</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conceptual</td>
<td>Pattern matching</td>
<td>Comparison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualitative</td>
<td>Logic models</td>
<td>Theory testing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantitative</td>
<td>Explanation building</td>
<td>Hypothesis testing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Time series</td>
<td>Theory generalisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pattern match</td>
<td>Theory building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cross-case synthesis</td>
<td>Theory (explanation) building</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Analytical generalisation

Replication

Comparison
Table 3: Conceptual framework: Components of a case study design in Public Administration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Instance of a unit of analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Selection strategy</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typical</td>
<td>Extreme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Design</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single/Multiple</td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Purpose</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explain</td>
<td>Describe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Describe</td>
<td>Describe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nature of data collection</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conceptual</td>
<td>Qualitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nature of data analysis</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pattern Matching</td>
<td>Logic models</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Expected outcome</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparison</td>
<td>Theory/hypothesis testing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The analysis of the concept ‘case study’ as used within the context of Public Administration, has revealed that the concept can be best understood through the application of six categories of distinct but interrelated concepts combined as components of a case study in a conceptual framework (Table 3). The first category of concepts is the ‘case’ as an instance of a unit of analysis in Public Administration. This category of concepts refers to the object of ‘case study’, namely the instance (case) of a unit of analysis. The unit of analysis that is thus not unique but the case as instance of that unit of analysis. The second category of concepts in this framework is the case selection strategies. These strategies have also been identified as defining attributes of the concept ‘case study’ as they are uniquely related to the selection of these instances of a larger phenomenon. The third category of concepts is the case study design (single or multiple) which is also a defining attribute of the concept ‘case study’. The other categories of concepts (case study purpose, nature of data collection methods, nature of data analysis methods and expected outcome), are all key components of the conceptual framework, but not part of the defining attributes of the concept ‘case study’.

This article thus reported on the crafting of a conceptual framework for the concept ‘case study’ through the application of the eight steps of a concept analysis suggested by Walker and Avant (2013). The analysis has revealed that the defining attribute of this concept, is the application of distinct case selection strategies for selecting a single instance of a larger phenomenon (a case) for a uniquely designed (case study) research project. The conceptual framework serves as a thinking tool for an integrated and deepened understanding of the concept and for assessing and enhancing the practice of case study research in Public Administration.

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ABSTRACT

Corruption is widely cited as the key reason for under-development and poverty. It is often stated that developing countries could address developmental challenges that they are faced with if they manage to curb corruption to minimum levels. The article seeks to provide a brief overview of the successful control of corruption in three selected developing countries (Botswana, Singapore [a developing country at an advanced stage] and Georgia). These developing countries have tremendously improved their rankings in Transparency International’s Corruption Perception Index. The case for providing a brief overview on developing countries is much stronger than for developed countries as successful anti-corruption reforms by most developed countries were implemented while they were still classified as developing countries. The specificities of each country that are important in implementing the ethics and anti-corruption initiatives will be outlined. The data used in this article is gathered by desktop review in South Africa with pre-existing surveys, previous research and reports of different institutions used for describing the selected developing countries’ control systems of corruption. The article will, furthermore, contextualise in the South African environment the arguments presented for the selected developing countries which have managed to curb the scourge of corruption. The arguments presented revolve around designing an implementation model for anti-corruption, political will, collective action, a dedicated anti-corruption agency and collaboration with other sectors of society.
INTRODUCTION

Corruption feeds failed states and unless checked its major legacy will be an unjust and unstable world, tipping the outcome of uncertainties about the future in an ever more dangerous direction (Cockcroft 2014:231). There is a need to pause, reflect and propose sustainable solutions when the consequences of corruption are threatening the developmental goals of South Africa. The starting point is to learn from other developing countries that have successfully managed to control their levels of corruption. Learning from other developing countries also eliminates the criticism that comparing South Africa to developed countries does not provide a balanced comparison because developed countries are rich, politically stable and homogenous societies. The ethics and anti-corruption best practice from other developing countries is essential to ensure that the ethics and anti-corruption initiatives are properly implemented by South Africa in order to realise its vision of being an innovative, responsive and vibrant nerve centre for people-centred governance. This will further assist to position South Africa as the leading economy on the continent that is underpinned by sustainable economic development.

Many new presidents, governors, ministers and mayors are eager to reduce corruption because they know that corruption constrains development (Klitgaard 2013:1). This argument corresponds with the views of Mantzaris and Pillay (2013:112) who assert that political and administrative leaders need to appreciate that the war room against corruption needs new thinking, knowledge, strategies and comprehensive initiatives if they are to arrest and then reverse corruption’s proliferation. Moiloa (2013:29) as well as Cockcroft (2014:231) accentuate that it is widely acknowledged that a lack of ethics and pervasive corruption imposes heavy costs, frustrates developmental efforts and makes it difficult for the government to reduce poverty.

INTERNATIONAL ETHICS AND ANTI-CORRUPTION BEST PRACTICE

The international ethics and anti-corruption best practice with specific focus on three selected developing countries is the core of the article. It is intended to draw lessons which could assist in finding solutions that can enhance the implementation of ethics and anti-corruption in South Africa. In certain case studies it might not be the implementation of specific ethics and anti-corruption initiatives, but rather the environment that led to effective implementation that is scrutinised.

Hough (2013:7) advises about the importance of understanding country-specific dynamics before recommending, let alone implementing, reform
agendas, which is now a *sine qua non* of corruption analysis. The article is not necessarily seeking to recommend that strategies that are working in the three selected developing countries should be imported but rather to learn from them and use the experiences of these countries to infuse the implementation of anti-corruption initiatives in South Africa.

**Developing countries**

Bauhr *et al.* (2010:4) accentuate that there is a “general consensus holding among international institutions like Transparency International (2006) and World Bank (2007) that corruption is the key reason for under-development and poverty as a result reducing corruption is thus not just a moral but also an economic imperative”. Developing countries could address developmental challenges that they are faced with if they can manage to curb corruption to minimum levels. Mungiu-Pippidi (2013a:1259) reveals that according to Andrews (2008) the “most relevant lessons lie not in what developed countries are doing to control corruption but rather in what they have done in the past, when their societies more strongly resembled the conditions in today’s developing world”. In line with this revelation, Rothstein and Teorell (2015:251) assert that if the endogenous theory of anti-corruption reform proves applicable to other cases, it seems that fundamental anti-corruption change could very well be brought about from inside.

The three selected developing countries are Botswana, Singapore and Georgia as they have excelled in controlling corruption. The rankings of these

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Rank 2010 (Scores) – out of 178 countries</th>
<th>Rank 2011 (Scores) – out of 183 countries</th>
<th>Rank 2012 (Scores) – out of 176 countries</th>
<th>Rank 2013 (Scores) – out of 177 countries</th>
<th>Rank 2014 (Scores) – out of 175 countries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>33 (5.8)</td>
<td>32 (6.1)</td>
<td>30 (65)</td>
<td>30 (64)</td>
<td>31 (63)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>1 (9.3)</td>
<td>5 (9.2)</td>
<td>5 (87)</td>
<td>5 (86)</td>
<td>7 (84)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>68 (3.8)</td>
<td>64 (4.1)</td>
<td>51 (52)</td>
<td>55 (49)</td>
<td>50 (52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>54 (4.5)</td>
<td>64 (4.1)</td>
<td>69 (43)</td>
<td>72 (42)</td>
<td>67 (44)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Compiled based on the TI’s CPI results from 2010-2014 available at www.transparency.org as at 08 January 2016)
three selected developing countries in Transparency International’s CPI for the five-year period from 2010 to 2014 are presented in Table 1 and an individual analysis of control of corruption in these countries is assumed.

The article, therefore, provides a brief overview of international anti-corruption best practice in three selected developing countries (Botswana, Singapore and Georgia) which have successfully managed to control levels of corruption. The specificities of each country important in implementing the ethics and anti-corruption initiatives are outlined below.

**Botswana**

Transparency International’s CPI has consistently ranked Botswana as the least corrupt country in Africa. Botswana is continuously showing signs of controlling corruption with impressive scores as compared to its continental counterparts. The fact that for the 2014 results the second best ranked African country is Cape Verde at position 42 shows that Botswana is doing something different. Botswana was ranked in position number 33 during 2010 and has managed to climb the CPI to position number 31 during 2014. Kapunda and Moffat (2012:89) highlight that Botswana’s impressive economic growth and relatively low poverty levels are attributed to significant anti-corruption measures. Other African countries should be encouraged to note the success of anti-corruption reforms in a country which shares the most similar background variables and current conditions. The national ethics and anti-corruption legislation in Botswana include among others, the following:

- The Penal Code of Botswana, 1964 (Act 2 of 1964);
- The Corruption and Economic Crime Act, 1994 (13 of 1994);
- Proceeds of Serious Crimes (Amendment) Act, 2000 (13 of 2000);
- The Money Laundering Legislation (Excerpts); and

The most important determining factor in ensuring the effective implementation of ethics and anti-corruption initiatives is the support of leaders. The influence that leaders possess can guarantee the effective implementation of these initiatives. According to Johnston (2012:469) Botswana teaches other countries important lessons about the value of socially rooted leadership. Although much of the success of anti-corruption reforms in Botswana is attributed to political will, it should also be highlighted that the establishment of a dedicated anti-corruption agency has turned political talk into action in terms of controlling the levels of corruption. Kapunda and Moffat (2012:86) report that instituting the Directorate of Corruption and Economic Crime (DCEC) in Botswana has created new offences of corruption, including being in control of disproportionate assets or maintaining an unexplained high standard of living. Khemani (2009:25)
confirms that the DCEC “has enjoyed considerable success in implementing anti-corruption reforms due to strong political commitment, adequate resources and support from civil society”. The failure of anti-corruption agencies is, among others, associated with losing their operational autonomy which is deemed necessary for effective performance.

However, the role of the DCEC has been questioned in some quarters. A lingering concern for Good (2010:360) is that Botswana’s rulers “seem to think that they can get away with anything, safe inside their cocoon of perceived democracy and the absence of corruption”. The anti-corruption reforms stand a chance of failing once they seem to be targeting low level officials while the “big fishes” swim without fear of being disturbed. In defence of the impartial role of the DCEC, Sebudubudu (2010:257) highlights that although there is a perception that the DCEC targets mainly petty corruption, the DCEC has also dealt with a few high profile cases. In supporting this counter-argument, examples are given of a former general manager of the Motor Vehicle Insurance Fund (MVIF), jailed for fraudulently obtaining money from the MVIF; and a former Director of Roads, who was convicted and jailed for corruption. The counter-argument submitted by Sebudubudu (2010) in defence of the impartial role of the DCEC mentions officials at management level who have also been prosecuted for corruption; while Good (2010) is concerned about the lack of prosecution for political elite who seem to be exempted. In order to ensure continuous success in their implementation of anti-corruption reforms as well as retaining the trust of the general public within and outside Botswana, the DCEC is, therefore, advised to investigate and where necessary punish anyone regardless of his or her position, status, or political affiliation.

**Singapore**

It is important to note that Singapore is a developing country that is at an advanced stage of development. As a result in some quarters it is classified as a developed country. It is not the intention of the article to be involved or justify that debate but rather to show how Singapore has managed to impressively control corruption. The results of Transparency International’s CPI as presented in Table 1 show that on average, among the three developed countries, Singapore has been the best performing in terms of control of corruption for the results from 2010 to 2014. Singapore has been slowly dropping on the overall table for CPI moving from an impressive position number one during 2010 to position number seven in 2014. Noticeably, there has not been a significant difference in scores for Singapore although it has been dropping in positions: 87 in 2012 to 84 in 2014. This could be attributed to consistent efforts to control corruption by Singapore.
The strength of anti-corruption reforms is in some instances associated with existing ethics and anti-corruption legislation in a particular country. According to Hin (2011:96) Singapore relies on two key legislations to combat corruption:

- **The Prevention of Corruption Act (POCA):** governs the primary offences of corruption and most importantly, provides more powers of enforcement to the Corrupt Practices Independent Bureau (CPIB). The POCA was enacted in 1960 to replace the previous Prevention of Corruption Ordinance (POCO) which was introduced by the British. Garcia-Andrade (2012:7-8) indicates that POCA’s scope, contrary to POCO’s 12 sections, was increased to 32 sections with a final increase to 37. Moreover, to enhance POCA’s deterrent effect, the penalty for corruption was increased to imprisonment for five years and/or a heavy fine. It is also reported that a person found to have engaged in corruption and who received money illegally had to pay the amount taken as a bribe in addition to any other punishment imposed by a court. Recovery of funds is a key component of anti-corruption reforms as perpetrators need to know that when they are caught they will have to return all they have stolen.

- **The Corruption, Drugs Trafficking and Other Serious Crimes Act (CDSA):** provides for the seizure and forfeiture of proceeds which a person convicted of corruption cannot satisfactory account for. The Singaporean authorities should be commended for tightening controls to ensure seizure and forfeiture from those involved in corrupt activities. Singapore is another country that has managed to curb corruption largely due to the effectiveness of its dedicated anti-corruption agency. Poochaoren (2014:14) acknowledges that Singapore has been praised for effective corruption control due to the CPIB’s capacity and scope of power – investigative and punishment. Hin (2011:98) states that an important aspect in fighting corruption is to take effective enforcement actions because the corrupt escape detection and investigation when tough laws are not properly implemented. Legislation like the CDSA makes the work of the CPIB easier as it is ammunition to deal with those that are involved in corrupt activities.

The implementation of ethics and anti-corruption initiatives seem to be also influenced by staff morale in some countries. Garcia-Andrade (2012:10) articulates that besides the establishment of the CPIB, the political elite in Singapore recognised that improving working conditions of public servants would also ensure successful implementation of anti-corruption reforms. There were three decisive steps that assisted with this approach. Firstly, government adopted a policy of ensuring competitive pay for its bureaucrats by periodically revising civil service salaries to keep pace with rising wages in the private sector. Secondly, government created the Service Improvement Unit which
was designed to measure, review, audit and assess the present level and speed of service provided by government departments and statutory boards to the community. Lastly, each government minister was instructed to form a departmental committee to review anti-corruption measures and to ensure that reasonable and adequate measures are taken to prevent corrupt practices. The issues that were deemed to cause low staff morale and operational issues in line departments were decisively addressed in Singapore. Failure to address these issues has a potential to cause nominal implementation of ethics and anti-corruption initiatives in a particular setting.

**Georgia**

Georgia is one of the overall best performing developing countries showing continuous improvement in the CPI by moving from position 68 in 2010 to position 50 in 2014. It is important to mention that Georgia was ranked 124 in 2003 which means it has achieved a 74-place improvement since 2003. According to Chene (2011b:2) and Kupatadze (2012:28) the prominence of anti-corruption reforms in Georgia has its roots in the ‘Rose Revolution’ (also known as ‘anti-corruption movements’) sparked by, among others, a popular rejection of rampant corruption that forced the resignation of President Shevardnadze in November 2003. The implementation of successful anti-corruption reforms in countries like Georgia is associated with some key events in its history. Georgia seems to have used its revolution to emphasise the importance of adhering to ethics and anti-corruption legislation.

According to Schneiders (undated:7) the main driver of change in Georgia’s anti-corruption initiatives has been the government which, among others, introduced various legislations, formulating an anti-corruption strategy and establishing anti-corruption bodies such as the Anti-Corruption Interagency Council to coordinate the work of the anti-corruption strategy, Di Puppo (2010:228) discerns that the Georgian government seeks to “contest the assumption that national governments are failing to combat corruption as Georgia is more interested in marketing its anti-corruption expertise to other transition countries, than in importing external anti-corruption tools”. The government of Georgia is a classic example to other governments in the developing world that unwavering involvement in implementing ethics and anti-corruption legislation should always be the priority.

The quality and quantity of the public sector workforce is often neglected when failure to effectively implement ethics and anti-corruption legislation is analysed. Di Puppo (2014:111) reveals that anti-corruption reforms are closely associated with Georgia’s ambition to strengthen its statehood and introduce a new mentality in the public administration through a new generation of non-corrupt young officials. As a result, Kupatadze (2012:26) states bureaucracy in
Georgia has been cut dramatically as the number of public sector employees was reduced by almost 50% and salaries of public servants increased roughly 15-fold. The authorities have offered competitive salaries to attract individuals, especially young professionals, who would usually opt for working for private business or international organisations due to better working conditions and better remuneration. Job cuts and increasing salaries requires decisive leadership as in some parts implementation will be resisted by sectors like labour federations.

Di Puppo (2014:111) argues that the government of Georgia’s choice of reforms reveals the emphasis put on quick success and visibility. According to Chene (2011a:2) a complete overhaul of sectors that are perceived to be highly corrupt also contributed to the successful implementation of anti-corruption reforms as a competitive recruitment system brought in new employees. The focus on selected sectors without implementing the Big Bang Theory has worked in Georgia. The internal drivers in Georgia according to Kupatadze (2012:30) also included, among others, integrating an anti-corruption campaign in general liberalisation policies and for attracting more investment to a resource-poor country. Put differently, Chene (2011b:3) maintains that the government of Georgia’s commitment to anti-corruption reforms can be seen as part of its efforts to create a friendly environment for investors. The intensifying of efforts to successfully implement ethics and anti-corruption initiatives can bring economic incentives as investors will bring foreign direct investment. Georgia has proven this statement to be true.

LESSONS LEARNT FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

The focus shifts to describing the key arguments or lessons learnt for the South African context as presented by the selected developing countries that have managed to curb the scourge of corruption. The intention is not to import a single strategy that has brought success in the selected developing countries but rather to discuss the suitability of certain propositions that could work in the South African context. The propositions which are based on the analysis of developing countries which have shown remarkable control of corruption are briefly discussed below to evaluate their application in the South African context.

Designing an implementation model for anti-corruption

South Africa is often applauded for having comprehensive ethics and anti-corruption legislation in place to reduce opportunities for corruption. However, implementation thereof remains a challenge. According to Person et al. (2010:3)
a large number of researchers now agree that the overall failure of anti-corruption reforms is by and large the result of an implementation problem. Heeks and Mathisen (2012:1) state that mistakes attributed to the implementation of anti-corruption interventions include among others too few actors involved in the interventions, impact and ill-conceived time-frames, low level of long-term partnerships, and absence of indicators for measuring outcomes. The existence of anti-corruption legislation is, therefore, not enough if not supplemented by an effective implementation model. Graycar (2015:95) advises that in the implementation of policy both events and processes can be corrupted as often the financial gains to the individual and the loss to the government are not large, but trust is diminished and governance capacity compromised. Besides ensuring recovery of funds, an effective and impartial implementation model is necessary for the continuous legitimacy of government which ensures stability within a country.

The importance and significance of an effective implementation model is the nucleus of ethics and anti-corruption legislation. The research on international best practice recommends a well-designed implementation model that leaves no room for failure. When developing an implementation model for ethics and anti-corruption initiatives consideration should be given to Heeks and Mathisen (2012:15) who argue that “one valuable profile found on successful anti-corruption initiatives is the “hybrid” which straddles design and reality, by understanding something of both worlds: understanding both how to design and how to fit such design to actual experience from particular reality concerned”. As a result, the ITPOSIMO model is highly recommended by Heeks and Mathisen (2012) for effective implementation of anti-corruption legislation or initiatives. The details are as follows:

- **Information** (both formal and informal)
- **Technology** (mainly information technology)
- **Processes** (from individual tasks to broader business processes)
- **Objectives and values** (covering formal strategies and personal goals, and the influence of informal institutional forces)
- **Staffing and skills** (quantitative and qualitative aspects of competencies)
- **Management systems and structures** (the formal aspects of organisation)
- **Other resources** (especially time and money)

The design of the implementation model should further consider both internal and external factors that have a potential to hinder its application. Johannsen and Pedersen (2012:133) advise that employees have the potential to resist policy reforms and further report that according to Barker and Wilson (1997) implementation studies have repeatedly shown that expecting detachment or neutral competence in bureaucracies is not sufficient in implementing policy.
In this regard, Johnston (2012:474) cautions that reform forces “not only must contend with powerful, wealthy interests who are able and all too willing to defend their advantages and gains, but they also often do so in conditions of social fragmentation, distrust and weak social and political institutions”. Internal and external factors should be strictly considered when developing an implementation model for ethics and anti-corruption initiatives for South Africa.

**Political will**

The international experience, particularly for developing countries like Botswana and Georgia that have impressively managed control of corruption, has proven the commonly held assertion that the implementation of anti-corruption reforms are bound to fail if not complemented by a strong political will. Heeks and Mathisen (2012:7) state that corruption is a political problem and demands political solutions, hence a more confrontational strategy. The significance of this is underlined by Abdulai (2009:392) who contends that “genuine political will in combating corruption goes beyond mere rhetoric or empty sloganeering as words must match deeds and there has to be the all-important display of leadership by example”. The importance and significance of political will is that consistent integrity and honesty from politicians is non-negotiable and politicians have to further ensure that anti-corruption laws are implemented regardless of an individual’s position, status, or political affiliation. Specifically, according to Holmes (2015) Singapore remains an important case study as its success is based on political will and effective governance.

The question that is often posed is whether it is in the interest of political principals to ensure effective implementation of ethics and anti-corruption legislation. Heeks and Mathisen (2012:1) affirm that “the reasons for the persistent failures in implementing anti-corruption reforms are multifaceted, but basic political economics holds the most salient overall explanation: few if any in a position of power and benefiting from corruption would like to see the opportunities for extraction reduced”. For politicians anti-corruption reform and plunder are antithetical. Fritzen (2005) in Poochaoren (2014:2) concurs with Heeks and Mathisen (2012) and further argues that relying on political will is unrealistic because politicians are often the culprits. The implications of involvement of politicians in corruption are enormous because according to Abdulai (2009:390) public servants may find little incentive as to why they too should not be corrupt when high-level political authorities are engaged in corrupt activities.

However, a valid counter-argument is made by Dahlstrom and Lapuente (2011:2) that the public sector should be separated from politics and that an isolated bureaucracy, in this sense, is less prone to corruption. The cornerstone
of such a proposition is “that the activities of politicians and administrators
should be separated so that politicians dominate policy making, while
administrators dominate implementation”. A question to ponder is whether in
the context of South Africa where politicians (legislators) have managed to enact
more than 17 pieces of ethics and anti-corruption legislation, the accusation
that there is no political will still holds. As much as the blame is often directed
to the administrators who fail in their responsibility to effectively implement the
enacted legislation, politicians should also demonstrate through their actions
support for the implementation of the ethics and anti-corruption initiatives.

Collective action

According to Persson et al. (2010:10) under the “collective action theory, people
engage in corrupt practices not because they morally approve them or do not
understand the destructive repercussion for the entire society, but because most
other people are also expected to be corrupt, making the short-term benefits
of engaging in corruption greater than the costs”. A factor that has contributed
significantly in most countries that have managed to impressively fight against
corruption is encouraging citizens representing their different sectors to work
collectively towards a common goal of decreasing the control of corruption.
There are many ways that this could be done including by showing citizens
the consequences of corrupt activities and the benefits that are being forfeited
as a result of corruption. Rothstein (2014:741) says that the reason why people
in corrupt societies, though condemning corruption, participate in corrupt
practices seems to be that they understand the situation as a ‘collective action’
problem, where it makes little sense to be ‘the only one’ refraining from using or
accepting bribes and other kick-backs. It is in this instance that Mungiu-Pippidi
(2013b:103) is advocating for ordinary citizens to play the role of principals
as this is where normative constraints on elite predatory behaviour should be
articulated through collective action.

Person et al. (2010:3) note that “in the African context corruption rather
seems to resemble a collective action problem, making the short-term costs
of fighting corruption outweigh the benefits”. The significance and impact of
collective action problems according to Johnston (2012:473) are particularly
likely when, as is often the case, reformers justify the need to control
corruption primarily in terms of the public interest. A lesson learnt, in this
regard of collective action, is that for ethics and anti-corruption initiatives to
be implemented effectively in South Africa, public servants in partnership
with political principals and the general public, need to work as a collective
in curbing corruption. The focus therefore should be to work with the justice
system to severely punish those who have been convicted of corrupt activities.
Reducing the short-term benefits of being involved in corrupt activities must be the ultimate goal.

**Dedicated anti-corruption agency**

Article 6(2) of the United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC) requires the establishment of institutions to prevent corruption, and states:

“Each State Party shall ensure the existence of a body or bodies, as appropriate which prevent corruption. Each State Party shall grant these bodies the necessary independence, in accordance with the fundamental principles of its legal systems to enable the body or bodies to carry out its or their functions effectively and free from any undue influence. The necessary material resources and specialised staff, as well as the training that such staff require to carry out their functions, should be provided”.

Article 6(2) is not specifically dictating that countries should have a single anti-corruption agency as it is stated that countries should ensure the existence of a “body or bodies” and further requires that countries should “enable the body or bodies to carry out its or their function”. However, Holmes (2015) opines for an introduction of a single independent anti-corruption agency instead of multiple agencies as it is an institutional change that can be introduced in countries with different cultures. The research on the international best practice has shown that countries like Botswana (DCEC) and Singapore (CBIP) have impressively managed control of corruption through the formation of single independent anti-corruption agencies. Quah (2006:177) argues that success of the anti-corruption reforms occurs where three conditions are met: comprehensive anti-corruption legislation is enacted, an independent anti-corruption agency is provided with sufficient personnel and resources, and the independent agency fairly enforces the anti-corruption laws. The research conducted by Mungiu-Pippidi (2013a:1281) suggests that “for the independent anti-corruption agencies to be successful they need to be complemented by equally independent and accountable judiciaries or they will promote selective repression”. Put differently, Hough (2013:99) contends that “countries should use the strong legal systems, high standards of regulatory quality and the strong cultures of voice and accountability to “bring in” or “beef up”, independent anti-corruption agencies”. The formation of a single independent anti-corruption agency should, therefore, be accompanied by strong ethics and anti-corruption legislation as well as a competitive judiciary system in order to guarantee the successful implementation of the anti-corruption reforms.
Is the creation of a single anti-corruption agency a prerequisite for successful implementation of ethics and anti-corruption legislation? An argument submitted by Quah (2006) is calling for the introduction of an independent anti-corruption agency. However, it should also be noted that in some instances a single independent anti-corruption agency is not necessary, as long as there are other institutions to ensure good governance. South Africa is an example of a country where there are multiple institutions responsible for fighting corruption. Like in the argument for a single anti-corruption agency, the existence of multiple anti-corruption agencies will not achieve the required goal of controlling corruption if these agencies are not supported with the necessary resources. Most importantly, Meagher (2004:94) in Charron (2008:8) reveals that a primary reason why the African anti-corruption agencies (with the exception of Botswana) have remained ineffective is due to “no structural independence or only partial autonomy” from the governments that established them. For example, Abdulai (2009:401) reports that financial dependency has seriously hampered the autonomy of most anti-corruption institutions because they need the executive branch of government to survive. The Public Protector of South Africa has been vocal in requesting additional funds so that she could effectively execute its constitutional mandate.

Is there a need for a single anti-corruption agency in South Africa? History informs that the Directorate of Special Operations (DSO – commonly known as “Scorpions”) in South Africa was disbanded under controversial circumstances. [Subsequently, Glenister has challenged this decision in a court of law requesting for its review]. Montesh and Berning (2012:136) assert that, although the demise of the DSO was caused by the DSO’s own mistakes as well as by government, the only way South Africa can succeed in fighting complex financial crimes is through the establishment of a strong single anti-corruption agency. Political commentators often cite lack of political will for the decision to disband the DSO. However, Sousa (2009:13) reminds that as public “funded bodies entrusted with the implementation of anti-corruption policies, anti-corruption agencies cannot act in a completely ‘independent’ way as they are expected to transform policy into action and, therefore, they share with the political class the onus of success or failure”. The political elite of any country stand to benefit from the success of effective implementation of anti-corruption reforms. It is therefore unimaginable that they can work against an effective anti-corruption institution.

There are strong views on the formation of multiple anti-corruption agencies. Khemani (2009:33) argues that no single institution can successfully eradicate corruption on its own as combating corruption requires a multi-faceted approach which strengthens all pillars of a national integrity system. It is in this context that Sousa (2009:19) states that if there is one lesson to be learnt
from the history of anti-corruption activity, it is that “there are no individual solutions but a cocktail of measures, no silver bullets but a mixture of successes and failures and no quick fixes but a long and hard learning process”. Anti-corruption agencies are an innovative institutional response to corruption, but they are not necessarily the panacea. The formation of a single independent anti-corruption agency is, therefore, a necessary but not a determining factor in implementation of ethics and anti-corruption legislation. The international best practice, though, has shown that developing countries like Botswana (DCEC) and Singapore (CPIB) have managed the control of corruption by forming dedicated anti-corruption agencies.

Collaboration with other sectors of society

The government cannot fight corruption alone as other sectors of society have a vital role to play in this regard. Collaboration with other sectors in the fight against corruption remains a strong argument because corruption, as indicated by Graycar (2015:87), demoralises government and weakens the whole endeavour of policy formulation and its implementation but most of all it undermines trust and corrodes legitimate community expectations. The significance of collaborating with other sectors of society is also underlined by Mungiu-Pippidi (2013a:1282) when opining that corruption surveillance arrangements based on stakeholder participation could be organised for communities, public services, special funds, or special public budgets in the same way we organise neighbourhood watches when police are too corrupt or demoralised. In the South African context, the ineffectiveness of the National Anti-Corruption Forum (NACF), mandated to coordinate sectoral anti-corruption strategies, has significantly deepened public suspicions about the anti-corruption implementer’s genuine commitment to curbing corruption. Manamela (2015:4) acknowledges that government has not been able to make significant progress in reviving the NACF by strengthening and providing resources to ensure that it is functioning optimally. The South African Presidency has committed to enhance engagements with non-state actors to make certain that the goal of a fully functional NACF is realised.

CONCLUSION

The article provided a brief overview of international anti-corruption best practice of developing countries successful in fighting corruption like Botswana, Singapore [a developing country at an advanced stage] and Georgia. The chapter acknowledged that the “general consensus holding among international
institutions like Transparency International (2006) and World Bank (2007) that corruption is the key reason for under-development and poverty as a result reducing corruption is thus not just a moral but also an economic imperative”. It was, therefore, argued that developing countries could address developmental challenges that they are faced with if they can manage to curb corruption. The case for providing a brief overview on developing countries, as noted, is reasonable because the successful implementation of anti-corruption reforms by most developed countries were implemented while they were still classified as developing countries. The arguments presented revolve around designing an implementation model for anti-corruption, political will, collective action, a dedicated anti-corruption agency and collaboration with other sectors of society.

NOTE

* This article is based on the work of Mphendu Unathi who is a second year registered student for PhD (Public Administration) under the supervision of the Professor Natasja Holtzhausen. The registered title of the thesis which is not yet submitted for examination is: “Evaluation of the implementation of professional ethics and anti-corruption legislation: the case of Social Sector Cluster in the Gauteng Province”.

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