

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY TO THE PROBLEM STATEMENT

The purpose of this section is to summarise the problem which necessitated the research. The section provides the basis for implementation deficit based on the literature.

The study of public policy implementation has been an area of contention for some time. In seeking to understand this stage of the policy process, models, theories and approaches were developed to understand underlying factors affecting policy implementation. de Leon and de Leon,(2002) suggest that public policy implementation holds much practical interest for policy makers because it is a major stumbling block in the policy process (de Leon and de Leon, 2002). All the different forms of the statement of intend are not self-executing. Policy makers are required to put together the required knowledge, skills, as well as abilities to ensure that policy is implemented. Despite the effort to put together the necessary support, implementation deficit remains a common occurrence.

Hogwood and Gunn (1984), suggest that polices and programmes have been formulated on the basis of unclear and inconsistent objectives and that at times they are impossible to relate to each other. Hogwood and Gunn also propose that some objectives of the programmes and policies are crafted in vague and evasive terms. The vague and evasive terms undermine the proper development of plans and strategies to address any problem. While objectives and goals may be stated clearly, official objectives are at times irreconcilable to

one another (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984). Policy or programme objectives are poorly understood, also because the communication to the lower structures of the organisation and the outside of the organisation impact negatively on the clarity and consistent nature of policy objectives (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984). Based on the above, the clarity and consistency of the policy become an inherent requirement of policy implementation.

Paton and Sawicki (1993) contend that policy implementation failure or implementation deficit is experienced because the policy or the programme could not be implemented as designed. They further argue that the programme normally fails because it was not structured, staffed and attractive to the right people, as designed. Paton and Sawicki (1993) argue further that the crafted policy fails implementation due to instructions that go astray in an organisation. The existence of too many sources of instructions indicates that top officials have failed to take the necessary action. Because of their failure to state the policy unambiguously, administrative instructions continue to be communicated inconsistently (Paton and Sawicki, 1993). In addition to the above, trained staff with the authority and incentive to implement policy remained a common problem.

Implementation deficit could also occur in the absence of adequate and sufficient resources (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984). Hogwood and Gunn, 1984 further argue that newly designed programmes have suffered expenditure restrictions that starved the implementation considerably (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984). Government programmes remain subjected to faster spending patterns that are unrealistic with regard to the operations of the programme. These result in the implementation agencies being pressurised with threats that the resources would be reallocate elsewhere. This situation causes implementing agencies to

simply use resources, however not in line with the operational and business planning.

On the one hand, implementation agencies continue to fear the returning of unspent resources, which sometimes increases expenditure on trivial issues (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984). The required combination of resources remains a serious challenge for programmes and policies that are to be implemented. As a result policy implementation suffers in the absence of the relevant grouping of resources, for example through the provision of money without office space and equipment, leading to serious bottlenecks. On the other hand, resources are allocated to programmes on the basis of political consent (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984).

Communication is also an additional and important factor leading to the implementation deficit of a policy or programme. Communication is required to ensure that the messages are clear, the process is outlined, the resources have been secured and the appropriate, capable structure has been set up to execute the mandate. Often, communication messages are sent out at the beginning of the programme. Once launching messages have been received, no further communication is sustained to inform the clients, beneficiaries, and role players outside government who wish to lend a hand in the implementation or review.

Kaul (1997) argues that institutional and administrative capacity is critical for the policy process, including implementation. Kaul (1997) also argues that the implementation responsibility should be assigned to a capable and sympathetic agency. The agencies in question are required to build an institutional architecture of administrative systems (Nicolaidis, 1996). Accordingly, the

administrative architecture helps to provide clear lines of accountability and responsibility. It also helps to determine the level of cooperation between the department and the relevant ministries (Nicolaidis, 1996, p.39). Therefore, the absence of institutional and administrative capacity disadvantages the development of the appropriate system to steer programme or policy implementation.

1.2 CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

This section introduces the service delivery context of the Community Development Workers Programme. It also provides the problem and the purpose statement for the study. Finally the section gives a breakdown of the structure of the study.

The end of apartheid rule in South Africa focussed people's expectations on service delivery. As such, service delivery became a critical factor in improving human development (Khanya-AICDD, 2004). The pulse of service delivery reform was necessitated by South Africa's new dispensation (DPSA, 1997 and ANC, 1999). It has further received prominence and attention through the African National Congress and government's commitment to a better life (ANC, 1999). Service delivery underpins government's commitment and efficiency to spearhead development. As a result, government and the public service has become the centre responsible for driving the achievement of service delivery (DPSA, 1997). In response to the challenge at a national level, government declared the need to accelerate the delivery of service (Mandela, 1997). Across government spheres, departments adopted 1997 as a year of delivery and this necessitated broad transformation of the public service.

1.2.1 THE PUBLIC SERVICE TRANSFORMATION INITIATIVES

Within the context of the Public Service, transformation efforts were made to complement the acceleration of service delivery (Public Service Commission, 2008, p. 08). Public Service transformation efforts were guided by the adoption of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) in 1994 and the White Paper on Transformation of the Public Service in 1995. Both frameworks emphasised a public service which is responsive and relevant to the needs of its citizens. This included effective and efficient use of resources, as well as being representative to the diversity and needs of the people. The White Paper on Transformation of the Public Service sought to “set the framework for transformed public service which is representative, coherent, transparent, efficient and accountable and responsive to the needs of all” (SA, 1995). Subsequent to this publication, a range of legislation and other frameworks were introduced; including the White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery to legislate and frame the challenges related to public service transformation.

The White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery (WPTPS) was published in 1997. This White Paper was aimed at “providing a policy framework and practical implementation strategy for the transformation of public service delivery” (SA, 1997). Central to the White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery are eight principles, better known as the Batho Pele Principles. Batho Pele refers to an initiative to get public servants to be service orientated, to strive for excellence in service delivery and to commit to service delivery improvement (DPSA: Undated). Batho Pele was founded on the following eight principles; consultation, service standard, access and courtesy, information, openness and transparency and redress. In a policy review on Batho Pele, Mokgoro (2003) argued that there

was insufficient attention to the implementation of Batho Pele initiative. He attributed the insufficient implementation of Batho Pele to a lack of resources.

After the 1999 General Elections, the Department of Public Service and Administration (DPSA) identified seven priorities for the enhancement of effective and efficient service delivery (Fraser-Moleketi, 1999). Central to these priorities was the development of policy and guidelines of alternative service delivery. It later culminated into two programmes: improving efficiency and alternative service delivery. These programmes were aimed at the exploration of alternative service delivery mechanisms based on policy frameworks to facilitate such mechanisms (Fraser-Moleketi, 1999). These programmes were also aimed at expanding the understanding of transformation challenges and the development of partnership proposals for service delivery improvement. Despite that, efforts to improve service delivery were not immediately successful and this hampered the effort to fight poverty (Public Service Commission, 2001). Based on the finding, it expressed the importance of ground breaking strategies building on existing ingenuity and entrepreneurialism in the public service (Public Service Commission, 2001).

1.2.2 ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SERVICE DELIVERY INITIATIVES

In an attempt to accelerate service delivery improvement programmes, Multi-Purpose Community Centres (MPCC) were established during 1999. Multi-Purpose Community Service Centres were meant to serve as one-stop centres for all spheres of government and other service providers to offer service and information to communities (Legoabe, 2003). In addition, MPCCs were seen as a “vehicle to optimise allocated resources through identification of existing infrastructure” (Sigidi and Seti, 2001). Amongst others, the MPCC aims to identify community information and social needs, and facilitate access to government services (Sigidi and Seti, 2001). The MPCC are perceived to enhance the quality

of life for every South African through integrated and accessible service delivery (Legoabe, 2003). By August 2008, the Gauteng Provincial Government had established 32 Multi-Purpose Community Centres across the four regions (Gauteng, 2008).

Between March 2001 and October 2002, the Public Service Commission (PSC) conducted a survey on Multi-Purpose Community Centres. In general, the centres had a shortage of skilled staff, lack of resources and government departments were not consistent with their level of service delivery mandates (PSC, 2003). In Gauteng, the Vaal Sebokeng MPCC was successful in ensuring client consultation as well as a good combination of government departments and non-governmental organisations (PSC, 2003).

Concurrent to the introduction of the Multi-Purpose Community Centres, government introduced the Imbizo initiative. As a form of unmediated, direct government and community interaction, “Imbizo provide the communities with the opportunity to interact with government regarding programme and policy implementation” (GCIS, 2003). Imbizo also sought to practicalise to the notion of participatory governance (North West, 2007). Other spheres of government targeted municipalities as the location of service delivery (North West, 2007). Imbizo also intended to serve as a basis, to bring government closer to communities and to give it insight into delivery and services.

Before the 2004 General Elections, government conducted a review of its ten years in office. Ngema (2004) observed that service delivery planning, monitoring and reporting required enhancement. This enhancement included setting standards and managing service delivery institutions such as hospitals, schools, police stations and home affairs service points (Ngema, 2004). Ngema (2003)

suggested institutional configuration and rightsizing within the existing intervention and the optimisation of the service delivery chain as possible solutions. As a result, the Public Service Commission recommended the consolidation of gains and accelerated the implementation of policies and programmes post 2004 (PSC, 2008). Emphatically, the PSC identified access to services as one of the key broad themes to receive attention after 2004.

Notwithstanding the above, government research and reviews have indicated that the poor do not have adequate access to the full benefit of government's socio-economic programmes (DPSA, 2007). A gap between government service provision and the effective use of service delivery persists (2007). Community participation in Integrated Development Plans, Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programmes (ISRDP) and Urban Renewal Programmes remain insufficient (DPSA, 2007). This weakness raises doubts about the ability of local structures to communicate and revitalize community participation (DPSA, 2007). As a result, government argued that the gap could only be bridged by some device or institution in order to bring the government closer to the people in the form of the Community Development Workers Programme.

1.2.3 INTRODUCTION OF THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKERS PROGRAMME

In February 2003, then President Mbeki announced the creation of the Community Development Workers (CDW). In motivating the establishment of this multi-skilled worker, he argued that the CDW are meant to maintain contact with the communities. The introduction was based on government's understanding that a positive effort for adequate service delivery has not benefitted all South Africans (Mbeki, 2003). The launch of the Community Development Workers

Programme was necessary to enable communities to “use government services as a base to stimulate and accelerate community development”.

In elaborating CDW's role, Former President Mbeki indicated the need to recruit appropriate candidates and provide them with the training required to master and understand government commitment to the Batho Pele initiative (Mbeki, 2003). In concluding the requirements, the Head of State linked the training requirements and anticipated role of CDW as an attempt to strengthen the system of local government to respond to community needs (Mbeki, 2003). Community Development Workers are a way of arousing and stimulating community participation in government programmes to promote development (Sangweni, 2003). Sangweni argues that in the South African context, CDW fulfils two interdependent elements of development, namely participation by the people and the provision of technical services required by communities. Sangweni (2003) suggests that CDW are the required link and facilitators of government premier flagship programmes such as the Expanded Public Works Programme, Electrification Programme, Pension Grants and Home Affairs civic services. Also applicable is the recently launched war on poverty. The Community Development Workers are regarded as an interim measure for the War on Poverty campaign.

1.2.4 ANTICIPATED ROLE OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKERS

As facilitators of government programmes, the CDW are expected to work with local structures. Community Development Workers are expected to enhance public participation, decision-making and service delivery and to increase government partnership with the communities (Banks and Onto, 2007). The South African government encourages public participation for four reasons, namely

constitutional compliance, democratic governance, defining development plans and service to local conditions. It also encourages participation of members of the public to promote community action and empower local communities to determine their lives and livelihoods. The enhancement of public participation in South Africa is embedded in the constitutional and legislative framework. Section 152 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa obliges municipalities to encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in matters of local government. This participatory governance approach is also articulated in the White Paper on Local Government of 1998. Community participation in local government is based on four fundamental principles, namely accountability of political leaders to their mandate, allowing citizens to give inputs in local politics, allowing recipients of services to influence the nature of services provided and allowing civil society to act as a partner in mobilising resources. Furthermore the Municipal Structures Act of 1998 and Municipal Systems Act of 2000 require that municipalities report annually to the community and provide a community participation platform to encourage the involvement of local community in the affairs of a municipality.

Other key duties that the CDW are required to carry out are to cooperate with the ward councillors and ward committees. Ward committees are established in terms of the Municipal Structures Act of 1998 to enhance participatory governance at local government level. The existence of Community Development Workers does not replace the role of ward committees and ward councillors in communities, although their presence has led to tensions with the ward committees.

In assessing the effectiveness of the ward committees in South Africa, Nyalunga, (2006) qualified them as an ineffective mechanism in advancing citizen participation. Factors attributable to the inefficiency of ward committees include a lack of capacity and incentives. The potential tensions between the CDW and Ward Committees emanated from role clarity, functioning, accountability, their location at local government and their actual job description (Nyalunga, 2006). Additional areas of conflict included resourcing, political affiliation, recruitment and selection. Despite the factors stated above, CDW are part of the public service that receives a stipend while on training and learnership. Once completed, they are paid as civil servants from the finances of the department of local government in the provinces. The above factors have the potential to create serious conflict with members of the ward committees who are unemployed and live in poverty.

Interdepartmentally, the Community Development Workers are expected to facilitate the programmes of government, irrespective of the sphere. Community Development Workers are required to provide a seamless service between national, provincial and local government (Fraser-Moleketi, 2003). She argued that it would enable the machinery of government to work efficiently while increasing the effectiveness of the system. In support, Levin (2004) perceives the purpose of CDW as a provider of a single window service. The conceptualisation of a single window service relates to the idea of intergovernmental service which has been tested internationally through the introduction of paraprofessionals.

A bridging device or institution, to bring government closer to the communities, has been implemented worldwide over the years (in recognition of community based workers). This bridging device or category of officials is often referred to as paraprofessionals. In China, government introduced the Barefoot Doctors in the

1980's to bridge the health care service provision in the countryside (Hillier, 2003). In the United State of America (USA) government introduced the Extension of Service in an attempt to provide education to every American (Sangweni, 2003). India established Community Village Health Workers to provide health care to all the people of India. Lesotho established Village Health Workers to roll out the social welfare plan (ODI, 2007). Uganda commenced with the Agriculture Extension Service Programme to expand its agriculture service (ODI, 2007). Internationally, the use of the Community Development Workers is based on community workers as volunteers, paraprofessionals drawn from the relevant community who have a thorough understanding of the local context and are answerable to the communities. Despite the establishment worldwide, it has experienced some varying levels of success.

Since the establishment of the CDW in South Africa, significant improvements have been observed. Major role players have committed themselves to the planning, management and implementation of the CDW pilot project (SAMDI, 2005). The establishment of the National Task Team served as a force to facilitate the sharing of ideas and to enable discussion around challenging areas (SAMDI, 2005). The Programme Office was situated within the Department of Public Service (DPSA) to serve as a direct link between the South African Management Development Institute (SAMDI) and DPSA. The National Curriculum Framework for the CDW and training programme through the learnership were finalised in February 2004 to guide the training of Community Development Workers (SAMDI, 2005).

Nonetheless, the Community Development Workers Programme contained a number of weaknesses. Since its establishment in 2003, CDW stimulated considerable stakeholder interest, to the extent of complicating the roles,

responsibilities and coordination of the programme. Due to its informal status, the National Task Team (NTT) struggled to facilitate the required efficient relationships amongst stakeholders (SAMDI). This resulted in other stakeholders operating in isolation from each other. Furthermore, claims were made regarding project management failure due to the absence of guidelines (SAMDI, 2005). The above-mentioned failure necessitated mediation and facilitation.

Secondly, all the stakeholders did not have a general understanding of the selection and recruitment process. There were concerns relating to the training of Community Development Workers because of the cumbersome initial conceptualisation and development of the learnership. The recruitment and selection tool was also not used by all the provinces, resulting in non-conformity to standards. The training aspects of the programme were considered overloaded, resulting in an impractical application in the real work environment. Due to untrained mentors and supervisors, the role of the CDW was misunderstood and there was a lack of workplace assessors due to disagreements between the stakeholders (SAMDI, 2005).

Despite the introduction of the CDWP with stated objectives, it is not a given that the programme intentions will be implemented as stated. It is argued that policy implementation challenges develop as a result of the widening gap between the intentions and results of the policy (Makinde, 2005). As a result, policy implementation has become a critical element and hindrance of public policy processes.

1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Implementation deficits or gaps are becoming a common problem that affects successful implementation of policy and leads to the non-realisation of policy intent. These arise from the preoccupation with policy formulation, without the translation of policies or programmes into measurable outcomes. Clear and consistent policy objectives and organisational management (communication, resources, disposition of implementers, and bureaucratic structures) are influential variables of policy implementation.

1.4 PURPOSE STATEMENT

This study focuses on the implementation challenges of the Community Development Workers Programme and seeks to understand the factors that facilitated its implementation from 2003 until 2007. The purpose of this study is to investigate the policy implementation challenges of the Community Development Workers Programme in Gauteng. Secondly, the study seeks to investigate two interrelated questions relating to the design and implementation of the Community Development Workers (CDW) Programme backdrop:

- i. How did the policy maker express the intentions of the Community Development Workers Programme (CDW)?
- ii. How did the policy makers preserve the original intentions during the course of the implementation process?

1.5. STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

The following section outlines the structure of the study and provides a brief summary of the chapters.

Chapter One

Chapter One provides the context for the study and establishes the key problem and questions which will be explored in the research. This chapter explores the literature relevant to concepts such as public service transformation, service delivery, integrated service delivery initiatives and community development workers/paraprofessionals and it expounds on the practical use of these concepts.

Chapter Two

Chapter Two discusses the research methodology. The chapter reflects on the definitions of qualitative research, including advantages and disadvantages. The research methodology chapter also seeks to address case study concepts that are relevant to the study. Furthermore the chapter addresses data interpretation and analysis process to enhance the validity and reliability of the study. Finally, it also identifies some of the limitations of the study.

Chapter Three

Chapter Three proposes to deal with the literature review on factors that contribute and inhibit the implementation of policy. The literature review is based

on the academic and practical findings of programmes, projects and campaigns implemented throughout the world.

Chapter Four

This chapter proposes to discuss the Community Development Workers Programme in the Gauteng Provincial Government as a case study. Case study material is developed and gleaned from primary documentation of the Department of Development Planning and Local Government in Gauteng and the Department of Public Service Administration. Case study information was also generated from interviews conducted with provincial and national government officials. It involves the Approach, Programme Objectives, Institutionalisation, Funding, Accountability, Programme, Training and Programme Communication techniques.

Chapter Five

Chapter Five provides an analysis of the data collected in this research project and reveals key findings which will go some way to clarify the problem identified and to unpack the key questions in this research.

Chapter Six

Chapter Six discusses the conclusions that came out of the previous chapters and develops some recommendations which could be applied in practice. It also addresses the recommendations and conclusion of the research study.

1.6 CONCLUSION

Chapter One introduced the topic and then provided a summary of the problem statement as an attempt to motivate the reasons for the research. The chapter also built a discussion around the problem and purpose statement through providing a detailed explanation of the efforts made to improve service delivery in South Africa. Chapter One also reflects on the problem and purpose statements of the study. A problem statement was formulated which identified the existence of Implementation deficits as a common occurrence that affects successful implementation of policy and leads to policy slippage. The chapter further outlined the purpose of the study that is based on understanding the factors that inhibited the programme from 2003 to 2007.

In the next chapter, the research methodology for the study is discussed.

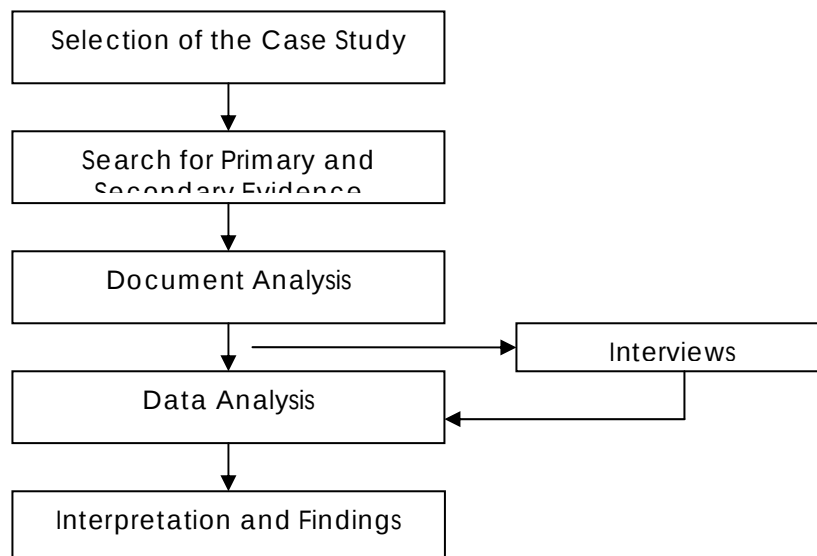
CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter Two of the study sketches the research design and methods for the study. This study is aimed at providing qualitative information on implementation problems of the CDWP. Gauteng Department of Local Government (DLG) is selected as the case study and is the responsible department to implement the CDWP. The purpose of the chapter is to describe the research method used, the sample selection, collection of data, and data analysis. The chapter also seeks to illustrate the validation, reporting methods and study limitations. More importantly, an in-depth analysis of information from the sources is provided. The diagram below summarises the qualitative study used here.

Figure 2.1- Research Procedure



(Adapted, Glachino, 2005, p.49)

Qualitative research methods were selected to address a study of this nature. An in-depth literature study was conducted to understand inhibiting and facilitating factors to programme or policy implementation. Some factors would be used in analysing the case study on the Gauteng CDW. The case study on the CDW was identified to reflect four important steps in a case study, to identify the problem and unit of analysis. Document analysis was conducted to understand the history and the process involving contexts in which documents were generated to implement the CDW in Gauteng.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with past and current key informants involved with the implementation of the CDW. These interviews provide an opportunity for interviewees to share experiences and information details relating to the study. The importance of data analysis is to assist the researcher to find meaning in the data gathered through interviews and document analysis.

2.2 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

This study is qualitative in nature. Qualitative research is a comprehensive **research** paradigm entailing an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). It means that qualitative researchers study events and people in their natural settings in an effort to make sense and/or interpret the occurrence in terms of the meaning that participants give it. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) suggest that qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials. Empirical materials include documents, personal experience, life story and interviews (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). According to Creswell (1998), qualitative research is a progression based on different methodological traditions of inquiry for the exploration of a social or human problem. One of the strengths of qualitative research, according to

Creswell is that researchers can build a complex, holistic picture, analyzing words, reporting detailed views of informants, and conducting a study in a natural setting(1998).

According to Strauss and Corbin (1990, p.17) qualitative research is a process that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification. Qualitative research refers to research about people's lives, stories, behaviour and also about organisational functioning, social movements or interactional relationships (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Qualitative research therefore serves a three-fold purpose: description, interpretation, verification and evaluation (Leddy and Ormord, 2001).

Stake (2000) defines qualitative research as a systematic, empirical inquiry to develop meaning. In this regard, empirical inquiry is a form of inquiry that relies on the essential experience. For this purpose, qualitative research offers a unique perspective of a situation and an emphasis on writing that reflect the researcher's ability to illustrate or describe the corresponding phenomenon (Stake, 2000). One of the greatest strengths of the qualitative approach is the richness and depth of explorations and descriptions (Myers, 2002).

Creswell (1998, p.15) argues that authors often define qualitative inquiry by comparing it to quantitative inquiry. Generally, quantitative researchers work with a few variables and many cases whereas qualitative researchers rely on a few cases and more variables. In qualitative research, the research answers questions such as "why, how, in what way and to what extent" (Creswell, 1998, p.17). In contrast, quantitative research answers questions such as "how many, how often, what proportion or what size" (Creswell, 1998, p. 17).

According to Merriam (2001), qualitative research is an umbrella concept covering several forms of inquiry to understand and explain the meaning of social phenomena with a minimal disruption of the natural setting. Qualitative research is based on the view that individuals construct reality through interaction with their social environment. Qualitative researchers are interested in understanding the meaning people have constructed. It includes making sense of the world and the experiences they have (Merriam, 2001).

Merriam (2001, p.06) also suggests that qualitative research is based on three important characteristics: first, understanding the phenomena of interest from the participants' perspective as opposed to the researcher's viewpoint. Second, it includes the researcher as the primary instrument of data collection and analysis and fieldwork as the key form of qualitative research (Merriam, 2001). Finally, qualitative research mainly uses an inductive research strategy and the product of a qualitative study is descriptive based on process, meaning and understanding (Merriam, 2001).

According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), grounded theory, ethnography, the phenomenological approach, life histories and conversational analysis constitute different types of qualitative research. Examples of the broad range of qualitative research include grounded theory, which focuses on the study of the phenomenon it represents and develops theory from an empirical base, to ethnography, where the focus is on capturing a way of life of a group over a long period of time (Henning, 2004). According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), qualitative research has three major components, namely collecting data, analytical procedures and written and verbal reports.

The study uses a qualitative paradigm because it provides the researcher with an opportunity to understand the implementation of the Community Development Programme in Gauteng as presented by participants and corroborated by generated documents. It also provides an opportunity for the researcher to answer research questions with an element of why, how, in what way and to what extent that are relevant to the study. It also provides an opportunity to understand the organisational functioning of the relevant bureaucratic structures tasked to implement the programme. More importantly, the study's qualitative paradigm seeks to construct or develop a meaning of the implementation challenges. Of all the qualitative approaches, a case study design seemed most appropriate for this study.

2.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design for the study is a case study. In his abstract, Zucker (2001, p.01) defines case study as a valuable method of eliciting phenomena of interest. Zucker (2001, p.01) suggests that the case study method can be used "as a creative alternative to traditional approaches to description of the phenomena". Yin (1999, p.13) views the case study as a study that embraces a real life context as opposed to a controlled context. According to Yin (1994) case study enquiry relies on multiple sources of evidence with data needing to converge in a triangulation fashion. According to Merriam (1998) case study approaches are useful because it provides a thick description; is grounded; is holistic and life-like; simplifies data to be considered by the reader; illuminates meaning and can communicate tacit knowledge.

Leedy and Ormrod (2001) suggest that case study methodology is important and suitable for learning more about a little known and poorly understood situation.

According to Creswell (1998), a case study consists of four steps: case identification, case bounding by time and place, origin of data from multiple sources and detailed description of the content and the setting in the report.

Yin (1984, 1994,) defines the case study research method as an empirical inquiry that investigates contemporary phenomena within their real-life context. It does so especially when the boundaries between the phenomena and the context are not clearly evident and when multiple sources of evidence are used. Yin (1984, 1994) suggests that the case study inquiry copes with the technically distinct situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than the data points. It often relies on multiple sources of evidence with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion and as another result.

According to Soy (1997), case studies emphasise detailed contextual analysis of a limited number of events or conditions and their relationships. Merriam (2001) suggests that case studies are a form of qualitative study with an intensive description and analysis of a single unit or bounded system. Creswell (1998) describes case study as a study with definite boundaries with clear contextual matters available to describe the setting of the case. An array of information about the case provides an in-depth picture of it. According to Yin (1994), six sources of case study evidence can be obtained; from documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant observation and physical artefacts.

According to Merriam (2001) case study is defined in terms of particularistic, descriptive and heuristic features. The focus of particularistic feature is on a particular situation, event, programme, or phenomenon. In this situation, the case

is important for what it reveals about the phenomenon and its possible representation. The descriptive feature focuses on detailed description of the phenomenon under study whilst the heuristic feature focuses on the illumination of the reader i.e. understanding of the phenomenon under study, discovering new meaning and extending the reader's experience (Merriam, 2001). Yin (1994) explains three types of case studies, namely exploratory, explanatory and descriptive case studies. According to Yin, exploratory suggests that the case study explores what is happening. Explanatory case provides the explanation of what is happening to discover the causal relationship. Descriptive case study provides the complete description of phenomena within a particular context (Yin, 1994).

According to Neuman (2006), exploratory research examines a little to understand an issue or phenomenon to develop preliminary ideas and move toward refined questions. Neuman (2006) also suggests that the goal is to formulate more precise questions that future research can answer. In the views of Neuman (2006) it calls on exploratory researchers to be creative, open-minded and flexible. They adopt an investigative position and explore all sources of information. Exploratory researchers ask creative questions and take advantage of serendipity, unexpected and chance factors that have greater implications (Neuman, 2006).

According to Tellis (1997a), exploratory case studies relate to studies where fieldwork and data collection could be undertaken preceding the definition of research questions and hypothesis. Tellis (1997a) suggests that final protocols of exploratory cases are determined by pilot studies or projects. Neuman (2006) argues that descriptive research offers a picture of the specific details of a situation, social setting or relationship.

Neuman (2006, p.35) argues that descriptive and exploratory case studies “blur together in practice”. In descriptive research, the researcher starts with a well-defined subject and conducts research in describing it specifically. According to Neuman (200, p.35), descriptive research focuses on “how” (how did it happen) and “who” (who is involved) questions. Neuman explains that the purpose of explanatory research is based on the desire to know why things are the way they are. Neuman (2006, p.35) suggests that explanatory research “builds on exploratory and descriptive research and to identify the reason why something occurs”. Tellis (1997a) states that explanatory cases are appropriate for causal studies and that the pattern matching technique of explanatory case study are capable of providing analysis to resolve complex and multivariate cases.

Creswell (1998) regards a case study as more important than just a detailed investigation. He also regards it as a way to represent, even exaggerate, theories about experiences in a wider society (1998). Yin (1994) suggests that the case study context is essential in gaining a deeper understanding of concepts. Tellis (1997b) defines a case study as an “ideal methodology when a holistic, in-depth investigation is needed”. It is an in-depth, multi-faceted investigation using qualitative research methods for social phenomenon.

In the context of a holistic, qualitative approach, the case study method can provide personal experiences, occurrence, or institutions in their settings (Naidoo, 2005). Despite the strength of the case study methodology, De Vaus (as cited in Machel, 2008) asserts that “while case studies may achieve internal validity by providing a profound understanding of the case, they have been widely criticised in external validity”.

According to Yin (1999), case studies are constituted of at least four stages i.e. design the case study, conduct the case study, analyse the case study evidence and develop conclusions, recommendations and implications. According to Yin (2003), case study components include: study questions; proposition, if any, and its unit of analysis. Further components include logical thinking of the data to the proposition and the criteria for interpreting the finding.

Tellis (1997b) considers a case study as a multi-perspective analysis. He suggests (1997) that in case studies, the researcher considers the voice and perspectives of the actor and also considers the voices and perspectives of relevant groups of actors and the interaction among them. Tellis (1997b) also regards a case study as the study of a triangulated research strategy. According to Stake (1995), triangulation refers to protocols used to ensure accuracy and alternative explanations. According to Bender (2005), triangulation in research refers to the combination of theories, data, sources or methods in a single phenomenon to converge to single constructs. It can be used in existing studies, literature, and the input from a group of participants.

2.3.1 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKERS PROGRAMME AS A CASE STUDY

The study uses a qualitative case study methodology because it helps to understand the complex inter-relationships. Descriptive and explanatory research helps the study to understand why the implementation challenges of the CDWP occurred. In that way it enables the researcher to analyse the implementation challenge with a view of the existence of multiple sites of influence. However, case study methodology has limitations. Hodkinson and Hodkinson (200) argue that the case study has a potential to produce too much data for analysis and that it is too expensive if implemented on a large scale, while it has the

potential for consuming much time on collection and analysis. As a precaution, the researcher adopted the programme as a case study from 2003 to 2007. This was done as an attempt to balance for a broad approach with specificity in the study. The case study research was based on the reports, documents, memorandums, workshops and interviews to draw out issues of attention and interest to the study.

2.3.2 TRIANGULATION AND VERIFICATION

Yin (1994) argues that reliance and rigor are the sources of the case study's ability to ensure quality in research. Yin (1994) suggests that rigor and repetition are valid in a broad definition of the topic, contexts and phenomenon and dependence on multiple uses of sources. According to Pontin (2006), triangulation concerns itself with using data from different contexts including data sources, methods and research theory and data.

Naidoo (2005, p.49) suggests that triangulation increases "the scope, depth and consistency in the methodological proceedings of the case study". Denzin and Lincoln (1994) acknowledge that triangulation also serves to clarify meaning by identifying different ways the phenomenon is seen. According to Patton (1990), triangulation is a process by which the researcher can guard against the accusation that the study findings are simply an artifact of a single source or a single investigator's biases. The research work utilised the triangulation technique to compare multiple, independent sources of evidence to assist the researcher to develop findings.

According to Denzin and Lincoln (1994), verification is a process of checking and enforcing, making sense and gaining certainty. In qualitative research, verification refers to the mechanism used during the process of research to contribute incrementally to ensure the reliability and validity, thus rigor, of the study. Morse et al, (2002) identifies five verification strategies: methodological coherence; sampling efficiency; developing a dynamic relationship between sampling; data collection and analysis; thinking theoretically and finally theory development. Miles and Huberman (1994), asserted an additional strategy of developing the meaning of outliers. Checking the meaning of outliers helps to protect the researcher against self-selecting biases and helps to build a better explanation (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Leedy and Ormrod (2001) suggest eight general criteria to evaluate a qualitative study, namely purposefulness; explicitness of assumption and rigor; completeness; persuasiveness; consensus and usefulness. The study has used the verification process to protect its validity and reliability.

This study used the triangulation idea because it assisted to consider different multiple independent sources of information to develop the study findings and recommend appropriately. The triangulation idea was also used to understand the contexts (data sources, method, researcher, theory and data type of the problem statement under research. Despite its usage, limitations of triangulation were noted. Silverman (1993) argues that triangulation is not useful to adjudicate between accounts; instead it provides assemblies of reminders. Based on the above, Silverman suggests that triangulation cannot be used to judge the truth, but only to understand it.

2.4 DATA COLLECTION

According to Janesick (1994), productive data collection is the interesting phase of qualitative inquiry in order to allow an understanding to emerge. Kumar (1996, p.124) argues that there are an “enormous number of research studies that have already been done by others that can provide the researcher with the required information”. It requires the researcher to scan both formal and academic studies conducted around the research problem to offer ideas and conclusions.

According to Naidoo (2005), the search for secondary sources starts with published and unpublished data relevant to the research problem. It is important to search all secondary data (internal and external) prior to the actual research process. Miles and Huberman (1994), suggests that some inexperienced researchers disregard past work and consider only new methods and ideas. Miles and Huberman (1994), refer to the approach as the Einstein approach, where researchers fail to relate their ideas to the lessons learned from other researchers. Miles and Huberman argue that the researcher's tendency to abandon previous lessons leads to failure to learn from other studies.

Cresswell (1998) suggests that the multiple usage of information in a case study in order to provide a detailed picture is vital. According Creswell (2005) multiple sources of information include official documents, personal documents, mass media, and archival material. The study used a secondary document data collection method because it assists in developing an understanding of the research question. These multiple sources of data were important for the study.

They enable the researcher to understand the context and the timing when the documents were formulated. It also provides the researcher with the divergent considerations given on an issue at a particular time. Sources of documents for the study included official documents, journals articles, newspaper clips, speeches and reports. They constitute an array of documents normally generated in formulating new programmes. The approval the conceptual framework became the basis on which the rests of other documents are generated and improved.

Permission was requested and a response letter received in 2007 from the Deputy Director General expressing support for the research and the usage of departmental material on behalf of the Head of the Gauteng Department of Local Government (GDLG). Subsequent to the departure of the above-mentioned Deputy Director General, a follow up communiqué was sent to the Head of Department (HOD) requesting additional documents. Permission was verbally granted to contact the relevant unit responsible for the programme. All the documents were analysed to identify implementation challenges and further followed up with the semi-structured interviews. Additionally, documentary sources were compared with data already gathered from the discussions and added as new information to the present study.

2.4.1 Documentary Analysis

According to May (1993), documents tell a great deal about the way in which events were constructed. Documents are also able to show the reasons employed as well as providing materials upon which to base further research. May (1993:133), further suggests that documents can expose the aspirations and the intentions of the period describe places and social relationships at the time.

According to Jupp (2006, p79), document analysis is a “detailed examination of documents produced across a wide range of social practices, taking a variety of forms from written word to the visual image”. Jupp (2006) suggests that analysis of documents is important to understand the historical circumstances, circulation and reception, interpretations, effects and usage of documents. Jupp (2006) suggests private documentary and public documentation as two distinctive features of document analysis. According to Jupp (2006), a private documentary record is made of personal items such as diaries, letters and aide memoirs, whereas public documents are made of reports, speeches and guidelines.

O, Leary (2004) define document analysis as a process of collecting information with the aim to review, interrogate any analyse the various texts in a document. Springer, 1998 and Bryman, 1989, suggest that document analysis involves three activities: data gathering, analysis and aggregation, and presentation of results. McNabb (2002) identify also identify three important activities to complete document analysis as a requirement for the case study researcher. The activities include tracking, content analysis and case study aggregation.

Walker, 1985, Sharp & Frechtling, 1997and Grady, 1998) warn researchers of the disadvantages of qualitative document analysis. Walker argues that document analysis gives positive impression and often misleads the research. Sharp and Frechtling (1997) argue that document analysis pose a challenge in finding the relevant documents. Furthermore, they argue that documents may be inaccurate of time, dates and year and by so doing compromise the authenticity. In conclusion, Sharp and Frechtling contend that document analysis is time consuming. Nonetheless, document analysis contains a number of strengths. Walker (1985) argues that it is useful to display credibility and less costly to undertake. McNabb argues that it provide accurate, clear, tangible record of

activities. Furthermore, Grady (1998) argues that document analysis is placed to provide accurate clear, tangible record of activities and quite helpful to give “time travel” in the absence of the actual subjects. Within the context of the programme, they indicate its ability to show dynamic developments within the programme as it advances.

First the CDWP conceptual framework was collected as a basis for the thinking of the programme in the province. Progress reports, memorandums, quarterly reports, annual reports, speeches and press release statements were collected and made a positive contribution to identify research-problem related issues. The documents first reflected on the period and the context of government intentions to introduce the programme and the interpretations it sought to give to the programme and its outcome. The documents further outlined the process in which the CDW is to be executed and the structures and mechanism appropriate to give effect of the programme.

2.4.1.1 Sources of data

The sources of information for the purpose of this research were drawn from two categories, namely general literature on policy implementation and direct documents relating to the Community Development Workers Programme in Gauteng from 2003 to 2007. Documents shortlisted for documentary analysis included the CDWP concept document, progress reports, memorandums, research report on CDW initiatives in Gauteng, presentations, speeches, press releases and newspaper articles. In addition to the documents shortlisted for research, interviews seemed relevant to compliment the document analysis.

2.4.2 Interviews

According to Greef (2005), interviewing constitutes the main information collection tool in qualitative research. Yin (2003, p. 89), suggests that interviews are the most important source of case study information. Jupp (2006, p.157) defines an interview as a data collection method for information or opinion gathering, involving a series of questions asked. Primary data was collected through the application of open-ended interviews. Yin (2003,) argues that open-ended interviews enable respondents to reflect about facts and opinions of the case (Yin, 2003) In support of Yin, Gutierrez, et al, (1991) suggest that semi-structured interviews confer further strengths. Greef (2006) suggests that unstructured interviews are important to determine individuals' perceptions, opinions, facts and forecasts. The semi-structured interview makes provision for the deepening, discrimination and clarification of conception of subjects. They further argue that semi-structured interviews provide a basis to incorporate material and dilemmas for practical situations to be solved.

Despite the arguments in favour of the semi-structured interviews, Gutierrez, et al, 1991, note the limitations of the semi- structured interviews. They argue that a semi-structured interview is really time consuming in that it requires time to collect and analyse the data. They also argue that such an interview requires training for interviewers to minimise time differences. Finally, the limitation of semi-structured interviews is bounded to time constraints. Semi structured interviews were used with all the respondents. An interview schedule was sent to all the respondents in order to give them an opportunity to familiarise themselves with the schedule and to prepare themselves. Although it is considered time consuming, the researcher used semi-structured interviews throughout the study, scheduling one or two interviews per day depending on the location of the respondents. The time

allocated to each interview enabled the respondents to reflect and discuss other issues not included in the schedule.

In order to avoid potential bias, a group of three key actors were identified for interviews on the implementation challenges of the Community Development Workers Programme in Gauteng. Ten role players were identified for interviews. The document analysis had given the researcher names of people and structures that were activated for the programme. Based on the names and structures obtained through the document analysis, the researcher identified key respondents. Of the ten actors identified, three (3) were politicians, four (4) were civil servants, two (2) consultants, two (2) beneficiaries and one (1) oversight official and national author. All the actors are considered as key informants, previously and currently involved with the programme. All respondents were selected because of what they know, as is consistent with the qualitative research sampling.

Table 1: List of Interviewees interviewed during 2008.

Name	Designation	Date Interviewed
Respondent A	Former MEC	10/10/2008
Respondent B	Current MEC	07/11/2008
Respondent C	Former Sedibeng Executive Mayor	Unavailable
Respondent D	Speaker City of Tshwane	Unavailable
Respondent E	Former Convener	13/10/2008
Respondent F	Former Gauteng CDW Coordinator	07/10/2008
Respondent G	HOD, DLG	04/11/2006
Respondent H	Programme Director	05/11/2008

		Postponed the interview several times and I referred to respondent I who was already identified as a respondent
Respondent I	Regional Manager	13/12/2008
Respondent J	Public Service Commission	11/11/2008

Prior to the interviews, all actors were contacted and sent a formal request to participate in a semi-structured interview. Interview schedules were sent to the role players as a guide for the interviews. Included in the formal letter was the request to record the interview. Consent to record the interview was sought at the beginning of each interview. The interview with the former MEC was not recorded due to current work related restrictions. The interview with the former MEC of Development Planning and Local Government was also confined to time due to his tight working schedule. The interviews with the public servants were useful, whereas the interviews with the politicians are sometimes incoherent because some struggled to recall the details. However, the documentary evidence has corroborated some of the issues discussed during the interviews. Generally, the interview data was rich and useful. The semi-structured interviews conducted were based on the interview questions indicated below:

2.4.3 Interview Questions

Sabatier and Mazmanian (1986) regard clear and consistent policy objectives as a necessary condition for effective implementation because they are able to state the desired changes to be achieved within the target group. It is important to establish how the policy maker expressed the intentions:

2.4.3.1 PRIMARY QUESTION

- How did the policy maker address the policy implementation challenges of the Community Development Workers Programme in Gauteng?

2.4.3.2 POLICY INTENTIONS

- How did the policy makers articulate the intention of the Community Development Workers Programme?
 - o What are the beliefs and ideologies driving or underlying the CDWP?
 - o How did Gauteng understand the intention of the CDWP?

2.4.3.3 PRESERVING POLICY INTENTIONS

Hall and Mc Ginty (1997, p.441) developed a meso-domain framework to argue that the realisation of policy intentions is both constrained and enabled by four factors. The factors include an organisational context and conventions; linkages between multiple sites and phases of the policy process; mobilisation of resources and finally, the dynamic and multifaceted conceptualisation of power. The legislative, executive branches and national or provincial departments affect

the transformation of legislation into bureaucratic programmes.

2.4.3.4 ORGANISATIONAL CONTEXT AND CONVENTIONS

- o What conventions were used for the implementation of the CDWP?
- o What is/was the purpose of the conventions?
- o What is the role of the Department of Development Planning and Local Government in the convention?
- o How is/was the convention constituted?
- o How are/were decisions taken in the convention?

2.4.3.5 RESOURCES AND POWER

- o What resources were allocated to the Department of Development Planning and Municipalities to implement the CDWP?
- o How did the Gauteng Government communicate the programme?
- o How was information and communication controlled by the implementation agency?

2.4.3.6 NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

- o What influenced the national executive to create the CDWP Programme?
- o How was the CDWP Programme formulated?

- o How was the programme communicated to the implementers (provinces) and broader public?

2.4.3.7 NATIONAL TO PROVINCIAL POLITICAL LINKAGE

- o How did the national government influence the Gauteng CDW programme?
- o How did the province understand the programme as initiated from national government?

2.4.3.8 PROVINCIAL POLITICAL SPHERE TO PROVINCIAL BUREAUCRACY

- o How did the executive oversee the implementation of the Community Development Workers Programme?
- o What forums were established to account for the activities of the Community Development Workers Programme?
- o How is the Community Development Workers Programme institutionalised?
- o What capacity does the institutional mechanism have to implement the programme?
- o What steps were undertaken to ensure that the provincial bureaucrats implement the programme as intended?

2.4.3.9 PROVINCIAL POLITICAL SPHERE AND BUREAUCRACY TO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKERS

- o How is the programme implemented at local level?
- o How does the political executive interact with the Community Development Workers?
- o How did the executive ensure that bureaucrats implement the programme as intended?
- o How were local implementers recruited and trained?

All questions in different categories were answered, except the questions on the recruitment and training and national government's role in the programme. However, the secondary documentation assisted the researcher to get an understanding and develop an analysis around the process in identifying the strength and the weakness of the process. The questions relating to the role of the national government in the introduction of the programme were not properly answered, hence the researcher's effort to interview respondent J.

In seeking to understand how the policy maker addressed the policy implementation challenges, Hall and McGinty (1997) provided a meso-domain framework. As mentioned before, the framework argues that the realisation of policy intentions is both enabled and constrained by four factors. The research questions are based on the four factors that enable or constrain the realisation of policy intentions.

2.5 OBJECTIVITY AND SUBJECTIVITY OF CASE STUDY RESEARCH

This section explains the method used in this research for objectivity and minimising subjectivity. According to Cresswell (1998), balance between objectivity and subjectivity is a critical element for case study researchers. Miles and Huberman (1994, p.279) define objectivity as “the relative neutrality and reasonable freedom from unacknowledged researcher biases about the inevitable biases that exist”. In seeking objectivity, Miles and Huberman (1994), propose that researchers should perfect general methods and procedures, explaining the sequence of data collection and processing. Miles and Huberman further suggest that the researcher should link the conclusion of the study to displayed data, reflect awareness of subjective influences and their roles in the study and consider competing hypotheses or rival conclusions. Ely, et al, (1991) conclude that objectivity is all about making observations without answers and biases.

Ely, et al, (1991) warn the researcher against starting research in a familiar field, based on experience. They advise support in striking a balance between empathy and a distanced, non-judgmental position. They also articulate that making the unfamiliar familiar, “includes the ability to recognise stereotypes, because even when entering an unfamiliar situation, we are not devoid of a myriad of images, expectations and beliefs” (1991, p.127). Notwithstanding the above, Mehra (2002,) notes that the response of the researcher to the question of bias is to be aware of the bias entering into data collection and analysis and take measures to monitor the above. Mehra further identifies important measures to be activated to avoid being biased. They range from recording to elaborating in critical analysis.

Subjectivity through bias is important in qualitative research as it uses the contexts, reasoning and communications of individuals. Conclusions of the qualitative study are susceptible to incorrect interpretations not based on any generality. In order to avoid bias in the researcher or respondents, the researcher outlined the research methodology for the study, including choosing qualitative study and its design, the case study. He also outlined the process of document analysis of the primary and secondary data and how they are complemented with the semi-structured interviews. The processing methods were followed and are discussed under data analysis. While the above literature emphasises the importance of bias in research, the researcher is an important part of the process in any qualitative research paradigm. In order to avoid biases in research, the researcher introduced the need for multiple interpretations to interpret the findings and conclusions.

2.6 DATA ANALYSIS

This section explains the methods used in this research for data analysis, checking validity of data and analysis and report writing. According to Yin (1994), data analysis consists of three processes, namely examining, categorising and tabulating, or otherwise the recombination of evidence to address the initial proposition of the study.

Stake (2000, p.71) suggests data analysis may occur concurrently with data collection, or start at anytime. Stake (2000,) argues that analysis relates to giving meaning during the compilation of research reports. Two strategies applicable to analysis include direct interpretation of a single illustration and aggregation of instances (Stake, 1995). Mouton (2001) contends that interpretation involves the synthesis of data into coherent wholes and relating one's results and findings to

existing theoretical frameworks or models, showing whether these are supported or falsified by the new interpretation. Interpretations also mean taking into consideration rival interpretations or explanations of one's data and showing what levels of support the data provide for the preferred interpretation. Stake (2000) indicates that categorical data is more important than direct interpretation. Stake further argue that categorical data relates to the researcher's detailed description and development of themes through classification systems and providing an interpretation in light of his own views or that of perspectives in the literature.

According to Stake (2000), categorisation of data is used to assist understanding and find meaning through identification and consistent comparison of patterns. On reviewing the data, coding and aggregating data into patterns were carried out. Coding involves breaking down data into its relevant parts and elements. Ely, et al, (1991, p. 87) state that while categories of data are formed, the researcher should continue to "keep hold of the larger picture" to ascertain that the categories fit into it.

According to Stake (2000) it is important for the researcher to go through the documentation to search for primary issues and to develop a table representing the repetition of categorical data. Stake (2000) highlighted the importance of identifying data that is the best and to set the rest aside, noting that equal attention to all data is not a civil right.

Miles and Huberman (1994) state that data analysis consists of three simultaneous flows of activity, i.e. data reduction, data display and conclusion. They suggest several data tactics for finding meaning and for drawing and verifying the quality of the conclusion (1994). Tactics include noting patterns and themes; seeing

plausibility; clustering and making metaphors. Other possible tactics are counting; making contrasts or comparisons; partitioning variables and subsuming particulars into general.

In order to analyse the data for the study, the researcher developed an analytical schema to assist in data analysis. Firstly, the primary documentation (CDW Concept Document approved in May 2003) and secondary documentation were analysed based on data codification. Secondly, semi-structured interviews based on the interview schedule were conducted where the information generated tested the original assumptions contained in the primary and secondary documentation. Thirdly, the data generated from the interviews were analysed and triangulated with any other available data. Category interpretation was developed to find detailed descriptions of themes. Based on the literature review, analysis was made to contest and contend certain issues. Finally, the conclusions of the study as well as recommendations were developed.

2.7 CONCLUSION

Chapter 2 sketched several factors within the study of qualitative research, because qualitative research seemed the most suitable to this particular research question. The chapter reflects on research methodology, research design and data collection. A case study design was chosen and data collection carried out with respondents and secondary documentation such as quarterly and annual reports. Sources of data used for the study included documentary sources, interviews with key informants, and also the use of triangulation. Data analysis and interpretation were used to find meanings and draw appropriate conclusions.

In the next chapter, the study provides a review of the available literature on the factors that promote or hinder the implementation of policy.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 3 sketches the literature review relating to the implementation challenges. The implementation challenges (inhibiting and facilitating) are discussed based on the five C protocols of policy implementation namely content, contexts, commitment, capacity and client and coalitions. The search for factors that inhibit and facilitate policy implementation remains a discussion among politicians, academics, senior government officials, policy experts and students. Notwithstanding the interest in policy implementation within public administration, development studies, public policy and political studies, humanities and economics, it can be suggested that factors that inhibit and facilitate differ across the contexts of policy development.

The literature review is premised on an excess of literature relevant to the implementation deficit in programmes and academic literatures relevant to the policy implementation debates. The literature review focused on factors affecting implementation failures. To start with, the study provides clarity on the difference between non-implementation and unsuccessful implementation of policy.

3.1.1 IMPLEMENTATION GAP

Implementation gap is the difference between planning and resources that exist at the implementation level compared to the systems and human resource capacity available at the institutional/implementation or bureaucratic institution (Mauerstein-Bail, Kelly, & Parker, 2004). Mauerstein-Bail et al, (2004) argue that

resources are regarded as important elements to bridge the implementation gap. In order to sustain policy, Mauerstein-Bail argues that clear objectives, government leadership and ownership and strong partnerships between government and civil society are required for the policy environment. Furthermore Mauerstein-Bail suggests that enhanced management systems and human resources capacity and transparent administration and financial systems are also critical elements of ensuring proper policy implementation.

Brynard (2007, p.358) understands implementation as a policy gap. In that context, Brynard (Ibid) defines policy implementation as what happens between policy expectation and perceived policy results. Mazmanian and Sabatier, 1983, p.21-21) define *“implementation gap as policy gap and carry it in their definition of implementation. They define implementation as the carrying out of basic policy decisions usually incorporated in a statute but which can also take the form of important executive orders of court decisions. Furthermore, they indicate that the decisions identify the problems to be confronted, articulate the objective to be followed to structure the implementation. Finally implementation process starts with the passage of a statute, policy decisions of the implementation agencies’ compliance of target groups with those decisions, the actual impact of the agency decisions. Lastly the implementation process includes the revisions (attempted revisions in the basic structure and the expected outcome of implementation”*. The definition illustrated above, indicates that the implementation gap originates from process, system and structures and actors in the public policy process.

Arguing the above within the context of South Africa, Brynard (2007) argues that the advent of South African democracy was characterised with the increase in passing policy responses to address the apartheid legacy. Booysen (2001 suggests

that while the post-1994 era was dedicated to policy formulation, the policy implementation process has not been an inclusive process of the relevant stakeholders and resulted in a policy gap. This means that the implementation of policy has not received the required support and resources to achieve the expected objectives or outcomes to change the lives of people. At the same time, Brynard (2007) is of the view that the implementation gap is experienced because of the complexities of policy development in South Africa. The complexities of the policy development in South Africa and in developing countries refer to the absence of data to devise clear policy implementation tools. This means that often policy in developing countries is not based on scientific evidence and research-based problems.

On the other hand, Makinde (2005) understood implementation tools as a sizeable gap between policy decisions and their implementation. He argued further that it manifests in the widening of the distance between stated policy and the realisation of the planned objectives. In his argument on the problems of policy implementation in developing nations, based on the Nigerian experience, Makinde (2005) argued that implementation gap originated from a plethora of factors. First, Makinde (2005) argues that policy itself and its setting cause the implementation gap. He blames the adoption of top-down planning where politicians decide on the policy and implementers are responsible for the execution. Secondly, the implementation gap comes from the inability to appreciate the social, economic, political and administrative variables. This means that policy is sometimes formulated without due regard for the direction of the government of the day. It also means that the implementation gap originates from the inability to consider government priorities and the subsequent financial and administrative support. Lastly, Makinde identifies plan indiscipline as another source of the implementation gap. Plan indiscipline refers to the inability to sustain

the project in terms of the operational plan. It also means the discontinuation of the programme or project without valid reasons or the approval of the authorities.

3.2 FACTORS INHIBITING AND FACILITATING POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

The literature on factors inhibiting and facilitating policy implementation reveals that there is extensive research and debate on understanding the complexities of policy implementation. Brynard (2005 and Brynard and De Coning, 2006) suggest the so-called 5C protocol to understand critical variables of policy implementation. The five variables of importance are *content*, *context*, *commitment*, *capacity* and *client*, and *coalitions*. They also suggest *communication* as an additional critical variable. The critical variables are presented here as interrelated and interlinking factors that influence policy implementation and not as discrete concepts.

3.2.1 CAPACITY VARIABLES

Government departments or implementing institutions require structural, functional and cultural ability to execute government intentions. According to Brynard and de Coning, 2005, leadership, motivation and commitment constitute the capacity resource of instruments to implement policy. For the purpose of this study, capacity variables were discussed from a point of view of organisational management, funding, capacity and will. They were also considered within the context of political and administrative leadership and the street-level disposition and other general factors closer to capacity related relevance.

3.2.1.1 FUNDING AND OR LACK OF FUNDING

Funding is the critical ingredient in the implementation of public policy commitments (Gerston, 2004). Gerston argues that the absence of adequate resources undermines the objectives set in the statement of intent. Gerston contends that if the money does not follow the commitment, there is a high possibility for the policy objectives to suffer. In contending for the course of financial support, Gerston (2004) argues that policy could fail to secure the required resources as a result of conflict among policy actors. Conflict among policy actors emanates from policy differences and inadequate coherence. Prioritisation may be the solution to ensure that the required resource is allocated to the appropriate programmes and projects. It implies that inadequate resources are a guarantee for programme failure and result in wasting the policy formulation efforts. Funding of government programmes is expressed during budgetary processes over the period of policy implementation.

According to Glenngard and Maina (2007) policy implementation can be studied from the perspective of budgetary processes. Glenngard and Maina (Ibid) suggest that budget should be used as a policy implementation tool. As an implementation tool, budget makes a comparison between the policy objectives and the budgetary allocations. For that to happen, government planning process to determine expenditure is critical. The government expenditure planning would enable policy or programme prioritisation over a three year cycle. However, the prioritisation of government planning sometimes results in a lack or misallocation of funds of some programmes and policies.

May and Turner, (2002) suggest that a lack or misallocation of funds is one of the reasons for poor policy implementation. They suggest that an insufficient or

misallocation of funds emanates from either insufficient funds to undertake the identified activities or misdirection of funds (2002). It is normally attributed to proper motivations for funds by the relevant line functional authorities and their supervisors. According to May and Turner, 2002, Pillay (as cited in Naidoo, 2005) suggests that an insufficient or misallocation of funds is attributed to a lack of financial skills and/or the operating poor financial systems. The absence of the skills or system often leads to failure to make projections or estimates. May and Turner (Ibid) further suggest that a misallocation of funds could also be attributed to political influence to allocate resources in the implementation of policy or simply corruption.

There are five key issues with regard to funding. First, it serves as a source of commitment to policy intentions. In the absence of funding, programmes are bound to fail and this weakens the capacity and the will of implementers. Thirdly, funding of programmes is committed in the form of a budget. As will be shown in the research, the budget was used as a demonstration by Gauteng politicians to fund the programme incrementally from 2003-2007. Fourthly, funding processes require the necessary skills and expertise. Lastly, systems are also necessary for ensuring proper financial management. The above constitute a basis for an organisation or implementation agency to build internal or local capacity and the will (motivation) to implement government's intentions.

3.2.1.2 LOCAL CAPACITY AND WILL

Local capacity and will are the local expertise, organisational routines and resources of an implementation agency to implement a plan (McLaughlin, 1998). In defining capacity within an organisational and institutional context, Mothae (2008) refers to it as the capacity of the organisational structure at a local

level with its process, culture and management systems to influence the competencies of an individual's skills and resources. Levin (2005) places local capacity within implementation capacity. He defines it as the skill and resource requirement to ensure the execution of programmes and plans to reach policy intentions. Although defined in a different context, the thrust is clear that skills, resources, processes and motivation constitute capacity.

In the study on War on Poverty and education in America, Odden (1991) found a lack of capacity and will at different levels of governments as the source of insufficient program implementation. (McLaughlin (1998) suggests that the will to implement policy is less amenable to policy intervention and argues that the will (motivation and commitment) reflects the implementer's assessment of the importance of policy. McLaughlin (1998) identifies factors beyond the reach of policy influence. McLaughlin argues that environmental stability and competing centres of authority strongly influence the will to implement policy and suggests that contending priorities and aspects of the socio-political milieu influence the will towards policy implementation. The will of the local bureaucrats supplement the capacity of an implementation agency to execute the stated policy or programme intentions.

Local will is all about the motivation to embrace policy goals and objectives and an essential element for a successful project (McLaughlin, 1998). While she acknowledged its importance, (McLaughlin, 1998) warned that local will depend on the attitude of government administrators or officials of government at national, provincial or district level. This means that for local will to thrive, institutional setting is very important. However, Mihalic, Irwin, Fagan, Ballard, & Elliot (2004) link the motivation or will of local bureaucrats to their level of qualification. The right level of qualifications and attitude of the government

officials require the political will of politicians to guide the institution towards the realisation of programme goals.

Ehsan (2006) suggests that political will is the supreme factor in policy implementation or in any policy process. Political will is a demonstrated, credible intention of a political actor, either elected or appointed, to show support and promote a policy or programme (Kpundeh, 2006). Legislators and ministers are critical actors of political will because of their authority and legitimacy. Porche (2004) argues that political will is all about the society's desire and commitment to develop and fund new programmes. Porche (2004) continues to say that politicians, legislators, stakeholders and special knowledge influence political will.

Political will in policy process is expressed through passing the appropriate policy, allocating or lobbying for the necessary resources or releasing research findings advocating action. It is also expressed through the establishment of appropriate institutions or structures with the power and mandate to implement the programme. Without the blessing of the political actors, political will is likely to fail. In an attempt for fighting corruption in Bangladesh, Anti- Corruption was established without government blessing. As a result, its activities were not recognised. If exercised properly, Ehsan (2006) further argues that political will results in home-grown decisions and are likely to succeed. In support of the point above, Brinkerhoff, as cited in Ehsan (2006), suggests that home-grown initiatives reflect ownership for policy stakeholders. He argued that structures established for concessions of other stakeholders without government approval are bound to fail because they lack legitimacy and authority. As it will be shown in the research, political commitment was shown. As it will be seen in the study, the former President and former Premier of Gauteng expressed support of the

programme throughout. Political and administrative leadership is a critical factor to sustain the political and administrative structures to implement the programme.

3.2.1.3 POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE LEADERSHIP

In the context of policy implementation, political leadership is a leadership provided in legislative institutions (parliament, provincial legislature and municipal councils) to exercise legislative functions to formulate legislations (Mfene, 2008). This refers to members of Parliament, Ministers, Premiers and Executive Mayors. Administrative leadership is a leadership provided in the executive functions such as government departments to implement policies and programs of government (Mfene, 2008). Administrative leadership refers to Directors General, Chief Executive Officers of government department or entities tasked or appointed as Accounting Officer to lead organisations to implement the intentions of government policy.

According to Cooksey and Krieg (1996) political leadership and support is the key factor determining policy implementation. They argue that chief executive officers (CEO) and executive directors are the critical link to political leadership. The understanding between the CEO or executive directors and the political leadership is required for continuous policy support. The success of the link also depends on the trust and synergy activated over a period of time.

According to Cooksey and Krieg (1996) the biggest factor restricting policy development was the non-response of public office holders to new policy ideas. They argue that invisible support of ministers compromises senior managers to specific policy agendas. Compromising senior managers leads to the abandoning of the policy and its objectives. According to Cooksey and Krieg,

political polarisation and tension often hamper efforts to start constructive debates within the policy process. This means that the political and administrative leadership of the programme are required to understand the ideas around the concept. It also means that political leadership should assist administrative leadership to translate the political statements into achievable programmes to realise the objectives. The realisation of new policy ideas requires both administrative and political leadership to work together for the common good.

Younie (2006) argues that coordinated leadership is the crux of policy implementation. In the study on welfare programmes, Marcia et al (1998) noted that the implementation of new social policies is complicated by the dependence of policy makers on the staff of social programmes. Lipsky (198) confirms the point to show that although street level bureaucrats are normally regarded as low-level employees, the actions of most public workers constitute the service delivered by government.

In support of the importance of leadership in policy implementation, Naidoo (2005) argues that leaders and managers have a role to play. She further argues that senior leaders and managers involved in policy implementation should at least have a say in the development of such policies. She contends that the absence of the manager's role leads to discontinuity between policy development and implementation. The managers understanding the rationale for the developing policy and can assist in its implementation. While approved at a political level, the management of the department through its director for governance and the subsequent appointment of the CDW director were critical in shaping the direction both strategically and operationally.

Mfene (2008) argues that leadership is a necessary condition for policy implementation in order to direct the activities and the manner in which the activities should be performed. According to Mfene administrative leadership is required for the proper functioning of the executive functions of government. Administrative leadership is necessary in policy implementation in order to bridge the gap between the formulated plans and reaching the goals. Administrative leadership also assumes the role of translating the statute into actions plans and programmes. Hidden and Davies (as cited in Mfene, 2008¹) support the need for administrative leadership during policy implementation. They argue that administrative leadership is an ingredient in initiating, implementing and institutionalising efforts.

In a study on the problems of policy implementation in developing nations, Makinde (2005) observed that countries paid lip service to the subject of policy implementation and the challenges it posed to administrative leadership. In response to this, Mfene (2008) identifies three challenges posed by implementation of policy on leaders and managers. He argues that the leaders and managers are confronted with issues of discipline, commitment and sacrifice to policy. Administrative leadership requires flexibility and discretion and the right disposition to respond to the challenges.

Based on the identified issues of discipline, commitment and sacrifice policies, Mfene (2008) concluded that the new public sector requires a different breed of leadership. Leinonen and Juntunen (as cited in Mfene, 2008) identified five new requirements of public sector leadership. Firstly, the public manager's abilities to cope with contradictory and ambiguous interests and expectations of different interest groups. Secondly, the leadership ability to perceive the public sector as a competitive employer. Thirdly, the leadership that

seeks to strengthen the job-related satisfaction and wellbeing among public sector employees. Fourth, the leadership that adapts to the external environment and organisational changes. Lastly, leadership that is able to increase the satisfaction of customers. The first leadership is critical to the study. Administrative leadership needs to understand and manage the interest of policy stakeholders. The understanding and management of this helps to frame proper stakeholder analysis to build partnerships and alliances for policy implementation. Despite the required understanding stated above, public managers experiences influences arising internally and externally.

Kotter (as cited in Mfene, 2008) argues that public managers are experiencing an increasing force that deters the provision of leadership. Factors deterring leadership include political/administrative dichotomy, the norms and values of individual leaders, capacity requirements, organisational factors (span of control) and delegation of authority and attitudes of members in the organisational levels of supervisors.

The political/administrative is critical in influencing the leadership of public managers. Cabinet Ministers, Members of the Executive Councils and the Executive Mayors are deployed in government to lead the implementation of policy at political level. Some of their activities in relation to the operation of the organisation may be considered as acts of interference (Mfene, 2008,). Mfene cautioned administrators that political office bearers have been elected or appointed to exercise political leadership and at times they exercise administrative leadership. In concluding the argument, Mfene states that public administrators need to accept the activities of the political leaders because policy is executed in the political domain. In addition to the political and administrative leadership, mandate and policy design are the appropriate

solution to define the activities to be undertaken and the responsible structures to carry such activities.

3.2.1.4 MANDATE AND POLICY DESIGN

Policy design is an important stage in the policy processes. The policy design is premised from an understanding that the design of policy mandate shapes those actions of the implementation agency's activities (Burby, 1997). Roux (2006) suggests that policy design is all about the translation of intellectual and financial resources into a plan of action.

According to May (1993) policy mandates set the intentions of the mandate and set the instruments or means specified in the mandate for accomplishing the intention. It outlines the form and the structures to be instituted to attain the objectives. Further, mandates set the expectations of the state-agency implementing activities. May (1993) suggests that mandate design does not only set goals, but also facilitates implementation. Mandates facilitate policy implementation through inducements, system changes and capacity building features. Inducements are a useful method to bring incentive to the implementation agencies. Tobin and Montz (1997) suggest that inducements for policy implementation include subsidies, loans and tax systems, or insurances to entice implementation agencies. In addition to the mandates' facilitating, mandates and state implementation are also critical in discussing policy design.

The expectations and the specifications of the implementation agencies are contained in the mandates (May, 1993). He (1993) suggests four factors analysing the difference of state-agency implementation. It includes

mandate features aimed at facilitating implementation and mandate controls aimed at increasing adherence to mandate goals. Variation factors also include mandate characteristics reflecting on the extent of statutory coherence and bureaucratic factors comprising state-agency implementation. Statutory coherency is relevant in a sense that it sets clear goals and implementation structures. The bureaucratic factors demonstrate that capacity is an intervening variable in policy implementation (May, 1993). In addition to the mandate design, policy design also affects policy implementation.

According to Cooksey and Krieg (1996) design phase problems are the thrust of determining the success of policy implementation. Policy design sets the goal and objectives, prioritises activities, generates options and makes an assessment of the options (Roux, 2006). Cooksey and Krieg (1996) add that the design phase also includes the provision of limited background information, the problem and a range of options for resolving it. Cooksey and Krieg (1996) suggest that these initiatives contain broad recommendations and provide no detail regarding implementers. They suggest four implementation barriers: policy design, inadequate political support, organisational barriers and resource constraints.

Policy design either facilitates or hinders policy implementation in different ways. Policy implementation fails because of the absence or lack of clarity and consistency, complex chains of implementing actions and indirect control. In countering the later, May (2003) suggests the introduction of statutory coherence. Statutory coherence helps to ensure consistency and clarity of the problems to be addressed. In the same vain, May cautions against the failure to acknowledge political realities accounting for policies, vague language and the complexity of implementation structures.

In acknowledging the above, May (1993) suggests two ways to enhance policy implementation, through capacity building and commitments. Capacity building is required to start the required action and cooperation. Three key instruments identifiable for capacity building include funding, education and training and technical assistance. Secondly, May proposed the commitments builders to the policy goals. The tools to achieve the commitment include publicity about policy goals, authorisation for citizens' suits against implementation, incentives, and a cost sharing mechanism. In addition to the mandate's design, interagency collaboration also affects the implementation of policy.

3.2.1.5 INTERAGENCY COLLABORATION

The conceptualisation of the interagency collaboration approach is based on an understanding that consensus is required between agencies involved in a programme on the activities and how the activities should be undertaken (Lupton, 2001 et al). In the implementation study of the Workforce Investment Act in America, Cohen, et al, (2005) suggest interagency collaboration as a key factor for policy implementation. Toole & Montjoy (1984) suggest that formal organisation, such as a committee or forum, is the key mechanism to achieve cooperation and implement policy. Formal organisation achieves cooperation through the assessment of selection and training to acquire the required personnel, with the correct frame of thinking and driven by a common goal (Toole, et al, 1984). Selection and training means that different implementation agencies deploy officials to the interagency organisation to contribute the required skill and expertise to implement the programme. Common goal refers to understanding the policy objective and translating from political statements or statement of intent.

Lupton, North, & Khan (2001) argue that while the need to encourage cooperation and collaboration among networks remains, consensus around the way of action may be unachievable because of inter-professional differences. In addition to the above, Lupton, et al (2001) contend that power and /or the involvement of participants hinders domain (who does what) and ideological (how it is done). Social, political and professional power affects the role of an organisation within the multiagency network (Lupton, et al (2001). They argued that powerful groups try to ensure that the inter-organisational exchange protect and enhance their dominance.

Furthermore to the challenges of domain and ideology, Lupton, et al (2001) argue that work coordination affects inter-organisational collaboration at three levels. First, the work patterns complicate logistical arrangement to work together strategically or operationally. Secondly, inter-organisational groupings differ around forms of governance and accountability (Lupton, et al, 2001). Tension arises more between organisations that have to account to the people and the associations. Finally, the decentralised decision-making mechanism complicates interagency collaboration (Lupton, et al, 2001). Because of the nature of the occupational grouping in organisations, not all the organisational may be represented by officials with decision making abilities.

For interagency collaboration to succeed, Mattessich and Monsey (as cited in Cohen, Timmons & Fesko, 2005) proposed six factors to influence the success of collaborations among agencies. According to Mattessich and Monsey, the social, political and physical environment influenced the collaborations between agencies. Furthermore, Cohen, et al, (2005) suggest that the characteristics

of the partnered agencies are important. The characteristics of a partnered agency include mutual respect and ability to respect and to compromise.

Furthermore, Cohen, et al, 2005 suggest that decision-making process, goal accomplishment, communication channels and the availability of resources are crucial to the partnership between agencies. As it will be seen in the study, conventions were established to serve as a formal mechanism for stakeholders to cooperate in the implementation of the programme. In addition to the interagency collaboration, implementation resources also affect the implementation of policy.

There are four critical issues with regard to interagency collaboration or departmental collaboration for policy implementation. Policy implementation requires combined efforts of the institutions to compliment each other and avoid duplication of resources. Interagency collaboration requires the establishment of a formal structure with an agreed mode of operation in relation to processes, systems, decision making and representation. The ability of each organisation to compromise and respect other organisations is essential for interagency cooperation. As it will be seen in the research, forums for inter-organisational cooperation were established and the processes outlined and they became a useful vehicle for service delivery issues in relevant communities.

3.2.1.6 IMPLEMENTATION RESOURCES

The implementation resource is premised from an understanding that government does not possess all the skills required in policy implementation. Policy processes give rise to the need to understand and analyse the stakeholders and their abilities in the formulation and implementation process. According to Hill (2003),

a local actor's understanding of reforms in every day action of policy is important. Street-level bureaucrats learn about reforms from non-state networks, professionals or implementation resources (Hill 2003). Hill (2003) defines implementation resources as individuals and organisations that can help implementation units to learn about policy practice or professional reforms meant to change the character of the services delivered to clients. Hill regards consultants, academics, entrepreneurs, foundations, trade journals and journalists as the core of policy implementation resources.

Hill (2003) suggests that implementation resources hold expertise and authority to assist and guide implementers. However, he acknowledges the possible tension between policy makers in using implementation resources outside bureaucracies. Therefore approval to use the implementation resource is required. Hill (2003) argues that while the usage of implementation resources complicates the relationships between policy-makers and implementers, implementation resources exist to clear up uncertainties. Uncertainties are resolved through research, comparative studies and development of training modules to assist in unpacking policy issues.

According to Hill (2003), implementation resources act as a link between policy and implementing agents. Hill (2003) suggests that implementation resources are meant to assist implementers in constructing meaning and requirements. Additionally, implementation resources provide organisational technologies and appropriate approaches/behaviour to implement policy. They also help with the development of theories and skills to implement policy. In this context, Hill (2005) states that implementers may understand policy details but lack knowledge to carry the duties. Hill suggests that a lack of knowledge in policy implementation involves the scarcity of information. According to Hill (2005), the training and

technical assistance of implementation resources fill the gap as possible interventions.

The above paragraph indicates that the understanding of government changes, reforms and direction is not inherently residing with government. Implementation resources such as academic institutions, research groupings, policy institutes and non-governmental organisations are available to draw and expand government knowledge in areas where government is not fully capacitated. The success of the relationship between the implementation resources and government institutions depends on the nature of the relationship. Implementation resources enhance the work of policy implementers by identifying the meaning and the goal clarity, and/or multiple meanings. In addition to the implementation resource as part of the capacity variables, contextual variables such as a lack of oversight, and consultation and coordination affect policy implementation.

3.2.2 CONTEXTUAL VARIABLES

The context variable is the second key issue in policy implementation identified in the literature (Brynard and de Coning, 2006). Context refers to the institutional context, the social, economic and legal environments inherent to any attempt to implement policy. Mazmanian and Sabatier (as cited in Elson, 2006) refer to contextual variables as the support of the legislators through oversight, availability of financial resources and the introduction of new and conflicting policies. They also added the recruitment of leaders in implementing agencies as important aspects of contextual variables. However, some of the aspects identified in Mazmanian and Sabatier also form part of capacity variables. Within this variable there are two important issues identified in the literature worth mentioning here. These two issues are policy oversight and consultation and coordination.

3.2.2.1 LACK OF OVERSIGHT

Oversight is premised from a thesis that the policies implemented by the agencies are consistent with the statutes passed in parliament (Rabin, 2004). According to Odden (1991) oversight is the legislative review and study of the application, administration and execution of the law. As defined in terms of parliamentary powers above, this means parliamentary supervision of the functioning of the executive branch. While oversight is most related to the work of legislature, the executive branch, namely the state, also has an oversight role.

In the context of the American system, Rabin suggests that the president is an oversight player (Rabin, 2005). As head of state and of the executive, the President uses oversight to supervise the activities of bureaucracy (Rabin, 2007). A President or Head of Government uses at least three tools to exercise oversight to monitor the implementation of a government programme of action (Rabin, 2004,). Firstly, the President appoints cabinet members and commissions. Secondly, he controls the reorganisation of the agency and agency function to emphasise areas of policy. Thirdly, he uses the budget as a way of indicating to the agency the direction that government intends to take. Finally, a President can use the function of presidential management of rule making and regulation. All the tools are considered useful to exercise oversight; however, everything depends on the structure of government. In addition to the tools of the presidential oversight, a lack of any other form of oversight affects the implementation of policy.

May (2002) considers policy oversight as an ingredient of policy implementation. He views those responsible for policy oversight as fixers (Ibid). Fixers mean that politicians who authored the policy or legislation would investigate and fix

implementation challenges. Parliament uses two forms of oversight to act as policy fixers. Formal oversight mechanisms include structures such as committees, commissions, parliamentary offices and investigation and evaluation of the agency and its programmes (Rabin, 2004). They further include the holding of public hearings and casework (Birkland, 2005). Case work here refers to the work of legislators to help members of the public to address agency-related challenges. Parliamentary oversight takes the form of informal oversight as well. Legislators use informal interaction such as phone calls and meetings and give comments to agency personnel. The informal mechanisms are used to a certain extent to prepare the agencies for formal oversight sittings. In addition to the tools of legislative oversight, the absence of non-state actors or an external oversight mechanism affects the implementation of the programmes and other government intentions.

While formal mechanisms are usually established, informal or external mechanisms tend also to develop in the form of public interest organisation (May, 2002,). Informal oversight mechanisms include the media, public interest organisations, trade groups, citizens' organisations, investors and insurers. All of these contribute by monitoring the implementation process (May, 2002). Formal and informal mechanisms of oversight help to guide the implementing authority and assess the capacity and resources allocated. Informal oversight mechanisms are sometimes interested in the programme or policy during the first year of its implementation.

According to Stoker (as cited in May, 2002), oversight is a critical function to encourage cooperation of partners, participants and implementers by ensuring detection in case of a deviation. Despite the encouragement, May (2002) cautioned that the detection of deviation is based on the assumption that there

is consensus on the policy. In their study on the Bail Reforms, Mc Garell, Rivera & Paton, (1990) noted that oversight is critical to understand the elusive administrative supervision of day-to-day operations. According to Mc Garell, et al, (1990), an elusive oversight results in little direct accountability in carrying out daily routine operations. Mc Garell, et al, (1990, p.439) argue that a lack of oversight leads to a 'decoupling process'. Decoupling refers to a separation of administrative and technical level activities (p.439). Mc Garell, et al, warned that the absence of oversight results in little opportunity to tighten the connection between administrative policy and technical performance. This means that while formal oversight bodies are created to oversee the activities of the implementation agencies, informal oversight structures are also necessary and should be supported. This would ensure that policy makers and other policy actors are kept informed about issues that have not come to the attention of the policy maker. The existence of informal oversight bodies also strengthens the governance structures of a consultative policy making process.

3.2.2.2 CONSULTATION AND COORDINATION

Consultation in the policy process is premised from the thinking that government's statement of intentions is to identify a particular problem and solve it for the benefit of particular citizens. Therefore consultation with the likely beneficiaries of the policy or statement of intent is important to understand their needs. This helps government to craft policies or programmes that solve the problem of beneficiaries.

Haligan et al, (2001) suggest that consultation is an important step throughout the policy process. While an important process, Haligan et al argue that in government there is a tendency to consult on matters including, policy that have

been decided. Although considered lengthy and time consuming, the failure to consult constitutes an impediment in the policy process, including in policy implementation.

According to Haligan et al, (2001) consultation with all policy actors is critical, as is the need to develop appropriate consultation mechanisms with the relevant policy actor. Generally, consultation mechanisms on policy matters include public meetings, independent enquiries, daily contact with ministers, contacts with lobbyists, minister's office interaction with the civil servants (Haligan et al,. Other forms of consultation through legislative processes include public meetings and parliamentary hearings. Furthermore, consultation mechanisms in the policy process include ministerial correspondence, intergovernmental discussions, as well as party groups (Haligan et al, 2001). This means that policy makers need to note the importance of consultation in the process. It also facilitates implementation of the policy and programme and beneficiaries and other actors take ownership of the process. However, it is important to adopt appropriate mechanisms to suit each stakeholder or actor. In addition to the tools of consultation, lack coordination can also affect the implementation of policy.

Coordination is a critical factor affecting policy implementation (Punday, 2006). It is a critical requirement for the operational and policy levels (Ibid). Punday (2006, p.42) alludes that coordination is all about the working relationship among various departments and agencies within and outside the implementation structure that affect the implementation of policies (Punday, 2006). Clearly this definition is conceptualised to show the importance of interdepartmental coordination. According to Punday, (2006) insufficient coordination occurs as a result of the involvement of institutions and overlapping nature of their mandates. Based on a study of Central Local Relations in Bangladesh, Punday found that 42

organisations were involved in the implementation process in the Dhaka Metropolitan Area. In a further explanation of the causes of insufficient coordination, Punday (2006) argues that a lack of cooperation and coordination among governments, agencies and special organisations exists because of power struggles.

Punday (2007) argues that the working relationship among different departments within an organisation hampers the implementation of policy. According to Punday (2007) a lack of coordination within an organisation is attributable to five factors, namely a lack of communication, a lack of rules, of standard operating procedures and an inadequate division of labour. This means that insufficient institutionalisation of a set of rules is blamed for a lack of intra-organisational coordination. For the purpose of the study only the lack of institutionalised rules and regulations is discussed.

According to Punday (2007), the organisation follows the rules to direct the implementation of policies. Political authorities are responsible to impose and enforce the rules to assist in the implementation of policy. Rules in this case refer to routines, procedures, conventions, roles and strategic organisational forms. Rules also entail beliefs, paradigms, codes, cultures and knowledge that support and elaborate. Punday identifies three advantages of rules in respect of policy implementation. First, it specifies a process and standardises the distribution of authority and responsibility. Secondly, rules define the level of access to the institution. Finally, rules regulate the deadlines and time frame for activities. From the above arguments, more are required to facilitate the process towards successful policy implementation. However, a caution should be made to ensure that rules do not stifle or create a protracted bureaucratic procedure.

In her thesis on leadership within the public service, Naidoo (2005) suggests that policy implementation challenges were evident in four departments, Health, Housing, Justice and Constitutional Development, and Safety and Security. First she argued that the lack of policy implementation in some departments is attributable to insufficient consultation during policy formulation and the absence of indications from the lead departments to implement policy. Naidoo (2005) further suggests that policy implementation problems in South Africa are attributable to a lack of prioritisation. She furthermore identified coordination and communication of policy in policy implementation. Naidoo (2005) argues that there is inadequate coordination of policies between the spheres of government. She attributed that to constraints of human resources and leadership. She also attributes it to ineffective governance practices such as the absence of structures and resources that are not allocated to implement policy. This means there is an interrelationship between coordination issues during policy formulation and policy implementation. It further means that administrative structures that are supported with the necessary resources should be established to enhance coordination. In noting the challenges of coordination, Katsamunska (2006), suggests that arrangements of administrative structures at central and mechanism for coordination at policy level to be considered. Katsamunska (2006) suggests that executive structures in government, such as the Council of Ministers and Ministers themselves, should spearhead coordination efforts.

Katsamunska (2006) regards the Council of Ministers as a strategic centre of policy formulation and coordination, whereas Ministers are regarded as specialised centres to develop relevant sector policies. Besides the Council of Ministers and the Ministers themselves, Katsamunska (2006) identifies five methods for coordination used by the administrative structures in Bulgaria. They include bilateral cooperation agreements, consultative and coordinating councils, inter-

ministerial working groups and commissions for interdepartmental coordination. This means that administrative structures need to explore mechanisms that bring different institutions together to work for the common good of the policy. In addition to consultation and coordination, commitment variables can also affect the implementation of policy.

3.2.3 COMMITMENTS

The commitment variable is the third important issue in policy implementation identified in the literature (Brynard and de Coning, 2006). The commitment variable shows that the success of policy implementation rests with the commitment of street-level bureaucrats. Three issues identified in the literature worth mentioning include the disposition of the implementation authorities such as government officials and agency officials, conflict and ambiguity.

3.2.3.1 DISPOSITION OF STREET-LEVEL BUREAUACRATS AND IMPLEMENTING AUTHORITIES

The disposition of the street-level bureaucrats is premised from an understanding that they are responsible for policy implementation. It is also understood from a thesis that street-level bureaucrats are located closer to the environment and beneficiaries. Therefore, their understanding of the environment shapes their firmness or flexibility to implement a policy. According to Maynard-Moody, et al (1990) street-level influence over policy is contradictory and suggests that it encourages flexibility and innovation that allows for abuse and indifference (1990, p.833). Maynard-Moody, et al (1990) suggest that street-level proximity to groups and clients informs the flexibility and innovation of street-level bureaucrats. They suggest that street-level bureaucrats' adaptation of policy is negative and argue

that individual interest and change to make the work easier drive street-level policy adaptation, as demonstrated below.

In their study on the Community Corrections Programme, Maynard-Moody, et al (1990) suggest that the most common approach to policy implementation is based on the principles of top-down management. Top-down management refers to incidents where implementation deviates from the legal mandates (Maynard-Moody, et al, 1990). It also refers to when accountability to management erodes, top administrators and elected officials attempt to tighten controls and further restrict discretion. Maynard-Moody, et al (1990) suggest that discretion of human service work is inherent in policy implementation. Maynard-Moody, et al (1990) argue in favour of delegation of authority and consultation in programmatic decisions and management to control and reduce the dangers of discretion. They concluded that street-level influence on the policy process leads to successful implementation.

Maynard-Moody, et al (1990) argue that adaptive administration is the recipe for successful implementation of ambiguous social policy. Adaptive administration is an administration that ensures that actors in a policy programme or a project partner strive to minimise community dependence and institute the necessary democratic processes and further ensure human potential (de Beer and Swanepoel, 1998). Based on the definition and characteristics, Rondinelli (1993) identifies critical principles underlining an adaptive and responsive administration that are worth mentioning. Adaptive and responsive administration requires the relevant managers to lead projects. Secondly, supervision procedures should be as simple as possible. Thirdly, projects should be kept within a single organisation for implementation. Fourthly, recruitment of personnel should be conducted among qualified people in the area of project implementation. Fifthly, consultants

and staff should be appointed on the basis of previous performance. Penultimately, resources should be focused on major activities. Finally, subordinates require the necessary exposure and mentoring (Rondinelli, 1993,). This implies that for an organisation to succeed in implementing policy, the organisation and leaders should adapt the administration to facilitate implementation.

Based on the application of adaptive administration and the need for democratic process, Maynard-Moody, et al (1990) suggest that the decision making process should be inclusive of service providers. Service providers are relevant to provide a service based on the performance of the past and the impact it had. Maynard-Moody, et al (1990) find that the involvement of service would empower street-level workers to advantageously increase their experience and street wisdom. This would contribute towards shaping a common approach to problems based on the knowledge acquired. The above-argued empowerment of the street-level bureaucrats presents them with discretionary power.

According to Lipsky (1980) frontline workers have a discretionary power to effect policy implementation at the street-level of bureaucracy. Lipsky (Ibid) argues that street-level bureaucrats turn policy into aspects worth mentioning here. First, street-level bureaucrats exercise wide discretion. Secondly, their individual actions add up to agency behaviour (Lipsky (1980). Maynard and Musheno (2001) suggest that discretion at street level is unavoidable. This means that their location at the street level work to their advantage. Roccucci (2000) concludes that discretion prevails despite the enforcement of rules.

Despite the discretionary power possessed, Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2000,) demonstrated that frontline agents are bound by hierarchical relationships. This suggests that street-level bureaucracies are characterised in terms of rules and procedures (Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2000: p.334). Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2000) argue that the set of rules and procedures provides weak instruments for policy implementation. They concluded that street level bureaucrats are not rule bound and are rule saturated.

In the review of Cops, Teachers and Counsellors: Stories from the front line public service, Schreider (2004) suggests that street-level bureaucrats' decisions are required to apply the rules. Roccucci (2005) proposed that street-level workers are required to exercise discretion to match the rules and procedures. According to Schneider (2004), the law provides discretion for two reasons. Firstly, discretion ensures that "street-level policy treats all citizens appropriately". Secondly, discretionary power permits citizen-agent narration. Roccucci (2005) suggests that discretionary powers are important contributory factors to insufficient policy implementation. Therefore the discretion of officials is important in dealing with the complexities experienced on the ground.

According to Callejo (2006) implementers derive discretion from at least one critical factor, namely pressure in the context of a policy void. Callejo (2002) suggests that pressure in policy takes two forms. Firstly, it manifests in local technocratisation of policymaking and secondly, it manifests in the lack of political will to develop policy instruments. According to Callejo (2006) the problem of pressure is a socially constructed issue that plays a role when there is a social need felt by the social actors. Callejo argues that the problem of pressure reinforces the tendency to shift political responsibilities of "hot" political issues down to a local level. Callejo (2006) argues that the shift enhances

the de-regulation of policy contexts in the role of ground agents. In view of the above, Callejo (2006) suggests that decentralisation and deconcretation of the system fails to empower local actors and reinforcement of divergent lines of the implementation of national policies.

This means that the technical training of local officials is a source of discretion. As discussed elsewhere in the report, the absence of political support of the programme gives local officials the discretion to decide what to do in case of any challenges experienced on the ground. As a consequence of the absence of political will, difficult and controversial issues end up being raised at the local level for clarity.

Finally, it means that the process of devolving decision making powers to the citizens and relocation of central government closer to communities failed to empower street-level bureaucrats to implement policy. In addition to the disposition of street level or implementing authorities, conflict and ambiguity also influence the implementation of policy.

3.2.3.2 CONFLICT AND AMBIGUITY

Conflict in policy implementation is premised from a notion that different stakeholders hold incompatible interests. Concerns around conflict have either been about policy objectives or the instruments used to implement policy. Ambiguity in policy implementation is presented from a notion that policy formulated outside the implementation sites are bound to be ambiguous to policy implementers (Hoyle and Wallace, 2005). Therefore ambiguity encourages support of policy from expectations (McKevitt and Lawton, 1994).

Matland (1995) identifies ambiguity and conflict as two critical variables that affect policy implementation. Cohen, et al (2005) explains that in policy conflict, interested stakeholders recognise policy as directly relevant to their interests and understand policy the other way. Cohen, et al (2005) also suggests that differences in policies arise from the goals of the policy or the activities or projects. Policy disagreements emanate from jurisdiction, turf disputes or agency roles (Cohen, et al, 2005, p.04). They contend that public conflict about policy encourages public resistance with potential conflicts surrounding the policy issue.

According to Callejo (2006) conflict is the second key strategy. Conflict refers to the form of struggle between successive policies and political colours at national or sub national levels (Callejo, Ibid). In his argument, Callejo (2006) suggests that conflict highlights spontaneous discretion and advocacy. Sylvester and Ferrara (2003) suggest that ambiguity is the key factor driving the level of conflict and the variance in the perspectives that different institutions adopt. Sylvester and Ferrara (2003) suggest that policy is not self-executing and self-explanatory. As a result, implementers are required and responsible to explain policy and implement its intentions. Policy ambiguity lies in the policy and its objectives (Sylvester and Ferrara (2003). McKevitt and Lawton (1994) argue that policy ambiguity promote administrative autonomy. In turn, administrative autonomy allows the administration of the implementing structure to decide on a course of action (p.167). Sylvester and Ferrara (2003) suggest that, based on ambiguity in policy and objectives, questions relating to the application and meaning persist.

Sylvester and Ferrara (2003) furthermore suggest that conflict in government is about who does and does not have the power. For the relevance of policy implementation, power in this case relates to the distribution of resources. The distribution of resources as a means of power creates conflict among the policy

actors. At the same time, the shifting power in government leads to conflict in bureaucracies. According to Sylvester and Ferrara (2003) new policies affect changing power relationships, as it shifts from one organisation and individual to another. Sylvester and Ferrara (2003) argued that conflict is unavoidable in shifting powers. In addition to the conflict and ambiguity, client and coalitions and factors also influence the implementation of policy.

This means that the non-involvement of policy actors in the policy formulation contribute towards implementation difficulties including conflict. Secondly, the public policy process is driven by the interests of policy actors. It also means that ambiguous policy pronouncements create conflict in policy implementation. Power scuffles among different organisations worsen the conflict situation in policy implementation.

3.2.4 CLIENT AND COALITIONS

The client and coalitions is the fourth critical variable for policy implementation (Brynard and de Coning, 2006). It provides a critical analysis of the stakeholders (internal and external) and their interests. Four critical factors relevant to the variable are discussed. Interest groups, state–civil society networks for policy implementation, trust, patronage and clientele and interference and role ambiguity were discussed as factors related to the clientele and coalitions variable.

3.2.4.1 INTEREST GROUPS

A stable and manageable relationship with the interest groups stabilises the public policy process (Mazey & Richardson, 2001). Interest groups are a vehicle to

influence and maximise their capacity to shape public policy (Mazey & Richardson, 2001). According to Jewett (2001) interest groups are the root cause of many policy failures. Interest groups often advance interests that benefit their cause at the expense of the common cause. Based on a study of the Failure of Workers Compensation Reform in Florida, Jewett (2001) noted that business interest was considered very influential in setting and implementing policy. Jewett (2001) suggests that insufficient incentives (financially or materially) and/or enforcement of the proper application of carrots and sticks contributed to policy failure. According to Jewett (2001) enforcement of the policy is centred on three conditions, namely reward and punishment, program support and the legitimacy of the new policy.

Furthermore, Jewett (2001) argues that policy implementation failed because of the complexity of the policy and environment. As a result, the latter complicates the programme design and implementation. According to Jewett while complexity is a factor, state governments have successfully responded to it. Jewett (2001) added that federalism complicates aspects of intergovernmental policy implementation. Eggers in Jewett (2001) suggests that state policy implementation/policy making in an age of federal devolution of power is difficult. Federalism makes policy implementation impossible because of the power each federal state has over policy. Federal delegation may be complicated by an absence of resources to actualise the mandate.

Cooksey and Krieg (1996) suggest that interest group politics remains a factor. According to them, community based advocacy groups and professional associations are involved in developing and supporting policy initiatives. In noting the above, Naidoo (2005) argued that the interest groups, such as civic organisations and non-governmental organisations, are not part of the

implementation process. The involvement of interest groups and civic organisations depends on the maturity of governance that influences the policy process. The involvement of civic organisations and non-governmental organisations in the policy process depends on the type of sector for which the policy is formulated. It also depends on the sophistication and the capacity of its skills base to influence policy.

Finally, their involvement depends on the relations that civil society has built with government and vice versa. This means that government needs to make an effort to support the growth of interest groups. The support of interest groups would ensure that government builds capacity indirectly in formulating and implementing policies and programmes. In addition to the interest groups, the absence or presence of state-civil society network can also affect policy implementation.

3.2.4.2 STATE–CIVIL SOCIETY NETWORKS

The involvement of the state-civil society network in policy process is premised from the recognition that socio-economic problems cannot be resolved by government alone (Brinkerhoff, 1999). Networks are required to play an important role to complement government in addressing socio-economic challenges. Brinkerhoff (1999) suggests that the above recognition has re-emphasised the importance of governance. Brinkerhoff (1999) argues that governance emphasised the role of citizens, individually and organised, in the policy process, including issue identification, formation, implementation feedback and evaluation of results. Brinkerhoff further suggests that governance underlines how groups organise to make and implement decisions on matters of concern and how they connect with the public sector.

According to Brinkerhoff (1999), effecting democratic governance combines inter-organisational action. He sees inter-organisational action as an integral feature of policy implementation with a set of linkages outside government. Brinkerhoff (1999) argues that linkages of private firms, non-governmental organisations and community associations should be seen as an interdependent whole or network. Brinkerhoff argues that networks are increasingly becoming important contexts for public administration. This means that government requires the involvement of non-state actors to develop an action plan based on matters of common interest. Based on the arguments above, government support for the development of civil society should be encouraged. As it will be seen in the research, an inter-organisational action between the department and ETU existed to complement the research limitation of the department. In addition to the state-civil society network, the absence or presence of the state-civil society network can also affect policy implementation.

3.2.4.3 TRUST, PATRONAGE AND CLIENTELE

Lundin (2007) suggests that understanding inter-organisational relationships is critical in implementing public policy. An inter-organisational relationship is necessitated by the full recognition that socio-economic challenges are not a responsibility of a single public institution. According to Glacchino (2003, p.23) trust between politicians and civil servants, or lack thereof, influences the relationship between political principals and the administration, which affects the ability to implement policies. Christensen and Laegreid (as cited in Glacchino, 2003), suggest that the coexistence of mutual trust and cooperation facilitates effective administration of government and assists successful incremental changes and reform. Based on the Maltese experience, Glacchino (2003) suggests that the ruling party inheriting the public service is bound to a

tradition of mistrust. Therefore synergy between the politicians and policy implementers is required to minimise distrust.

Furthermore Glachino (2003) suggests that trust in implementation of policy is linked to the personal and political nature of social relations. Not discounting the level of political relation, the civil service has matured to produce professional policy experts. According to Glacchino (2003) the link features patronage and clientelism. Glachino (2003) suggests that political influence and partisan loyalties play a role in policy implementation. According to Glacchino (2003) these loyalties influence the work of highly competent individuals to change their heart about the assigned task. Schacter (as cited in Naidoo, 2005), noted that the challenges of distrust and lack of accountability and intransigence in the relations among national, provincial and local spheres of governance account for challenges of policy implementation. Muthien, et al (2005) attribute the above to insufficient role clarity.

Lundin (2007) proposes that the implementation of policy requires multilateral cooperation. According to Lundin (2007), cooperation blurs/eliminates jurisdictions and requires the deployment of resources of other actors. Lundin states that the challenges of policy implementation are a consequence of organisations with divergent goals and routines. Lundin (2007) argues that based on the divergent goals, trust becomes the key in social and public policy process. Bardach (as cited in Lundin, 2007) argues that mutual trust promotes cooperation between agencies. Based on the above, Lundin (2007) concludes that trust is the preceding circumstance for cooperation in policy implementation.

This means that the absence of trust (professional or personal) between politicians and civil servants compromises the implementation of policy. As a result it may

coerce the politicians to operate and administer the implementation processes on their own. On the other hand, civil servants may decide not to commit themselves to the policy or to undermine the intentions of the policy. Besides the absence of personal and professional relations, cooperation is required among organisations to implement policy and agree on the goals and the routines to be undertaken to avoid mistrust. Cooperation and role clarity assist the implementation agency or agencies to minimise interference or role ambiguity as a factor affecting the implementation of policy.

3.2.4.4 INTERFERENCE AND ROLE AMBIGUITY

Policy makers expect organisational changes in practice to implement public policy. The organisational changes effected in implementing policy may lead to ambiguity (Wallace and Hoyle, 2008). This section attempts to understand the causes of interference and role ambiguity in policy implementation.

Based on the experience of Malta, Glachino (2003) suggests that an orientation towards a paternalistic administration is an additional factor influencing policy management and implementation. Neubeck and Cazenave, (2001) state that paternalistic administration refers to the administration of a dominant group's treatment over others. According to Dworkin, (2002), paternalism is the interference of an individual with another person, against his will, and justified by a claim that the person interfered with will be better off or protected from harm. Glacchino (2003, p.25) suggests that paternalistic administration is based on the interventionist practices of politicians who are incapable of refraining from interfering in the day-to-day routine of administration. Glacchino (2003, p.25) argues that interference in the day-to-day activities is linked and attributed to a

lack of trust, patronage and clientilism. Glachino further argued that it is attributed to ambiguous roles and responsibilities between politicians and administrators.

According to Sylvester and Ferrara (2003) the formulation of new policy inspires conflict. They suggest that potential policy disagreements are sometimes uncertain to resolve and that policy could be contested and have the potential for modifications to meet the institutional agenda. Good policies are policies that articulate the desired outcomes and the means by which the policy can be implemented. Sylvester and Ferrara (2003) suggest that the absence of clarity in purpose creates ambiguity.

In their study on Ambiguity and Irony in Policy Implementation, Wallace and Hoyle (2008, p.05) argue that ambiguity emanates from various factors. First, ambiguity originates between the official goals and their realisation. Wallace and Hoyle contend that while goals for organisations are contained in vision statements to encourage organisations to work towards realisation, the development of supplementary goals creates ambiguity problems. The development of goals could create a problem of organisational pathos. Organisational pathos is when the goals of an organisation are promising more than what the organisation is able to deliver (Wallace and Hoyle, 2008). Lastly, ambiguity flows from an interdependence of organisational membership.

Interdepartmental organisational membership is characterised by power. In this case, power is unequally distributed with and between organisations. The third source of ambiguity is the irresolvable dilemmas for individuals, groups, organisations and organisational systems. This means that action towards

dilemmas encourage unwanted consequences, which in turn increase the pressure for action.

This means that an administration based on the interference of the politician in every day activities of organisations contributes to ambiguity towards the implementation of policies. It further means that the development of a new policy without detailed role clarity creates ambiguity in the implementation of the statement of intent. Lastly, it means that when an organisation promises to deliver more than their ability, they create an organisational pathos resulting in ambiguity. Communicating the goals of the implementation structures and their ability to avoid ambiguities is critical. In addition to the ambiguities and interference, the communication variable is an important variable which affects the implementation of policy.

3.2.5 COMMUNICATION VARIABLE

Once the policy position or programme have been passed, the need arises to communicate the intentions of government around the policy. Communication becomes critical to communicate the necessary messages to policy implementers and beneficiaries. Communication of policy takes different forms and contexts. Communication was discussed from the angle of form and function. In addition to the communication variable, communication is discussed as a factor that affects the implementation of policy.

3.2.5.1 Communication

Communication is the key to the implementation of public policy. It is important throughout the development and implementation of policy because it defines

the climate for actions to be taken (Stronge and Tucker, 1999). It is also critical to provide the context and clarity of the message to be communicated. Cline (2000) suggests that communication in the implementation process is not a point of contention but essential. Accordingly, Cline (2000) argues that communication emphasises the need for clarity and consistency in the form and content in order to increase the likelihood of compliance and execution. Therefore, clear communication is the recipe for a better-designed policy in order to ensure that process and structure resemble the message.

Mc Garell, et al, (1990) state that communication is an important variable hindering the implementation of policy. In their study on the obstacles of implementing the Bail Reform in Bali, they found that the failure to communicate policy change was as a result of insufficient communication. Memorandums and reports generated on the changes were communicated throughout the organisation without stating the mandatory nature of the changes. As a result they argued that the departmental authorities failed to communicate policy changes effectively. It implies that unclear communication fails to direct and guide responsible authorities. As a result, communication in the form memorandums and reports relating to the programme need to be clear, concise and non-contradictory.

Communication takes two forms in policy implementation: informal and formal (Duemwe and Mendez-Morse, 2002). Duemwe and Mendez-Morse, (2002) define informal communication as a form of communication line from people to people, including conversations and electronic mail. On the other hand, du Toit et al (2003) define informal flow of information as information that does not follow planned, formal directions and channels in an organisation. While acknowledging its use in the implementation of policy, they note that informal communication

has multiple disadvantages. First, it makes a rapid and flexible response unmanageable. Secondly, it eliminates records of decisions taken and interactions.

On the other hand, formal communication lines refer to a structured way of conveying government statements of intent for general consumption (Duemwe and Mendez-Morse, 2002). Formal communication in the government sector includes directives, regulations, and handbooks, memorandums, meeting agendas and minutes, as well as cabinet statements. The communication of the programme in the department was greatly limited to the formal form in the form of memorandums and reports to the politicians and other structures linked to the executive.

In the study on the HIV/AIDS internal communication plan in North West Hospital, (du Toit, et al, 2003) the authors noted the importance of internal communication in policy implementation. They argued that an organisation adopts internal communication in order to inform the employees accordingly, resulting in productive and competent officials. Based on the arguments, du Toit et al (2003) argue that communication serves four functions in an organisation, namely information, regulation, integration and persuasion. The information and regulatory functions are relevant to the policy implementation process and are discussed below.

Communication fulfils an information function through the provision of information to ensure the effective functioning of an organisation and the attainment of goals (individually and organisationally) (du Toit et al, 2003). Communication also fulfils a regulatory function for the effective functioning of an organisation. However, it differs from the information function through the issuing of guidelines.

The regulatory function is exercised through the issuing of text books, policy documents, memorandums, rules and instructions (du Toit et al, 2003). The above guidelines form part of an effort for an organisation to communicate and regulate the attainment of a statement of intent. In this study, a national handbook was developed in 2005/2006 after the Gauteng Provincial Government had developed its provincial framework. In some cases it clashed with the experiences of the four provinces responsible for the rollout of the pilot.

CONCLUSION

Chapter 3 outlined the discussion around the factors that facilitate or impede the implementation of public policy based on five variables, namely context, capacity, commitments, client and coalitions, and communication. Funding is the critical ingredient of policy implementation. Funding is expressed through budgetary process to allocate the resources (materially and financially). The success of funding is dependent on the skills and systems to minimise misallocation.

Bureaucratic structures are required to develop sufficient levels of local capacity and the will to ensure the implementation of policy. Local capacity is made up of expertise, organisational routines and resources, whereas local will is made up of motivation, commitment, as well as the level of qualification to understand policy objectives. While the implementers are required to demonstrate willingness, policy makers are required to support/fund the efforts of implementers.

Political and administrative leadership is an important tool for the realisation of policy implementation. Political office bearers at different spheres of government are an important leadership to provide the necessary support to accounting

authorities and their executive management to execute the administrative functioning of implementation agencies. Furthermore, the literature review has emphasised the need for a new leadership in the public sector to understand the changing it has undergone and its policy implementation requirements. An important factor relevant to the study is the public manager's abilities to cope with contradictory and ambiguous interests and expectations of different interest groups in the policy making process and policy implementation. While a new breed of leadership is required in the public sector, political/administrative dichotomy is a factor that seriously hampers the effort to build effective leadership in the public sector.

The actions of an implementation agency are shaped by proper policy and mandate design. Policy mandate helps to entice the implementation agency to implement the policy or programmes as intended through the provision of inducements, systems and capacity building. Critical to the inducements is the provision of tax incentives and loans. At the same time, mandate design assists the policy implementation process through the proper development of policy objectives, priorities and policy options.

The socio-economic challenges facing governments have necessitated the development of interagency collaboration to tackle such challenges, including policy implementation. Interagency collaboration through the coordinating forum, implementation forums or any other forums is a viable form of exchanging expertise, processes and systems for the common good. However, power remains an impediment for the success of interagency cooperation. Mutual respect and the ability to respect and to compromise, the decision-making process, goal accomplishment, communication channels and the availability of resources are crucial to the partnership between agencies

The skills to manage the policy process, in particular policy implementation, do not reside within government or any of its implementation agencies. Non-state actors such as consultants, institutes, journalists, non-governmental institutions and academics are an important resource to provide the required expertise of the particular dimension of policy implementation. While emphasising the importance of the implementation resource, tension with bureaucracies is unavoidable and authorisation to use non-state resource is required from political principals.

Implementation agencies are expected to implement the policy intentions as stated. Therefore, a lack of oversight disempowers the policy maker to supervise the activities of the implementation agency. In order to monitor the activities of the implementation agency in the policy process, the establishment of legislative, executive and external oversight is necessary. Executive oversight is exercised through the President appointing Ministers and through a review of the budget. Legislative oversight is carried formally and informally. Formally it involves, committees, commissions and parliamentary hearings, whereas informally it takes the form of phone calls, meetings and giving comments to agency presentations. The external oversight mechanism is an important oversight to hold both the executive and legislative oversight accountable. External oversight actors include the media, trade groups, citizen organisations, civil- and society groups.

Street-level bureaucrats or implementing authorities are an important tool to implement policy. They influence the implementation of policy through a flexible and innovative interpretation of policy. A top-down management approach to policy affords the implementers an opportunity to influence policy as well. The literature review suggests that adaptive administration is the rightful recipe to ensure policy implementation. Furthermore, street-level bureaucrats have the discretionary power over policy, despite the application and the enforcement of

rules. The street-level discretionary power is exercised because of the pressure of the policy void caused by the local technocratisation of policy making and insufficient will to introduce policy instruments.

Chapter three further sketched the literature review around the interest groups and policy implementation. Interest groups, if not taken on board, contribute towards the failure of a policy. The stable and manageable relationship between the policy maker and the interest groups should be based on incentives and enforcements. Interest groups need incentives such as tax rebates, loans, insurances and grants to take an active part in policy implementation. Policy is enforceable with interest groups through reward, punishment and programme support.

Trust in policy implementation underpins intra-organisational and inter-organisational relationships. Intra-organisational trust is linked to personal and political relations between the political head and the administrative head. Inter-organisationally, cooperation is the inherent requirement of trust, though it blurs the jurisdiction of the mandate of institutions. Penultimately, changes effected in the organisation to shape policy implementation constitute a recipe for ambiguity. Paternalistic administration is seen as the first source of ambiguity. Ambiguity also originates from the articulation of official goals and their realisation. Another source of ambiguity is the interdependence of organisational members based on the exercise of their power relations. Finally ambiguity comes from unresolvable dilemmas for individuals, groups, organisations and organisational systems.

Finally, communication is the last variable impacting on policy implementation. Communication in policy implementation serves two purposes, defining the

climate for actions to be taken and emphasising the need for clarity and consistency in the form and content. Two forms of communication were emphasised as useful for policy implementation, namely informal and formal communication. Informal communication is disadvantageous in communicating policy because it makes rapid and flexible response unmanageable. Formal communication mechanisms that are also relevant to the study include directives, regulations, handbooks, memorandums and statements. The section concludes with the importance of the communication function in the policy process. It serves an information, regulatory, integration and persuasive function.

In the next chapter, the case study of the Community Development Workers Programme is developed.

CHAPTER 4

THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKERS PROGRAMME (CDWP) IN GAUTENG: A CASE STUDY

4.1 Introduction

The debate on policy implementation challenges in South Africa takes place within the context of the utterances of policy makers that all the necessary policy frameworks are in place and that implementation is the only challenge to be confronted. Within the context of these utterances, policy formulation and other phases are completely disassociated from policy implementation. Policy practitioners and scholars of public policy suggest multiple reasons for the challenges facilitating or inhibiting policy implementation. This chapter scrutinizes the implementation challenges of the Community Development Workers Programme (CDWP) within the Gauteng Provincial Government (GPG). The Department of Development Planning and Local Government (DDPLG), later renamed Department of Local Government (DLG) in 2005, is responsible for the implementation of the Community Development Workers in Gauteng. The analysis of the challenges revolves around six overarching themes identified during the literature review and document analysis. The themes for analysis of the case include policy intentions, organisational context and conventions, resource and power, national to provincial linkage, provincial political sphere to provincial bureaucracy and Local Government department to the community development workers.

4.2 PROGRAMME INTENTIONS

The purpose of this section is to present the intentions in the form of national and provincial objectives, the rationale for the programme, the role and the task of the CDWs. Various political and governance actors across the South African governance realm concerned with the pace of service delivery have welcomed the introduction of the CDWP. The consideration and subsequent introduction of the CDWP was led solely by government with minimal support from civil society. However, the GPG has particularly combined participatory governance and inclinations in support for the introduction of a concept of this nature.

The introduction of the CDW was underscored by two interrelated inclinations: the accessibility of services and increasing the effectiveness of the service delivery system in all government spheres. In introducing the CDWP, the South African government acknowledged the post-1997 initiatives to improve and accelerate the pace of service delivery in South Africa. With the introduction of Imbizos and other interactive mechanisms, government noted that most communities have not benefitted from the provision of the services that government provides. Key among the reasons for the deficiencies was inadequate information on the accessing of services, inadequate resources to access services, distances which people travel to access services and finally, fragmented and disjointed government approaches to service delivery.

The inclination of Gauteng was first demonstrated through former Premier Mbhazima Shilowa's address to the Gauteng Legislature. He indicated that they believed that "the CDW were to become the champions of Gauteng plans and to drive development and build better communities in every ward" (Shilowa, 2003).

Secondly, the Gauteng Provincial Government's view on the CDWP was articulated by Trevor Fowler, Former MEC of Development Planning and Local Government. He believed that "the Community Development Workers Programme sought to serve as a linkage between government and communities in taking the services to the people" (Fowler, 2003 and Respondent A). Since the introduction of the programme, the GPG has been consistent in articulating programme intentions. Furthermore, the GPG had intended an incremental view of the programme. It also believed that the Community Development Workers Programme would move from being the facilitators of service blockages to become development activists (Interview, Respondent A). In its documentation at a strategic level, an attempt is made to graduate the work of the CDW to the facilitators to a high level.

4.2.1 NATIONAL OBJECTIVES OF THE CDW PROGRAMME

The broad national objectives of the CDWP are contained in the national and provincial government memorandums. The main objective of the programme was to provide full access to government services to the poor communities (Interview, Respondent A, B, E G and I). The Gauteng Provincial Government research revealed that the Community Development Workers focused on the problem of the inability of poor segments of the community to access the full potential benefit of the government programmes. The ETU conducted a study in July 2003 on behalf of the Department of Local Government; it revealed that 60% of the Gauteng targeted citizens do not get the services provided (ETU, 2003, Interview, Respondent E and F). As such the CDWP was identified as the tool to address the insufficient accessibility of services (DDPLG, 2003b). The GPG developed the provincial objectives of the programme based on the national framework. These are discussed in the forthcoming paragraph.

4.2.2 GAUTENG COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKERS STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES

Based on a Cabinet decision in 2003, the Gauteng, Eastern Cape and Limpopo Provincial Governments piloted the project. The Gauteng Executive Committee approved the Community Development Workers Conceptual Framework in May 2003 with an understanding that the programme sought to strengthen the coordination and integration of service delivery at community level (Interview, Respondent A, E, F and I). The strengthening and coordination of service delivery was based on six activities; including significant improvement in communities' access to government services in all spheres; increasing effectiveness in the provision of community services, improving the communities income generating initiatives (DDPLG, 2003b). The GPG understanding was also based on monitoring and evaluating development initiatives and processes in communities. Support planning continued in Gauteng and additional objectives were identified to justify the pilot process in Gauteng (DDPLG, 2003b).

The Gauteng Department of Local Government (GDLG) also identified an additional objective. The additional objective sought to ensure that the government maintains direct contact with the people (Interview, Respondent A, E, F and I). It also viewed the programme as presenting an opportunity to strengthen the coordination and integration of service delivery at local and community level (Interview, Respondent I). Furthermore the policy makers in Gauteng intended to improve people's access to government information, knowledge and services, in particular to the poor. It provides a holistic service delivery option with the deployment of multi-skilled, trained personnel in communities. The additional objectives that were articulated were based on the ETU study as opposed the objectives contained in Gauteng CDW conceptual framework.

In its submission to the National Framework Workshop in June 2004, the Department of Development Planning Local Government (DDPLG) developed an input on the refined strategic objectives of the programme nationally. As a consequence of the contribution, the objectives were agreed on and adopted nationally. The strategic objectives of the CDWP were adopted in ensuring that government maintains contact with communities at all time, that they strengthen government integration and coordination of programmes and improve the people's access to government information, knowledge and services (GDLG, 2005(a), Respondent E).

The strategic objectives were also articulated as ensuring the provision of holistic service delivery, improving communication and networking between government and the local community and ensuring access to basic services and government programmes for the poor (GDLG, 2005(a). Furthermore, the Community Development Workers programme strategic objectives were to make certain that access to services leads to the transformation of society and that the targets of the service are reached ((GDLG, 2005(a). The practice to redefine the objectives, goals, tasks and roles is common practice in policy implementation. Petak and Alesch (1999), concurred with the officials of the GDL.G. They argued that “policy gets defined and redefined each step in the implementation process as it is interpreted and reality–checked by the participants in that organisational node”.

4.2.3 RATIONALE FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKERS PROGRAMME

The Ministry of Public Service and Administration developed the CDW Handbook in 2005/2006 after consultation with the stakeholders under the auspices of a

National Task Team. The Handbook highlighted the following reasons as basis for the creation of a Community Development Programme: shortage of skills in local government, inadequate coordination and integration across departments, lack of adequate access to information on government services, inability of communities to effectively acquire services due to them, as well as human resources and management challenges (DPSA, 2005). Oddly, throughout the study, Gauteng was not able to relate to the rationale as identified in the Handbook (Interview, Respondent E). The absence of reference and detailing is attributed to the fact that the Handbook was developed long after some provinces had experienced and worked on the conceptualisation.

4.2.4 ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKERS PROGRAMME

The role and function of the Community Development Workers Programme in Gauteng is the result of a commissioned study (Interview, Respondent F and I). The Education and Training Unit (ETU) was commissioned to conduct and audit all community development structures and organise their respective operations (Interview, Respondent E and F). The terms of reference for the study also required the ETU to keep track of the activities of deployed community development workers and reconcile the national and international experience on CDW with the Gauteng experience. It seemed that the study sought to find a niche for the CDW compared to other sector developmental workers.

The ETU study revealed the existence of limited poverty alleviation initiatives between departments and stakeholders, coordinated through the Interdepartmental Poverty Alleviation Committee (IPAC) led by the Gauteng Department of Social Development (ETU, 2003, p.18). The study also revealed the

extent to which national and provincial departments were involved in specific community development programmes. Key to the development initiatives was the employment of sector specific paraprofessionals to implement sector initiatives.

In reflecting on the employment of sector paraprofessionals or sector community development workers and their roles, the ETU study in July 2003 showed that at least eighteen agricultural extension officers were employed to provide advisory services and basic training. The Department of Agriculture employed sixteen veterinary advisors in some Gauteng townships as extension workers. In addition to the above initiative, the Gauteng Department of Education (GDOE) employed 130 institutional Development Support Officers to provide schools with guidance on issues of school management, education and institutional capacity (ETU, 2003,). In respect of housing initiatives, the Gauteng Department of Housing employed four staff members in twenty centres of Gauteng to support Housing Support Centres (ETU, 2003).

The ETU Study in 2003 also revealed other sector specific initiatives. It revealed that twenty fieldworkers were appointed by the Department of Safety and Liaison as part of the Directorate Monitoring, Evaluation and Crime Prevention (ETU, 2003,). The fieldworkers were appointed to facilitate the formation of Community Policing Forums (ETU, 2003). The former were required to provide public education and awareness on security related matters (ETU, 2003). Lastly, through its Working for Water Programme in Gauteng, the Department of Water and Forestry employed contractors to manage and run the activities of the Wetlands Rehabilitation Systems.

Despite initiatives by the national and provincial departments, the study further showed that national and provincial entities of government were also involved in sector-specific initiatives. The Umsobomvu Youth Fund was engaged in community research in Alexandra in order to expose learners to community development issues, including needs identification, determining funding and priorities, as well as the assessment of existing community needs as part of the national youth service (ETU, 2003). Through its regional offices in Gauteng, the National Development Agency employed managers to manage and assist in community development fieldwork. The ETU study also revealed that the Independent Development Trust supported eighteen nationally funded poverty alleviation projects in Gauteng (ETU, 2003). Finally, Rand Water had a special department responsible for community development projects. Four managers and five community relation managers were employed focussing specifically on related water supply projects, sanitation and domestic leaking pipes (ETU, 2003).

The role of the Community Development Workers Gauteng was defined in a conceptual framework as adopted in 2003. Though detached from experiences on the ground, it was considered in the analysis of the present situation and key issues for future models. Based on the result of the study, the Provincial Government adopted three nodal areas as the summary of the roles of the CDW. The areas were: need identification (understanding the status of service delivery and barriers to service delivery in communities), conducting awareness and advocacy work (to motivate communities to engage with government programmes that present opportunities) and improving access to services for communities (ETU, 2003, DDPLG, 2003(b), DDPLG, 2003(d)). The Steering Committee adopted the recommendations in August 2003 and reflected them as part of the three important roles of the community development workers.

4.2.5 KEY TASKS OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKERS

The key tasks of CDW are contained in national and provincial memorandums (ETU, 2003, p.30). The national government identified six critical tasks for CDW to perform. The tasks include assisting communities with developing and articulating their needs; facilitating the establishment of community structures and facilitating public participation in government (DDPLG, 2003(b), Interview, Respondent, A and F). The national framework further expects the CDWP to identify service blockages in the community and source interventions for the identified needs and blockages, as well as resolve disputes between government and the local community (DDPLG, 2003(b). Finally, CDW are expected to coordinate sectoral service providers at community level and coordinate local community workers' activities. The key outlined tasks posed a challenge in linking the tasks and the training to be undertaken. Unambiguously, the national government sought to emphasise the role of CDW as community organisers and facilitators of government service across the three spheres.

The provincial government developed the key tasks of its cadres in expansion of the national framework. The provincial memorandum prescribed the following tasks of the CDW: improving community access to government and other services, increasing effectiveness in providing community services, improving community income, generating initiatives and sustainable livelihoods (DDPLG, 2003b). Other tasks included monitoring and evaluation of development initiatives and processes in communities and supporting development structures and initiatives operating in communities (DDPLG, 2003b). Undoubtedly, the above-mentioned functions and tasks established Community Development Workers as community organisers and facilitators of services in line with the provincial government programmes.

Despite the approval of the provincial conceptual framework in May 2003, Gauteng DLG officials added additional tasks as they grappled with the challenges of conceptualising the programme. The Gauteng Community Development Facilitation Unit (GCDFU) of the Department of Development Planning and Local Government added additional tasking to CDW including the need to harmonise existing services that benefit the communities, to get speedy responses from people initiatives, as well as to sustain the services that government already provided (DDPLG, 2003(b)). The Department of Local Government also required the CDW to mobilise communities to participate in the implementation of government initiatives and assist in the coordination and integration of diverse services and initiatives (DDPLG, 2003(b)). This kind of redefinition of the task is a common practice in policy implementation.

4.3 ORGANISATIONAL CONTEXT AND CONVENTION

This section gives account of the structure established to coordinate the implementation of the CDWP in Gauteng. Convention is an important resource in advice on programme or project implementation (Hall and McGinty, 1997). It is an important instrument to mobilise cooperation and coordination of the work to be done.

4.3.1 THE PROVINCIAL STEERING COMMITTEE

The DPLG was successful in conceptualising the Provincial Steering Committee (PSC) in 2003 to facilitate the implementation of the Community Development Workers Programme. As a resource, it served to advise members of the Executive Council responsible for DPLG. As a vehicle to coordinate the pilot project, the PSC was constituted out of provincial and municipal stakeholders.

The PSC provided advisory and strategic support to the Gauteng Development Facilitation Unit (GDFU) to enable the rollout of the pilot phase of the programme, even though the composition of participating stakeholders was unrepresentative of the Gauteng government stakeholders (Interview, 2008 Respondents F & G). The DDPLG became the convenor as a result of the Executive Committee allocating the DDPLG the overall responsibility and accountability of implementation (Interview, Respondent E). . The MEC for the DDPLG appointed Mpho Mogale, Director for Governance in the Department of Local Government at the time and supported by the Provincial Coordinator of the CDW after his employment (Interview, 2008, Respondent A and F). Well suited to the position and responsibility, he was part of the 51st National Conference of the African National Congress in 2002 (Interview, 2008, Respondents A & E). Having been allocated this responsibility in 2003, he knew the context in which the discussions were formulated for an intervention of this nature and used the context to preside over the PSC.

The Provincial Steering Committee also had the power to provide direction for the programme in respect of curriculum, institutional arrangements and research to be conducted on any particular area to inform political decisions (Interview, 2008 Respondents E & F). The Steering Committee also had the power to make decisions on all financially related matters (Interview, Respondent E, F and I). As the convenor of the Steering Committee, the Department of Development Planning and Local Government provided the space, resources, finances as well as liaison (Interview, Respondent F, 2008). Key to the frustration experienced by the Steering Committee at times was the need to follow formal channels of communication in the department and justify interaction with the MEC. Despite this frustration, the guidance of the convention properly directed the GDFU to develop a business plan and all the required rollouts. During its period of

operation, the PSC as a convention was able to “make cooperation and coordination simpler and quicker because it was able to dictate form and action (Hall and McGinty, 1997, p.442).

Although provincial stakeholders were expected to participate, only five provincial departments (Premier’s Office, DDPLG, Health, Housing and Treasury) participated in the formulation and the rollout of the project (DDPLG, 2003(b) 2003(d)). Upon the realisation of the role of the municipalities as the workplace for the CDWP, the Technical Premier Coordinating Forum (TPCF) unanimously expanded the composition of the committee to include the Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni and Tshwane metros, as well as the West Rand, Sedibeng and Metsweding districts (Interview, Respondent F, 2008)). In replicating the national governance model, the representative of the Gauteng Local Government Association also participated in the activities of the Steering Committee (Interview, Respondent F, 2008). This was an attempt from the GPG to ensure that the local government representative body bought into the idea of the introduction and rollout of the CDWP.

Although the Provincial Steering Committee was expected to be inclusive of provincial stakeholders and municipalities, not all stakeholders participated effectively during the roll-out of the programme. As a resource for cooperation and coordination, uncertainty and a lack of clarity fomented the initial resistance. The Department of Social Development (DSD) in Gauteng contended at first that it was the rightful department to coordinate the work of the CDW from a professional point of view (Interviews, 2008, Respondents E, F and J). In the same breath, the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality (CJMM) reluctantly participated in the activities of the Steering Committee. Its reluctance was based on issues of clarity, recruitment and funding of the CDW. Subsequent to the

explanation and outlining of the process of recruitment and funding by the provincial government, the municipality became more actively involved in the programme. The same is applicable to the Gauteng Department of Social Development (GDSD): it only became involved in January 2004. The absence of these two, some respondents argued, delayed the rollout and training in the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality (CJMM).

With the appointment of a new MEC and Head of Department of Local Government in 2004, the idea of the Provincial Steering Committee was discontinued, allegedly because it was only a platform to steer the pilot project (Interviews, 2008, Respondents B and G). In discontinuing the PSC, the DLG thought that the Premier gave the department the mandate to lead and operationalise the programme. Based on the mandate, it justified the disbanding of the committee because it was thought to be stifling progress in the implementation of the CDW (Interview, 2008, Respondent G). The discontinuation of the Provincial Steering Committee created a vacuum in the steering of the programme post-2004 (Interviews, 2008, Respondents E and G). As a result, the need for a PSC mechanism persisted with the deployment of the CDW at local level. As a temporary measure, the programme management had the opportunity to use the Provincial Intersectoral Service Centres (PISC) to facilitate and coordinate the Community Development Workers Programme related issues.

4.4 RESOURCES AND POWER

This section discusses the resources allocated to the programme. More particularly, it discusses funding and communication as a means for the policy maker to control the programme. Resources are a critical factor for policy

implementation in order to assist in the employment of personnel, development of the necessary documents and financing of the communication needs related to the programme. According to Barret (as cited in Simwaka, 2008, p.05) policy or programme implementation involves the usage of power relations among the stakeholders involved.

4.4.1 FUNDING

Budget is an expression of government's spending commitment to a particular programme. Respondents A, E, F G and I conceded that Gauteng did not wait for the national government to provide funding for the programme. In July 2003, Cabinet noted that CDW were an unfunded mandate (Fraser-Moleketi, 2003a). Based on the realisation, the DLG requested funding in terms of the adjustments estimated for 2003/04 in order to facilitate the rollout (Interview, 2008, Respondent B E, F and G). The Minister of Public Service further gave the Department of Local Government an option to include the department's Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) submissions for 2004/05 to provide continued rollout for 2005/06.

All the respondents agreed that the Gauteng Provincial Government has been committed to provide the required resources before the national government made the necessary allocation. The commitment by the GPG in rolling out the Community Development Workers programme in 2003 was founded in the adjustment appropriation bill submitted to the Gauteng Provincial Legislature in November 2003. The Gauteng Executive Council approved an additional allocation of R10.2 million to Development Planning and Local Government for the establishment of CDWP (Moleketi, 2003). In line with an incremental budget system, an amount of R26.7 million was allocated in 2004/2005 to continue the

acceleration of the deployment of the Community Development Workers (Mahlangu, 2004). In the 2005/2006 financial year, the department made an amount of R28.8 million available for the programme (Mahlangu, 2005). The main activities for the programme included the recruitment, training and employment of an additional 150 community development workers.

An amount of at least R61, 9 million was allocated to the CDW Directorate during the 2006/2007 period (DLG, 2006, Respondent I). With the expected deployment of 515 CDW, R45 million was set aside for the compensation of employees. At least R15 million was budgeted for the use of goods, services, equipment and machinery (DLG, 2006). In September 2006, R12 million was used for the compensation of employees, due to the 15 percent vacancy rate in the directorate, whilst R1.6 million was used for the procurement of goods and services (DLG, 2006). Of the budget allocated for the procurement of goods and services, R1.2 million was budgeted for payment to the University of South Africa (UNISA) for learnership (DLG, 2006). The commitment by the GPG to the CDW programme was further expressed in the final allocations for Vote 8 of the department. The Community Development Workers Programme was allocated R70 million to conclude its deployment phase during the 2007/2008 financial year (Mahlangu, 2008, McGregor, 2007).

With regard to the funding for the learnership, applications were made to the National Skills Fund. In committing to the programme, an amount of R70 million was made available from 01 April 2004 (Fraser-Moleketi, 2004). While provincial government were preparing to budget for the learnership in 2004, the LGWSETA availed R5 million to start the initial phase of the learnership (Fraser-Moleketi, 2004).

Since the adjustment allocation in 2003, the GPG has spent 198 million over a period of five years. Furthermore, resources increased from 2005, once the Department of Local Government had concluded the conceptualisation and was ready for the increased deployment of Community Development Workers in all the wards. Gauteng was successful in conducting the budgetary process around the Community Development Workers Programme congruent with the Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) as required in South Africa. According to Glenngard and Maina, (2007), the MTEF budget process helps to “link policy, planning and budgeting over medium term at the government level”.

4.4.2 COMMUNICATION

Communication is a critical resource to spread the required messages on what needs to be done and how it needs to be done. The Executive Council was the highest authority to communicate key messages on the CDWP in Gauteng. The MEC and Department of Local Government were also key authorities of the programme, after the Executive Council.

4.4.2.1 NATIONAL COMMUNICATION STRATEGY

The CDWP national framework set the expected roles of different spheres of government and specific departments with regard to the CDWP. The provision of guidance on communication themes, profiling and communication was the responsibility of the Government Communication and Information System (GCIS). The Departments of Public Service and Administration (DPSA) and Provincial and Local Government (DPLG) were required to provide support to the above process (DPSA, 2005). The Provincial Governments (PG) together with the DLGs

had been allocated the responsibility of communicating, monitoring, integrating and supporting of the CDW. In respect of communication, the PGs were expected to provide the publicity for the programme and handle liaison with the media (DPSA, 2005).

The GCIS, together with the DPSA and DPLG, was successful in formulating a national communication strategy in 2004 and revised it in November 2004 to guide all the relevant authorities and audiences of the CDWP. It was based on the need to communicate the introduction of a special cadre of public servants to South Africa; to outline the roles and responsibilities and reflect the details regarding the recruitment and appointment of the Community Development Workers (GCIS, 2003). Furthermore, the national communication strategy emphasised the need to support an understanding of the intended exceptional roles of CDW in enhancing service delivery and mobilising communities and the relevant stakeholders to support the initiative (GCIS, 2003). Finally, the strategy was aimed at establishing a communication platform for the launch of the programme in February 2004.

The communication strategy acknowledged that the concept of the Community Development Workers Programme had to be publicised within the context of public opinion appreciating government progress in improving the life of South Africans and in alleviating poverty (GCIS, 2003). It also noted that the 2004 election brought scepticism that Community Development Workers were pre-electioneering tools for the ruling party and its government (GCIS, 2003, p.02). Based on the objectives in the communication environment, key messages and themes were developed to link the CDW programme to government objectives. The communication strategy was critical for a programme of this nature. According to the Communication Strategy towards Success (Undated), it is

important to “*ensure proper planning with audience, stakeholders, and colleagues. It also assists as a structure to identifying problems areas that need immediate attention, consider potential audience and appropriate message*’.

The messages and themes developed included conceptualising that the CDW are part of government's efforts to bring government closer to communities, the CDW as back up efforts of other established and merging government programmes and strengthening local systems and structures, rather than setting up new structures (GCIS, 2003). Further messages and themes developed included locating the CDW within the national framework, though employed at provincial level and working at the municipal level, government's commitment to multi-skill public servants and providing details on how to become a CDW and the conditions once the training requirements have been completed (GCIS, 2003).

4.4.2.2 TARGET AUDIENCE

The national communication strategy successfully identified the target audience of the message at provincial and local government level. It also acknowledged that Community Development Workers needed to impact significantly at local level. Key stakeholders at local level, both in rural and urban areas, at whom the message was directed were identified. The stakeholders included Provincial Government Structures, Local Government Structures, Mayors, Municipal Managers and the South African Local Government Association (SALGA). Other target audiences included in the national communication strategy were local government employees, non-governmental organisations, and organised structures of civil society, government departments, faith-based organisations and traditional leadership (GCIS, 2003).

4.4.2.3 MESSENGERS

The Communication strategy was spot on in identifying the communication messengers of a programme such as the CDWP. In line with the national framework, the Ministers of DPLG and DPSA were identified as the first important messengers to communicate the CDWP to the relevant authorities (GCIS, 2003). The strategy also identified the Premiers and the MECs of Local Government Departments as the critical messengers of the programme at provincial administrations. In full acknowledgement of the workplaces of the CDW, Executive Mayors and the Ward Councillors were seen as essential messengers to address some of the communication challenges around the programme, while the former first lady, Mrs Mbeki was chosen as the CDW Patron (GCIS, 2003). At a secondary level, other Ministers, including Labour, Social Development, Home Affairs and Trade and Industry, were seen as secondary messengers. The identification of messengers was critical the development of provincial communication and media plans.

4.4.2.4 GAUTENG CDW COMMUNICATION AND MEDIA PLAN

There is currently no formal provincial CDW communication and media plan to profile the Community Development Workers Programme. Whilst no strategy was in place, attempts were made to consult all the relevant stakeholders in the launching of the pilot and the full implementation of the programme. The DLG and the GDFU adopted numerous communication tactics to diffuse the messages around the programme. The usage of brochures, posters, stakeholder meetings, briefings to the municipalities, the launching of Thusong Centres (former Multi-Purpose Community Centres), and the participation of CDW in various forums were used to communicate and profile the programme.

To stimulate interest in the CDWP in communities, the unit launched pilot projects throughout the province except for the Tshwane region. First, it launched the West Rand and Sedibeng Community Development Workers on 26 and 27 March 2004 in Randfontein (DLG, 2004, Respondent F). The second launch for the Department of Local Government was conducted on 27 March 2007 at Sol Tsotetsi, the Ekurhuleni CDW Municipal launch was held on 27 March 2007 at the Faranani Thusong Centre in the Tsakane Township (DLG, 2004). On 28 March 2008, the Gauteng Department of Local Government launched the Johannesburg Community Development Workers at the Recreation Centre in Braamfontein in the absence of the Speaker and Executive Mayor (Interview, Respondent F). No municipal launch in Tshwane and Metsweding were conducted. Respondent F indicated that apart from the Johannesburg launch, all these launches were addressed by the Speaker or Executive Mayor to indicate the support of the municipalities.

It is quite convincing that the unit acknowledged the role of different political office bearers and municipal officials. Although the communication strategy had not been in place during the 2003 period, the Provincial Coordinator and MEC had engaged in numerous consultations with metropolitans and districts through the office of the Executive Mayors (DDPLG, 2003(e)). In the absence of a detailed communication strategy in June and July 2003, the MEC and Provincial Coordinator went on road shows to all the metropolitan municipalities and district municipalities (with local municipalities invited) (DDPLG, 2003(e)). Respondents E, F and H agreed that the DDPLG adopted multiple means to communicate the programme. They also that the former MEC wrote dedicated letters to the Executive Mayors in an effort to communicate developments regarding the programme, as well as their expected roles, as a complement to all the other communiqué that were issued.

Without reducing the leadership of the municipalities to the Executive Mayors, the Municipal Speakers of Ekurhuleni and Metsweding were first to receive the briefing on the framework of the CDW (Interview, Respondent F). Furthermore, as early as August 2003, the MEC and the Provincial Coordinator briefed the caucuses of Johannesburg, Tshwane, Ekurhuleni and the West Rand municipalities to foster buy-in, followed by Sedibeng in September 2003 (Interview, Respondent E and F). There was also a concerted effort to brief the caucus of the West Rand District due to the poor attendance of the August briefing (DDPLG, 2003(e)).

As required in terms of the national framework, the Gauteng Department of Local Government (GDLG) developed a draft communication and media plan for the Community Development Workers in June 2005. The draft media plan was developed with the slogan “Bringing community concerns to the fore” (DLG, 2005c). In dovetailing the national objectives, the Gauteng strategy aimed at achieving eight objectives, including communicating the objectives of the CDW, demonstrating government commitment to change the lives of the people and showing support to ensure effective service delivery (DLG, 2005c). Also, the media plan sought to highlight progress made by the government and to ensure that the public and the media have an understanding of the objectives of the programme (DLG, 2005c). Finally, the plan was aimed at addressing negative perceptions and coverage, as well as keeping the public informed all the way in order to create true awareness (DLG, 2005c).

In describing the communication environment, the draft plan acknowledged the prevailing perception that government was not doing enough to improve the life of the poor (DLG, 2005). To a certain extent, the draft further acknowledged that

the perception was perpetuated by complaints channelled through mass communication and through government interaction mechanisms, such as Imbizos and stakeholder's forums with communities (DLG, 2005). The media plan also noted the lack of communication between government and communities and that even if citizens complain to government, they do not receive the necessary assistance and attention (DLG, 2005).

Based on this strategy, the Gauteng Department of Local Government developed key messages for the programme, based on Gauteng Provincial Government priorities, to demonstrate a sense of a caring government. The two key messages that were developed showed the GPG's attempts to bring government closer to the people and bridging the gap between service delivery and access to services. The above message has been consistent with the GPG message since 1999, indicating that its programmes demonstrate a caring government. In order to communicate the message through to the necessary targets, the media plan identified primary and supporting voices for the above two messages. The Gauteng Premier, MEC of Local Government, Head of Department and Deputy Director General became the primary voices of the message. The Media Liaison, DLG Head of Communications and the Director CDW Programme were seen as the supporting voices of the message.

The DLG adopted tactics to achieve the objectives set out in the media plan. The tactics varied according to short, medium and long term plans. In the short to medium term, one to one interviews, opinion pieces, letters to editors, advertisement, media monitoring, information packs and preparation of questions and answers were pursued. In the long term, the department targeted four broadcast tactics to be employed; i.e. industry advertisement, talk shows, educational programmes and documentation. However, since its development

in 2005, the Draft Media Strategy has not been finalised and approved. While some elements of it have been implemented, there is no indication of the communication strategy reflecting the CDW as a government programme instead of being a departmental programme.

With the establishment of the Monitoring and Evaluation, Referral and Communication Sub-directorates in 2006, a revised communication and media strategy was expected to be implemented in the programme in conjunction with the relevant departmental role players. The draft CDW Communication Strategy 2007/2008 was developed. The draft was not approved, citing the absence of a departmental communication strategy as reason. It implied that the CDW draft communication strategy was not based on the departmental strategy.

As a result, the CDW continued to implement an unapproved draft strategy in an ad-hoc manner. The CDW facilitated the profiling of the learnership using one of the workers of the programme. Furthermore, a service provider was secured for the production of “A day in the life of a CDW” document. Other activities included the placement of CDW adverts in community newspapers and the reprinting of 500 000 more brochures that were translated into Se Sotho, Zulu and Setswana. Finally, CDW business cards were designed and the procurement of CDW branded tracksuits, pens, folders and paper bags was decided.

4.5 NATIONAL GOVERNMENT INITIATIVES RELATING TO THE CDWP

At a national level, Former President Mbeki made a great effort to ensure progress in service delivery and to ensure that communities receive the services government had promised through its policies, programmes and projects. The former President also led the Executive that advocated the reorganisation of

government to build the required capacity to ensure service delivery. Key to the reorganisation was the introduction of the Thusong Centres in 1999 and an Imbizo in 2001 to serve as government one-stop centres and forums for interaction with the community on policy formulation and implementation.

With government acknowledging deficiencies, the 51st National Conference of the (ANC) held in Stellenbosch, mandated the incoming National Executive Committee (NEC) of the ANC to develop and strengthen the layer of public service deployed to sustain interaction with the communities (ANC, 2003). In a statement by the NEC in January 2003, to mark its 91st Anniversary in Rustenburg, the ANC announced the intention of government to build a cadre within the public service which would be trained to assist communities with the problems they experience (ANC, 2003).

4.5.1 INSTITUTIONALISATION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKERS PROGRAMME IN GAUTENG

In institutionalising the resolution of the conference in Jan 2003, Former President Thabo Mbeki assigned the chairperson of the Public Service Commission, Prof Stan Sangweni, to advise on the CDW concept (Interview, Respondent J, 2008). Based on his academic training in Social Leadership in Canada and experience with the Community Development Workers in Lesotho and Swaziland, Professor Sangweni wrote an aide memoire on Multi-Purpose Village Level Workers in January 2003 (Sangweni, 2003). The aide memoire articulated five elements of the programme, including the scope of definition and context, responsibilities, selection and recruitment, training and the piloting process (Sangweni, 2003). Clearly, the aide memoire supported the deployment of Community Level

Workers in the context of the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme and Urban Renewal Programme.

It perceives the Community Development Workers as agents of change and referred to similar projects that were successful in African (Senegal, Swaziland and Ghana), Asian (India, Philippines, Pakistan and China) and Latin American (Mexico and Central America) countries. Throughout their usage, the CDW were seen as a technique to stimulate the active participation of communities in government programmes, hence his proposal that they be deployed in the context of the above-mentioned programmes. The proposal suggested that the CDW should be used to ensure participation and to provide technical services. The aide memoire served as a basis for the Forum of South African Directors General (FOSAD) in April 2003 (Interview, 2008, Respondent J).

4.6 NATIONAL TO PROVINCIAL LINKAGE

Attempts to build a competent and efficient macro-organised state have been a unified effort in the South African intergovernmental framework. With the 51st Conference of the African National Congress (ANC) in Stellenbosch and the January 2003 NEC statement, the resolution became known to the representatives of the party in government. During his State of the Nation Address in 2003 the President announced that government intends to create a layer of multi-skilled public servant working and staying communities. In February 2003, the Former Premier of Gauteng, Mbhazima Shilowa, announced in the Gauteng Legislature that the GPG was already at work to respond to the President's call (Shilowa, 2003).

The Former Premier articulated that the CDW were to become the champions of Gauteng's plans and had to drive development and build better communities in every ward. This was followed by the tasking of two MECs to investigate the relevant institutional arrangements (Shilowa, 2003, Respondent A). The investigation considered the feasibility of creating a provincial community development agency. Clearly the idea for the establishment of the agency responsible for the CDWP was made at an executive level as early as February 2003. Prior to the investigation, the Executive Council approved the Gauteng CDW Conceptual Framework.

The elements of the Gauteng Programme were captured in its conceptual framework as approved in May 2003 and were reflected in Chapter 4 of the study. The conceptual framework contained sixteen elements, including the objective, role, task, terms of reference and skills required for the establishment of the Community Development Workers and the institutional framework for the Community Development Cadres. It sought to locate the accountability of the GCDFU as an interim capacity to develop and roll out the business plan.

Other elements included reflection on support mechanisms for the Community Development Cadres, the strategy and rollout phases and budgetary implications. As a conception based on complementing existing initiatives and capacity, Gauteng clearly defined issues of relationships with ward committees, councillors and other stakeholders. In order to remove the perception of the programme as a 2004 election ploy, issues of recruitment and training were considered. As a penultimate element, the framework gave the principle scope for the appointment of a consultant to conduct a feasibility study on the appropriate institutional framework, as indicated by the premier in 2003. Finally, the framework identified Gauteng poverty pockets based on other programmes

of poverty alleviation. As a consequence a decision was made by the PSC to prioritise the deployment of the initial batch of CDW to these areas.

Gauteng was the first to react to the President's call. While the national framework was developed in early April and May, Gauteng approved its framework for immediate implementation. With the central coordination of the programme at national level, Gauteng and the other provinces were always ahead. Instead of the MPSA influencing Gauteng with regard to the programme, it was always reacting to Gauteng's actions e.g., the training of CDW candidates and the learnerships, the establishment of the Provincial Development Agency or the locating of the CDW in the Premier's Offices.

4.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has developed a case study around the policy maker's intention with regard to the programme. While articulated clearly, these were defined and redefined over a period of time based on the experiences. Secondly, while the role and the task of the CDW was defined during the formulation of the conceptual framework in May 2003, the ETU research conducted on behalf of the DLG shaped and outlined the necessary activities accompanying such roles and functions.

Chapter Four also analysed the convention used to guide the conceptual activities of the programme. Successful in guiding the pilot project, the Provincial Steering Committee was established and constituted by the officials from the Office of the Premier, Local Government, Treasury, Health, Housing and Health departments. In acknowledging the role of municipalities as the workplace for the

CDW, all the metropolitan and district municipalities were represented at the Provincial Steering Committee. The Provincial Steering Committee was deactivated and the CDW Directorate and the DLG assumed its role.

Penultimately, Chapter Four analysed the resources allocated to the programme. The Provincial Government has allocated an incremental budget of 197.6 million to the programme from 2003 to 2007. Lastly an analysis of the communication and media plan of the DLG was done as informed by the draft national communication strategy and its revision. Despite the absence of a formal communication and media plan, the DLG made tremendous efforts to implement some elements of the strategy in a piecemeal way to communicate the necessary messages.

The next chapter will turn to an analysis of the Programme.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKERS PROGRAMME (CDWP) IN GAUTENG

5.1 Introduction

This chapter scrutinizes the role of the political head of the DLG in grappling with the implementation challenges of the CDWP. The chapter further analyses the established executive oversight structures, the institutional framework and its related capacities. A critical analysis is further done on the extent that the relationships between the CDWP and its stakeholders constituted a success. The analysis of the relationships is based on the CDW and ward councillors and -committees, speakers and Executive Mayors and other departments. Lastly an analysis on the recruitment and selection processes was carried out. Included in the analysis is the manner in which job profiles were provided, how the deployment of the CDW was rolled out, as well as the development of the training programme and learnership strategy.

5.2 PROVINCIAL POLITICAL SPHERE TO PROVINCIAL BUREAUCRACY

The success of the programmes depends on the direction given by the political head to the implementation structure. Structures and their systems become a focal point to institutionalise the programme or intentions.

5.2.1 ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKERS PROGRAMME

Executive oversight is a critical element of policy implementation. It ensures that the policy maker understands the process and progress made on the policy statement by the department or agencies. It also offers the political principals an opportunity to understand the daily operations, strategic and operational, to achieve the objectives and intentions. The Executive Sub-committee was established in line with the conceptual framework with the mandate to handle quality control over the strategic and political direction of the CDW, on behalf of the Executive Council (DDPLG, 2003b).

As the entity steering the programme, it was expected to report to the Executive Council through the Executive Council Sub-committee. Four members of the Executive Council responsible for Development Planning and Local Government, Finance and Economic Affairs, Health and Social Development constituted the steering committee (DDPLG, 2003b, 2003d, Interview, Respondent A, E F and I). All the respondents agreed that since its establishment, the sub-committee failed to convene throughout 2003. Respondents E, F and I attributed this inability to meet to a lack of commitment and dedication and a failure to give strategic and political leadership. It would seem that this was deliberate on the part of the members to give the MEC for DPLG an opportunity to run with the programme and ensure that it was fully integrated in the department, like the other provincial government programmes. Respondents A, E, F and I concurred that the non-functionality of the Executive Steering Committee created a vacuum of political leadership. As a result of this vacuum, the former and current MECs became the responsible political authorities of the programme and accounted to the Executive Council for progress and political decisions.

After the new MEC was appointed in 2004, no effort was made to resuscitate the committee. Respondent B argued that she never understood the need for the Executive Council Sub-committee. The respondent further argued that the Executive Sub-committee never functioned because the politicians failed to commit time and other required resources. Instead, Respondent B argued that the Sub-committee would function properly if it formed part of the governance structures of Gauteng, such as clusters. The non-functionality of the sub-committee resulted in the former and current MECs working closely with the Premier on the programme (Respondent B, 2008) and remained champions of the programme. The need to engage in ground-work-related issues was coordinated at departmental level.

Other than the Executive Sub-committee, the CDWP remained an agenda item for other governance structures established in the province. The Premier Coordinating Forum, constituted of the executive and Executive Mayors of the municipalities, continued to take an interest in the progress in order to trace any potential political slippages. The Technical Premier Coordinating Forum provided technical support to the operations of the PCF, hence its decision to include metropolitan and district municipal representatives in the PSC.

5.2.2 INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

Institutions are a critical component to steer a policy or programme in a particular direction. The mandate, power and capacity of the institution reveal the seriousness of the policy maker to implement the programme.

5.2.2.1 GAUTENG COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT FACILITATION UNIT: THE APPOINTMENT OF PROGRAMME DIRECTOR

A single, mandated, bureaucratic structure with the necessary power is a facilitating factor for the implementation of a programme. Immediately after the approval of the conceptual framework, a study was conducted in 2003 on the feasibility of the institutional framework. The institutional capacity for the full programme was built incrementally. The deployment of the Community Development Workers at ward level took place in tandem with the provincial structure to provide support and guidance to cadres in the municipal wards.

Gauteng did not create a dedicated structure for the planning and implementation of the pilot project. As an interim arrangement, the position of the Director responsible for Development Facilitation was used to appoint the Provincial Coordinator (later called Programme Director) on a twelve-month contract pending a suitable institutional framework for the programme. The unit was made up of the programme director, provincial coordinator (Deputy Director), six regional coordinators at the level of Assistant Director, one Senior Administrative Officer and 200 Community Development Workers. The GDFU developed and finalised the business plan and initiated the rollouts in line with the timeframes set in the approved conceptual framework (DDPLG, 2003b). However, its success was based on the departmental assistance with issues such as human resources, finance, communication and liaison (Respondent E, 2008). On the other hand, with the assistance of the Provincial Steering Committee, the GDFU was required to lead the process towards the establishment of the Gauteng Community Development Agency, pending the feasibility study to determine the final institutional framework (Interview, Respondent E and F).

At a political level, a decision was taken that due to the nature of the work to be done, no open advertising for the posts was undertaken. In contrast, a political process of obtaining curriculum vitae for only three candidates was followed. Mr Henry Kgomo, an active South African Communist Party activist was recruited and appointed on the recommendation of the MEC for Development Planning and Local Government at deputy director and later at director level (DDPLG, 2003a). Respondents E and F confirmed the appointment of the programme director on a twelve month contract, pending the result of the feasibility study on the institutional framework. Furthermore, Respondents E and F verified the appointment of additional staff to support the Director and fast track the roll-out of the programme.

5.2.2.2 FEASIBILITY STUDY AND THE PROPOSED INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE FOR THE PILOT PROGRAMME

The Education and Training Unit conducted a feasibility study on behalf of the GPG. The study recommended two models for consideration, based on the emphasis of central and/or local accountability. The ETU made two proposals for the consideration of the PSC and the DLG.

5.2.2.2.1 Central Government Accountability

The Community Development Agency (CDA) located in the Office of the Premier was proposed as the central accountability structure as indicated in figure A. It was given the responsibility to strategise, manage and support the programme. While seen as a support entity, the structure was meant to act as a clearing house for referral and intervention. At the metropolitan and district municipalities, the Thusong Centres were identified as a critical linkage to government

departments and given the responsibility to act as supervisors. Furthermore the Thusong Centres were expected to fulfil a troubleshooting role.

Figure 5.1- Central Government Accountability

LEVEL	STRUCTURE	STAFF	ROLE
PROVINCE	Premier's Office Community Development Agency	Manager and Support Staff	Strategise, manage, and support. Act as a clearing house for referral and intervention
Metro / District	Thusong Centres	1 Supervisor	Link to government departments Supervise and support CDW Troubleshoot and unblock delivery obstacles
Local and Municipal	No formal structure Link to IDP and LED Office Strategic Units and Heads of Departments	-	Points of referral and liaison for cooperation to address local problems
Ward	Community Development Office Link to ward committees	1 Advisor / Information Worker 1 Field Worker	All the roles of CDW

(Source, ETU, 2003)

Clearly, the proposal by the CDA was in line with the articulation by the former Gauteng Premier during his State of the Province Address in February 2003. The proposal to locate whatever structure in the office of the Premier was first articulated by the Presidential Coordinating Council (PCC) as a viable institutional arrangement. The proposal sought to elevate the Thusong Centres to become the backroom of the programme. However it meant the expansion of the centres to accommodate all critical services and developing capacity to deal with referred cases.

5.2.2.2.2 Local Accountability Structure

As an option to the central accountability structure, the establishment of the CDA was proposed, located within the DDPLG with the same responsibility and management support as indicated in figure 5.2. However, at the metropolitan and district municipalities, strategic units in the office of the Municipal Managers and Executive Mayors were considered as appropriate links to government departments to supervise the CDW and act as trouble-shooters. As opposed to central accountability, local accountability positioned local municipalities to use their IDP offices and Community Development Forums to handle municipal-related issues. It implied that municipalities were given the challenge to supervise the work of CDW while employed by the GPG with minimal capacity problems of their own.

Figure 5.2- Local Accountability Structure

LEVEL	STRUCTURE	STAFF	ROLE
PROVINCE	DDPLG	Manager and Support	Strategise,

	Community Development Agency	Staff	manage, and support. Act as a clearing house for referral and intervention
Metro / District	Strategic Units in Metro and District Municipalities	1 Supervisor	Link to government departments Supervise and support CDW Troubleshoot and unblock delivery obstacles
Local	IDP Offices and Community Development Forums	Official assigned responsibility	Deal with issues that the municipality can resolve to ensure coherence with IDP
Ward	Community Development Office Link to ward committees	1 Advisor/Information Worker 1 Field Worker	All roles of CDW

(Source, ETU, 2003)

5.2.2.2.3 MIDDLE GROUND ACCOUNTABILITY

The Steering Committee for the Community Development Workers combined the central and local government accountability model to develop a middle ground

Model (Interview, Respondent F). The model maintained the establishment of the CDW unit within the DPPLG with a sizeable capacity to complement the business plan, strategise, manage and support the deployed cadres in the wards. The middle ground accountability structure regarded the regional municipal offices, Thusong Centres, GCIS and other departments as important sites of support. The structure was recommended with six regional coordinators to be appointed, responsible for the six regions of the province and to act as linkage, supervisors and trouble-shooters to remove delivery obstacles. The municipal offices, community development offices and strategic units at municipal level would be used to support the programme. The above approval placed the DDPLG at the centre of accountability. It also necessitated immediate initiatives for supervision of the programme at local level, hence the approval of the CDW supervisors.

Figure 5.3- Middle Ground Accountability

LEVEL	STRUCTURE	STAFF	ROLE
PROVINCE	DDPLG (CDW Unit)	Programme Director Provincial Coordinator Administrative Officer Secretary	Provide strategic direction, manage, and support. Act as a clearing house for referral and intervention
Metro / District	Regional municipal Offices, Thusong Centres, GCIS and other govt	6 Regional Coordinators	Link to government departments Supervise and support CDW

	departments		Troubleshoot and unblock delivery obstacles
Local / Municipal	Link to formal municipal offices / community development offices / strategic units of municipalities	Use local municipal staff Deployment of local municipal supervisors	-
Ward	Use ward councillor offices, Community Liaison Offices, CDW	2 Community Development Workers	All roles of CDW

(Source, DDPLG, 2003(d))

5.2.3 PROPOSED PERMANENT INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE

First, in preparing for the second phase of the CDW in Gauteng in April 2004, the DLG appointed the new CDW Director, Russell McGregor. He replaced Emmanuel Kgomo, first CDW Director, who was later appointed as the Chief Director responsible for the CDWP as coordinated and incubated by the DPSA (Respondent E, F and I). A proposal for a permanent institutional framework was submitted to the MEC of Local Government in April 2005. The proposed framework was based on a literature review and interviews with councillors, officials of the municipalities and the department.

The CDW Director conducted research on international, comparative experiences of community development workers programmes to support the institutional framework (DLG, 2005(b), Respondent E and I). The research revealed that the roles and functions were related to linking the community with resources,

spreading information about available services and mobilising people to identify their developmental needs (DLG, 2005(b)). The roles and functions also entail the facilitation action for change and development and providing training and physical care and counselling (DLG, 2005(b)). Also included in the review were issues of accountability, supervision and institutional options.

5.2.3.1 ACCOUNTABILITY

Comparative studies on the programme revealed that the establishment and strengthening of partnerships between government, non-government organisations, community-based organisations and the Community Development Workers is a basis for success (DLG, 2005(a)). Emphasis was placed on the need to understand the programme as community based (DLG, 2005(b)). But, a caution was made that the achievement of the CDW programme depended on the involvement of community structures throughout, including their development (DLG, 2005(b)). Undoubtedly, the success of the programme in comparative studies resulted from the reversal of control and accountability to community level. Emphasis was placed on the need to understand the local needs and existing networks of social interactions.

5.2.3.2 SUPERVISION

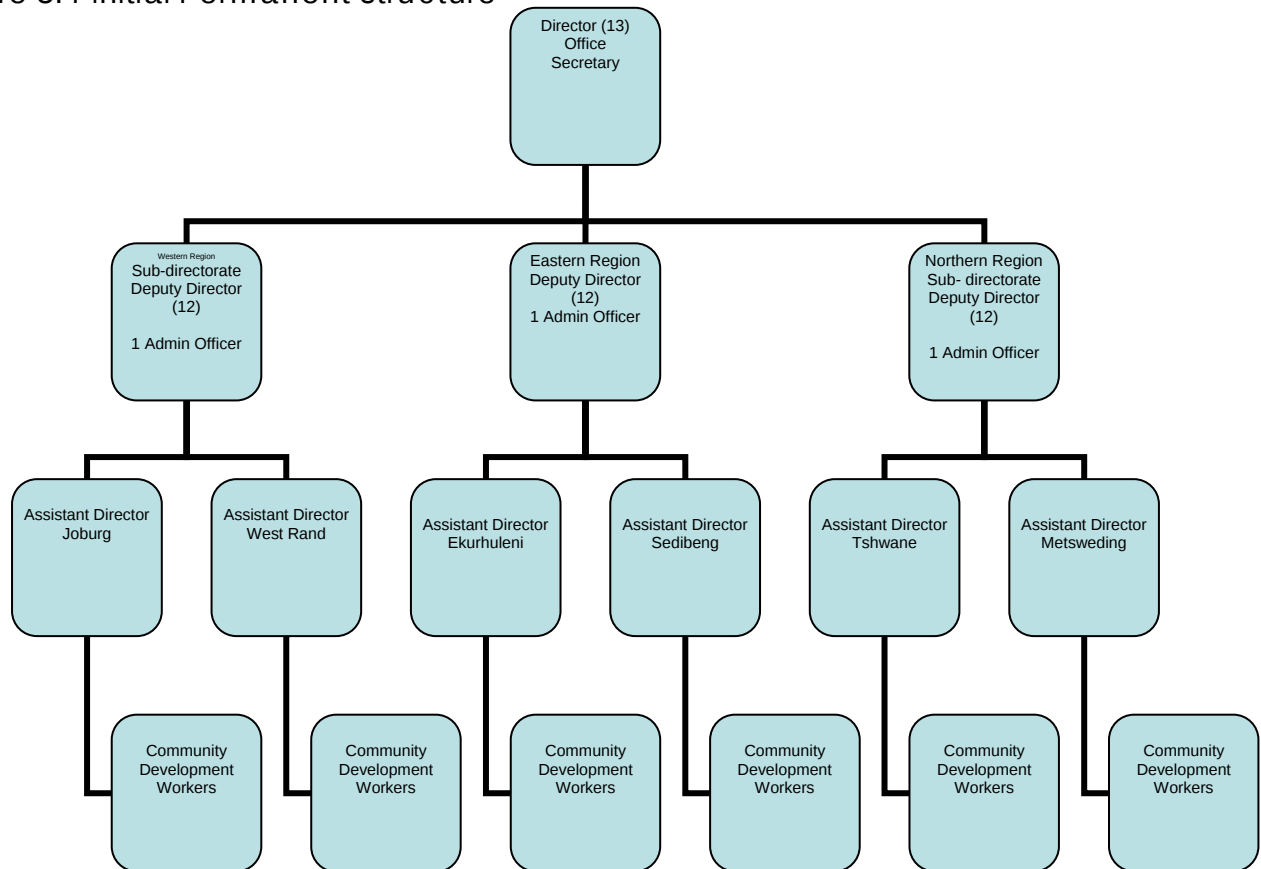
Supervision was the key factor to the Community Development Workers Programme (DLG, 2005(b)). Supervision was seen as a form of support to the CDW and an attempt to minimise possible burnouts. The role of supervisors included assisting the CDW with keeping accurate records of the work done, planning and structuring time effectively, providing contacts and resources, assisting in solving difficult cases and providing emotional support and

encouragement to the CDW (DLG, 2005(b)). The research argued that the CDW supervisor should be based close to the CDW work, with a suggested ratio of 1 supervisor to 10 community development workers. In view of the emphasised role of supervisors in community development work, supervisors with insufficient community development work are a serious barrier to overcome (DLG, 2005(a), p.05). The literature emphasises the need for establishing and strengthening cooperation and community based actors.

5.2.3.3 INSTITUTIONAL OPTION

The national framework institutional model placed the programme in the Office of the Premier. This was based on the decision of the Presidential Coordinating Council (Respondent E and F, 2003). Based on the need for proper reporting, coordination, managing the relationship with other stakeholders, monitoring and evaluation, an organisational structure was recommended as shown in figure 5.5. The organisational structure made provision for three regional managers at the level of deputy director to provide strategic and operational management support to the CDW and CDW Supervisors. It made provision for six Assistant Directors to serve as CDW Supervisors, responsible for each metropolitan and district municipality. In order to have proper administrative support between the Regional Managers and the Community Development Workers, each sub-directorate was allocated an Administrative Officer.

Figure 5.4-Initial Permanent Structure



Source, (DLG, 2005b)

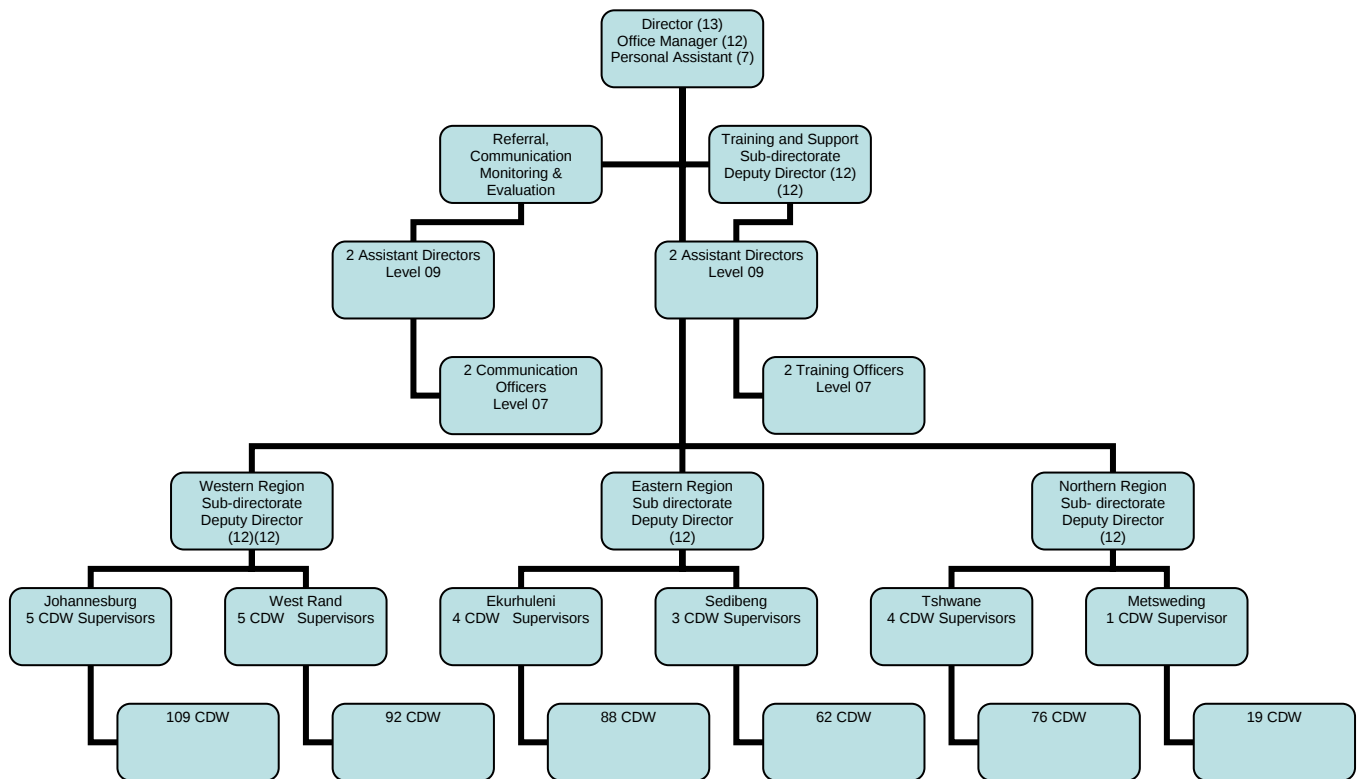
5.2.4 ASSESSMENT OF INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

An assessment on the capacity of existing structures to carry the implementation of the CDWP was conducted in December 2005. It was argued that the above-approved structure was inadequate to manage and support the then and expected number of staff to be deployed by the end of the 2006/2007 financial year (DLG, 2006). With the assistance of an external consultant, an institutional model and organisational structure were developed and discussed (DLG, 2006). A gap was noted in respect of dealing with referred cases, monitoring and evaluation, as well as the extent to which the department had communicated

the programme. A gap was also noted on training-related issues that required immediate attention in order to capacitate and prepare the CDW to meet the challenges on the ground. The establishment of the Sub-Directorates M&E Referral and Communication, and Training and Support was recommended (DLG, 2006).

Based on the discussions in December 2005, the Director CDW sought the recommendation of the MEC on the proposal of a new organisational structure for the CDW Directorate, with the intention for an immediate implementation of such a structure. The MEC approved the establishment of the CDW Directorate in April 2006, as shown in figure 5.5.

Figure 5.5- Reviewed final structure



(Source, DLG, 2006c)

As approved in April 2006, it made provision for five CDW Directorates with five sub-directorates, three regions (northern, eastern and western), Monitoring and Evaluation, Referral and Communication, Training and Support (DLG, 2006, (a) Respondent E, G and I). It also made provision for the establishment of the Operations Manager in the office of the CDW Director (DLG, 2006(a), p02). The Operations Manager post was responsible for the overall administration of the directorate, including the finances, human resources and general administration (DLG, 2006). All the posts created in the above organisational structure were filled by December 2006. This was to build the necessary capacity to provide the required support to the CDW.

5.2.4.1 DEVELOPMENT OF THE DIRECTORATE BUSINESS PLAN

Consequent to the approval of the directorate, a business plan was drawn up and approved in 2005 for the period 2005-2008 with the strategic goal of enhancing community participation and sustainable community development (DLG, 2006(b), DLG, 2006(d), Respondent G). Three broad strategic objectives, including improved access to government services by communities, strengthening democracy and accountability and assisting communities to reach their developmental potential were adopted to guide the focus and activities of the CDW (DLG, 2006(d)).

In order to achieve the targets of the business plan, detailed work plans for the CDW were developed. The work plans had four outputs to measure the difference and coordinate the implementation of government initiatives in communities. This output was based on CDW involvement in advocating initiatives and participation in interdepartmental forums (DLG, 2006(d)). Other

outputs included the door to door visits and identification and support of development initiatives (DLG, 2006(d)).

5.2.4.2 CAPACITY OF THE DIRECTORATE TO SUPPORT COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORK

The Community Development Workers in Gauteng had been deployed in phases since 2004. Supervision to ensure that the CDW conduct their work as expected was contemplated from 2004, with a breakthrough in 2005. After their deployment in wards, reports were used as a measure to ensure that CDW do the actual work. The community profile questionnaire (annexure A) was developed to assist the CDW to gather baseline information in areas of their work (DLG, 2006(d)). Furthermore, a daily monitoring tool (annexure B) was also developed to capture information on the work undertaken in line with the work plan (DLG, 2006(d)). This was to ensure that the CDW conducted their work as required. Since introduction, reporting has been focussed and monitoring has served as proof of the work done.

In responding to the IT communication challenge, the DLG considered various ways to ensure that CDWs communicate with their supervisors, DLG and other departments (Respondent G. In that way, it would be a reasonable measure of knowing the work of these officials. Hewlett Packard (HP) 6910 handheld devices were secured with the technical assistance of the Gauteng Shared Service Centre (GSCC). It enabled the CDW to access data collection tools (questionnaires), MS Office, Internet Websites, map bases and voice and data packages. During December 2007 all the CDWs, CDW Supervisors, Monitoring and Evaluation officials, Referral and Communication Officials, Regional Managers, Chief Director, HOD and MEC were allocated said instruments. The development

of the software and other infrastructure proved that the MPCC had not developed to the level where it could be geared to become the CDW backroom office.

With the establishment of the Referral Unit in January 2006, it became clear that there were divergent entry/nodal points in Gauteng departments to register the queries (DLG, 2006 (a), DLG, 2006(d), Interview, Respondent I). The different/multiple nodal points made it unmanageable for the CDW Referral Unit to follow up registered cases (Respondent E, G and I. It also became clear that the programme was not able to monitor or to provide statistics regarding CDW activities and had inefficient tools and mechanisms to measure and monitor the impact of the programme (DLG, 2006 (a), DLG, 2006(d). The directorate developed a capacity and system to address the referred cases and generally ensure that the work of the CDW was adding value. The different entry points had resulted in ad-hoc and fragmented support mechanisms for departments. With the assistance of GSCC in 2006 and 2007, a CDW Electronic System was developed (DLG, 2008, Respondent I). The system encompassed capturing information, query resolution, track and monitor issues, escalate issues, internal and external communication and reporting (DLG, 2008, Respondent I). It also included electronic monitoring of a weekly plan, automatic identification of locations and reminders and notifications (DLG, 2008).

Since the pilot programme and during the full roll-out, the DLG became the champion of communicating the programme. Respondents A and I agreed without hesitation that communication around the programme is far from satisfactory. They called for serious investment in the communication of the department in order to improve communication around departmental

programmes. Despite this claim, the MEC was quick to dispel the notion of building an enclave. The MEC's articulation showed the difference of opinions with the officials of the department in respect to the independence of the CDW Directorate to conduct its business. Based on communication and human resource limitations, it seemed that the directorate would continue to depend on the services of the Directorate: Communication and Human Resource Development to develop communication strategies and training strategies and plans. Since the reversal of the establishment of training in the CDW Directorate, the learnership is the only platform to shape and sharpen skills.

5.2.4.3 ESTABLISHMENT OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURES AT LOCAL LEVEL

Since the launch of the programme in 2003, 504 CDW were deployed in every municipal ward in Gauteng by the end of November 2007 (McGregor, 2007). This was not concomitant to the initial plan developed in 2003 to reach 750 deployments in year three of the programme. Upon the deployment, the need arose to ensure coordinated service delivery at local level. Gauteng Province also succeeded in establishing appropriate forums to address particular issues. The Intergovernmental Service Delivery Forums (IGSDF) were established in the province to improve interaction between and within government departments (Respondent I). The IGSDFs were an attempt to get departments and municipalities to discuss strategy and to bring information and services to communities in an integrated manner (DLG, 2008). These forums are also aimed at assisting the CDW to cement their networks by ensuring workable referrals with sector departments. The CDW were successful in identifying and organising all the key departments to refer issues of service delivery blockages and advocating programmes of government through the distribution of the relevant information

(DLG, 2008). While the effort was worthwhile, there was an absence of province-wide terms of reference guiding the initiative.

The CDW continued to participate and four IGSD forums were established in the western region. Whilst still in an infancy stage, participation by departments varied. In the eastern region, two IGSDF were established and delimited to the local municipalities; the CDW deployed in the respective municipalities continued to be the champions of the forum (DLG, 2008). The CDW in the northern region participated in the establishment of the IGSDF at two levels, regional and zonal (DLG, 2008). The regional manager, CDW supervisors and five CDW, representing the five clusters in the region, continued to participate in the Steering Committee responsible to coordinate the forums DLG, 2008, p.13). However, the forums were endlessly confronted with poor attendance by other government departments, problems with less funding and little response to referred cases (DLG, 2008).

Besides the above activities, the CDW throughout the regions were involved in advocacy initiatives. The advocacy initiatives were organised and initiated by other government departments, institutions and agencies (DLG, 2008). The initiatives sought to inform and capacitate communities around different issues, such as the economy, development, poverty alleviation and the youth. The CDW persisted with their supporting role and participated in activities to mobilise and communicate around the programme. Despite their advocacy role, the CDW experienced challenges in respect of being updated with information pertaining to government services and mechanisms for immediate response on very urgent issues (DLG, 2008).

5.2.5 REPORTING MECHANISMS INSTITUTED WITHIN THE CDW DIRECTORATE

The success of any program is determined by different mechanisms to monitor, track and assess programme implementation. Described below is the mechanism that the CDW Directorate had developed since the establishment of the political and permanent institutional structures to ensure that all involved account for their activities.

5.2.5.1 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKERS REPORTING MECHANISMS

Since 2004, with the implementation of the pilot project in Gauteng, the CDW reported weekly and monthly, based on a developed and approved quarterly plan (DLG, 2005b). With the tight work schedule expected, changes were made to weekly reporting based on weekly and monthly plans. Reporting was also informed by monthly and quarterly plans where local, provincial and national government had made an input (DLG, 2005b). As part of the responsibility, CDW supervisors were required to read, analyse and give feedback reports (DLG, 2005b). Constraints necessitated certain changes on weekly and monthly reporting requirements. At the time, the institutional arrangements did not have the capacity to read, capture and analyse the information within the shortest space of time ((DLG, 2005b). Added to the above, the unit experienced a lack of resources dedicated to supporting weekly and monthly reporting (DLG, 2005b).

5.2.5.2 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT SUPERVISORS REPORTING MECHANISMS

The deployment of the CDW was implemented in municipalities not to impact negatively on municipalities through incurring any unplanned costs. As a result, the department proposed the creation of regional Coordinators/Assistant

Directors as the Community Development Workers supervisors ((DLG, 2005b). Arguably, this sought to minimise the financial impact on the municipality and created space for intergovernmental cooperation.

In order to create the required capacity and supervise the work of the Community Development Workers, supervisors were appointed at the metro and district level to report to the Province (Deputy Director) and the municipality (Manager or deputy manager responsible for Community Development in the office of the Speaker ((DLG, 2005b). The role and function of CDW supervisors in the Gauteng Community Development Workers Programme was influenced by comparative studies, as indicated elsewhere in the report. Theirs was based on three important performance areas: supervising the CDW, linking up with the Province to ensure that the programme sustains its intergovernmental framework and reporting on the activities and plans of the Community Development Workers to the Deputy Director responsible for regions (DLG, 2005b).

With the approval of this layer of management, it was only fully implemented in 2006. Regional Managers acted as CDW Supervisors until Supervisors were appointed during September to December 2006. In setting the reporting mechanism for this layer of management, supervisors produced monthly reports based on the weekly reports and supervision of the CDW (DLG, 2005b). All the Supervisors were able to generate monthly and quarterly reports and submit them to the municipality for information and the province (Regional Manager responsible for the region) for attention (DLG, 2005b). A standard was further set to ensure that the monthly reports submitted contained trends analyses from the reports and supervision meetings (DLG, 2005b).

5.2.5.3 REGIONAL MANAGERS REPORTING MECHANISMS

The new organisational structure made provision for the establishment of sub-directorates responsible for the three clustered regions of the Community Development Workers Programme in Gauteng. The three clustered regions were based on the grouping of the three metropolitan municipalities with a district municipality. The grouping resulted in the Western Region (JHB Metropolitan Municipality and West Rand District Municipality), the Eastern Region (Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality and Sedibeng District Municipality) and the Northern Region (Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality and Metsweding District Municipality). (DLG, 2005b). It further made provision for two additional sub-directorates, Training and Support and Monitoring and Evaluation.

As a requirement, Regional Managers submitted quarterly reports based on the input of the CDW supervisors (DLG, 2005b). In December 2005, the Strategic Management Committee Planning Session reviewed the reporting framework to submit monthly, quarterly and annual reports. Equally, regional managers were also expected to generate quarterly trends analyses following reports and supervision meetings ((DLG, 2005b).

5.2.5.4 DIRECTOR'S REPORTING MECHANISM

Initially, Mr Russell McGregor, the Programme Director, submitted quarterly reports based on the monthly reports of the three regional managers. In seeking to understand monthly activities and development around the programme, the Director CDW submitted monthly, quarterly and annual reports (DLG, 2005e). Reporting was aimed at providing the senior, executive and political management of the department with progress and interventions on the

programme in communities (DLG, 2005e). These reports were based on the reports from the Regional Managers, CDW Supervisors and CDW at ward level. Reporting also identified issuers referred to other departments horizontally and vertically (DLG, 2005b). Finally the director's report provided management and politicians with the required training interventions to ensure that the CDW programme becomes a success (DLG, 2005b).

The contents of the report carried at least two main areas, namely reporting on progress and on the impact for the purpose of monitoring, management and accountability. The reports also identified issues that required the attention of role players outside the directorate and generally reflected on achievements outside the activities of the operational plan (DLG, 2005e). In order to supervise the CDW appropriately, the directorate proposed that the Director should receive and package national and provincial inputs and communicate these to the regional managers. As a work in progress and achieved to a limited extent, it became the responsibility of the Director to incorporate national and provincial government and DLG strategic objectives into the work of the community development workers (DLG, 2005e).

In boosting cooperation and intergovernmental relations relating to the work of the CDW, municipalities have been identified as the workplaces of the CDW. The decision necessitated for the provincial politicians to have thorough consultation with the offices of the Executive Mayors and Speakers across the different categories of municipalities. All the respondents concurred that these consultations resulted in municipal cooperation and the willingness to provide resources, including office space, telephones, faxes, etc. In moving more closely, the DLG ensured that the supervisory function remained the responsibility of the CDW Supervisor at the level of Assistant Director and the designated official in the

office of the Speaker. In its reporting mechanism, CDW Supervisors and the designated municipal officials are required to meet at least once a month to integrate local plans with the provincial and national plans to draw up a weekly and monthly work plan for CDW. The purpose here was to provide the provincial and local policy makers with an integrated and consolidated picture of service delivery challenges and advocacy around government programmes.

5.2.6 ACCOUNTABILITY AND SUPERVISION

Accountability and supervision are the cornerstone of community development work. In South Africa, it became important to address this issue since the CDW were field based, rather than office based.

5.2.6.1 SUPERVISION AND MANAGEMENT OF CDW

Respondents G and I confirmed that the current organisational structure makes provision for 22 CDW supervisors, ten in the Western Region, seven in the Eastern Region and five in the Northern Region. The CDW Supervisors were appointed on the basis of one supervisor per twenty CDW. Respondent I had argued that this span of control is a serious challenge. Attempts have been made to cut down the span to ten CDW for effective supervision. In other areas, supervisors have attempted to break their areas down into smaller clusters. While the above depend on the discretion of the supervisors, Respondents G and H concurred that regional managers had considered the introduction of senior CDW as an additional layer to address the span of control. However, the decision around the management layers of CDW is based on national policy.

In keeping with the process until 2005 December, Regional Managers conducted monthly meetings with Community Development Workers within the Metro and District to establish the work completed and the planning for the next month (DLG, 2005e). The regional meetings were scheduled quarterly with CDW within regions (metro and district) to develop and discuss quarterly work plans and share the experiences and inputs of different stakeholders (DLG, 2005e). Whilst efforts were made for planning at a regional level, the CDW within district municipalities met as a group on a weekly basis or when needed (Respondent I, 2008). The arrangement within the Metropolitan Municipality depended on the clustering of wards and the CDW once again met as a group once a week or when the need arose (Respondent I, 2008, DLG, 2008). As a demonstration of support and development, Regional Managers had occasional meetings with individual Community Development Workers to discuss challenges experienced individually. Despite the ideal accountability measures and steps at the time, a lack of consistency, uniformity and sufficient resources were notable constraints (DLG, 2005b). With the appointment of CDW Supervisors in 2006 and 2007, and additional CDW in every ward, the above-mentioned limitations have been minimised considerably.

Based on the experiences and limitations, it was later proposed that the CDW Supervisors should rather meet once a week to discuss progress and developing/developed challenges and to assist each other in finding better approaches to manage their work. The proposed weekly meetings were aimed at providing the team with an opportunity to discuss new plans and agree on simple reporting formats to minimise cumbersome reports (DLG, 2005e). On a monthly basis, CDW Supervisors and CDW were required to meet to brief the CDW on the work programme, including national, provincial and local inputs. Sessions of this nature also provided the CDW with a platform to give feedback

on progress and to raise issues for intergovernmental attention (DLG, 2005e). It also served as a session to share experiences, enhance team work and invite interdepartmental and intergovernmental officials to brief the CDW on the programme (DLG, 2005e). The briefing sought to capacitate the CDW to understanding government programmes and to communicate them to the communities.

5.2.6.2 SUPERVISORS AND MANAGEMENT OF CDW SUPERVISORS

The DLG only appointed CDW Supervisors after the approval of the new organisational structure in 2006. Without the CDW Supervisors, Regional Managers were responsible for the compilation of quarterly reports and management meetings. The system was changed to require a meeting twice a month. One of the above-mentioned meetings was a general meeting that included the Administrative Officers (DLG, 2005e). Supervisory meetings continued in the regions between the supervisor and the CDW, based on clusters (DLG, 2008). Unfortunately the meetings were not held consistently as a result of the training of CDW.

At management level, the regional meetings were held between each supervisor and the regional managers (DLG, 2008). For the same reasons advanced above on the training commitments, the consistency of the meetings suffered due to other directorate activities. One-on-one supervisory meetings were also held at least once a month between the Director and Regional Managers (DLG, 2005e). As a measure to monitor the programme closely, the Director of the Programme compiled the quarterly reports based on the understanding and the interactions with the Regional Managers (DLG, 2005e). Furthermore, as a function of

management, the Programme Director attended the departmental management meetings, Programme Meetings, meetings with the Chief Director, Deputy Director General and finally the National Task Team meetings. As indicated elsewhere in the report, the accountability of the programme was also hampered by a lack of consistency, poor attendance of scheduled and unscheduled meetings and inconsistent minuting of meetings.

To overcome the challenges as stated above, a number of proposals were sponsored relating to the meetings of supervisors. The CDW Supervisors' meetings were held twice a month (DLG, 2005b). One of the meetings was a one-on-one supervision meeting with the Regional Managers. Furthermore, CDW Supervisors in the metropolitan and district municipalities were also expected to meet with the Regional Managers once a month (DLG, 2005e), as were CDW Supervisors within the region. As part of the management of the programme, all the Supervisors attended the extended CDW Directorate Management Meetings once a month, but at least every six to eight weeks (DLG, 2005e).

All the sub-directorates produced monthly, quarterly and annual reports based on the broad strategic areas of the directorate, in line with the department. With the establishment of the above-mentioned sub-directorates, management meetings were conducted twice a month through an Extended Directorate Management Meeting (including all CDW supervisors and Administrative Officers) (DLG, 2005e). The second sub-directorate meeting of the month is a one-on-one supervision meeting held between the Director and the sub-directorate managers. The Regional Manager also participates in the Provincial Task Team (PTT) (DLG, 2005e). All the above meetings were meant to improve the planning and review of the work conducted weekly and monthly.

The Director, as programme manager, compiles monthly, quarterly and annual reports (DLG, 2005b). The CDW Director attends departmental management meetings, Programme Meetings once a month and one-on-one supervision meetings with the Chief Director on matters of the programme (DLG, 2005b). Finally the CDW director attends the National Task Team Meeting of the programme coordinated by the Department of Public Service and Administration.

5.2.7 REVIEW OF THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKERS DIRECTORATE

Just twelve months after the approval of the structure, the Training and Support Sub-directorate and Communication Unit were transferred to the Human Resource and Communication Directorates of the department. Respondent B argued that the CDW management treated the programme as non-integral to the DLG. Respondent B further argued that the approach by the CDW directorate to have its own finance, HR and communication sections was wrong and encouraged the development of an enclave. While acknowledging the weakness of Communications and Human Resources of the DLG to service the CDW directorate, respondent B argued that it did not necessitate the building of an empire or enclave.

The transfer challenged the reasoning behind the establishment of the structures. It may be argued that the decision was not well reasoned from the beginning or has not operated as intended. In 2005, a strategic session noted the limitations with regard to the communication and training around the Community Development Workers Programme (DLG, 2005e). As a proposal to overcome the challenges, the Referral, Monitoring and Evaluation, and Communication sub-directorates were recommended to identify the material required and organise

the collection and delivering of information and material to the CDW for distribution (DLG, 2005b). The Training and Support sub-directorate was established with a purpose, to provide training, development and logistical support to the CDW directorate.

While recognising the training division and communication directorate of the department, Respondent I argued that the newly created occupational category required dedicated training and development support. The Communication Unit of the sub-directorate had also been transferred to the Communication Directorate of DLG. The rationale behind the establishment of the Communication Unit in the CDW directorate was the need to coordinate information on government services for public dissemination. The unit was established in order to develop a communication and media strategy on the programme which had stalled since 2005. Programme management seemed to have an understanding that the CDW directorate was more external and needed to develop its own capacity to fulfil the Communication, Evaluation and Monitoring, Training and Support and Regional coordination. This is every evident in attempts to differentiate between training and communication.

Respondent I referred to these Human Resources and Communication of the DLG as internal resident functions meant for internal use, whereas the conceptualisation of these functions in the CDW context meant to service the external part of the clientele. However, with the new appointment of the Director: Human Resources, a decision was taken to transfer the training and support in the CDW Directorate to the Human Resource Development Directorate. The above scenario suggests that the motivation for the establishment of the structures in the CDW depended on the arguments of individuals, rather than the assessment of the need for such structures.

Respondent B acceded that the transfers of the above-mentioned functions would demonstrate that the CDW Directorate was not becoming an independent entity, but formed part of the department. Respondent B argued that the approval for the establishment of the directorate in 2006 had never meant for it to be independent, hence the idea of establishing it within the department. Respondent B argued that the establishment of the above-mentioned structures “*created two centres of human resource and communication in the department*”. While the argument of ensuring dedicated training support was used, it is acknowledged that the human resource development and communication outfit of the department at the time had no capacity to meet the training needs and challenges.

5.3 RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER STAKEHOLDERS

Relationships with important and critical stakeholders constitute the success of the community development work. The CDW programme in Gauteng required important identification sites that facilitated the expected work and enhanced system and process where required. This section of analysis evaluates the extent to which the Conceptual Framework had succeeded in emphasising the required strategic relationship across the three spheres and local governance structures.

5.3.1 RELATIONSHIP WITH WARD COMMITTEES AND WARD COUNCILLORS

While the CDWP was conceptualised as a complementary device to support the activities of the developmental ward committees and councils, the rationale for the CDWP is underscored by understanding the work of the CDW as facilitators, advocates of government programmes and their ability to draw community

profiles. The relationship with the ward councillors and committees was initially considered unmanageable (DLG, 2005c).

The CDW faced an element of hostility until 2005, based on fears that the CDW presented a threat. After consistent messages on the programme, the different stakeholders, including the councillors and committees, accepted and appreciated their work (Interview, 2008 Respondents B, E, F, G and I). Besides this acceptance, the CDW Directorate has made a particular effort to nurture the relationship with municipal stakeholders. Between May 2005 and April 2006, the CDW directorate took the initiative to communicate the programme outside of the formal communication strategy; sessions were held with councillors, ward committees and municipal management (DLG, 2005c, Respondents E and I). The joint municipal sessions between the councillors, ward committees and the CDW around the province in 2007 had somewhat rooted role clarification.

Furthermore, the former Premier and the MEC for Local Government have also worked hard to clarify the roles and relations at public gatherings (DLG, 2005c). After the 2006 elections, the Directorate made an effort to have meetings with the newly elected public representatives and ward committees to discuss the role of ward committees. The Director: CDW and the Regional Managers met with the Speakers and Councillors of Tshwane, Metsweding, Kungwini, Ekurhuleni, Midvaal, West Rand District, Westonaria, Merafong and Mogale City (DLG, 2005c). These meetings were aimed at clarifying the role and responsibilities of the CDW to the municipalities (DLG, 2005c). Beyond this effort, Respondent I confirmed that the Regional Managers had activated mechanisms to address problems or challenges with the CDW and ward councillors or ward committees. In such cases, CDW Supervisors and the Regional Manager met with the ward councillor and the ward committee to address any challenge or problem area impeding

smooth relations (Respondent I, 2008). On the other hand, the South African Local Government Association's induction of councillors positively introduced the CDW concept and built the picture of the programme as an intervention to improve service delivery and public participation (DLG, 2008).

Notwithstanding the positive relationship described above, the CDW in 2007 experienced a lack of cooperation that impacted on addressing service backlogs in the areas. Though in pockets, factors contributing to the bad relations were related to party political differences, the absence of councillors at critical times, schisms, alleged deviations of appointment procedures and allegations that the CDW reside outside the ward (DLG, 2008). The CDW management adopted a multi-pronged strategy to improve these relations. While maintaining existing relations, the CDW and supervisors conducted weekly briefing sessions to share information, programmes and plans for joint execution (DLG, 2008). In cases of poor relations, the CDW Director took up the issues with the office of the municipal speakers (DLG, 2008). The MEC for Local Government would address the issues with municipal authorities in the form of a briefing. In a final attempt to improve the relations, the municipalities undertook workshops sessions intended to clarify the roles and also used other sessions of SALGA (DLG, 2008).

With the improvement of the relations over a period of time since 2005, the CDW organised the ward committees to ensure that the programmes were implemented and provided administration back-up to the committee (Respondents B and G). Furthermore, as a support structure to the ward committees, the CDW ensured that members of the committees belonged to and participated in sector portfolios, referring issues to the relevant departments, attending ward public meetings and attending municipal as well as council meetings (DLG, 2008). They also assist the ward committees by facilitating sessions

for the meetings, contributing to environmental scanning reports and briefing politicians before Izimbizos based on ward committee reports (DLG, 2008). All the above would enable ward committees to become centres of development initiatives with the CDW as activists within communities. Clearly the contribution of the CDW to the ward committees was facilitated by the acceptance of municipalities in Gauteng that all CDW would be part of the ward committees as ex-officio members.

5.3.2 RELATIONSHIP WITH MUNICIPAL SPEAKERS AND EXECUTIVE MAYORS

The relationship between the CDW and elected representatives was based on a conceptual understanding that the closer ties formed the basis for the success of the programme. Critical was also to ensure that the CDW communicated with the strategic units of Municipal Managers to deal with service delivery challenges. It was also critical to acknowledge the different roles of the Executive Mayors and the Municipal Speakers in relation to public participation and service delivery.

The Office of the Speakers in municipalities served and continues to serve as an entry point for all the necessary partnerships in 2007. As the nodal points in the CJMM and West Rand District, the CDW participated in all IDP related processes, summits, community development profiling and dual communication on service delivery related issues (DLG, 2008). The Speaker in Randfontein assisted the CDW to participate in the IDP and budgetary processes of the municipality (DLG, 2008). Regular invitations were extended to the CDW to attend the Council's meetings in order to understand political decisions and sometimes challenges. Regular meetings were held with the Office of the Speaker to evaluate the extent of community participation (DLG, 2008). The relationship with Mogale City has also been cemented at the level of the Community Liaison Officer (CLO) and the

CDW (DLG, 2008). This enabled the CDW to report and identifies service delivery blockages to the CLO for an immediate municipal response.

The office of the Speaker in Ekurhuleni became and remained the champion of the programme from a public participation point of view (DLG, 2008). The CDW Supervisors and CDW had meetings with the Speaker to strengthen their relations. The above meetings resulted in joint sessions to clarify the roles of councillors, ward committees and the CDW and resulted in the formation of the Mayoral Communication Outreach Programme (MCOP). The MCOP was established to prepare all the Mayoral engagements with the community (DLG, 2008). The CDW in this region were instrumental in mobilising the team and this enabled the CDW to present service delivery concerns to the Executive Mayor's office (DLG, 2008).

The relationship with the Speaker of the Sedibeng District Municipality has been quite cordial since the launch of the programme. This led to the redirection of the relationship at the local level without much involvement of the district. Through the smooth relations with the Office of the Speaker, the CDW continued to participate in Mayoral Izimbizo Management Committees to assist in the preparations for the Izimbizo (DLG, 2008). The CDW continued to provide analyses of the community service delivery needs and mobilised communities to participate in the interaction (DLG, 2008). Respondents F and I concurred that in this municipality resources were unreservedly shared with the CDW prior to the 2006 local government elections.

5.3.3 CDW RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER DEPARTMENTS

The CDW programme in Gauteng was conceptualised within the lineage of programmes which are geared towards improving the lives of communities,

including the Community Based Public Works Programme, the Integrated Strategy on Rural Development Programme, the Urban Renewal Programme and the Extension of the Child Support Grant (Sangweni, 2003). This sought to complement, harness and facilitate the implementation of such programmes by ensuring that communities are informed and participate in them. Between May 2005 and April 2006, the Community Development Workers' relationships with the Thusong Centres were generally good across the province. The relationship with the MPCC assisted the CDW with administrative support such as faxes, telephones and meeting venues when required. On the other hand, the CDW were able to reciprocate by communicating services offered to communities.

While the relationship with the Thusong Centres was considered good, relationships with other departments at a provincial level were somewhat mixed. The CDW Directorate management had repeatedly requested the different provincial departments to clarify the role of the CDW in relation to their programmes. With the absence of clarity in 2006 and 2007, individual CDW initiated and facilitated intergovernmental forums to provide clarity on the CDW and foster cooperation and integration across the three spheres of government (DLG, 2008). Thus far, intergovernmental forums have been established in Johannesburg, the West Rand, Ekurhuleni, Sedibeng, the City of Tshwane and Metsweding. These forums meet once a month with consistent attendance by CDW.

With the trend analysis and absence of standing forums to engage the provincial departments, the CDW directorate pursued meetings with the provincial departments (DLG, 2008). The purpose of the meetings was to develop a relationship despite the discontinuation of the Provincial CDW Steering

Committee. Specific departments that were engaged include: Social Development, Home Affairs, Housing, Health, Labour, Community Safety, Education, Agriculture and Trade and Industry. Above all, these departments constitute the departments that the communities have raised concerns about.

5.4 DEPARTMENT OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT TO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKERS

5.4.1 RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION FOR THE FIRST BATCH

The recruitment of Community Development Workers started in July 2003 to identify potential candidates (Respondents E and F, DLG, 2006). The recruitment was activated to ensure that ward committees, ward councillors/speakers and executive mayors guide the provincial government (Interview, Respondent E). The CDW candidates were recruited from poverty pockets in Gauteng, as identified by the Provincial Steering Committee based on their knowledge, as well as their understanding of initiatives for poverty related programmes in the province (Interview, Respondent F). In instances where ward committees were not functional, stakeholders from the community development structures were consulted and afforded the opportunity to advise the provincial government on the potential candidates (Respondents E and F). Furthermore, in seeking to make the recruitment process more inclusive, voluntary community organisations were also included (Interview, Respondent A). With all the above attempts, the recruitment was considered legitimate and accepted by all stakeholders.

The DPSA made an effort to ensure that the requirements for becoming a CDW were inclusive. They included at least a Grade 12 qualification or equivalent prior learning that would allow the incumbent to perform the job; a thorough

knowledge of the local dynamics; skills to facilitate public participation in policy making, project organisation skills and the ability to network (Fraser-Moleketi, 2003). In understanding its own environment, Gauteng reduced the minimum requirement to become a Community Development Worker to a Grade 11 qualification. With regard to advertisements, CDW were recruited through a combination of advertisements circulated to municipalities and public places.

These advertisements were also circulated to the ward councillors (DLG, 2006C). Despite the acceptance of the process, one particular problem was identified. The wards in poverty pockets were massive, resulting in the appointment of more than one CDW per ward, which caused an uneven distribution of CDW in the wards (DLG, 2006C). However, the department undertook to correct the uneven distribution of the CDW in the second batch of recruitment.

5.4.2 RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION OF SECOND BATCH OF CDW LEARNERS

The first batch of the CDW was deployed in 2004 to 130 out of 449 wards (DLG, 2005). This meant that the second batch and subsequent deployments were intended for the remaining 319 wards. Moving beyond the circulation of advertisements in public places and municipalities, the second batch of CDW were recruited through major Gauteng newspapers and advertisements circulated to all the municipalities (DLG, 2006c). As the agency responsible for Gauteng shared services, the Gauteng Shared Service Centre contracted Job Vest to handle the application process, short listing, competency assessment and interviewing of candidates (DLG, 2006c, Respondent G). Upon completion of this process, Job Vest recommended a list of between 1 and 3 candidates per ward for the consideration of the department (DLG, 2006, Respondent F). This afforded

the MEC and DLG the opportunity to select the CDW from the recommendation list and to appoint them to a twelve month learnership period.

5.4.3 JOB PROFILES

The conditions of service were the responsibility of the Ministry of Public Service and Administration. The job profiles were developed long before the advertisement of jobs and circulated to the MEC of Development Planning and Local Government to guide the recruitment process. The job description of the CDW provided five key performance areas (KPA). These KPAs included the ability to inform and assist communities with access to services provided by government structures and to determine the needs of communities and communicate these needs to the relevant government structures (DDPLG, 2003h).

In encouraging CDW to be closer to communities, it also required the ability to promote networking and enhance the activities of existing local community workers aimed at improving service delivery. The job descriptions also sought to build the ability for CDW to communicate their work by compiling reports and documents on progress and issues attended to and to keep up to date with regard to all services rendered by government and the processes and mechanisms to access these services (DDPLG, 2003h).

5.4.4 ROLLOUT AND DEPLOYMENT OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKERS

The rollout of the pilot programme in Gauteng was conducted in line with the training arrangements. Gauteng was the first to nominate its CDW for the learnership programme as offered by the University of South Africa. In order to

ensure that the deployment was completed in terms of the plan, learners were divided to balance the orientation, training and learnership.

In an effort to formalise agreement between the Department of Local Government as the employer and the candidates, a training agreement between the department and trainees was developed (DDPLG, 2003, DPSA, 2003). The department and the trainees agreed that upon nomination, the trainee would attend training for the specified duration in line with the prescribed requirements. The agreement also compelled trainees to conduct themselves in a specific way during the presentation of the training and to complete the training (DDPLG, 2003, DPSA, 2003). However, the agreement did not create a basis for an employment relationship with the trainees.

The department moved swiftly with the deployment, recruitment and selection of Community Development Workers. In January 2004, 49 CDW cadets were deployed in twelve of the fifteen municipalities in Gauteng (Mahlangu, 2004). In addition, the Department deployed 199 CDW in mid-2005 (Mahlangu, 2006). Of all 199, 45 were deployed in the City of Johannesburg, 38 in Tshwane, 45 in Ekurhuleni, 23 in Sedibeng, sixteen in Metsweding, and 29 in the West Rand district. In November 2007, the GPG had deployed 402 CDW in all the wards (Mahlangu, 2008). As indicated in the framework, the municipalities were identified as the workplace of the CDW and their deployment was effected within the accountability of the office of the Speaker operationally and the Executive Mayor, strategically.

5.4.5 TRAINING OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKERS

Training is a basic cornerstone of the policy maker's attempts to socialise or initiate programme or policy implementers into his intentions. At the national level, three departments (DPSA, SAMDI and the Department of Labour) shared the responsibility around training and learnership. As the implementing administration, the GPG was required to establish training capacity in conjunction with the training of service providers and to commission training. The understanding had been that all prospective CDW would undergo training with the SAMDI before their permanent appointment was confirmed.

The training and support initiatives in Gauteng were preceded by the ETU study in July 2003 (ETU, 2003). The study assessed the existing training service providers. It also developed and determined the duration of the training intervention and identified the main focus areas of training. The need for the training of CDW came at a time when training initiatives were already taking place in Gauteng. As such, the different initiatives were ranked to support the Community Development Workers Programme. The training institutions identified as possible service providers were LGWSETA, Education and Training and Developmental Practice Sector Education (ETDP SETA) and Training Authority SETA, the Department of Labour, National Youth Service and Kagiso Trust (ETU, 2003).

In addition to training, government undertook preliminary studies to establish possible support mechanisms. In this study, the department noted the ability to provide access to an integrated information database and accessibility to all the spheres of government. It also intended to use government personnel in strategic units that are able to investigate and recommend interventions to resolve service blockages. Furthermore, it intended to use the governments units with a research

ability to analyse reports from the Community Development Workers Programme. Lastly, it identified the ability of government personnel in strategic units to bridge the full range of development challenges and to promote integrated action and engage provincial decision- making powers to resolve blockages.

5.4.6 TRAINING PROGRAMME

In its endeavour to orientate the CDW candidates, the DDPLG formulated terms of reference for the training of candidates (DDPLG, 2003). The training of the CDW in Gauteng was based on four interrelated objectives, orientating the CDW on community development and the functioning of government (DDPLG, 2003). The training was also aimed at determining the competencies required, as well as identifying and developing appropriate methodologies for the effective training of CDW candidates (DDPLG, 2003).

The Kagiso Pilot Project in Limpopo and the Eastern Cape had a significant influence on the training and the support mechanism of the CDW programme in Gauteng (Respondent F). With the appointment of ETU as a training service provider, Gauteng's training programme was developed to ensure that the CDW candidates went through an orientation programme in community development (DDPLG, 2003). It was also meant to teach about government functions and to determine the competencies and skills required, as well as suitable training methodologies for effective training (DDPLG, 2003). The training programme was developed in five phases: preliminary, phase one, two, three and four. Phase one sought to provide the presentation of proposals while Phase two sought to orientate candidates and conduct competency analyses from 1 to 3 October 2003. Phase three was further training and improving the information and

assessment of the candidate's competencies. Finally, the CDW were selected in this phase of the training programme.

Subsequent to the development of the above programme, the DDPLG made an effort to develop a curriculum framework based on two modules, Government & Community and Community participation (DDPLG, 2003g). The Government & Community module sought to expose learners to an overview of government and community organisations and their functioning relating to community development (DDPLG, 2003g). It also sought to show the roles of different spheres and levels of government, clarifying aspects of governance and service delivery. Finally the module exposed CDW learners to the government planning cycle and its relation to planning in provincial and local government to understand the intergovernmental scope of planning (DDPLG, 2003g).

As a continuation of the curriculum framework, there was reflection on issues of community participation. The aspects emphasised under this module included community participation and its relationship with community development (Interview, Respondent E. It also sought to impart knowledge about the community needs assessment using appropriate methods such as the Participatory Rural Appraisal (DDPLG, 2003g). Finally, the module emphasised the required partnership within the framework of the public- private-partnership. This was a direct response to the knowledge and skills requirements identified during the role determination of the CDW.

5.4.7 LEARNERSHIP STRATEGY

With the finalisation of the training modules by SAMDI in 2003, former Minister Fraser-Moleketi issued a directive in advising on the approach to be followed in

respect of recruitment of the CDW (Fraser-Moleketi, 2003). As a guideline, the ministerial directive amended the initial selection process of advertising and recruiting the community development workers at level five and six (Fraser-Moleketi, 2003). More interestingly, the ministerial directive instructed that all recruited trainees must participate in an initial short skills course and, following satisfactory results, would be eligible to attend the learnership programme at UNISA, before being accepted as CDW. The ministerial directive became the basis for the development of the learnership, which was rolled out from February 2004.

The learnership strategy was developed at a national level between the Department of Public Service and Administration and the Public Administration Leadership and Management Academy (former South African Management Development Institute). The strategy focussed on the recruitment and selection, remuneration, funding of provincial requirements and the roll-out (DDPLG, 2004b). Clearly the learnership was based on the inherent requirement of government to inculcate professionalism and commitment in the CDW. The learnership process was approved for a twelve month period with a combination of theoretical and practical work. The Development Practitioner Qualification at level four and five was used for the CDW learnership (DDPLG, 2004b). In an attempt to complement the learnership, the authorities added and approved additional electives to focus on job requirements such as facilitation, project management skills, computer literacy, and the public participation process (Respondent F). Additional electives, financial skills and project management skills were provided and completed in two to three weeks. In essence, the learnership sought to emphasise cooperative governance and an integrated development planning process.

The learnership was structured in five learning blocks. The structured learning for the learnership included presentations and interactive exercises (DDPLG, 2004b). The initial orientation and then two further, substantial blocks were conducted within the two month period scheduled. The completion of the learnership enabled learners to undertake CDW-related work. The two learning blocks after orientation covered two key performance areas: access to government services and determination of community needs and communication. These two blocks were important to introduce the CDW to understanding community needs and how to direct such needs.

The learnership programme for the second batch of CDW in Gauteng started on 27 March 2006 until 26 March 2007. In order to ensure that the training and learnership were structured, tertiary institutions were approached. The University of South Africa (UNISA) was appointed to conduct training on behalf of the provincial government (Respondent F. As a measure to assist the competency and suitability of candidates, UNISA was able to conduct the relevant assessments. In formalising the status of the learnership, the LGWSETA was accredited to the learnership, based on the agreement between the DPLG, DPSA, UNISA and the ETU.

Despite their practical experience after the twelve month learnership, in April 2006 the CDW were deficient in critical skills such as conflict management, negotiation, mediation, report writing and computer literacy (Respondents F and I). The above-mentioned skills are critical for CDW to work as facilitators and to resolve blockages and participate in interdepartmental forums. Furthermore, the one-month orientation programme led by UNISA and ETU had been phased out since 2007 and learners were appointed directly into the learnership (Respondents I). Respondent I argued that the phasing out of the orientation

programme has disadvantaged CDW in preparing them to become efficient administrators.

5.4.8 CONCLUSION

Chapter Five outlined the analysis around the role of the political head to the department of local government since 2003. The analysis is centred on the establishment of the necessary oversight mechanism, from conceptualisation to the implementation of the programme. Although never useful, the Executive Subcommittee on the CDW, constituted of the four MECs, was approved to serve as political authority on behalf of the Executive Council. However, its activities never got off the ground, which created a political vacuum. As a result of this, the MEC of Local Government assumed overall responsibility.

An analysis of the institutional framework was discussed. In detail, the analysis concentrated on the feasibility studies conducted and the proposed interim structures for the pilot programme. It also focussed on the processes and systems of the new structure established to implement the programme. The chapter analysis of the capacity questioned the interventions to address the challenges. Most interesting was the analysis on the reporting and supervision mechanism instituted to ensure that the programme operated as intended.

Chapter Five concentrated on the assessment of the relationships between the CDWP and the other important stakeholders that determined the success of the programme. Although confronted with hostility from 2003, efforts were made to ensure that proper messaging was developed to ease the fears and anxieties about the programme. As a result, the relationship between the CDW and the ward councillors and committees improved significantly. The difficulties that

persisted were mainly the result of political differences. The Political and Administrative Heads of the DLG have made an effort to ensure that the programme received political support from the Executive Mayors and Speakers through extensive consultations.

Finally, an assessment was made on the support-related areas of the programme, including recruitment, selection and training, which refer to both the training programme and the learnership programme. Although the first batch of recruitment was a success, it led to an uneven distribution of deployed CDW cadres. The second batch of recruitment corrected the weaknesses of the first batch and its recruitment was further improved through the circulation of advertisements for the CDW posts. The rollout of the programme was conducted in three phases between 2004 and 2006/07. The phasing of the rollout has assisted the DLG to learn from the mistakes of each phase and to effect the necessary corrections. Finally, a training programme was developed with the assistance of the ETU, which prepared CDW learners for the full learnership course of twelve months as recommended by the MPSA.

In the next chapter, a conclusion, summary of the chapter and recommendations, as well as areas of further research are discussed.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND AREAS OF FURTHER RESEARCH

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The CDWP complements other programmes through ensuring the necessary advocacy and door to door - visits to complete the community profile needs in line with the questionnaire.

The study has attempted to answer two primary questions: How did the policy maker express the intentions of the Community Development Workers Programme? Secondly, the research study analysed the question: How did the policy maker preserve the original intentions of the CDWP in the course of its implementation? Based on the background provided on the study, it focussed on the implementation challenges of the programme in Gauteng, particularly looking at the Department of Local Government. Policy implementation in South Africa is influenced by a variety of factors, particularly policy objectives, communication, the nature of the implementers and the nature and operations of the implementation agency.

The study noted that translating programme intentions into real, executable plans is an arduous, complex and unwieldy process. The study also found that setting up the structures to implement the CDWP in Gauteng is a contested process based on perceived power. The study has found that although the programme was announced in February 2003, it took time for officials and politicians to work out the details of the programme, hence the implementation only started in early

2005. Secondly, while the objectives were clear, the structures established to implement the programme did not have the expected capacity to deliver on the mandate. The study also found that the objectives of the programme had not been accompanied by an encompassing communication strategy.

6.2 SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS

Chapter One introduced the study and its relevant context. The chapter gave a summary of points under the problem statement. It also gave the general context to the introduction of the CDWP to demonstrate its link to service delivery initiatives and its status as a bridging device to the existing interventions. Finally, Chapter One delineated the problem statement and purpose statement and outlined the structure of the study.

Chapter Two sketched several factors within the study that identified qualitative research as the most suitable strategy for the research questions. The chapter reflected on research methodology, research design and data collection. It also reflected on a case study design and data collection, including respondents and secondary documentation such as quarterly and annual reports. Furthermore, the chapter reflected on the sources of data used in the study, such as documentary sources, interviews with key informants, and also the use of triangulation. Chapter Two concluded with the data analysis and interpretation process used to find meanings and draw appropriate conclusions to the study.

Chapter Three outlined the discussion around the factors that facilitate or impede the implementation of public policy based on five variables, namely context, capacity, commitments, client and coalitions and communication. Chapter Three identified funding expressed through budgets and grants as the critical

ingredient of policy implementation. The chapter also discussed the need for local capacity and will in policy implementation. Besides the importance of local capacity and will, political and administrative leaders are required to direct the above-mentioned capacity and will. Critically, the chapter outlined the discussions around policy and design mandate. It noted that the actions of an implementation agency are shaped by proper policy and mandate design. In turn, the policy mandate helps to entice the implementation agency to implement the policies or programmes as intended through the provision of inducements, systems and capacity building.

In promoting an integrated approach towards the utilisation of resources to address the socio-economic challenges facing governments, Chapter Three discussed the need for interagency collaboration to tackle such challenges, including policy implementation. Although this is a great idea, this chapter identified power as the barrier to interagency collaboration. In promoting participative public policy processes, Chapter Three discussed the need for the usage of implementation resources. The discussion took place within the context that the skills to manage the policy process, in particular policy implementation, do not reside within government or any of its implementation agencies. Therefore non-state actors such as consultants, institutes, and journalists, non-governmental and academic institutions are an important resource to provide the required expertise, particularly the dimension of policy implementation.

Furthermore, Chapter Three discussed the importance of oversight in policy implementation and its different forms such as legislative, executive and external oversight. It discussed the content of executive oversight as exercised by the President and legislative oversight as exercised by legislative bodies such as municipal councils, the provincial legislature and parliaments.

With the full authority that officials possess, Chapter Three identified street-level bureaucrats or implementing authorities as an important tool to implement policy. The chapter discussed the influence of street-level bureaucrats through flexible and innovative interpretation of policy. Furthermore, Chapter Three discussed street-level discretionary power and factors that allow such discretion.

Communication was discussed as the final important factor affecting policy implementation. It discussed two main reasons for communication in policy implementation, defining the climate for actions to be taken and emphasising the need for clarity and consistency in the form and content. Two forms of communication were emphasised that are useful for policy implementation, namely informal and formal communication. Informal communication is advantageous in communicating policy because it makes rapid and flexible. Formal communication mechanisms also relevant to the study include directives, regulations, handbooks, memorandums and statements. The section concludes with the importance of the communication function in the policy process. It serves an information, regulatory, integration and persuasive function.

Chapter Four developed a detailed case from secondary documentation and interview data. This chapter also discussed the findings of the study based on the two main questions and the problem statement. It discussed in detail the intentions of the programme as initially set and the development afterwards.

Chapter Five analysed the structures established to implement the programme and their capacity and relevance. The structures were discussed as the conventions used to enhance the necessary cooperation among the stakeholders. The establishment of the Provincial Steering Committee and the

Executive Council Sub-committee was analysed and shortcomings identified. Chapter Five analysed the established links and their influence in the formulation and implementation of the programme. Although this is a programme implemented in Gauteng, its conceptualisation comes from the Chairperson of the Public Service Commission, based on his studies and experience in Lesotho and Swaziland.

Critical to the analysis in Chapter Five were the issues of funding, as well as communication. Funding was considered an essential ingredient of policy and the commitment of the policy maker in funding government intentions is critical. Furthermore, an analysis of communication and its strategy were discussed from a national and provincial point of view.

Chapter Five gave an analysis of the findings based on one critical research question: How did the policy maker preserve the intentions of the programme throughout the implementation process? The analysis focussed on the implementation structure established for the pilot project and its transformation during the full implementation of the programme. The analysis also considered the challenges and limitations of the structure, as well as its attempts to resolve capacity problems. The relationships were analysed to establish the extent to which the conceptual framework has been successful in framing the expected relations. Chapter Five concludes with an analysis of the recruitment, training and learnership.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

6.3.1 INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS AND COORDINATION

For the Community Development Workers Programme to be implemented appropriately, it is important that all three spheres of government participate fully. The Provincial Government remains the employer and the funder of the programme, while municipalities continue to be the working place for the CDW. The relationship between the provincial and municipal governments needs to be smooth at all times in order to facilitate all the necessary support mechanisms.

The implementation of the CDW programme continues to be government led, with no specified or general role for the non-government actors. The role of the non-government actors was confined to researching CDW-related initiatives in Gauteng and around training-related issues. No platform has been created to ensure that non-state actors are part of the implementation of the programme. The presence of the non-state actors would ensure that there is proper oversight as articulated in the literature review and also that the original intention of the programme is maintained.

6.3.2 REACTIVATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SUB-COMMITTEE ON CDW

The success of an institutional device such as the CDWP depends on the executive and administrative oversight. The absence of an Executive Steering Committee to provide dedicated political leadership to the programme is a matter for concern. While the MEC remains the champion of the programme, the programme should not be subjected to politicians' individual abilities to pull it through. While it is argued that forums such as the Executive Subcommittee on

CDW are not helpful; the programme needs to be coordinated through the formal mechanisms of coordination, such as the cluster committees, in order to ensure political direction at all the departments with a mandate and activities related to service delivery. The executive oversight is as important as the administrative conventions.

6.3.3 REACTIVATION OF THE PROVINCIAL STEERING COMMITTEE

It is important to reactivate the Provincial Steering Committee at a provincial level to direct and align the work of provincial government in respect of the programme. Its early existence in 2003 has shown the ability of a collective to conceptualise the rollout, business planning and commissioning of other important research relating to the programme. Since 2005, the Provincial Steering Committee has been deactivated with the intention of finding a replacement with a different composition. The deactivation of the PSC has resulted in situations where the DLG is responsible for finding all the solutions to the problems, without the involvement of other departments. The CDW continue to complain about the fact that other government departments do not know about the role of CDW. The DLG cannot be responsible for the challenges such as stated above. The reactivation of the Provincial Steering Committee will reassign the responsibility to guide the CDW Directorate in consolidating the work of the CDW after incubation at the DLG to the PSC.

The work of the CDW has shown the need for issues to be referred to the relevant departments for immediate attention. The relevant departments are required to provide the appropriate capacity to investigate and respond to the issues identified on the ground within the shortest period possible. This has resulted in different nodal and referral points to refer immediate service delivery concerns.

The absence of the Provincial Steering Committee has resulted in the DLG assuming the responsibility for referring issues raised by the communities. This should be an interdepartmental responsibility. The reactivation of the PSC will assist in finding solutions to these institutional realities, since the CDW are becoming real facilitators of service.

The implementation of the CDWP has thus far been the responsibility of the MEC and her Department of Local Government. The institutional mechanism set up to implement the programme is department based, in the form of the CDW Directorate. The CDW Directorate was established in 2006 to assume overall responsibility to implement the programme and to provide the required support to the CDW cadres. The CDW Directorate exists without the necessary capacity on its own to implement the programme. Thus far, the Directorate has only been responsible for the regional coordination, monitoring and evaluation and referral. Communication and training has since been taken back to the department's communication and human resource directorates respectively. Arguments have been made that the existence of a communication and training unit in the directorate creates an enclave, which led to the sudden detachment of the communication and the training unit from the CDW Directorate.

6.3.4 ADOPTION OF THE CDW COMMUNICATION STRATEGY

A communication strategy with the appropriate procedures contributes towards communicating messages effectively. The communication strategy for a programme such as the CDW requires the resources of the provinces, not a department. The Chief Directorate: Communication of the DLG is struggling to formulate a departmental communication strategy. Four years into the implementation of the programme without a formal communication strategy is

doing a serious disservice to the programme. The absence of a provincial government communication strategy has resulted in a situation where officials of other departments are unable to relate to the CDWP. The formulation of the communication strategy should have been the responsibility of the Provincial Steering Committee, to guide the CDW Directorate and other communication directorates of other provincial governments. Since communication around the programme has been inadequate; it terribly understates the achievements of the programme thus far.

6.3.5 REVIEW OF THE MANAGEMENT SUPERVISORY MECHANISM

It is important for the CDW Directorate to sustain the supervision by metropolitan and district municipalities in order to guide the CDW. Thus far, the ratio has been one supervisor for twenty CDW. With the vastness of wards in Gauteng, the supervisor to CDW supervision ratio needs to be looked at, in order to determine appropriate responses for the organisational and professional development growth of the CDW. This is an area of further research in order to standardise the system across the province.

As facilitators of government programme in three spheres, it is important for the CDW to be briefed and trained beyond providing them with Internet and access to the portal services of government. Access to the CDW should not be confined to the Speakers' Offices in municipalities. Reciprocal interaction with the Presidency, Ministers, Premiers, Directors General, CEOs of government entities and any other office is crucial.

6.3.6 REVIEW OF THE CURRENT INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF THE CDW

The decision of the former Premier to delegate the CDWP to the MEC of Local Government was informed by the fact that the DLG is better positioned to facilitate the programme with the involvement of municipalities. It was also informed by the fact that the Executive Sub-committee and Provincial Steering Committee, as representatives of the relevant stakeholders were in place to assist the DLG to fulfil the responsibility. The study showed that these structures were deactivated in 2005, with the political and administrative head of the DLG assuming their responsibilities. The study also showed that the current CDW Directorate within the DLG does not have sufficient capacity to fulfil the function. The MEC has approved the earlier position regarding the creation of a communication and training capacity and labelled such efforts as the creation of an enclave. The Directorate: Communication and Training is not sufficiently capacitated for communication- and training-related support. As such, the communication work and training related to the CDW are postponed until the above-mentioned Directorate has developed the necessary capacity. A review of the appropriate institutional mechanism for consolidating the work done is necessary.

6.3.7 CONCLUSION

The study has identified the need for political principals to assume a responsibility in the policy process, oversight and guidance. The implementation of policy cannot be achieved through the endeavours of public servants. Instead, it can be achieved through unambiguous articulation of the problem to be solved. Although resources serves as the power to direct government programme, the ability of an institution, the nature and the capacity of the institution to function

remains the basis to implement policy as intended. Collective interdepartmental collaboration is an emerging attempt for government to respond to the ever changing socio-economic challenges. This requires all institution of government to cooperate for the dual realisation of policy objectives.