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Rawhani, Carmel

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Collaboration: a theory of governance grounded in deconstructing South Africa's sanitation policy

Carmel Rawhani

University of Witwatersrand

Wits School of Governance

Abstract

Objective: In this study I deconstruct South Africa's sanitation policy in order to understand why demand-driven service delivery (i.e. service delivery based on collective action) has failed as a tool for public policy management. The overall objective was to locate both case-specific as well as generalizable answers in the data. Method: Guided by deconstructivism and Grounded Theory Methodology this paper mapped out the South African policy landscape and proceeded to code the data collected in that exercise through three rounds of coding. Once these elements of the planning which went into the study were explained and demonstrated, the results were shared. Thereafter the details of theory-building were explained before moving on to provide a literature review to position the study. Lastly, the emergent theory was applied to the South African sanitation case as a test of usefulness. Results: The emergent codes indicated a general consensus around the idea that public policy governance is largely the responsibility of government which is seen as powerful, while individual citizens are seen as marginalized and disempowered in the course of hoping to realize their rights. Deeper analysis revealed that individual citizens are the true holders of power as they have outsourced their responsibility to participate in collective action to government, leaving government alone in the process of service delivery. Conclusion: Demand-driven service delivery fails as a tool of public policy governance where there is a misunderstanding of public policy which prevents collective action. A quasi-theory of governance as collaboration emerged as the necessary solution to this problem.

Keywords: collaboration; demand-driven; governance; public policy; rights; responsibility; service delivery

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Setting the Scene

The Problem with Sanitation[1]

One does not have to carry out any substantive research to know that sanitation services in South Africa are not in an ideal state. In recent times there have been a number of glaring examples which point to this, such as the 2011 formal complaints about open toilets built by the government in the Western Cape and Free State, the protests which took place in early 2013 in the City of Cape Town when residents from nearby townships flung their faeces to bring attention to their dissatisfaction with the service delivery status quo, or the widely publicized and extremely tragic death of six -year old Michael Komape who died after he fell into a pit latrine outside his Limpopo school in early 2014 (DWA, 2012; "Poor and angry", 2013; South African Human Rights Commission, 2014). Spurred by these incidents to investigate the matter further, this study set out to establish why the reality of sanitation in South Africa looks like this.[2]

A Brief History

In lieu of a formal literature review which (as will be explained) is considered inappropriate in the beginning of a Grounded Theory Methodology (GTM) report, and in order to provide the reader with some much-needed background as well as substantive grounding for the theoretical discussions to come, a brief descriptive summary of raw data will be provided in the following subsections (it is emphasized that this data is raw and unanalysed because to go any further would involve deciding on permanent codes and categories too early into the research process). It is the intent of this subsection to briefly clarify what the effective backstory of sanitation in South Africa is, how it came to be so, and why it is that the implementation of demand-driven service delivery in the case of South Africa's sanitation policy is perceived to be a failure. Though not directly relevant to the theory-building aspect of this paper, the following background information will be significant in creating context as well as providing a case study to which the outcome of this paper's process of theorizing can be applied. Thus the aim of the following subsection will be to provide an argument for perceiving demand-driven service delivery to have failed as a public policy governance tool, and thereby provide a foundation for the formulation of the research questions driving this

[1] It is important that the reader does not confuse this title with a problem statement, as that would be a violation of the principles of the GTM. What it *is*, however, is an acknowledgement of the suspicion that a problem exists based on the information known, a problem whose existence can only be confirmed pending further investigation (Glaser, 2014a).

[2] The subject of South Africa's sanitation policy is one which this author has researched a number of times, as such this report has borrowed, where appropriate, from previous works (Rawhani, 2014a; Rawhani, 2014b; Rawhani, 2014c; Rawhani, 2014d; Rawhani, 2014e).

investigation. This brief summary of background information will expand on three points which are central to this argument.

Firstly, demand-driven service delivery has enjoyed unwavering support within the sanitation public policy discourse in South Africa (DWAF, 1994; DWAF, 1996; DWAF, 2001; DWAF, 2002a; DWAF, 2002b; DWAF, 2003; DWAF, 2009; DWA, 2012; Republic of South Africa, 1997a). Secondly, multiple sanitation service delivery goals have been set and left unmet during this period of commitment to demand-driven service delivery, suggesting the failure of the policy tool as it was unable to facilitate the realization of the policy's goals (DWA, 2012; Tissington, 2011). Thirdly, disregarding the achievement of policy goals themselves, the repeated emphasis on the need for demand-driven service delivery in every important sanitation policy document over the last two decades is indicative of the fact that the tool itself was never fully achieved and therefore, in this author's opinion, a failure (DWAF, 1994; DWAF, 1996; DWAF, 2001; DWAF, 2002a; DWAF, 2002b; DWAF, 2003; DWAF, 2009; DWA, 2012; Republic of South Africa, 1997a).

As mentioned, the incident which sparked the original interest in the workings of South Africa's sanitation policy was a particularly offensive protest technique which was used in Cape Town in early 2013: the flinging of faeces ("Poor and angry", 2013). No analytical framework needs to be constructed in order to determine that this was an indication that things were *not* functioning ideally, and as the protests were directed at government this immediately directed the scope of enquiry towards government's responsibilities regarding sanitation, as outlined in case law, legislation, and various other documents and policy statements (which will be definitively listed further on). Subsequent research revealed that sanitation has been an issue on the government's policy agenda since the birth of the South African republic in 1994, and so in order allow for as broad of a scope of enquiry as possible (as is called for by GTM) whilst still limiting the research at hand to the realm of relevance, this paper limited itself to discussing sources of policy information spanning the 1994-2014 period (DWAF, 1994; Tissington, 2011).

The Beginnings of Sanitation Public Policy

In 1994 when the newly-elected ANC government came to power, they immediately set the tone for their approach to public service rollout in an election victory speech delivered by then president Nelson Mandela who stated that the ANC would live up to its campaign promises and the expectations these had created within the South African public. Anything

short of this would, in Mandela's words, constitute a violation of the public's trust (Mandela, 1994). Mandela said:

> "*I pledge to use all my strength and ability to live up to your expectations of me as well as of the ANC…We are here to honour our promises. If we fail to implement this programme, that will be a betrayal of the trust which the people of South Africa have vested in us" (1994, paragraph 10).*

Mandela emphasized that the process of improving the quality of life for the majority of South Africans was a process which had to begin immediately, and so soon after this historic speech was made a committee of policymakers from diverse cultural and professional backgrounds sat down to tackle these tasks, amongst them the provision of sanitation services (Mandela, 1994; DWAF, 1994). This committee, the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF), was faced with a cumbersome task indeed, at the time of the ANC's political victory in 1994 roughly 21 million people had no access to sanitation services, due largely to the unjust politico-administrative system of the Apartheid era (DWAF, 1994). DWAF's policymakers were fully cognisant of the fact that their reality was one in which a fledgling government with limited experience and resources had to serve a population with high expectations, the majority of which had been purposely neglected. Not only was it faced with the usual duties of meeting election promises and keeping a country running, but there was the added pressure of actively fixing what their predecessors had done such a good job of trying to destroy (DWAF, 1994; Mandela, 1994; Tissington, 2011).

In an effort to address these aforementioned ambitious goals, DWAF created a policy whose legacy has lasted to this day, a policy whose content was revolutionary given its context, leading it to gain much respect and admiration internationally (DWAF, 1994; "The right to water", n.d.). The document they created was the Water Supply and Sanitation Policy White Paper of 1994, and by its own admission it was deliberately provocative in that it stated that the task of addressing the public's needs was a task in which everyone needed to participate in and contribute towards (DWAF, 1994). It was emphasized at the outset that the policy would be rooted in demand-driven service delivery, a new and interesting tool for public policy governance in the South African context.

Demand-driven service delivery means that communities need to be held responsible for their own development, that they need to produce a sense of demand for a service by indicating a willingness to contribute towards it in *some* way within the realm of possibility (DWAF,

1994). All of this was within the context of basic services being a human right, but not one to which people would be entitled to make unrealistic demands (DWAF, 1994). In other words demand does not imply that citizens could issue mandates based on their wants, instead it means that a sense of demand must be generated by citizens showing a willingness to contribute towards the realization of those services which they hope to enjoy (DWAF, 1994). The motivation for such a bold policy governance choice was not only based on the state's limited resources, but also based on the desire to empower communities to control their own developmental destinies and to allow people's vision for a new South Africa to be a sustainable and lasting one (DWAF, 1994).

In 1996 this context of a rights-based environment was confirmed by the Constitution of South Africa, which listed certain inalienable rights that citizens were all entitled to enjoy, and emphasized government's responsibility to provide and protect these rights. Later that same year government launched a number of initiatives in an effort to fulfil this responsibility, including the formation of a National Sanitation Task Team and announcing the National Sanitation Program whose most important goal was the elimination of all sanitation backlogs by 2010 (DWAF, 1996; Tissington, 2011). This Task Team put together another important document known as the National Sanitation Policy, which emphasized that government's most important role in providing sanitation services would be public policy guidance. Furthermore it reiterated the all-important concept of demand-driven service delivery contained within the 1994 White Paper (devolving the level of responsibility for 'demand' from the community to the household and individual levels, thereby increasing accountability) (DWAF, 1996).

The theme of sanitation service delivery in the context of a rights-based environment was highlighted once again in the Water Services Act of 1997 (1997b) which bound the state to making a reasonable effort to ensure the enjoyment of this right. That same year the concept of demand-driven service delivery remained firmly entrenched within the sanitation discourse, here in the context of the Housing Act of 1997. This act once again described government's role as that of an enabling policy guide, a tool for community empowerment which would produce lasting developmental change (Republic of South Africa, 1997a).

Thus the early years of policy-making in South Africa set the tone for a sanitation policy governed by government in conjunction with citizens who bore an equal responsibility towards the realization of their wants and needs, and so the concept of demand-driven service

delivery was cemented into legislation, with a goal of clearing the sanitation backlog by 2010 (i.e. the backlog of 21 million people without sanitation) (DWAF, 1994; DWAF, 1996; Republic of South Africa, 1997a; Tissington, 2011).

Policy Trends

As the years went by policy documents and legislation alike continued along the same vein, confirming the locus of responsibility for sanitation services, confirming demand-driven service delivery, and confirming the rights-based context within which these were to be situated. The Municipal Systems Act of 2000 highlighted the role of government at the local level as the main implementers of sanitation policy and providers of the services associated therewith. By this time almost 18 million South Africans had yet to gain access to adequate sanitation, and so in 2001 the White Paper on Basic Household Sanitation was written, to take stock of sanitation rollout up to that point and map out a path for the future.

This White Paper again acknowledged the inalienable right of every South African to enjoy sanitation services, and government's corresponding responsibility to ensure this within the context of essential community participation in the process (DWAF, 2001). This was the same message communicated in another 2001 policy statement announced by DWAF, the Free Basic Water Implementation Strategy, which announced government's commitment to accelerate its implementation of sanitation policy goals (DWAF, 2002b). That same year saw the outbreak of cholera in South Africa, and highlighted the need for a dramatic improvement to sanitation services in the country (DWAF, 2002a).

A year later in 2002 DWAF continued this task of taking stock of progress and mapping out a sanitation policy stance for the future in a preliminary draft paper entitled 'The Development of a Sanitation Policy and Practice in South Africa'. Although progress had occurred it was slow, and according to DWAF's estimates 15.6 million people still lacked access to adequate sanitation, the vast majority of them living in rural or informal areas. In fact close to 76% of rural households lacked access to sanitation, compared to 26% of urban households (DWAF, 2002a). This document once again served to reiterate the South African government's commitment to ensuring the realization of the right to sanitation for all South Africans. Eight years after setting their ambitious goals of removing the sanitation backlog by 2010, the South African Government once again committed itself to this ambitious goal as well as committing to the goal of eradicating the bucket toilet system by 2007, indicating a sustained sense of optimism regarding the ability of demand-driven service delivery to govern the sanitation policy (DWAF, 2002a). While taking time to list barriers to the rollout of sanitation

services the document acknowledged the importance of the institutional structure behind implementing sanitation policy in South Africa, i.e. the various governmental branches and their responsibilities, as well as noting that this had to be accompanied by communities embodying the demand-driven approach to public service governance (DWAF, 2002a). That same year government re-committed itself to expediting sanitation service rollout in the form of free basic sanitation (DWAF, 2002b).

In 2003 DWAF's Strategic Framework for Water Services again repeated the commitment to demand-driven service delivery on the part of the government, and highlighted its important role in the rollout of free basic water, a precursor to the enjoyment of free basic sanitation. This policy document set the goal of reducing the sanitation backlog by 14 % each year for the next seven years, in order to eliminate the backlog completely by 2010 (DWAF, 2003). Two years later in 2005 then President Thabo Mbeki re-committed the government to the realization of the goal of eliminating all sanitation backlog by 2010, and in 2006 reiterated the goal of eliminating the bucket-system entirely by the coming year (Tissington, 2011; Water Research Commission, 2013). However even four years later by 2009 this was nowhere near realization and so Free Basic Sanitation was finally welcomed onto the policy agenda as a necessary means for moving closer towards a country where a 100% of citizens had access to adequate sanitation (Tissington, 2011). That same year, perhaps as a result of recognizing the failure of the Department of Water Affairs (previously DWAF) to meet its own ambitious goals, the responsibility for overseeing sanitation policy implementation was given to the Department of Human Settlements (DHS) (Tissington, 2011).

By 2010 the original goals set in 1996 and again in the early-mid 2000s had not been met. A significant proportion of South Africans had yet to enjoy sanitation services, and so the goal of eliminating the backlog by 2014 was set (DWA, 2012; Mjoli, 2010). The seriousness of this backlog only caught the public's attention in 2011, when during the pre-election run-up formal complaints were lodged regarding open toilets built in both ANC and DA-run areas respectively. Subsequent investigations carried out by the DWA, DHS, and the Department of Performance Monitoring and Evaluation revealed that not only did 11% of households in South Africa have no sanitation services whatsoever, an additional 26% were being provided with highly inadequate sanitation services which were on the brink of collapse, and 64% of households in informal areas were reliant on temporary services (DWA, 2012). It was against this backdrop that in early 2013 the attention of the nation and indeed the rest of the world turned to Cape Town, where desperately dissatisfied residents took to flinging their

excrement as a protest method, hoping to finally obtain access to adequate sanitation services ("Poor and angry", 2013). Acknowledging the less than ideal state of implementation as far as sanitation policy was concerned, then Minister of Water Affairs Mrs. Molewa called for a consultation to be carried out within Parliament regarding this policy (South Africa, 2013).

The following year in 2014 President Jacob Zuma's State of the Nation Address acknowledged the need to better manage the policy by moving it under the purview of the newly formed Department of Water and Sanitation under Ms. Mokonyane, yet as the year drew to a close the goal of eliminating the sanitation backlog had *still* not been achieved, more than 20 years after it was set (Zuma, 2014).

It is worthwhile to note that the themes of demand-driven service delivery coupled with government responsibility were further supported throughout the 1994-2014 period by their inclusion in numerous policy documents, pieces of case law, and legislation such as: the National Sanitation Strategy of 2005 (DWAF); the Framework for a Municipal Indigent Policy of 2005 (Department of Provincial and Local Government); the Free Basic Sanitation Implementation Strategy of 2009 (DWAF); various State of the Nation Addresses; *Mazibuko and Others v City of Johannesburg and Others* (2009); *Johnson Matotoba Nokotyana and Others v Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality & Others* (2009); *Ntombentsha Beja and Others v Premier of the Western Cape and Others* (2011); the National Water Act of 1998; the Promotion of Administrative Justice Act of 2000; and the National Health Act of 2003, to name but a few.

Thus, from the early 2000's onwards a number of comprehensive sanitation goals were set, and left unmet. Whilst the tone of policy statements remained committed to demand-driven service delivery as a tool for the governance of sanitation policy, practice began to waver as, in the face of setbacks and obstacles, government began to introduce free services and continually commit to accelerating its duties. Two decades after the 1994 DWAF White Paper it was clear that despite the apparently high degree of policy cohesion, demand-driven service delivery did not succeed as a tool of public policy governance in the case of South Africa's sanitation policy (DWAF, 1994; DWAF, 1996, DWAF, 2001; DWAF, 2002a; DWAF, 2002b; DWAF, 2003; Mjoli, 2010; Tissington, 2011).

The Current State of Affairs

The numerous examples of policy documents, legislation, and case law shared in the preceding subsections, all point to the fact that demand-driven service delivery remained the preferred method for the implementation of South Africa's sanitation policy, however after 20 years millions of South Africans have yet to enjoy the luxury of adequate sanitation. The background information presented in this section demonstrated an unwavering commitment to demand-driven service delivery on paper, accompanied by a plethora of setbacks and delays in achieving targets for two decades. Sanitation was clearly not a forgotten issue on the policy agenda, and it is not denied that some progress was made towards achieving the target of providing all South Africans with sanitation services, yet that goal is far from being achieved (DWA, 2012; SAHRC, 2014; South Africa, 2013; Tissington, 2011).

Unfortunately much of the progress made up to the present has been of such poor quality that current levels of sanitation may regress. Statistics from a 2012 report indicate that 26% of households have sanitation services on the brink of collapse. In addition 9% of households in formal settlements and 64% of households in informal settlements have no sanitation services at all (DWA, 2012). This same report stated that the available financial resources earmarked for the rollout of sanitation services were completely inadequate in the face of increasing needs, indicating a realization of the inadequacies of demand-driven service delivery (as well as the budget of course) in meeting the needs of the sanitation policy (DWA, 2012).

Locating a problem

Based on the failure of demand-driven service delivery to materialize as a fully functional public policy management tool (which is inferred by the continuous calls for its realization in policy documents dating as far back as 1994 (DWAF)), and based on the fact that the 1994 sanitation goals are as yet unachieved, it is evident that that demand-driven service delivery has failed (DWA, 2012; Tissington, 2011). The long-term existence of this highly focused and yet seemingly unsuccessful[3] policy tool indicates longstanding government-level support for demand-driven service delivery at the level of policy, in fact South Africa is one of only seven countries in the world to have a strictly sanitation-focused public policy, making the issue of the non-delivery of sanitation services (here including unsatisfactory delivery as well

[3] The phrase 'seemingly unsuccessful' is used here in lieu of the label 'failed' in order to indicate that at the introductory phase of the research process there was a perception of failure, but that the researcher had to ensure that this did not become a blind assumption that could have been regarded as a preconception as such constructs have no place in a GTM study (Glaser, 2014b). In true GTM style, which is flexible and changeable, the wording changed from 'seemingly unsuccessful' to 'failure' after carrying out initial research, which directed the author to then change the wording of the proposed title and primary research question accordingly.

as a simple lack of any delivery) all the more interesting to study from a policy-focused perspective (DWAF, 1994; "Poor and angry", 2013; Moloto, 2014; "The rights to water", n.d.).

It is against this background which an important primary research question emerged: Why? Why has demand-driven service delivery failed as a tool for governing South Africa's sanitation policy? Based on the background research briefly summarized above one can see that this question contains a number of other supplementary questions within it, such as: what do we mean by public policy failure? What does successful public policy governance look like? And what can we glean by mapping out the procedural and structural realities of South Africa's sanitation policy against the ideal model of public policy governance?

Logically one would expect to find a problem statement included at this juncture in a research report, however it is important to remember that the purpose of GTM is to investigate an issue in the context of pure curiosity, the essence of the problem itself must be allowed to emerge (Glaser, 2014b). Hypothesizing in relation to whether or not the data provided hints at the true nature of the underlying problem is counterproductive in the context of the chosen methodology because it would serve to create a preconception, which would compromise this study (Glaser, 2014b).

However, a problem *does* exist, because it is an indisputable fact that sanitation has been on the policy agenda for over 20 years, with the goal of access to adequate sanitation for all South Africans, it is likewise true that for the same duration of time demand-driven service delivery has been the policy tool of choice for the implementation of this policy, and it is also true that in early 2013 there were widespread protests by South Africans who had no access to adequate sanitation services (DWAF, 1994; "Poor and angry", 2013). Even with this brief chronology of facts before us some very clear-cut research questions begin to arise from the data. And so, as mentioned, the primary research question for this study became: Why has demand-driven service delivery failed as a method for governing South Africa's sanitation policy? This acknowledgement that a problem exists should in no way be taken to be similar to stating what the problem is, this can only be guessed at during theorizing much further on, and as such is not touched upon here as it would subvert the aims of the study (Glaser, 2014b).

The Sanitation Imperative

On one hand it would seem that little justification is needed when examining a policy which is so dysfunctional that it drove individuals to fling their own faeces in public, yet within the academic context it is important to demonstrate a deeper level of justification than the mere discontent of one group of vigilante protestors. Firstly, at an international level the issue of sanitation is extremely important. In 2010 the United Nations Human Rights council declared the right to sanitation to be an inalienable human right, one protected by international law, clearly cementing the importance of prioritizing sanitation service delivery as a public policy imperative (SAHRC, 2014; Tissington, 2011). This was reaffirmed in 2013 when the High Level Panel of Eminent Persons (HLP) on the Post-2015 Developmental Agenda listed ensuring access to adequate water and sanitation as one of their core aims (HLP, 2013).

The emphasis placed on sanitation by these international treaties and policy statements is echoed by a number of multilateral treaties which also highlight the inalienable right to water and sanitation. The list includes treaties such as the 1981 African Charter on Human and People's Rights; and the 1990 African Charter on the Right and Welfare of the Child (SAHRC, 2014). Viewed from this perspective South Africa's failure to achieve its sanitation goals marks 20 years of failure to live up to its responsibilities as set out in international law, making this study's topic of interest, the failure of demand-driven service delivery in the case of South Africa's sanitation policy, all the more necessary to investigate.

On a national level there are several more justifications for carrying out this study. Firstly, the history of the policy approaches to sanitation over the past years indicates that the ideas on tackling the sanitation backlog remain largely unchanged, and so with a history of dissatisfactory results that spans two decades the time to re-examine this approach has clearly arrived (DWA, 2012; SAHRC, 2014; Tissington, 2011). As mentioned, South Africa is one of only seven countries in the world whose policy explicitly tackles sanitation, making its lack of success in achieving these policy goals all the more confusing and worthy of further understanding ("The rights to water", n.d.). This need for re-examination was confirmed in July of 2013 when then Minister of Water Affairs Mrs. Molewa called for the policy to be discussed in parliament with some serious restructuring of responsibilities in mind (South Africa, 2013).

This is further justified by the results of the 2014 SAHRC (South African Human Rights Commission) report on access to sanitation in South Africa, which indicated that while 1.4 million households have yet to enjoy access to adequate sanitation (and have not done so for the last 20 years), much of the existing service delivery rollout is also inadequate. Approximately nine percent of municipalities have been highlighted as crisis areas as their sanitation services are so poor that they are on the verge of disease outbreak, furthermore at least another 3.8 million households have sanitation services which are below the national standard of adequacy and on the verge of collapse (this statistic only counts households in formal settlements and is in reality probably much higher) (SAHRC, 2014). These troubling facts and figures all indicate that the country is close to regressing in terms of achieving its sanitation service delivery goals.

In addition, on a financial note, the consequences of inadequate sanitation for a self-labelled developmental country like South Africa are significant. As of 2014 about 1000 deaths are caused by waterborne diseases each year at a cost of R8 billion to the South African government (Gumede, 2013; Mokgalapa, 2014). Beyond these directly measurable consequences, there are far-reaching consequences such as the effect inadequate sanitation has on women and children, causing young girls to miss large portions of the school year, eventually forcing them to drop out, leaving the next generation with uneducated mothers and continuing a cycle of poverty (Mokgalapa, 2014; SAHRC, 2014). These effects are felt by entire communities that have to spend numerous hours just to gain access to water for sanitation purposes, not to mention the wider social effect of having communities subjected to humiliating and degrading sanitation 'services' on a daily basis (Mokgalapa, 2014; SAHRC, 2014). For all of the abovementioned reasons, investigating why demand-driven delivery has failed as a method for governing South Africa's sanitation policy is not only justified, but necessary or even mandatory.

Perspectives and Lenses

In approaching the research process necessary for answering the question at hand an important acknowledgement had to be made: the researcher's own personal bias. The purpose of the scientific method of enquiry is to create as neutral and subsequently reliable of a product as possible, so that beyond being useful or of interest to those who carried out the study, it can positively impact the community within whose sphere of interest and action the research lies. However it is inevitable that during our search for an objective truth, our subjective selectivity will act as a filter, the only solution to which is to embrace this

subjectivity and explore it fully, thereby enhancing the quality of the research overall as it leaves the researcher with a clear sense of how to do what they set out to, and the reader with a better understanding of the researcher's choices (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Glaser & Straus, 1967; Kelle, 2007; Strubing, 2007). In the case of the study at hand, this researcher set out to establish why demand-driven service delivery has failed as a method for governing South Africa's sanitation policy within the context of the deconstructivist paradigm which influenced the study at every stage.

Deconstructivism is one of those beautifully frustrating things which is both nothing and everything (Wolfreys, 1998). The word 'thing' is not a lazy literary choice, but rather an attempt to simplify and summarize the essence of deconstructivism, which defies definition, and though its own creator ironically insists it does not exist, it is unmistakably present in almost every investigative thought process (Wolfreys, 1998). A classic example of post-structuralism at its best, deconstructivism is neither a theory nor method, nor can it be called a school of thought. Those terms suggest that it has defined boundaries and a sequentiality or inherent logic, both of which are in direct contradiction with its core tenets (Derrida, 1990, Norris, 1991; PrestyGomez, 2006; St. Pierre, 2011; Zima, 2002).

Deconstruction is a paradigm within which the discerning researcher is forced to confront their preconceived notions, ideas, biases, and thought patterns, in order to approach a field of inquiry with as much of a 'blank slate' as possible (St. Pierre, 2011; Zima, 2002). The purpose of this breaking down of previous mental barriers is to widen the scope of enquiry at the outset of this process, in order to maximize the potential for finding the 'truth' (St. Pierre, 2011). This is a somewhat endless process as deconstructivism, like many other post-structuralist paradigms, doesn't believe in the possibility of a fixed permanent truth. However in the context of academic research one must make certain compromises and in this case that would be the conclusion of the study at hand, a suspended truth paused in time until further research comes and deconstructs it in turn.

Deconstructivism brings the investigative mind to ponder on solutions to problems by searching for the root of the problem, which according to its forefather Jacques Derrida lies in context and meaning. No reality can exist without context which cannot exist without meaning. Thus in order to 'fix' problematic realities the natural solution is to examine their context and work to create change at the level of underlying meanings (Flame0430, 2008a; Flame0430, 2008b; Flame0430, 2008c; Flame0430, 2008d; PrestyGomez, 2006). This is

what guided the researcher in thinking around this study's guiding question: why has demand-driven service delivery failed as a tool for governing South Africa's sanitation policy?

The Investigator's Roadmap

Whilst the paradigm choice for any research is essential to acknowledge, it is equally important to move beyond the esoteric and towards the specific. Thus having spoken to this author's personal analytical underpinnings it is worthwhile to note the choice of methodology which enabled the accurate execution of the study at hand. Although one of the most common methodology choices amongst Western postgraduate students, Grounded Theory[4] is also one of the most poorly executed, and so whilst the possibilities provided by this methodology are incredibly exciting for the aims of this research, it provides an intimidating challenge from the very beginning (Hood, 2007).

Using Grounded Theory Methodology (GTM) is not only a risk because of the frequency with which it is poorly executed, but also because of the frequency with which it is poorly understood by many within the academic community who are unaccustomed to its unconventional techniques. As the process of research in this study was informed and strongly influenced by both GTM and deconstructivism, it is important to acknowledge their effect as they have brought the author to stray from what many would assume to be ideal and necessary conventions in academic writing. In an effort to clarify some of the comparatively strange academic characteristics of this methodology, as well as in an effort to account for and justify a number of the structural and substantive choices made within this introduction itself and the remainder of this paper, it would be worthwhile to list some of GTM's most relevant rules.

What differentiates GTM from many other preferred methodologies amongst social science researchers is that it is theory-building, rather than theory-testing. In other words, much like deconstructivism, it does not begin by presuming to have any idea of the 'truth' or a

[4] It is important to bear in mind that for the purposes of this paper the phrase GTM or Grounded Theory refers specifically to CGT or Classic Grounded Theory, i.e. that strand originally developed by Glaser and Strauss in 1967, one which Glaser still adheres to and stands by (Glaser, 2014a). This is a different strand entirely from those which claim to be 'evolved' forms of GTM. These other strands have, in Glaser's opinion (an opinion shared by this author), strayed from the original purpose of the GTM and can be better described as methods of qualitative descriptive analysis which are heavy with GTM jargon and have been inappropriately modified to fit misunderstandings of CGT (Glaser, 2014a; Glaser 2014b). Though the various strengths and weaknesses of these multiple Grounded Theory Methodologies will not be discussed at length (because Glaser advocates against such exercises), it is sufficient to state that one of their core differences lies in their take on the appropriateness of literature reviews, a point which will be addressed from the CGT perspective later in this paper (Glaser, 2014b).

'solution'. Immediately one can appreciate why this would require GTM practitioners to 'stray' from many norms in the course of carrying out and writing up research. The average research paper is expected to fulfil a number of criteria, and to do so in a generally sequential manner. And so the average researcher finds themselves constructing a highly specific title which outlines the exact period, locality, and general scope of inquiry from the very outset of the research process (Leedy & Ormrod, 2011; Wagner, Botha & Mentz, 2012). In addition to a detailed and precise title, researchers are also expected to piece together a problem statement which is both concise and, much like the title, serves to limit the scope of inquiry as much as possible (Leedy & Ormrod, 2011; Wagner, Botha & Mentz, 2012). Researchers are also strongly encouraged to include a theoretical framework and a literature review in their papers, both of which are elements considered quintessential for a paper that hopes to be well-received and viewed as legitimate (Leedy & Ormrod, 2011; Onwuegbuzie & Frels, 2012).

In many cases these abovementioned elements of a study as well as its write-up are undoubtedly truly necessary, however in the context of research conducted within GTM, using specific titles, problem statements, theoretical frameworks, and literature reviews would all indicate a complete misunderstanding of the core tenets of this methodology, and not only prove to be counterproductive, but would compromise the legitimacy of the research and the veracity of its results (Birks & Mills, 2011; Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Charmaz, 2011; Glaser, 2007; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Hildenbrand, 2007; Holton, 2007; Mruck & Mey, 2007; Strubing, 2007). All of these are habits of researchers and research models which purport to have an idea of the truth or an idea of an answer, a hypothesis which they set out to test. And whilst that is in no way a flawed approach, it is entirely different from that of GTM. Following the conventional structural and substantive requirements for research would, in this case, limit the scope of enquiry, limit the search for truth, and thereby violate the essential foundation of GTM which is to allow the truth to emerge from the data *after* analysis, not limit the options for what the truth could be *before* analysis.

For these reasons listed above (as well as others which will be clarified in due course), this paper does not have a specific title, nor does it have a problem statement, or a traditional literature review. Needless to say GTM will be explained in greater detail during the course of this paper, with further evidence provided to support the choices made based thereon. Nonetheless, some compromises will be made in acknowledgement of the need to honour the scientific process of enquiry. Thus despite the fact that some of GTM's original practitioners

were against the idea of formulating research questions before a study this author has opted to construct research questions, keeping them as open-ended as possible at the outset of the study (Birks & Mills, 2011).

In addition, whilst a theoretical framework was not constructed in the initial phases of research, the paper *does* include a section exploring the author's paradigm of choice in collecting and interpreting data. Thus, whilst a lens or filter was not created for the purposes of this study, the author does acknowledge the personal and subjective biases which they bring to the table and thus devotes space to explaining the deconstructive paradigm, both as a tool to close the gap of understanding between researcher and audience as well as in an effort to indicate that the thought processes involved the study were not anarchic but organized and logical. Lastly, in lieu of a literature review a basic review of facts was undertaken at the outset and is presented as such, rather than a summary of viewpoints and opinions as is often the case with literature reviews (although a literature review of sorts will be presented at the end of the paper).

In addition to certain substantive and structural choices which were influenced by the combination of GTM and deconstructivism, the study's writing style is likewise contrary to what many would regard as the norm in academic writing. Though this introduction has 'strayed' from the more common highly rigid and clearly sequential style common to most pieces of academic writing, it is important to note that this is not in an effort to reject academic convention on the part of the researcher, rather it is an attempt to abide by the conventions called for by deconstructivist thought processes and GTM which advocates a more narrative style of writing that reflects thought patterns, a combination of the rational and irrational (Birks &Mills, 2011; Dey, 2007; Locke, 2007; Mruck & Mey, 2007).[5]

As was mentioned earlier, GTM is a theory-building tool. Thus whilst it has certain case-specific applicability due to its love of working closely with data, it simultaneously lends itself to abstractions such that it proves to be an excellent tool for the natural development of theories (Charmaz, 2011; Perakyla & Ruusuvuori, 2011; Strubing, 2007). This process of simultaneously thinking on abstract, as well as specific levels, allows the author to expand the primary research question introduced previously. Upon reflecting on the question 'why has demand-driven service delivery failed as a method for governing South Africa's sanitation policy?', as well as reflecting on initial raw data collected at the outset of the study, further

[5] In an attempt to honour the need for a more active voice and narrative tone, the study makes use of pronouns such as 'we' or 'our' in order to engage the would-be reader on a more personal level.

secondary questions naturally arise such as: what do we mean by public policy failure? What does successful public policy governance look like? What can we glean by mapping out the procedural and structural realities of South Africa's sanitation policy against the ideal model of public policy governance? These questions not only guided the author's thought processes in pondering the answer to the primary research question, but furthermore served to allow a parallel selection of thoughts to collect during the research process, abstract thoughts which would later combine to assist the author in the construction of a theory.

Thus the objectives of this study were not only to find out why demand-driven service delivery has failed as a public policy governance tool in the context of South Africa's sanitation policy by providing accurate case-specific answers, but to go one step further and find answers which were sufficiently formal and abstract so as to be generalizable and provide a foundation for theory (Kearney, 2007; Strubing, 2007).

It is worthwhile noting that whilst GTM avoids taking any problematic truth for granted (as does deconstructivism), the analysis of data in the course of this study directed the author to focus less on public policy and more on governance at the level of theory-building and generalization, in an effort to expand and rejuvenate the discourse surrounding them (Birks & Mills, 2011; St. Pierre, 2011; Zima, 2002). And so public policy is a concept whose definition (though not unworthy of debate and further investigation) is not argued in the context of the current study. For the purposes of this paper, the concept will be taken to refer to a process whereby a range of decisions which affect the running of a country are considered, made, publicized, implemented, and evaluated (Dunn, 1994; Rawhani, 2014a, p2). The process can be linear, non-linear, or both, and its end goal should be related to achieving the 'public good', i.e. that which is in the public's best interest (Cohen, March & Olsen, 1972; Howlett & Ramesh, 2003; Morell, 2009; Rawhani, 2014a, p2).

A 'Taste' of Things to Come

The chosen design, a combination of GTM and the deconstructivist paradigm, is regarded as the best method available for the proposed study. The primary research question which emerged based on the initial review of the basic facts on sanitation in South Africa was: why has demand-driven service delivery failed in the case of South Africa's sanitation policy? And even though the question would suggest a strictly South African focus, GTM will enable the proposed study to provide potentially generalizable answers, thereby overcoming one of the main critiques levelled against many single case-based qualitative studies (Charmaz, 2011). GTM is proposed because it is particularly well-suited for studies like this which aim

to go beyond the level of rich thick descriptions and predictions, and provide explanations, thereby addressing another weakness of many qualitative studies (Charmaz, 2011; Ellingson, 2011).[6]

Some qualitative research produced in academic environments is, in this author's opinions, so narrowly defined and so processual that it subverts its own goals- to think the unthought-of. In doing so, the fundamental creativity and flexibility which are championed as the important strengths of the qualitative method are stifled by heavily processual methodologies, which is why a move towards more flexible methodologies such at GTM is necessary (Ellingson, 2011). This methodology is also particularly appropriate for social justice-type inquiries, as is the case with this study which falls into that category (Holton, 2007; Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Charmaz, 2011).

Research within the academic environment usually has one basic goal: to uncover something new. It may involve the discovery of a new genetic marker for a specific cancer, or it may be as simple as looking at the Universal Declaration of Human Rights for the hundred-thousandth time, but from a new perspective which sheds new light on it. If researchers continue to rely on the same tried and tested methodologies and theories, studies will be unlikely to yield anything new or, even more importantly, useful. Thus this study is relevant due to its adherence to 'the path less travelled', here comprising of the deconstructivist paradigm and GTM, which the reader will soon see has yielded perspectives which are both new and useful.

After reviewing some basic facts surrounding the incident which originally sparked the author's interest in sanitation in South Africa, it became clear that there was a need to examine the matter more deeply from a policy-oriented perspective. This perspective would not only create a narrowly-applicable answer but also a generalizable idea which could prove to be useful on a wider scale, as well as be subject to further enquiry, because the truth cannot be permanent and thus neither can the accuracy of answers produced by this study. What follows is a summary of the most important elements of this piece of research, presented in the order in which they were carried out.

[6] In keeping with Glaser's (2014b) guidance on choosing the GTM, this section will *not* argue for choosing this methodology above others such as, for example, a phenomenology, as that is not what should influence the decision to carry out the GTM. When choosing this methodology its own based on the characteristics of the methodology as it was originally conceived of in 1967 should be the motivating factors, as should the congruence between the research philosophy or discipline and the method philosophy or discipline, which is what this paper has focused on both in the current section as well as previous ones by emphasizing the multiple points of congruence between the GTM and Deconstructivism (Glaser, 2014b).

A detailed listing of pertinent background information to the focal issue in this study has already been presented at the outset, so as to allow the reader to have a chance to acquaint themselves with the (relatively) objective facts before theory and subjectivity enter into the equation. In the following sections this will be supplemented with an explanation of deconstructivism and its guiding principles in order the give the reader insight into the paradigmatic filter or lens which coloured the author's perception of the world during the study. An extensive account of GTM and all of its inner workings follows closely on the heels of the section on deconstructivism, with the hope that the structural choices made throughout this paper will become understandable. Pursuant to discussing the methodology relied on, the actual research design followed based on this methodology (i.e. the method) will be discussed and to the extent possible demonstrated.

Once these elements of the planning which went into the study are satisfactorily explained, the results of the study will be shared and the author will move on to discuss the concepts which emerged based on these results. At this point in the paper the author will share the (quasi) theory built on the basis of this research and data, moving on to provide a literature review of sorts which will serve to position the gathered data as well as emergent concepts in relation to current dominant views and opinions in the literature. Thereafter the emergent theory will be applied to the case of sanitation in South Africa ('testing' the extent of its usefulness), the final step before concluding.

Paradigm

Acknowledging Bias

Given that this study took place in the context of GTM it would have constituted a complete misinterpretation of the methodology to create any kind of overarching theoretical framework which presupposed any knowledge or idea of the truth or a 'solution' at the outset of the study (Birks & Mills, 2011; Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Glaser, 2007; Holton, 2007). Whilst this point will certainly be expanded upon further in the following section on methodology, for now it is sufficient to note that the reasoning behind this, as explained by GTM's forefathers Glaser & Strauss, is twofold (1967). On a practical level it makes little sense to work within the theories of others when one is attempting to construct a (quasi) theory of their own, because as mentioned GTM studies are intended to be theory-building, not theory-testing (Birks & Mills, 2011; Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Charmaz, 2011; Glaser, 2007; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Hildenbrand, 2007; Holton, 2007; Mruck & Mey, 2007; Strubing, 2007). At a deeper methodological level this would directly contravene the aim of GTM which is to allow truths or answers to emerge *from* the data, not vice versa. To rely on some kind of a theory to assist the researcher in making important decisions would eliminate any attempt at neutrality and cloud the researcher's mind (Birks & Mills, 2011; Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Glaser, 2007; Holton, 2007).

The high importance placed on theory-neutrality (to the extent that this is possible) within GTM is due to the fact that the methodology is largely based on processes of coding. In order for these processes of coding/categorizing to be as legitimate and reliable as possible, they must not be coloured by preconceived notions in the author's mind based on popular literature. If in fact if the research is to produce information which is both new and useful the author's mind must be free to conceive of new connections and groupings for the data which they come across, something which cannot happen when an author has already subscribed to a particular school of thought as they would then become increasingly prone to sorting their data based on pre-existing frameworks to which their subconscious had been exposed (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Charmaz, 2011; Dey, 2007; Hildenbrand, 2007; Holton, 2007).

Ultimately it is impossible to completely avoid preconceived ideas and notions altogether, and thus no author can claim to be a completely blank slate. This is because research topics are ordinarily based on an issue in which the author has already expressed a degree of interest, and may already have begun to explore (Holton, 2007). Thus even at the outset of a GTM study the researcher will inevitably have *some* opinions, *some* knowledge on the

subject, and *some* ideas on how they intend to search for the answers to the problems they are investigating. These notions will naturally come to influence any research carried out in terms of substance, structure, and style (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Glaser & Straus, 1967; Royle, 2000; Strubing, 2007).

For these reasons, despite GTM's distaste for the construction and explanation of theoretical frameworks at the outset of a study, there is an inherent appreciation within it for the importance of philosophical paradigms and the explanation thereof, for it constitutes an important tool which aids both the researcher themselves in the process of carrying out the study, as well as the eventual audience by bridging the gap between reader and researcher (Glaser & Straus, 1967; Kelle, 2007; Strubing, 2007). The philosophical paradigm which most accurately represents the personal approach of the researcher during the study at hand is deconstructivism, and the following section is dedicated to explaining it with the aim of providing the reader with an insight into the reasoning which was used throughout the duration of this study.[7]

Instinctive Enquiry

Not only does deconstructivism best represent this author's own worldviews and style of reasoning, it is also naturally aligned with many of GTM's core tenets, making it perfectly suited for the study at hand (Charmaz, 2011; St. Pierre, 2011). Deconstructivism, also known as deconstruction, is an excellent example of post-structuralist thought operating at its best (St. Pierre, 2011). It is both nothing and everything in that it has been explained as a basic pattern of thought which always occurs naturally in the mind of researchers, or at least should, and it has simultaneously been described as non-existent by its very 'creator', Jacques Derrida (Norris 1991; Royle, 2000). It is not a method of thought in that the word method in its traditional sense implies process, a predetermined way of thinking that prevents the analyst from coming to an unencumbered conclusion. Method also implies an inherent chronological linearity, a beginning and end, all of which is very non-Derridean, for lack of a better phrase (Royle, 2000). It is worth acknowledging that the study at hand was based on the assumption that deconstruction *does* exist, and for this reason did not engage in any Derridean-style pondering on whether or not deconstruction is actually a tangible 'thing'.

[7] It is equally important to note, as mentioned before, that this author *has* investigated sanitation policy previously and analysed it critically from a number of perspectives, as has been acknowledged by referencing previous works on the same topic in the List of References

As indicated, deconstruction defies definition by its very nature, which is perhaps, according to Derrida, because it is not necessarily a process, it cannot be planned or mapped out (Royle, 2000). In fact when asked to describe deconstruction Derrida would often avoid that task, choosing instead to list its characteristics, emphasizing over and over again that deconstruction is simply "what happens" (Derrida, 1990, p85). The closest this author came to finding a definition of deconstruction was in two quotes. The first represents what Derrida described as his least hated definition of deconstruction, which was "the experience of the impossible" (Derrida, 1992, p200). The second is derived from a description Derrida gave of deconstruction, calling it "the opening of the future itself" (Derrida, 1992, p200), a future which could not be predetermined or programmed, one which was fluid and open to the new. Any attempt to define deconstruction is to misunderstand it completely as it bases its existence on the indefinability of all things (Miller, 1991). Ultimately this reluctance on the part of Derrida to affix a permanent definition to deconstruction can only be better understood when one explores the context within which deconstruction emerged.

Tracing Deconstructivist Thought to its Roots

At the time of deconstruction's emergence one of the dominant modes of academic and literary thinking, if not *the* dominant mode, was rooted in a belief that stable, permanent, incontrovertible truths *did* exist. Within that mode of thinking, known as structuralism, texts were placed in the highest esteem as bearers of these truths which readers could diligently seek out (Norris, 1991). Initially when academics and philosophers first began using structuralism it held the promise of becoming a revolutionary literary tool used by those who worked to overturn assumptions. However, before long it met the same fate as many a theoretical framework and became yet another method for reflecting on worn-out texts (Norris, 1991). In fact structuralism changed so much that with the passage of time it soon found itself in alliance with many of its original opponents. The story of structuralism is one of many similar examples of the ability of Anglo-American academia to absorb and alter any new revolutionary models, homogenizing them until they are palatable and no longer threaten their sovereign style of critique (Norris, 1991).

Deconstruction emerged as a reaction against this homogenization and compromise, against structuralism, and against any mode of thought which subdued its best instincts in the face of harsh critique (Norris, 1991). Derrida's work came at a time when critical thought and philosophical discourse had yet to establish a fruitful relationship with one another, what he did was to pit them against each other in a *productive* rivalry (Norris, 1991). Deconstruction

marked a refusal to believe in the existence of these truths which lay at the centre of structuralism, these underlying unchanging objective structures, which is why it was labelled post-structural (Leitch, 1983; Norris, 1991). In fact many other dominant philosophies are marked by this characteristic, the belief that there is an inherent unity between their line of thinking and texts that gives them a special insight into texts' meanings which they set out to analyse. Deconstruction, however, refutes this completely (Norris, 1991).

At the same time as the development of deconstruction, two parallel sentiments were sweeping through American literature in particular. During the 1980s the American New Critical Tradition was undergoing a serious period of self-doubt (Norris, 1991; Wolfreys, 1998). On the one-hand there was a noticeable increase in self-awareness which affected not only structuralists but the school of American New Critical Thought in general. This increased self-awareness coincided with a fading interest in American New Critical thought, accompanied by a rise in interest in French thinking and theory. Ironically this thinking, particularly the work of Derrida, was actively engaged in critiquing the very foundations on which structuralism was built (Norris, 1991). Thus deconstruction emerged at the nexus of the meeting point of the American New Critical Tradition and Post-structuralist thought, fuelled by structuralists' self-doubt and insecurities, suspicious of methods and systems, and rooted heavily in the work of Derrida and (later) de Man (Norris, 1991).

Although deconstructivism is not a theory it is often grouped together with theories or other 'disciplines' which fall under the umbrella of interpretivism, a collection of epistemologies which are concerned with understanding reality based on demystifying the meanings people associate with their actions (O'Reilly, 2008). As such, interpretivism grew out of a critique of positivism and its assertion that the stiff methodologies used to study natural science were 00equally appropriate for research that aimed to understand rather than simply describe (O'Reily, 2008). The intellectual shift which this epistemology catalysed was a significant one as it placed the individual and their perceptions (as well as the effect of thee perceptions) at the centre of society, and subsequently at the centre of intellectual investigation. This marked a shift away from the prevalent positivist trend which focused on existing structures and their general effect on human beings (O'Reilly, 2008). This rejection of positivism and search for new unencumbered methods of understanding the way in which meaning is constructed is mirrored in Derrida's rejection of the core tenets of structuralism in order to allow for the unencumbered functioning of deconstructivist thought (Norris, 1991; O'Reilly, 2008).

Reading Responsibly

In its most basic sense deconstruction simply consists of reading responsibly, a type of reading whereby the author does not allow their mind to become clouded by generic concepts, names, or labels with which we associate certain meanings and beliefs, a reading which forces us to rely on our own instincts rather than using lenses to make excuses for accepting certain things without question (Wolfreys, 1998). Although it is labelled 'deconstruction' this must not be confused with the literal meaning of the word which carries with it connotations of anarchic destruction. In fact deconstruction doesn't 'do' much, it simply reveals the construction of things so that we may work to alter it (Wolfreys, 1998). This strategy for reading is one which should naturally occur in the mind of the investigative researcher, which is why Derrida insists that he did not invent it because it is impossible to invent something which so many carry out instinctually, he merely brought it to our attention because dominant modes of thinking had subdued it for so long (Leitch, 1983; Norris, 1991).

Thus whilst this section does not claim to state what deconstructivism *is*, it does speak to what deconstructivism *does*. Deconstruction can be understood as an activity which, though not processual in the formal sense, has an end goal of causing the metaphysical underpinnings of any idea to be questioned. The term 'end goal' is used with caution here as it is acknowledged that deconstruction can have no true end (Leitch, 1983; Norris, 1983). Derrida's work, in which deconstructivism is heavily rooted, actively uncovers the schemes at work behind current knowledge which is accepted at face value; it reveals the existence of these schemes and exposes the powerful hierarchies which they create (Norris, 1983). In fact this idea of hierarchies and their subtle yet powerful role in creating meanings lies at the centre of deconstructive activity, because it is these hierarchies which place obstacles in our path using language, obstacles that prevent us from deciphering these hierarchies (Norris 1983; Norris, 1991).

In approaching a subject of analysis deconstructivists are encouraged to distance themselves from any previous belief systems and to go as far as to treat these beliefs and their underlying assumptions about the topic of inquiry with deep suspicion. This approach which will later be shown to be completely aligned with that of GTM and its avoidance of extant theory at the outset of the research process (Birks & Mills, 2011; St. Pierre, 2011; Zima, 2002). This is because there are elements in extant theory such as pre-existing categories and labels that

limit one's understanding of the truth, and as such must be broken down to their base elements and then re-conceived (St. Pierre, 2011).

However even the word 're-conceive' is not the most accurate instruction to the would-be deconstructivist, as it is linguistically similar to the word re-construct, and thus carries with it connotations of borrowing from previous ideas or even using pre-existing ideas to construct something, both of which were activities which Derrida wished to distance his work from (Flame0430, 2008b). The notion of reconstruction also carries with it a connotation of a pre-set plan, a roadmap that would inform the researcher exactly where they are going from the beginning of their inquiry, and that would be to contradict the aims of deconstructivism form the very outset of one's research (this too is in line with the GTM approach to research which avoids directing the focus of inquiry from the outset) (Birks & Mills, 2011; Flame0430, 2008b). Perhaps a better term would be to 'construct anew'- that was the aim of the cognitive exercises carried out in the course of the study at hand, to construct something else, something 'other'. That was Derrida's true aim, not to normalize that which isn't normal, to highlight it for being other and to build new understandings around it, which is in complete harmony with the aims of GTM (Flame0430, 2008b; Reichertz, 2007).

Why Deconstruct?

To the novice researcher, or indeed any scholar unaccustomed to deconstruction, it may seem that deconstructivists destroy meaning, however as stated earlier this is not the purpose of deconstructivism as an activity. What deconstructivists do, is to examine meaning and context as the true influencers of reality. As mentioned previously deconstructivist work emerged as a reaction against structuralism, and so in an effort to do away with it deconstructivists look to expose those very structures. Derrida himself was extremely interested in examining texts and the way in which the literature they contained shaped reality. (Flame0430, 2008a; Flame0430, 2008b; Flame0430, 2008c; Flame0430, 2008d; PrestyGomez, 2006).

This is not to say that deconstructivism is solely interested in texts as that would be inaccurate, however for the purposes of the study at hand this focus on texts had a big effect on the focus of the researcher, as did deconstructivism's belief that it is impossible for reality to exist in and of itself. Reality only comes to be through our actions which give effect to underlying systems of meaning or 'context'. Thus in the case of examining what was identified as an apparent problem, this researcher looked to the context of the policy, the

meaning which gave rise to the reality of the policy, or more specifically the language within which it was couched (Flame0430, 2008a ; Norris, 1991; PrestyGomez, 2006).

According to Derrida such close examinations of texts will reveal that the meanings contained within them are not neutral, which is because no neutral relationship *can* exist between a signifier and a signified, or put more simply between words and concepts (Younger, 2013). The majority of our understanding is based on meanings, more specifically definitions, however the problem with definitions is that it is rarely possible for them to exist in and of themselves, usually it is easiest to define a concept by stating what it is not, rather than what it is (Wolfreys, 1998). Thus, by way of example, the easiest manner in which to define identity is to define what it is *not*: difference. Yet as soon as we carry out this exercise what we have done goes beyond simply defining a word, it comes to tie these two words together, identity and difference, as well as the concepts which they signify, and the nature of such is a bond is that it is never neutral but biased in that it will favour one term over the other, privileging it at the other's expense (Wolfreys, 1998; Younger, 2013). And so one term in the pair gains primacy over the other, binding itself to it in a hierarchical relationship. These hierarchies exist within everything, and it is towards them which Derrida directed his interest (Younger, 2013).

Thus deconstructivists are instructed to contemplate these violent hierarchies which exist between words, causing us to favour one over the other not only at the expense of language but also at the expense of the reality which is carved out by that language (Derrida, 2000). Carrying out deconstructivism as an activity reveals the previous system within which one word subordinated another word/item/concept to be inadequate, causing it to immediately fall away. By bringing these underlying hierarchical systems into question deconstructivists change them without destroying them, and in doing so create a new space for new sets of relationships to emerge within, relationships which are more horizontal in nature than the vertical ones which bound them before (Derrida, 2000; Leitch, 1983).

It is easy to misunderstand deconstruction and its fascinated relationship with texts and language. Thus it is worthwhile to note that deconstruction does not refute or engage with arguments about the fact that language exists to clarify meaning, however it attempts to create a space within which meaning becomes suspended or paused with the aim of seeing what becomes possible when language is no longer suspended within its conventional hierarchical framework (Norris, 1991; Younger, 2013). A key concept within the

deconstructivist's mental arsenal is the idea that there is no form of language or linguistic representation, be it in the form of text or otherwise, that is immune to or 'above' being deconstructed (Norris, 1991). This is so because there is no form of language which is sufficiently self-aware of the metaphysics which form its foundation, in other words the violent hierarchies, that it should be considered beyond the need for investigation or 'responsible reading'. Subsequently there is no way in which one can engage with those texts, save from reading them responsibly, which would not involve falling headfirst into the traps created by these underlying metaphysics and the system of meanings created by them (Norris, 1991).

Furthermore deconstructivists are encouraged to discard the belief that texts have a certain intangible and simultaneously unquestionable inherent primal authority, one which allows their surface content to be critiqued, but not their method or philosophy. Not only must the deconstructivist examine every aspect of the text, but it is specifically these unreasonably defended elements of texts like the 'structure' which render them valuable as subjects of analysis. It in these areas where we locate a text's weakness, subsequently allowing the author to uncover the underlying violent linguistic dichotomies which are affecting reality, forcing us to confront them (Norris, 1991). And it is in those moments where we are forced to confront the inadequacy of violently hierarchical binaries when we create a vacuum of meaning within which new answers and ideas can take shape (Younger, 2013).

Ultimately the deconstructivist would be well-advised to keep in mind the fact that a deconstructed concept or idea must distance itself as fully as possible from its prehistory. In other words, it is not sufficient to merely reverse or invert these binary relationships which are uncovered within texts, because this would leave us with yet another dangerous system of binaries. The true purpose of deconstructivist activity is to reveal binaries for what they are, artificial constructs. In other words deconstructivists do not destroy the legitimacy of a concept, but through a process of reflective investigation they reveal its illegitimacy (Flame0430, 2008a; Younger, 2013). This is done by analysing concepts historically or genealogically in order to gain an understanding of the different layers which built it up. The word/phrase/idea must be translated into all of its common alternative idioms and understandings, all of the assumptions which underlie it must be teased out.

Derrida referred to this activity as genealogical analysis, an activity whereby one explores how a concept has been made, used, and legitimized; this history must be found and stated (in

the following sections this approach will be shown to be in complete harmony with GTM's coding techniques) (Flame0430, 2008a; Flame0430, 2008b). Once this activity has been carried out, once we have entered that space in which the illegitimacy of current structures and connotative meanings become clear, we must move on to re-label or rename the concept/s we are discussing in a manner completely unrelated to their previous labels. Only then can we create new understandings, and subsequently new theory (Flame0430, 2008b; Norris, 1991; Younger, 2013; Zima, 2002). Once these assumptions thought of as obvious or the 'normal' have been removed from our worldview it enables us to focus on what was missing, in other words what the structure which was destroyed needed to be supplemented with (Younger, 2013). At this point a second chronological activity takes place, one which looks to the future rather than to the past as deconstructivists move to think of the missing, the supplement, that element which has yet to be thought of; that is what the 'de' in deconstruction really refers to (Royle, 2000).

It is important to note that while deconstruction as an activity can have no official ending, for the sake of a study which had to be written up at a certain juncture, the author had no choice but to 'pause' the deconstructive reflection on South Africa's sanitation at certain point in order to allow for the write-up process. However this is not to say that this study purports to have created an ultimate answer to the question: why has demand-driven service delivery failed in the case of South Africa's sanitation policy? Rather, the answer put forward is more of a suggestion, open to reflection and begging to be deconstructed in turn so that it may remain relevant and as accurate and useful as possible (Norris, 1991).

Exploring the 'Other'

Deconstruction isn't necessarily new in terms of its inception, however it is new in that it is still considered non-mainstream or 'other', especially within many branches of tertiary education. Though it may seem absurd, we would be well-advised to consider Norris's statement that "any radical shift of interpretive thought must always come up against the limits of absurdity" (1991, pxi). This radical shift is the very purpose of tertiary level research and a major driving force behind the study at hand. And so it is acknowledged that the tools used in the course of investigating South Africa's sanitation policy may have been absurd however they were chosen specifically for that reason, in the hope of producing innovative answers to questions like: why has demand-driven service delivery failed in the case of South Africa's sanitation policy (Norris, 1991)?

This section may seem, to the reader, somewhat longer and more descriptive than necessary particularly in the case of a study which claims to have made such an effort at its outset to avoid being influenced by the ideas of others. However it was an invaluable exercise for the author in the course of carrying out the research presented in this paper as it proved to increase their self-awareness of a simple activity whose performance was quintessential to this investigation. It is hoped that by the conclusion of this paper this chapter will have proven useful to the reader too, not only as a guiding tool in the process of attempting to understand the work presented here, but also as an emancipatory tool (Gibson, 2007). That is what deconstruction is about. It is about creating new language, new effects, and therefore new politics, new policies, and new realities. As Derrida said, it "is inventive or it is nothing at all" (1989, 42). But it does not invent concepts anew, it creates a space within which the new and the other can be emerge, it forges a new path which allows new rules, new concepts and new norms to come about (Derrida, 1989; Royle, 2000).

Closely related to GTM in its tendency towards transformative justice, deconstruction sheds light on dangerous mental constructs which have detrimental effects on material reality, and it is in the course of making us thusly aware that it sets us free from the dictates of these constructs (Charmaz, 2011; Norris, 1983; Wolfreys, 1998). As deconstructivism believes in the constructed nature of reality, making us aware of the constructed nature of problems enables new less problematic constructs to emerge. By setting out to question the underpinnings of created meanings, deconstructivism reveals the inherently unjust hierarchies created by our actions based on understandings of these constructed meanings, and in doing so this paradigm allows us to locate new (hopefully) less damaging constructs to work within (Leitch, 1983; Norris, 1983). Thus deconstructivism is about justice, and it is about emancipation, and it is about transformative change, all of which this study stood to emulate and reflect not only in its approach but in its ultimate product too (Derrida, 1981; Gibson, 2007).

Methodology

Facilitating the Process of Enquiry

In the previous chapter a brief description of deconstruction was provided, which reflected the rationalisation behind many of the author's decisions in the course of carrying out the research presented here. The following section will add to and build on the previous one by further explaining the chosen methodology for the study at hand: Grounded Theory Methodology (GTM). Not only do GTM and deconstructivism have a natural harmony which makes them a perfect pairing, but they are both perfectly suited to the task at hand: finding out why demand-driven service delivery has failed as a public policy governance tool in the context of South Africa's sanitation policy. The chosen combination of paradigm and methodology allows this report to offer explanations that are not only accurate at the case-specific level, but also sufficiently formal and abstract so as to be generalizable and become a foundation for theory (Birks & Mills, 2011; Ellingson, 2011; Perakyla & Ruusuvuori, 2011; Strubing, 2007). (In order to facilitate the understanding of this methodology a simple diagrammatic representation is provided further on in Figure 1, which can be referred to whilst reading the following section).

Much like deconstructivism, GTM also arose within a vacuum in existing qualitative literature which had come about as a result of many researchers asking interesting and profound questions, and then going about to answer them whilst failing to examine the social issues which led to the problem or phenomenon under investigation (Birks & Mills, 2011; Charmaz, 2011). Kathy Charmaz, one of GTM's foremost practitioners (second only to the likes of Straus, Glaser, and later Corbin who are truly responsible for all of the great conceptualisation which formed the foundation of GTM), states that this resulted in no new knowledge being created. It was within this context that GTM emerged as a tool; a method for carrying out social justice research that was truly emancipatory in that it would not only examine the pressing problems of its current time in an explanatory fashion, but attempt to create useful answers that would create positive changes in the lives of people affected by those problems (Altheide & Johnson, 2011; Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Charmaz, 2011; Denzin, 2007).

Due perhaps to a misunderstanding of the potential of GTM, most of its practitioners have neglected to explicitly frame their work within the category of social justice, which partially explains why so many GTM studies have missed the mark in carrying out this methodology (Charmaz, 2011). Beyond a misunderstanding of methodology though, this failure to

understand the potential of GTM to contribute towards social justice compromises the research itself as it limits its scope of effect to academia rather than allowing such studies to produce actionable outcomes (Charmaz, 2011). To do so would be to subvert the aim of GTM research from its outset and thereby compromise its validity. This is yet another example of the natural harmony which exists between GTM and the deconstructivist paradigm, their mutual desire to explain and achieve justice (Charmaz, 2011; Denzin, 2007; St. Pierre, 2011; Strubing, 2007).

Focusing on Data

A deep fascination with data lies at the heart of GTM, and gives this methodology its somewhat unique approach that allows a theory to emerge *from* the data, rather than impose a theory *on* the data in order to test a specific concept. This process of building a theory from the ground up aims does not aim to create a theory whose application is so narrow that it is only applicable to one case, but rather one with the potential to become abstract and formalizable so that it can be developed into a widely-applicable theory; this is where the methodology gets its 'grounded' nature (Charmaz, 2011; Perakyla & Ruusuvuori, 2011; Strubing, 2007).

It is important to acknowledge that during the course of this intimate examination of the data, certain choices must be made. Some of the data will point towards objective points on which we can all agree; these are facts and cause little confusion in and of themselves. Where GTM practitioners must *really* exercise caution is with evidence, i.e. the subjective judgement calls made in order to establish which facts are relevant (Altheide & Johnson, 2011). In the course of carrying out the research presented here the author was mainly influenced by deconstructivist thought patterns, however because GTM is so intimately concerned with data it also constituted a powerful force in making many important decisions reflected in later chapters.

Perhaps the best explanation of GTM which both communicates its approach as well as highlights its inherent harmony with deconstructivist ideals is that provided by Denzin & Lincoln, who call the methodology "a situated activity that locates the researcher in the world" (2011, p4).[8] Therefore it is an activity which is not detached from the reality on which it is based, rather it is very context-aware in its approach to research (Denzin & Lincoln,

[8] To this end, it is worth noting that the frequent use of the pronoun 'we' is a conscious choice on the part of the author to situate herself within the context of her research, as a member of South African civil society, as well as a researcher, and a consumer of the results of this research.

2011).[9] This approach involves a practical manner of observing and interpreting and coming to see the world in a certain way. Researchers using GTM are thus instructed to observe something in its natural settings, and then to explain it in the context of the meanings attached to it either by or within this setting (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). This is in acknowledgement of the fact that there can be no objective truths or realities in the context of GTM, we only come to know things based on how they are understood and subsequently represented via certain paradigms.

In the case of studies based on real world phenomena, like the one presented here, it is essential to acknowledge that the phenomena do not exist in a neutral vacuum, they are social phenomena and so beyond the researcher's own subjective bias/paradigm which must be noted, these social constructs are also essential to acknowledge (and break down where possible) (Altheide & Johnson, 2011). Thus both deconstructivism and GTM call for contextual awareness in the search for original and unencumbered ideas, and so that is exactly what the researcher did in the course of investigating why demand-driven service delivery has failed as a public policy governance tool in the context of South Africa's sanitation policy (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

This approach to digesting data is only one half of GTM, the ideals in which it is rooted; the second half involves a set of phases which, though they have a processual element, cannot be termed fully processual in that they do not have a clear start and end, and do not have neatly separated steps (this is important to establish as deconstructivism has a deep distaste for process in the more formal sense of the word, and to choose a methodology which is at clear odds with one's paradigm would prove to compromise the validity of the research presented here) (Derrida, 1990). Many assume that GTM has no real method to it due to its avoidance of many elements of conventional research, such as traditional literature reviews, problem statements, and the like, however this constitutes a major misunderstanding of the aims of this methodology, which has its own internal logic and process that have to be followed accurately if the study they are presented in is to enjoy legitimacy (Norris, 1992).

[9] Part of this activity in situating has been expressed through the use of pronouns such as 'we' and 'our' which aim to place the author within the context of investigation, i.e. as a member of South African civil society.

A Series of Activities

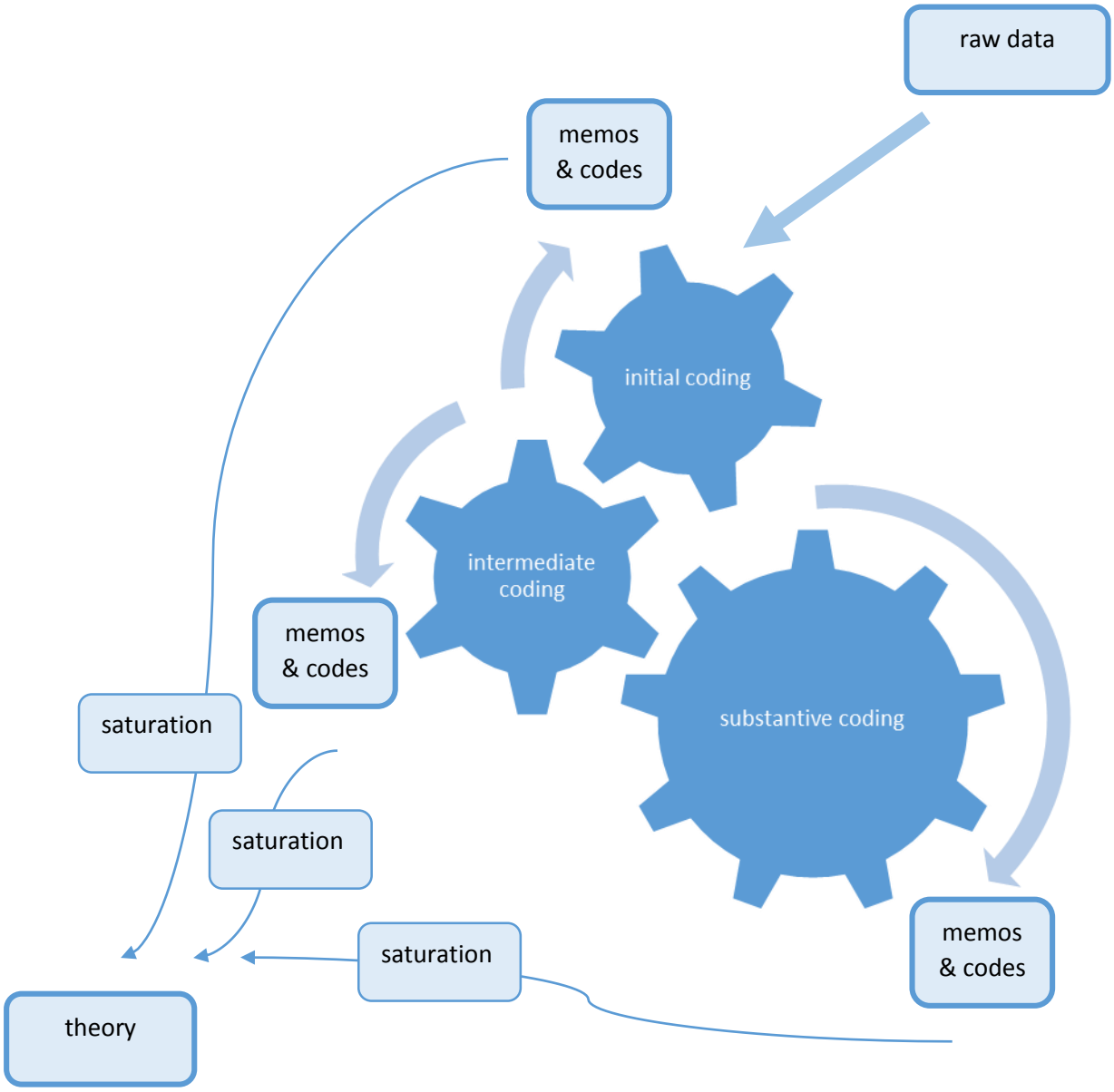


Figure 1: The GTM machine

The first activity within GTM research (shown in Figure 1 above) is one which occurs almost automatically without any strategic intent on the part of the researcher, this is because at first all that exists is an interesting phenomenon, usually one with an unknown or problematic aspect which requires further examination or solving. At this point not much is known about

the subject of interest, and so initial data is gathered by the researcher (Hildenbrand, 2007). It is worthwhile noting that GTM encourages researchers to focus their study on the point of view of either the individual or body of thought which the researcher considers to be the focal point of their investigation. Likewise this methodology is interested in investigating the elements of processes that have a bearing on the focal issue in a study, and as such these two guiding principles assist the researcher in gathering data (Birks & Mills, 2011; Hood, 2007). This initial data-gathering activity is not to be confused with the literature reviews which take place in the majority of qualitative studies, it is by no means comprehensive and it is also not to be written-up as it does not constitute an endpoint or separate step in and of itself to be reflected upon (Birks & Mills, 2011).

The first time a researcher working within the context of GTM begins to gather data it will be a random activity based solely on an attempt to gain more knowledge on their point of focus. This sample will contain randomized data as there is no guiding framework or principle at work during this time (other than the principles of the author's paradigm and methodology of choice) (Birks & Mills, 2011; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). However as soon as this first exercise in data collection has been completed and the researcher begins to sift through the data gathered, two other processes begin: data analysis (termed constant comparative analysis) and theoretical conceptualization (Holton, 2007; Lempert, 2007; Mruck & Mey, 2007). These three activities (data collection, data analysis, and theoretical conceptualization) run simultaneously and reciprocally throughout the duration of the research and function as part of an essential process within the GTM known as theoretical sampling, a process which involves simply searching for what is perceived to be potentially relevant data, with theory in mind rather than substantive curiosity (Breckenridge & Jones, 2009; Glaser, 1978; Glaser, 2002; Holton, 2007; Lempert, 2007; Mruck & Mey, 2007).

This reciprocity emerges slowly but clearly from the very outset when, as soon as data gathering has occurred, the researcher begins to create 'codes', thereby starting an activity which is the keystone of GTM research. Codes are labels ascribed to clear themes or significant categories that emerge from the data, and based on these further data collection (and analysis) is carried out. In other words after the first 'random' data collection exercise, all the subsequent efforts to gather data will be guided by the emergent codes and whatever they highlight as important conceptual recurrences (Birks & Mills, 2011; Holton, 2007; Kelle, 2007; Strauss & Corbin, 1994). As data is gathered in successive 'exercises', in-depth analysis is carried out with new data being compared to the old data, to the existing codes,

and with newly emergent codes being compared to existing codes too, allowing the researcher the opportunity to make changes and alterations as they progress. This is one of the great strengths of GTM, its sensitivity to the data collected. (Kelle, 2007; Charmaz, 2011). This entire process continues reciprocally and, technically, could continue endlessly, echoing the deconstructivist belief in the impossibility of locating a permanent truth because the truth is continuously deferred and never present, always lying in that which is yet to be thought of (Kearney, 2007; Zima, 2002).

Whilst these two simultaneous and reciprocal processes of data collection and analysis continue, a third process begins which runs in parallel with these other two: theoretical conceptualization. Theory cannot be built in the early stage of GTM research because information is still being gathered, and to build theory before the process of gathering has reached an appropriate point would be to compromise the quality of the resultant theory. However, through a technique known as memoing, one which is of equal importance to the aforementioned coding technique in GTM, the foundations for theory can be laid down (Lempert, 2007). Memoing is a process of keeping track of explanations, inclinations, questions, and general feelings on the topic of enquiry as one is researching it, paying special attention to the relationships between codes (Strauss & Corbin, 1994). These reflections come to form a draft of what will later become a formalized abstract theory (Birks & Mills, 2011; Lempert, 2007; Strubing, 2007).

As mentioned, the entire process of data collection, constant comparative analysis, and early theorizing in the form of memos all falls within the ambit of theoretical sampling, and it continues to occur in a simultaneous and often reciprocal fashion until efforts to collect new data do not yield anything which upon analysis either adds to or challenges the current codes significantly (Breckenridge & Jones, 2009; Holton, 2007; Hood, 2007; Lempert, 2007; Stern, 2007). At this point the data is said to have reached theoretical saturation and the researcher can move on to reflect on the codes produced in the process of answering their research question (Holton, 2007; Hood, 2007; Lempert, 2007; Stern, 2007). This entire process is summarized in Figure 2 (on the following page), which highlights the necessary combination of data collection, constant comparative analysis, and early theorizing in the form of memos in order to arrive at theoretical saturation.

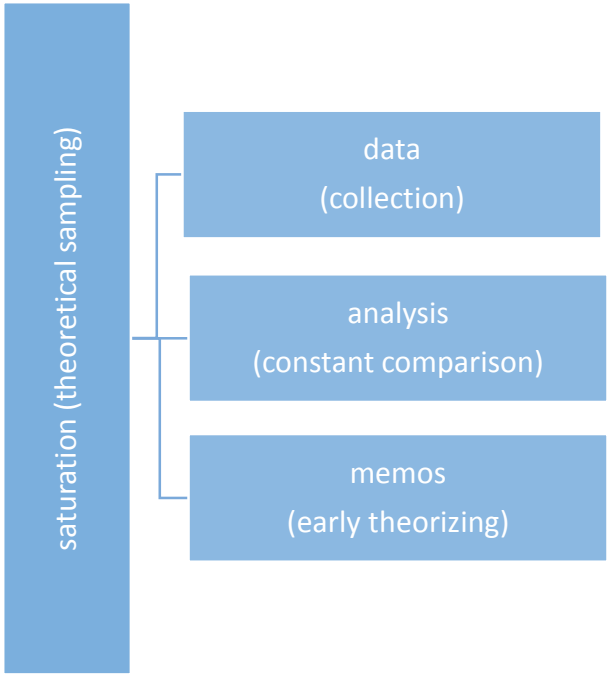


Figure 2: A simplified diagrammatic representation of theoretical sampling

The saturation which theoretical sampling aims to reach is by no means substantive saturation, the researcher will not 'know everything' at the end of this process, rather they will reach a point of conceptual or explanatory saturation which is only subjected to substantive facts later on when the theory is being applied to the substantive issue identified (Breckenridge & Jones, 2009; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In other words rather than knowing everything the researcher should locate a framework for understanding everything that they will later come to know about their field of inquiry. This is significant for two reasons, firstly it helps to clarify the avoidance of traditional literature reviews at the outset of any (classical) GTM study, because the 'literature' is supposed to be initially studied only as directed by theoretical sampling (Breckenridge & Jones, 2009; Glaser, 1998).

Secondly it is significant in that it provides context for the theoretically unending search for the truth mentioned in previous sections in that the researcher is directed to carry out a literature review *after* theoretical saturation has occurred. The literature within the substantive field of interest acts as a trigger for continued constant comparative analysis, strengthening the emergent theory. This explains the importance of a correctly executed literature review within the GTM, i.e. to avoid compromising theoretical sampling and saturation (if compromised theoretical sampling will, at best, lead to substantive descriptive saturation rather than conceptual explanatory saturation) (Glaser, 1998; Glaser, 2014b).

Thinking and Logic within GTM

It is important to take a moment to explain the style of thinking which researchers working within GTM would typically use to arrive at this last stage or theoretical saturation. It is a style of thinking called abductive logic and it is the type of reasoning used in cases where rather than testing an idea the researcher is looking to generate one. As mentioned, GTM discourages the use of problem statements or hypotheses at the outset of a study, however if the principles of the methodology are honoured then, through carrying out their research, a quasi-hypothesis could emerge. This is the task of abductive logic, to generate small-scale hypotheses based on the raw data which will either be disputed or confirmed during theoretical sampling (Birks & Mills, 2011; Stern, 2007; Strubing, 2007).

Completely in line with deconstruction, abductive logic is also at odds with the notion of reconstructing ideas in order to find answers to questions or problems, instead it searches for new and surprising truths in order to provide us with new and surprising answers. This is key to what makes GTM unique and gives it such strong theory-building power, for without abductive logic new facts would not be able to appear, rendering the research process pointless in this context (Reichertz, 2007; Strubing, 2007).

Abductive logic finds its roots in the work of Charles Sanders Peirce who recognized that researchers' thoughts and views would always be unavoidably shaped by factors like their previous knowledge, specific training, and life experience (Locke, 2007; Strubing, 2007). Acknowledging that this would in turn impact on the investigative spaces on which researchers chose to focus, Peirce set about developing abductive logic, a line of thinking which would help researchers to avoid the pitfalls of subjectivity to the extent possible by thinking logically (Locke, 2007).

Normally when discussing modes of thinking within research we tend to dichotomize the various types into a range of two: deductive or inductive. Qualitative research generally favours the former, as it enables the researcher to hypothesize and form expectations. Abductive logic is another type of thinking entirely- a third form of reasoning which allows one to create explanations (herein lies a core strength of GTM, setting it apart from most other qualitative methods which are either predictive or descriptive) (Holton, 2007; Locke, 2007; Strubing, 2007).

As is the trend with GTM, abductive reasoning itself involves two ongoing simultaneous and reciprocal modes of thought: one irrational, creative, spontaneous, flexible, subjective, and relatively 'free'; the other more rational, consciously controlled and shaped (Locke, 2007; Strubing, 2007). This combination of rationality and irrationality is essential as it encourages the abductive thinker to free their mind as much as possible and allow for new and often seemingly absurd ideas to emerge. Yet on the other hand it ensures that this creative process remains within the realm of relevance because after all the researcher is generally searching for an answer to a problem (even if the problem has not been specified it is usually acknowledged that a problem exists) (Locke, 2007; Strubing, 2007). This is essential to the success of constant comparative analysis as one's thoughts must be reflected upon and often consciously engaged with and redirected to ensure that GTM's specific intention to locate explanations is honoured (Locke, 2007; Strubing, 2007).

The irrational mode of thinking involves the automatic and spontaneous processes which would naturally occur in an unencumbered mind, these activities must be given a degree of freedom to emerge and develop, regardless (initially) of relevance or a lack of supportive evidence (Strubing, 2007; Locke, 2007). The reasoning behind the irrationality of this mental exercise is that most studies are looking for some version of the truth which will have transformative power, even if it is not a permanent truth. The only way to locate these types of truths is to search everywhere and to search for irrational explanations for these phenomena because if something is being investigated it is normally due to a failure on the part of rational explanations to provide an answer or solution (Locke, 2007; Strubing, 2007).

The rational part of abductive thinking comes in when we begin to consciously engage with these ideas produced by irrational thinking, picking out important relevant ones to investigate and develop further (Locke, 2007; Strubing, 2007). Thus abductive thinking can be looked at as a negotiated compromise between two opposite styles of thought which need to be carried out in simultaneity in order to produce the best outcome. As informed by deconstructivism and GTM, the search for the truth must be as unencumbered as possible, however it must also be rooted in an idea of exactly what is being sought so that it can be recognized once found (Locke, 2007; Strubing, 2007).

Theoretical Saturation

Up to this juncture I have investigated the preliminary concepts involved in GTM, however these only constitute the more abstract 'grounded' part of the theory as I have yet to discuss the formalized part of the research (keeping in mind that the aim of GTM is to provide both

formalizable and abstract outcomes) (Kearney, 2007; Strubing, 2007). The previous subsections have explained data collection as well as they type of thought patterns relied on during early theorizing. What remains to be delved into in more detail is the process of coding.

As mentioned, during an early effort to understand more about the subject of interest, the researcher carried out a random data collection exercise followed by more directed efforts to gather data. After these early efforts data is collected and conceptualized in a manner which fragments it in the search for important concepts which will reveal harmful underlying structures (Birks & Mills, 2007). This is a process known as initial coding, and through applying abductive logic the researcher arrives at a point of conceptual saturation which results in initial codes, yet that is not the end of GTM as other further coding activities remain (Birks & Mills, 2011; Charmaz, 2011; Kelle, 2007).

Pursuant to initial coding, the researcher begins to unify the fragmented data through intermediate coding, wherein the fractured groups of data and their codes are compared and where possible merged, so that relationships can be mapped out between them (Birks & Mills, 2011). Thereafter substantive coding begins, during which codes become integrated along the lines of the relationships mapped out between them in the previous exercise (intermediate coding codes to unite, and as such simply maps out or lists relationships between codes, during substantive coding this is taken one step further as relationships are *explained*, as shown in Figure 3 below).

When theoretical sampling has reached conceptual saturation (after collection, constant comparative analysis, and initial theorizing) another set of simultaneous processes must begin. The first is a collation of the ideas produced during initial theorizing (i.e. the memos), this often naturally overlaps with substantive coding, as was the case in this study. The second is a review of the available theoretical literature which will enable further comparative analysis to take place (as extant theory is used to position GTM studies, not inform them) (Charmaz, 2011; Glaser, 1998; Lempert, 2002; Stern, 2007). The researcher thus embarks on the journey of theory-building from the ground up, basing their work on the ideas that emerged from the earliest phases of theoretical sampling (Birks & Mills, 2011; Charmaz, 2011; Glaser, 1998; Strauss & Corbin, 1994).

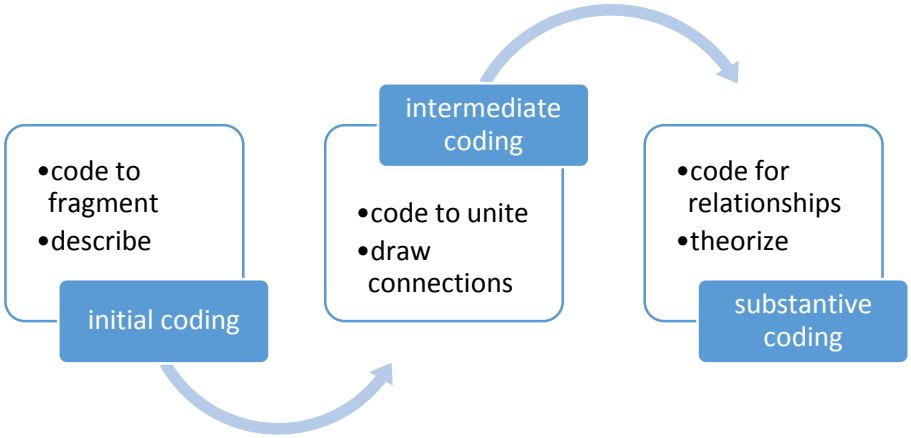


Figure 3: A summary of coding

Finding Theory

The aim of these efforts is to produce rich formalised abstractions with explanatory power supported by the analysis carried out, in other words what is known as theory (Birks & Mills, 2011; Stern, 2007; Strubing, 2007). It is important to note that the word produce does not imply the creation of a new theory as GTM aims to allow theories to emerge from the data, rather it is the 'product' of research within GTM (Kelle, 2007). The theory produced must have the capacity to explain all observed phenomena uncovered in the course of research, as well as being able to acknowledge deviations which did not fit in with the emergent theory. Keeping in mind the difference between deviations and outliers, it is important for GTM research to ensure that examples which did not fit in with the emergent theory are discussed, as avoiding them would only weaken the resultant theory produced by the study (Birks & Mills, 2011; Morse, 2007).

The theory produced by GTM is only formal in the sense that it has moved beyond an existence in the form of loosely related ideas, however it is not formalized in that it is established and incontrovertible. Rather, theories produced by this methodology are more akin to foundations for a theory which must undergo further development and testing in the context of different methodologies which favour hypothetico-deductive approaches (Charmaz, 2011; Kearney, 2011). This is not to say that the theories produced by GTM are weak, they are simply limited. However the researcher can increase their explanatory strength by raising them to the highest level of abstraction possible, thereby also increasing their internal validity) (Birks & Mills, 2011; Stern, 2007).

The concept of abstraction may seem out of place in the context of a study heavily rooted in data, much of which is case-specific, however it is an extremely valuable part of GTM as it enables it to be more widely-applicable and therefore more true to its aims of achieving social

justice (Charmaz, 2011). This is where substantive coding comes to play a significant role as it is only through the process of generalizing the explanatory power of codes that they become relevant and applicable to scenarios beyond their case-specific context, thereby allowing the emergent theory to become more formalized (Glaser, 2007; Kearney, 2007; Kelle, 2007). This is what sets GTM apart from many other methodologies within qualitative research, this is what gives it its ability to explain rather than simply describe or predict (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Charmaz, 2011; Glaser, 2007; Holton, 2007; Kelle, 2007).

Understanding GTM

The above explanation of GTM has strayed beyond the traditional expectations of what many would consider to be the appropriate length for a methodology section, however due to the propensity for this methodology to be misunderstood by its practitioners and their audience alike it was deemed a necessary explanation and formed an essential part of carrying out the research process. By now GTM's avoidance of traditions such as precise titles, problem statements, literature reviews (in their traditional sense), theoretical frameworks, and conceptual sections has been well-justified. It is also hoped that the researcher's choice to rely on a more narrative style of writing which reflects the free-flowing thought involved in GTM research has been justified, as opposed to using a more rigid structured style of writing which is not reflective of the reality of the research process.

Ultimately, GTM-produced theories must be shown to be truly emergent from the data collected for the study, in order to prove that they were not forced out of the data in an effort to manipulate it to fit into a pre-existing theory (Birks & Mills, 2011; Kelle, 2007; Stern, 2007). However beyond that they must also be accessible to those whose lives they hope to affect, be understandable to their audience, fit within the field in which they have been carried out and desire to be situated in whilst still going beyond what is already known in that field, be generalized and flexible whilst still maintaining a certain degree of rational control, be explanatory, be relevant, and be open to changes so that their relevance may remain and thus they may remain useful (Birks & Mills, 2011; Denzin, 2007; Dey, 2007; Glaser, 2014a; Stern, 2007). This is essential because social justice research like that in the study at hand aims to fix an issue or problem, and its relevance, reliability and usefulness are not only of paramount importance, they are the final test of its worth (Birks & Mills, 2011; Stern, 2007).

Whilst this chapter dedicated itself to describing the principles of GTM, the next will give the reader deeper insight into the manner in which this came to impact on the research in this particular study as the method used by the researcher will be described and, where necessary,

justified with reference to this and the previous chapter on deconstructivism. This chapter has served to set out all of the ideals to which the study attempted to adhere in the process of carrying out the research, the following chapter will explain how exactly this was carried out.

Method

A Simple How-To

Whilst explanations of methodology inform the reader as to why certain choices were made, discussing the method explains how this was done (Birks & Mills, 2011; McGregor & Murnane, 2010). Having already explained the methodology in detail in the preceding chapter, this chapter will explain the method, i.e. *how* the methodology was implemented on a practical level at each step of the research. Importantly, the word step must not be taken to imply a chronological sequentiality which would violate the core tenets of GTM and deconstructivism as well (Birks & Mills; 2011; Mruck and Mey, 2007).

The Spark…

To begin with there simply existed a phenomenon which had drawn the interest of this author: the 2013 sanitation service delivery protests in Cape Town which involved desperately dissatisfied citizens throwing faeces at politicians as a protest method ("Poor and angry", 2013). At this point little was known about this problem with certainty, however it was clear, as shown in the introductory chapter, that there was indeed a problem. Bearing in mind that reality cannot exist without context and meaning, since everything we experience is a social construct, the researcher looked to the context of sanitation service delivery in South Africa: sanitation policy (Flame0430, 2008a; Flame0430, 2008b; Flame0430, 2008c; Flame0430, 2008d; PrestyGomez, 2006)

The choice to look at sanitation policy as a starting point was (retroactively) further confirmed by the preference in GTM to examine any problem from the perspective of those affected by it. Since service delivery protests are directed at government the decision was made to investigate sanitation service delivery (or a lack thereof) from government's perspective, which is captured in policy documents and policy statements like legislation and case law (Birks & Mills, 2011). The existence of a problem in reality pointed to the fact that a problem must have existed in the context of South African sanitation policy, and it is based on this context that meaning must have been created, meanings which informed reality. And so the author carried out a randomized search, looking for policy pieces and news articles on the protest and South African sanitation guided, as Glaser suggests, by pure curiosity (Glaser, 2014b). A full list of sources relied upon during the coding process is provided at the end of Appendix 1.

The research carried out was all influenced by the author's personal theoretical sensitivities, which were most accurately captured within the deconstructivist paradigm as well as GTM,

hence the decision to frame the study at hand within both. The decision to combine deconstructivist thought with GTM was also a strategic choice on the part of this author in an effort to allow the research to enjoy the degree of flexible creativity that is supposed to make qualitative studies unique (Ellingson, 2011). As one of the objectives of research on social justice themes like service delivery is to effect change, the method followed had to produce new and useful solutions capable of doing so, another reason for its reliance on non-mainstream tools such as deconstructivist thought and GTM whose pairing enabled the author to see beyond the status quo (Charmaz, 2011; St. Pierre, 2011). These tools directed the author to focus heavily on contextual elements of the problem under investigation, focusing on text as an excellent collection of signifiers which shaped the reality under investigation (Perakyla & Ruusuvuori, 2011). This too served to address one of the core weaknesses of qualitative studies which often ask pertinent questions yet fail to understand those questions contextually in the course of their research (Charmaz, 2011).

Pursuant to performing the aforementioned initial data collection exercise the author allowed the core themes which emerged from the data to guide their further research efforts; simultaneously, a number of research questions had emerged naturally from the analysis of the gathered data, these were separated into primary and secondary research questions which, while open to being changed by emergent codes, continued to guide the focus of research too. Further research efforts continued to focus on South African sanitation policy statements, including speeches, legislation, case law, and the like. In addition existing reviews from sectors of society other than government were referred to too. Importantly, the analysis of collected data looked beyond overtly observable phenomena and looked towards more 'invisible' or covert issues such as norms, for example. In doing so the research was able to address one of the critiques most often levelled at GTM studies, which is that they fail to acknowledge the social reality and subjective elements of the world which they investigate (Charmaz, 2011).

Digging for Codes

The coding process began with a step not unique to GTM, but useful nonetheless. The author began by 'pre-coding' the collected data, which meant reading and re-reading it multiple times, whilst highlighting all important and relevant incidents.[10] These incidents were later returned to, each analysed and coded in and of itself, and so the unit of analysis became these 'incidents' (often a paragraph or group of bullet points). Initially the information obtained

[10] For an example of what this phase looked like please see Appendix 2.

from the data this way was compared, allowing significant themes (which became early versions of codes or labels) to emerge by fragmenting the data and analysing it using abductive logic. Throughout this entire process the author was guided by the primary research question: why has demand-driven service delivery failed as a method for governing South Africa's sanitation policy? In fact coding became the single most important research tool relied on in the process of answering the question at hand. In an effort to strengthen this tool the author allowed its use to be informed by deconstructivism and GTM so as to overcome the critiques often levelled against coding as a tool which indicate that it can often fall prey to yielding uninteresting and insignificant information (St. Pierre, 2011).

Throughout the process of initial coding, two core questions were asked in order to allow codes to emerge. Keeping in mind the fact that GTM seeks to understand the processes which create meaning, the author asked the following on an incident-by-incident basis: (1) 'did what?', and (2) 'what does it suggest?' (The results of which can be seen in Figures 5 and 6 in the chapter on results). The first question was answered in the form of gerunds, whilst the second was answered in the form of a short phrase, allowing both process and meaning to be included in the results whilst keeping them separate. This was crucial to honouring the approach called for by deconstructivism and GTM, both of which look to the importance of unveiling covert processes that create problematic meanings and therefore problematic realities (Birks & Mills, 2011; Derrida, 2000).

By following this method the initial coding process yielded a number of clear major themes (as listed in Figure 5 and Figure 6 in the results chapter) whose development was aided by the memoing process (whose details are shared in Appendix 1). In fact throughout this initial coding exercise all of the elements of theoretical sampling were carried out simultaneously; these elements include memoing, abductive thought, and constant comparative analysis (Charmaz, 2011). This process of reciprocal and simultaneous data collection and analysis was carried out until (after intermediate and substantive coding) a point of theoretical saturation was reached (Birks & Mills, 2011).

Instructed by both GTM and deconstructivism which encourage reflection and a constant almost circular process of seeking out the truth in the context of research, all of the data gathered was deeply reflected on multiple times, and so during the process of initial coding each text was analysed and where codes appeared on each page they would be labelled and marked, these were the early memos (as shown in Appendix 1). Soon the coding technique

evolved and documents were coded on a 'section-by-section' basis, with irrelevant sections of documents being ignored and relevant sections being read in their entirety and then coded and reflected upon in accompanying memos (the definition of section changed from document to document and depended on natural breaks created within each one).

The aim of the coding carried out within these first efforts at data collection and analysis was to break up the data, to fragment it in order to reveal the assumptions on which it was built, a core part of honouring the tenets of deconstructivism and GTM, for without revealing problematic assumptions no alternate or deconstructed theory would be able to emerge from the data, thereby nullifying the study from its outset (Birks & Mills, 2011; St. Pierre, 2011). This circular process continued, with new data being sought out until nothing was either adding to or challenging the newly emergent codes significantly.

As was mentioned initial coding consisted of asking two questions on an incident-by-incident basis, and (as will be shown in the following chapter) for ease of reference as well as analysis the answers to these questions were collated in tabular form, with one pivot table created to summarize gerunds and another to summarize phrases. It is these tables to which the author referred when exploring the context of the emergence of each code. In the case of each gerund a list was made of the phrases which were associated with it, giving the author an understanding of the meanings created by certain actions, as well as those meanings most and least associated with each action. In the case of each phrase a list was made of the gerunds with which it was associated, in order to give the author an understanding of the actions taken based on certain meanings, as well as those actions most frequently taken, and those scarcely occurring. This process has been captured in detail in Table A1 and Table A2 in Appendix 2, and has been summarized in diagrammatic form in Figures 10, 11, and 12 (in the chapter on theory-building).

Mapping Contextualized Relationships

Having completed the first step of coding, and with a number of emergent themes/codes at her disposal, the author moved on to the second phase of coding called for by GTM: intermediate coding. This phase consisted of "re-coding", whereby the products of the data fragmented in the previous phase were re-analysed in an effort to unite the codes so that the relationships between them could be mapped out. This consisted of a revision of all of the memos created in the first phase of coding, in conjunction with a listing of all of the emergent codes and a revision of each code in the context of its emergence. The result was a web of possible relationships between the various codes/themes, hinting at some which were

synonymous and could be combined, some which were related and could be combined within the same grouping, and some which differed for important reasons.

Through close reference to the tables of emergent codes created during initial coding (as shown in Appendix 2), an understanding of the 'overlap' in meaning between the various codes began to emerge based on the context captured in the tables. For example, when examining a gerund such as 'legislating responsibility' (initial gerund 1 in the table), the pivot table indicated that it was most commonly done in the context of understanding government as responsible, whilst it was least commonly carried out in the context of understanding individuals as responsible. This is what is meant by context, and it was this understanding of context which formed a pivotal part of coding throughout this study.

The aim of this coding exercise was to gain a deeper understanding of each code, not only to help flesh-out the early beginnings of the substantive content of theory, but also to raise the codes to the highest level of abstraction possible. Overall this served the purpose of uniting the codes, but not within the old socially-constructed framework within which they had existed, rather along the lines of the newly emergent web of relationships between them, one which acted as the foundation for theory.

The result of these processes was the creation of a list which explained each initial code (gerund/phrase) in an effort to create stand-alone concepts out of each one, not only for the benefit of the readers of this research but for the benefit of the researcher too, and as an exercise in early theorizing (this list is shared in the following chapter). These explanations of the codes formed a bridge between initial, intermediate and substantive coding as it was later added to in order to include reflections on the comparisons between codes. (Birks & Mills, 2011) This process is captured in Figures 10, 11 & 12 in the following chapter.

For example, in keeping with the case of the initial gerund 'legislating responsibility', an explanation of the meanings surrounding this action (based on the data) was given. This action was then situated within its most common context in order to reveal its true underlying meaning, which was found to be one laden with connotations of blaming government as government was seen as the party with most legislated responsibility. This in turn led to the emergence of a new intermediate gerund code labelled 'blaming' (intermediate gerund 1), which became a major uniting theme for several other initial gerund codes, eventually allowing the author to combine 15 initial codes (this will be further explained in the following chapter on results).

It is important to note that the fragmented data was united in the form of early codes, not *reunited*, because this would have been tantamount to reconstruction, which goes directly against the aims of deconstructive thought (Flame0430, 2008b) Throughout the duration of this exercise in intermediate coding, the components of theoretical sampling were carried out in a reciprocal and simultaneous fashion, thus memoing, abductive logic/theorizing (the process of constantly asking analytical questions that go back and forth between the data collected and its analysis), and constant comparative analysis all supported the effort to unite the fragmented data in the form of emergent codes (Birks & Mills, 2011; Charmaz, 2011).

Allowing Theory to Emerge

With the first two coding processes complete, the researcher moved on to the third phase of coding whilst keeping the all-important research question in mind: why has demand-driven service delivery failed as a method for governing South Africa's sanitation policy? This third phase known as substantive coding involved two steps which, typical to GTM, were carried out in a simultaneous and reciprocal manner: the first was to bring together the conceptual theorizing which had begun to take place during initial and intermediate coding in the form of memos which reflected on the relationships between codes; the second was to conduct a literature review of extant theory relevant to the major emergent codes (Birks & Mills, 2011). The codes were then brought together in order to create a 'story', an explanation *from* the text, for the problems *in* the text, for the world *outside* of the text.

It is important to note that the early phases of substantive coding (i.e. theory-building) were carried out first, it was only once the theory had emerged that a literature review could be carried out, so that the extant literature would not cloud the mind of the researcher. With the foundations of theory safely captured, a review of the literature proved to be a helpful tool for positioning the research. Reviewing existing literature also enabled reciprocal modifications to be made, an important characteristic of GTM (Glaser, 2014a).

In keeping with GTM and deconstructivism's call to treat extant theory with suspicion, the data collected for the sake of this literature review was treated generally as raw background data subject to analysis only after a theory was fully-formed for the study at hand (Birks & Mills, 2011; St. Pierre, 2011; Zima, 2002). Furthermore, as little importance as possible was given to the authors of documents examined for the literature review. Thus the literature review carried out consisted of the collection of data which spoke to the emergent themes picked up through the course of analysing the initial data in early coding phases. Though this decision no doubt contradicts the dominant convention of choosing work based on the

'prestigiousness' of the source in which it lies, it is in complete congruence with deconstructivist thought which looks for information in new and surprising ways (Leitch, 1983; St. Pierre, 2011). It is worth nothing that benefits of examining dominant literature as an example of dominant opinions on the subject at hand were not overlooked by the author, however such sources were by no means favoured over others.

Thus existing theory and literature relied on were treated as nothing more than data which, though relevant to the emergent theory, was not intended to influence it in any direct way. In fact this author relied on a variety of sources both published and unpublished in the course of searching for sources of data relevant to the emerging theory. This decision is completely in line with the tenets of GTM which permit its practitioners to treat less traditional sources of information (like media sources for example), as perfectly acceptable (Birks & Mills, 2011). Secondary sources were also looked to in some cases even though it is acknowledged that in the context of GTM that is less desirable because such sources serve to remove the researcher from the all-important step of conceptual coding in their arrangement of the data (Birks & Mills). In this manner the building blocks of theory began to be laid down, eventually becoming a theory generated form the ground-up.

With the majority of the formal part of GTM complete, the theory produced was written up. This consisted the final stage of substantive coding, wherein the gerunds and phrases from the previous section were reflected on in the context of their relationships with one another (as shown in Figures 10, 11, and 12) and written up in a narrative free-flowing form, as called for by both deconstructivism and GTM (Dey, 2007; Stern, 2007). This was another strategic effort by this author to bolster the legitimacy of this study and differentiate it from many other GTM studies which answer a question but fail to raise the explanatory power of GTM to the highest degree possible by actually allowing a theory to emerge from the data and writing it up, thereby compromising the usefulness and applicability of the study (Charmaz, 2011). Below is a brief diagram of this process from its early beginnings in coding:

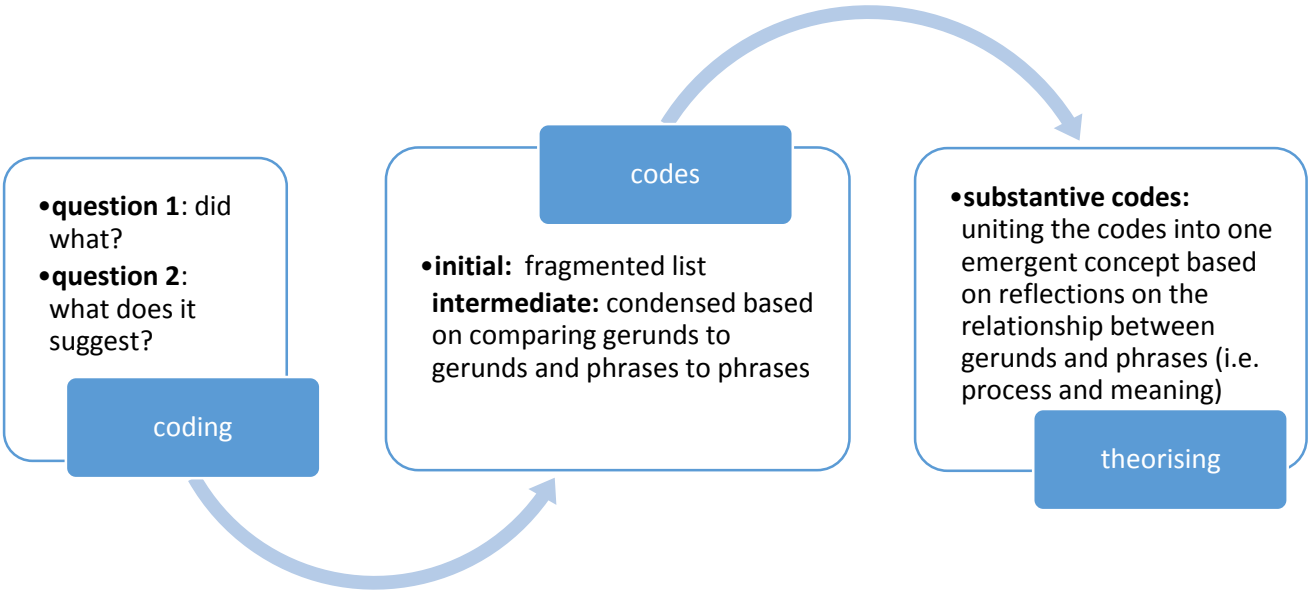


Figure 4: The process of theorizing

It is important to note that theory-building within substantive coding as well as the literature review both occurred in a reciprocal and simultaneous fashion so that they could impact one another in a constructive manner and continuously redirect the researcher to search for data when and how it was necessary to do so (Charmaz, 2011). This substantive coding activity itself also occurred simultaneously and reciprocally with theoretical sampling which involved the ongoing use of memoing, abductive logic, and constant comparative analysis. The write-up of substantive coding differed from the previous coding phases because it did not lend itself to a tabular format, however each of the intermediate codes were reflected on in depth in the context in which they had emerged. In an attempt to stay true to deconstructivism's directions to reveal problematic meanings and problematic contexts, the chapter on theory building reflected deeply on all of the initial codes which had been united under the select intermediate codes, thus revealing the underlying problematic meanings attached to the gerunds and phrases. In doing so the processes of genealogical analysis alluded to in the chapter on deconstruction was carried out. After revealing how concepts have come to be understood, legitimized, and acted upon, the problematic effects within reality became apparent, as did the solution to these effects (Flame0430, 2008a; Flame0430, 2008b).

Applying Theory to Reality

Although it was mentioned earlier that GTM was not a theory-testing method, this author made the decision to apply GTM to the case at hand, not in an effort to test the theory in a formal sense, but rather in an effort to corroborate its usefulness. In fact applying the theories produced by GTM studies to the cases on which they are based is an essential exercise particularly in the case of research like this within the field of public policy which aims to produce a foundation for actionable outcomes, as do both GTM and deconstructivism.

Furthermore, 'testing' the theory is of paramount importance in the context of a GTM study because it is a crucial part of situating the study within the lives of those whom it hopes to help so that it can actually be acted upon, for without action then the ideas produced are effectively meaningless as they would be considered non-existent by some deconstructivists (Denzin, 2007; Strubing, 2007).

Lastly, applying GTM theory to the case from which it arose is a useful exercise for any researcher seeking to further legitimize their results by continuing constant comparative analysis and allowing for reciprocal modifications to the theory to occur (Glaser, 2014a). Thus the researcher decided to apply the theory which resulted from their study to South Africa's sanitation policy problem.

Strengths and Weaknesses

Amongst the strengths of the method followed were that it enabled the researcher to locate and explain injustices, something which is of paramount importance in social justice research. Beyond that the methods followed also allowed the researcher to find and understand the implicit meanings within the sources analysed, and thereby to draw new explanatory information from the same old sources investigated time and again by descriptive studies (Charmaz, 2011). As stated, one of the objectives of the study was to build a theory with explanatory power and the methods adhered to undoubtedly ensured that that goal came to fruition by assisting the researcher to locate a middle-range theory within the collected data and to generalize it to the highest level possible (Charmaz, 2011). Not only was this important in terms of legitimizing the study's objectives, but it also served to overcome a common weakness of qualitative work which struggles to become widely-applicable.

Another objective of this study was to create results which could affect social change; not only was this an aim of the study, it is a general aim of GTM and deconstructivism. By enabling the author to produce relevant generalizable theory the methods followed allowed this aim to be realized too, thereby overcoming another common shortcoming of many GTM studies which compromise their own reach by failing to explicitly work towards social justice and social change (Charmaz, 2011).

Through the focusing influence of the methods listed above, the researcher's attention was centred (mostly) on policy documents and textual or linguistic analysis, though this did not even begin to approach the depth of many semiotic textual/linguistic analyses (which was not required in the context of this study) it nevertheless focused the researcher's attention on the

true nexus of power and problems: the signifiers used in these texts and their real-life effects. This ensured that the results of the study were legitimate, reliable, and thereby valid (Birks & Mills, 2011).

Despite all of the author's efforts to ensure that results produced by the study at hand were new, useful, and legitimate, there were some weaknesses which must be acknowledged. Firstly, it is acknowledged that the 'section-by-section' technique of coding described earlier in this chapter was perhaps not as rigorous as a line-by-line approach would have been, which means that it is possible that some subtle yet important codes were overlooked in the process of collating the memos on all of the sections (Charmaz, 2012). However whilst line-by-line coding is regarded by many as in ideal, in the context of the time available for the study at hand as well as the personal approach of the researcher a section-by-section approach was deemed the best option because it did not have the propensity to interrupt the thought processes ongoing in the researcher's mind at the end of every single line in the documents analysed (Charmaz, 2012).

Another weakness of the presented study and its result is that it is a social construct created by the researcher, and as such fallible in that it is subject to future deconstructions, however it is important to note that simply because it is potentially fallible it does not mean that its results are not *useful*, as the end-product of GTM isn't intended to be accurate so much as it must be useful (Strubing, 2007). In fact this is the ultimate claim of GTM studies to validity, their usefulness (Strubing, 2007).

The study's predilection towards deconstructive modes of thought opens it up to yet another weakness: the fact that it has produced a text which lies outside of the mainstream and thereby finds itself incompatible with other related important texts in its fields of interest (Zima, 2002). This is somewhat of a misnomer in the eyes of this author as styling this study so as to bring it into congruence with mainstream pieces of research would subvert its aims and therefore nullify its approach; after all this study represents an effort to radically shift away from conventional patterns of analysis and, as Norris so eloquently put it, "any radical shift of interpretive thought must always come up against the limits of seeming absurdity" (1991, pxi).

Lastly, it has been pointed out that a weakness of studies much like the one at hand, in line with deconstructivist and GTM modes of thought, is that they are so focused on highlighting the faults of modern theory and philosophy that they ensure that those problematic structures

remain (Zima, 2002). This author would not perceive that as a weakness which compromises the validity of the study for two reasons. Firstly because based on deconstructivist thought itself it is admitted that there can be no such thing as a text which is so perfectly self-aware that it is beyond the need for deconstruction, thus even this study itself must be subject to the same analytical exercises it carried out (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Secondly, because the study did not aim to destroy the faulty structures it uncovered within texts (this was stated at the outset when it was clarified that deconstruction is not synonymous with destruction), it aimed instead to reveal these dangerous and problematic structures for what they are (Leitch, 1983). This latter exercise is deemed to be far more worthwhile by this author; it can be so much more informative and useful than getting rid of a problem in that it enables us to see *why* the problem existed at all, a powerful explanatory task.

Every Action a Calculated Decision

The method followed in the course of completing the study presented here was at all times strictly controlled in the sense that every decision made was reflected on and only enacted upon establishing its congruence with the study's methodology and paradigm. At the same time, the method was also carried out with a degree of flexibility and freedom, enabling it to change course where necessary to meet the study's needs, thus the logic of abductive thinking played an important role in the decisions made by the author. The effort to ensure that the entirety of the research process was carried out in a circular pattern of simultaneous and reciprocal processes of constant comparative analysis was an effort on the part of the researcher to stay true to the belief that the truth is impossible to make permanent. However in the interest of the need to present *some* findings the study was inevitably 'paused' so that results could be shared, with the acknowledgement that these results were only as reliable as a paused truth could be, and only as accurate as one person's interpretation of deconstruction could be, because no two deconstructions can ever be alike.

This was all in complete harmony with the aim of deconstructivist thought, which states that the truth lies in that which is yet to be thought of. Thus in completing a study which acknowledged that caveat, this author attempted not only to address problems underlying South Africa's sanitation policy, but beyond that to come one step closer to creating a theory which would assist that process in this particular case and in others too. To be clear, this is by no means an attempt to avoid rigour or discipline in research. Rather, as eloquently expressed in the deconstructively-styled words of Glaser and Strauss, it is an acknowledgement of the

fact that "the published word is not the final one, but only a pause in the never-ending process of generating theory" (1967, p.40).

Initial Results

The Fruits of Coding

Following the method described in the previous chapter, as influenced by deconstructivism and GTM, the coding exercises carried out yielded interesting results. The results are presented in chart, tabular, and diagrammatic form and are arranged in an order which aims to assist the reader in gaining an insight into the coding process and the resultant codes. It is important to note that this section, though entitled results, does not contain the overall results of the study, it limits itself to the results of the initial process as the foundation for the further phases of coding. Further sections will build on this and results of the entire grounded theory study as those will only become clear later on in this paper during the respective chapters on concepts, theory building, and theory application.

In order to facilitate the understanding of how the respective gerund and phrase codes came about during both initial and intermediate coding, gerund codes are focused on first, and phrase codes are explained immediately thereafter. A separate chapter following this one will then raise the emergent codes to the level of concepts.

The question which the study sought to answer (both at a case-specific as well as more abstract level) was: why has demand-driven service delivery failed as a method for governing South Africa's sanitation policy? And this is what was kept in mind as the author approached data collection and analysis. Though the method has been described in detail in the preceding section it is worthwhile to reiterate how the author interacted with the data collected. As mentioned data was collected in a few rounds, always influenced by emergent codes which directed the scope of enquiry and sparked new exploratory secondary questions (Birks & Mills, 2011; Hood, 2007).

In order to ensure that the data being analysed was being *explained* (as is the point of GTM) and not *described*, two questions were asked per unit of analysis (in this case per 'incident' as described above) (Charmaz, 2012; Hood, 2007). The first question was simply "did what?"; this question was a shortened adaptation of "who did what?" with the "who" deliberately omitted in order to honour the deconstructivist tradition of avoiding placing any importance on the author of the source unless they are directly relevant to the research question (Leitch, 1983). As the documents being analysed were almost all policy documents there was also very little 'action' as such, however the texts were rich with processes, and due to GTM's fascination with processes as well as its favour for gerund codes the question was framed as such in order to yield answers which were processual in nature (Charmaz, 2012; Hood, 2007;

Norris, 1983; Zima, 2002). The second question asked was "what does it suggest?". This question was drafted in order to uncover the hidden meanings within codes. Based on this author's deconstructivist worldview problems cannot exist in neutral isolation, they are social constructs based on contextual meaning, which is why the scope of enquiry had to include more than key themes, it had to include the uncovering of existing meaning, so that new meanings could eventually be discovered (Denzin, 2007; Norris, 1983).

Through processing the data in the manner described in the methodology, while relying on the tools provided by the questions mentioned above, 608 lines of code were created, each with two elements. The first element consisted of a gerund which described what process was occurring, the second contained a phrase which explained the meaning associated with that gerund in that particular incident. Thus the author was left with 608 lines of dual-layered code with 25 gerund codes and 23 phrase codes. The results are included in this section in pivot charts which list the codes by their frequency of occurrence in order to ease analysis for the reader.

For more context and detail tables have been included in Appendix 2 which list each gerund in relation to all of the phrases it appeared with, and each phrase in relation to all of the gerunds it occurred with (as explained in the previous chapter). It is envisaged that these tables will prove to be of assistance to the reader when attempting to understand the decisions made by the researcher in coding the data as shown later on in this chapter, as well as a useful tool in understanding the discussion of the results and the chapter on concepts following this one. It is also important that the reader gets a taste of the degree to which the author fragmented the data first before uniting it in new ways as these are all *essential* parts of deconstructivism as well as GTM coding (Birks & Mills, 2011; Kelle, 2007; St. Pierre, 2011)

Coding to uncover processes

Figure 5 (following page) lists the 25 gerunds which emerged in response to the question "what is happening?". The gerunds have been listed in descending order of frequency of occurrence in order to demonstrate why specific processes emerged as important conceptual themes for commentary, particularly in the context of theory-building later on. For example, the data captured in Figure 5 indicates that in the sanitation discourse related to demand-driven service delivery legislating responsibility is one of the most powerful themes whereas, in comparison, processes such as unifying interests or thanking government were far weaker in terms of representing the general consensus in the data. These explanations are limited, however, in that whilst they can tell us a great deal about processes they are silent on the

meanings associated with them, which is why each code must be understood in the context of its emergence. This will be carried out in the next chapter which captures those deeper musings which form the bridge between intermediate and substantive coding. (Figure 5 shown on following page.)

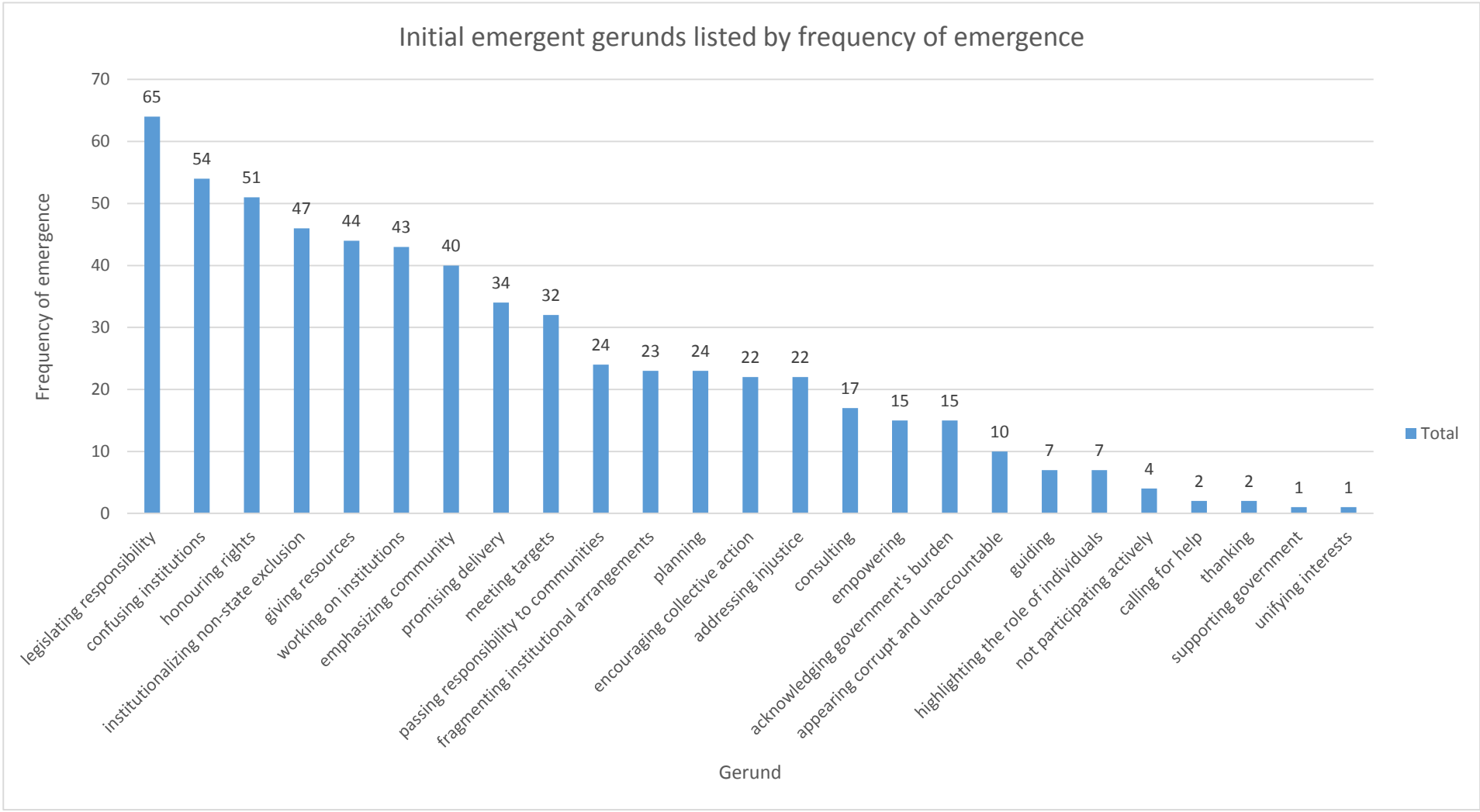


Figure 5: Pivot chart of the initial emergent gerunds

Coding to uncover meanings

The pivot chart on the following page lists the 23 phrases which emerged in response to the question "what does it suggest?". The phrases have been listed in descending order of frequency of occurrence in order to demonstrate why specific ideas or meanings emerged as important conceptual themes for commentary, particularly in the context of theory-building later on. For example, the data captured in the figure indicates that in the sanitation discourse related to demand-driven service delivery the most common underlying meaning or idea is that government is responsible whilst citizens have rights, whereas the idea that rights come with responsibilities is by comparison insignificant. These explanations are limited, however, in that whilst they can tell us a great deal about meanings they are silent on the actions or processes associated with them, which is why each code must be understood in the context of its emergence. As mentioned this will be expanded-upon in the following chapter. (Figure 6 shown on next page.)

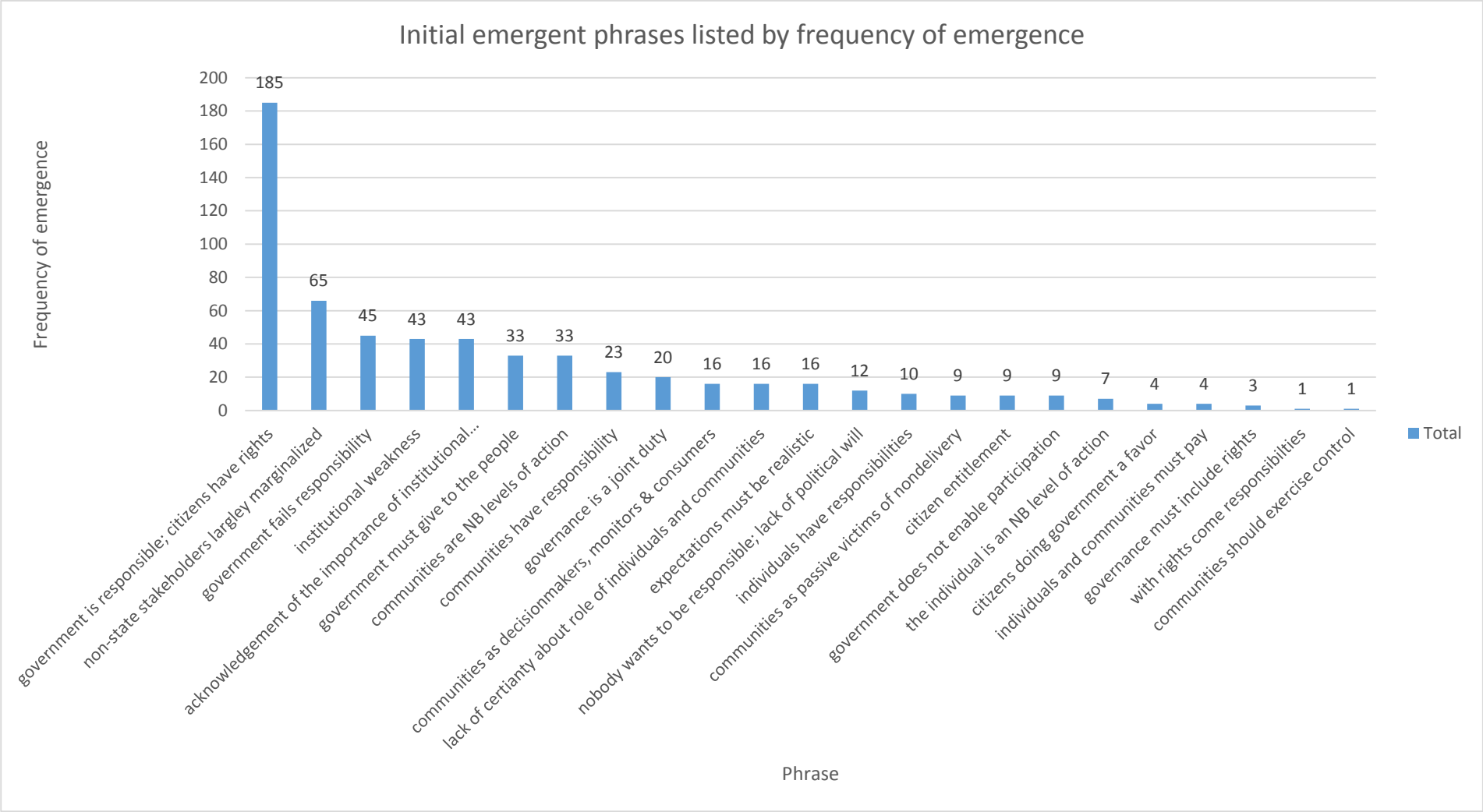


Figure 6: Pivot chart of the initial emergent phrase

This chapter has aimed to share with the reader the results of following the methodology and method described in preceding chapters in terms of the coding process. From data collection, to data analysis, to processing the 608 lines of initial codes through the machine that is GTM, the author was finally able to narrow down 25 initial gerund codes and 23 initial phrase codes As it is the purpose of GTM to explain rather than to describe, the following chapter will consist of an explanation of these individual codes so that they can be combined and condensed where possible and raised to the level of intermediate codes (Birks & Mills, 2011). The following chapter will also serve to provide the reader with insight into the early parts of substantive coding and foundational theorizing, a process which will be carried out in full in a further chapter on theory-building.

All of these steps served to bring the researcher ever-closer to achieving the objectives of the study at hand: finding out why demand-driven service delivery has failed as a public policy governance tool in the context of South Africa's sanitation policy, aiming to offer explanations that are not only accurate at the case-specific level, but also sufficiently formal and abstract so as to be generalizable and become a foundation for theory (Kearney, 2007; Strubing, 2007). A critique levelled at a number of GTM studies is that they tend to perform a slight of hand when producing theory, and provide insufficient insight into the process which allowed the theory to emerge (Barbour, 2001). Thus the following chapters will delve into the further stages of coding in detail in order to demonstrate this all-important process of emergence.

Conceptual Codes

Elaborating on Emergent Codes

As mentioned, a large number of initial codes emerged in the course of carrying out the research presented in this paper (25 gerunds and 23 phrases). The purpose of listing and describing them all is important because it proved to be an essential part of the research, and without a basic understanding of the meaning behind each of these codes it would be difficult for the reader to understand how and why they were narrowed down to the final six intermediate codes later chosen (these intermediate codes will be explained in full further in the chapter). Without understanding these initial codes the reader may find it quite difficult to understand how the foundation for theory was built, hence making the chapter on theory-building and later that on theory application inaccessible. Lastly, this chapter reports the results of a very important process, comparing codes to one another to firstly list and later explain the relationships between them

Theory-building in the context of GTM is impossible without reflecting on the relationships between the grouped intermediate codes, and although this is a largely personal mental exercise for researchers it is one which must nonetheless be communicated. As the purpose of GTM is to create information which is not only new but also *useful* it is important that the outcome of the work presented here be as accessible as possible, and so to facilitate understanding the following list of emergent gerunds and phrases (initial codes) has been provided (Glaser, 2007).

Below the emergent initial codes have been listed in descending order of frequency of occurrence, and they are numbered to match Tables A1 and A2 in Appendix 2, as well as Tables 1 and 2 at the end of this chapter, thus facilitating easy reference. It is important to note that the years in which each code frequently occurred are also discussed briefly below, this is not in order to provide anything akin to a literature review or in order to place undue importance on the context of the source, as GTM instructs its users to treat all information as raw data which requires analysis. However in the course of answering a question about a policy whose life has extended over 20 years it is necessary to acknowledge the chronological element of the research question, and so whilst the authors of the sources are not acknowledged their year of publication is in order to facilitate the application of the meanings derived from them to the case at hand more accurately (Birks & Mills, 2011; Leitch, 1983).

Lastly, because the process of initial coding fragments whereas intermediate coding begins to unite based on relationships between codes, the context within which each code was most

frequently found will also be explained, so as to add to their depth and demonstrate the foundation for substantive coding (Holton, 2007). In the case of the gerunds (the codes generated by asking 'did what?') the phrases/meaning with which they were most often associated will be mentioned; in the case of the phrases (the codes generating by asking 'what does it suggest?') the process or gerund with which they were most commonly associated will be mentioned.

Gerunds:

1. Legislating responsibility: as many of the documents analysed discussed formal legislation that would distribute the responsibility for carrying out South Africa's sanitation policy in various hands, this became an important processual theme, in fact it was the most frequently occurring gerund. This theme emerged on a constant basis throughout the documents analysed as legislation concerning the policy or the discussion of legislating responsibility took place almost every year since the policy's inception. This was most strongly correlated with the phrase 'government is responsible; citizens have rights', thus making it clear that whilst responsibility regarding the duties associated with South Africa's sanitation policy was firmly legislated, it was also in the context of placing the majority on the shoulders of government, whilst emphasizing that citizens were entitled to government's fulfilment of its responsibility. The process of legislating responsibility was very weakly correlated with the role of communities, individuals, or non-state groups/organizations, indicating that responsibility with regard to the sanitation policy is very weakly associated with anybody other than government.

2. Confusing institutions: in this context (as well as the context of the study in general) the word institution was used in its most general sense, thus applying to non-physical institutions as well, such as standards and norms. The idea that the institutions which surrounded South Africa's sanitation policies were not only confusing in and of themselves, but also confused those who tried to interact with them, came through very strongly in the data analysed. This process, though retrospectively obvious from the outset, only emerged from the data towards the last six years of the policy's existence. Confusing institutions were most commonly associated with the phrase 'institutional weakness', indicating a clear acknowledgement that the lack of clarity surrounding the institutional framework

of South Africa's sanitation policy is contributing to the weakening of these very institutions, compromising their effectiveness and the policy itself in the process. The confusion surrounding institutions was also weakly related to the idea that government has failed its responsibility to deliver sanitation, indicating the weak prevalence of the idea that government is responsible for creating an enabling institutional environment around the sanitation policy.

3. Honouring rights: true to its title, this code refers to the frequently occurring idea that South Africa's sanitation policy and associated work was all being carried out within the context of a big emphasis on the right to realize and enjoy this service. These rights existed at local, provincial, national, and international levels. Although this theme had emerged from the data from the outset of the existence of a sanitation policy in South Africa, it began to emerge much more strongly through data from the last four years. The process of honouring rights was most frequently mentioned in conjunction with the idea that 'government is responsible; citizens have rights', thereby emphasizing the idea that the rights to which citizens are entitled should be as strong of a motivating force to government as their responsibility to meet them, i.e. the idea that when it comes to government fulfilling their responsibilities, honouring the rights to which citizens are entitled is a reciprocal if not synonymous process. In contrast, the process of honouring rights is rarely brought up in conjunction with any responsibility on the part of individuals, communities, or non-state entities.

4. Institutionalizing non-state exclusion: in the course of analysing underlying processes which formed the foundation of South Africa's sanitation policy it became clear time and again that strong forces were at play which created an atmosphere of exclusive access when it came to participation in the general policy process. These forces made the exclusion of non-state elements so 'official' that it was informally institutionalized. This process, though retrospectively obvious from the outset, only emerged from the data towards the last six years of the policy's existence. The meaning most often associated with this process was labelled 'non-state stakeholders largely marginalized', and so there is the impression of a level of exclusivity in policy that goes right to the top echelons of state power, an almost deliberate and official construction of a barrier that places non-state actors on the outskirts of the sanitation policy.

5. Giving resources: a common processual theme which emerged from the data was the idea of giving resources, i.e. there was a heavy emphasis on the resource-intensive element of the policy as well as the ideal source for needed resources. This process was emphasized most during the midpoint of the policy's life, during the 2001-2003 period, however it also emerged more frequently in recent data (from the last five years) than in early data. The emergent idea/phrase most commonly associated with this was 'government must give to the people', which paints a picture of acknowledging the need for resources to carry out sanitation-related duties in the context of an understanding of government as a source of resources for the rest of society.

6. Working on institutions: beyond the abovementioned emphasis on confusing institutions, the documents analysed frequently included the idea of working on institutions, whether it was expressed in terms of the need to rethink institutions surrounding South Africa's sanitation policy, or in the form of concrete plans to change this institutional structure, institutions and the idea that they were a work in progress came through very strongly. This process emerged as important on a constant basis in that it emerged in almost all of the documents analysed. This process was strongly correlated with the emergent phrase 'acknowledgement of the importance of institutional structure', confirming that this work in progress that is the institutional framework behind South Africa's sanitation policy is based not only on the weakness of institutions, but on a realization of their importance in giving effect to the policy.

7. Emphasizing community: although many levels of action were highlighted in the analysed documents, no level (other than the state itself) was emphasized more than that of the community. Time and again communities were addressed as the primary unit of action. This was another process which, although not mentioned highly frequently, came through in the majority of the analysed documents. The most important phrase/meaning to be associated with this gerund was 'communities are NB levels of action', and so there is this idea of the potential power of communities if properly harnessed. However this process of emphasizing community was only weakly correlated with incidents of specifying exactly what it was communities could and should do.

8. Promising delivery: as is obvious from the title, the promise of service delivery be it in the form of deeds or words was a common emergent process in the documents analysed. This process emerged most frequently in documents from the early to mid-point of the policy's life (2001-2003). Unsurprisingly the phrase most associated with the idea of promising delivery was 'government is responsible; citizens have rights', giving the author the impression that the act of promising delivery (by government) creates a perception of governmental duty combined with citizen entitlement.

9. Meeting targets: the notion of goals, who was responsible for them, and who was in charge of monitoring and evaluating progress in this regard was a process which emerged very clearly from the analysed data. This process of goal-orientation was a common one but emerged with highest frequency in more recent years (2011-2014). The phrase which occurred most frequently in conjunction with the process of meeting targets was that 'government fails responsibility' and 'government is responsible, citizens have rights'. Creating an image of government as the sole responsible party in achieving targets, one whose progress is monitored and usually found insufficient and dissatisfactory. Interestingly the idea of meeting targets was very weakly correlated with the phrase 'expectations must be realistic', perhaps explaining the perception of government as a failure in the face of unrealistic expectations.

10. Passing responsibility to communities: apart from drawing attention to the importance of communities in and of themselves, another community-related process which emerged during analysis was that of transferring responsibility to the community level, or at least the idea that this should happen. This process emerged most strongly during the earlier years of the policy's life (1994-2002), and although touched on in more recent documents it was a rarity. There was a strong correlation between the idea of passing responsibilities to communities and the emergent phrase 'communities have responsibilities, proving that government in some instances attempted to share out its responsibilities with regard to sanitation.

11. Fragmenting institutional arrangements: one process which emerged as both common and conceptually powerful from the data analysed was that of

government (whether on purpose or not) doing various things which actively fragmented the institutions surrounding South Africa's sanitation policy. The emergence of this process was most strong in analysed documents from the later period of the policy's life (2009 onwards). The phrase most strongly correlated with this gerund was 'institutional weakness', voicing an idea that the lack of institutional cohesion is a weakening force; it was also correlated with the idea that government has responsibilities, and with the idea that there are major political hesitancies to accepting this responsibility. This process was however only weakly correlated with labelling government's actions in this respect as a failure, meaning that they are deemed to be responsible for creating institutional cohesion and an enabling/empowering institutional environment, but not necessarily held liable for the current lack thereof.

12. Planning: as was mentioned, the majority of the documents analysed were policy documents, and so it should be of no surprise that a process often arising during analysis was that of planning, in fact the mention of planning though not extremely frequent, was almost constant across all sources. This process most often took place in the context of government fulfilling its responsibilities, which citizens have the right to expect (according to the sources). Planning was unfortunately only very weakly correlated to the idea of governance as a joint duty.

13. Encouraging collective action: an emphasis on the collective arose during the course of analysis, an emphasis which took place in the context of action towards the achievement of South Africa's sanitation goals. This theme emerged with high frequency in the early years of the policy's existence, then nearly disappeared for the majority of the policy's lifespan, only to return over the last two years. As one would expect the incidence of this process in the data was strongly correlated with the phrase/idea 'governance is a joint duty', ensuring that collective action was understood as necessary in the course of performing the act of governance. This process was however only very weakly correlated with specifying individual or community roles and responsibilities, indicating that the idea of collective action was just that, an idea, not an imperative, but a very generalized and hopeful aspiration.

14. Addressing injustice: this process was an emotive theme which emerged as an explanation for the policy's necessity and contextualized the policy within South Africa's past of institutionalized racism and the socioeconomic effects thereof. Its emergence, though not extremely frequent, was almost constant across all sources. The act of addressing injustice most often emerged in the context of the responsibilities of government *vis a vis* the rights of citizens, whereas it was only very weakly correlated to the emergent phrase/idea 'expectations must be realistic', shedding light on the fact that there is a clear expectation that government must address the injustices of the past as part of the rights to which citizens are entitled, with no cap or limitation to these expectations.

15. Consulting: the idea of incorporating a multiplicity of views emerged in various contexts throughout the analysis of the data. Its mention though not very frequent in relation to other emergent ideas, emerged strongly every few years and then petered out again. The process of consulting emerged most often as a strong theme in the context of the emergent phrase/idea that non-state stakeholders are largely marginalized, suggesting that when it comes to participation in the process that is sanitation service delivery in South Africa, non-state individuals /organizations/entities are largely relegated to the process of consulting, a hollow gesture and one which serves to marginalize rather than include them.

16. Empowering: the idea of creating an enabling environment within which people could realize and enjoy their right to sanitation came to be encapsulated within the emergent concept labelled 'empowering'. This was a strongly emergent theme in the early years of sanitation policy, and thereafter its emergence all but disappeared. This process only emerged in the context of government's duty as part and parcel of allowing and enabling citizens to enjoy their rights, leaving one with the impression that whilst government is responsible to provide certain services they are also responsible for allowing and enabling people to realize these services for themselves, to an extent.

17. Acknowledging government's burden: a less common theme but one which emerged as important nonetheless was the practice of acknowledging the burden placed on government by the sanitation policy and its requirements. This was acknowledged much more frequently in the first half of the policy's life (1994-

2003). The emergent phrase/idea 'expectations must be realistic' was most strongly correlated with this gerund, driving home the idea that in the context of the burden placed on government by South Africa's sanitation policy the expectations facing them must be within reason. Although this was most often given as part of explanations of a failure to deliver set targets, it was also importantly brought up at the outset of setting new ones and realizing the need to make them achievable.

18. Appearing corrupt and unaccountable: the idea that government was corrupt emerged not frequently but in a strategic manner in the data analysed. Without proof or clear allegations this idea of corruption could not be treated as an assumption, and so it came to be captured within the idea of appearing to be corrupt and unaccountable. This theme emerged exclusively in those policy-related documents from the last two three years (2012 onwards). The idea/phrase that government had failed its responsibility emerged strongly in relation with this process, implying that there is a responsibility on the part of government to *not* be corrupt and unaccountable (in carrying out the responsibilities linked to the sanitation policy).

19. Guiding: the idea of government engaged in a process of nurturing and guiding came up quite rarely in the data and was much more frequent of an occurrence in the earliest years of the policy's life (1994-1996). Though not a very common process to emerge from the data, guiding was most strongly correlated to the phrase/idea of government responsibility, adding to the image of government as a supportive and empowering element (in the course of carrying out duties related to sanitation service delivery).

20. Highlighting the role of individuals: the idea of the importance of the individual came up much less frequently than highlighting that of the community. Though it was important in relation to the policy's requirement of demand-driven service delivery it was rarely touched on in the data, making its rare occurrence an important incident to capture. This was really only done in an explicit nature in the earliest years of the policy's life (1994-1997). The phrase/idea most often associated with the act of highlighting individuals' roles was that the individual is an important level at which action can take place. Compared to other non-state

entities whose importance was highlighted, i.e. the community, the emergence of individuals' importance was a thematic rarity in the data analysed, suggesting that individuals are either not seen as important or effective in carrying out service delivery-related duties (in the case of South African policies).

21. Not participating actively: the process of citizen participation, be it at the individual, community, or non-state organization level was a rarity, and thus its occurrence in the data was duly noted. This only explicitly emerged from the data in 2012, and was noted in the context of discussing the responsibilities of non-state entities.

22. Calling for help: the act of calling for help in the course of carrying out the requirements of the sanitation policy by government were few and far between, only occurring once in 1994 and once in 1996. This process emerged in relation to acknowledging that governance is a joint duty, as well as in the context of citizens doing government a favour by engaging in any helpful activities.

23. Thanking: this act refers to government thanking non-state bodies/individuals/groups for their contribution towards the realization of goals related to carrying out South Africa's sanitation policy; it also only emerged twice in the data. Interesting due to the rarity of its occurrence, this process was exclusively noted in the context of the phrase/idea that citizens were doing government a favour.

24. Supporting government: this process refers to the idea of citizens supporting government in whatever capacity, as part of their duties. It only arose once in the course of analysis. The only phrase/idea which the act of supporting government was associated with was that citizens have responsibilities, another rare emergent initial code.

25. Unifying interests: this refers to the process whereby government indicates the mutual interests they share with citizens in the course of carrying out the requirements of the sanitation policy. This process only arose once in the data which was analysed. The only idea/phrase with which this gerund was linked was that governance is a joint duty, i.e. a duty in which all participating parties can be motivated by the mutual nature of their interests.

Phrases/ideas:

1. Government is responsible; citizens have rights: this was by far the most frequently occurring phrase or idea which gave context to the coded gerunds, and it implies an uneven status quo and asymmetrical power-relationship between government and civil society wherein the former is seen as primarily responsible and the latter as entitled. The emergence of this theme was not only the most frequent in comparison to others, it was also spread out evenly amongst all of the analysed documents from 1994 to the present day, indicating the continual importance of this idea and its norm-like status. The processes with which it was most closely associated in the analysed data were 'honouring rights' and 'legislating responsibility', indicating the prevalence of this perspective even in the legislative sphere, as if this responsibility-rights division is at the heart of governance. It was comparatively weakly related to processes like 'addressing injustice', 'planning', and 'empowering', and only very weakly associated with 'passing responsibility to communities' or 'encouraging collective action', proof that this asymmetrical relationship is supported and perpetuated by both parties to it.

2. Non-state stakeholders largely marginalized: another important phrase/idea to emerge from the data was the implication that stakeholders in the sanitation policy outside of the realm of 'the state' (or government) were generally excluded from active participation (as opposed to passive participation which is hollow and pointless). This was also a theme which was reiterated time and again across almost all of the documents analysed, indicating its embeddedness within the sanitation policy. The process it was most often associated with was 'institutionalizing non-state participation', indicating the norm-like status of this idea. Unfortunately it was only very weakly associated with the role of individuals and the community, indicating that non-state entities are passive 'victims' of this institutionalized process.

3. Government fails responsibility: the idea that government was not only responsible but that their responsibility was associated with a failure to perform emerged fairly strongly from the data, interestingly it was almost exclusively concentrated in data analysed from 2011 onwards. It was most often associated with gerunds like 'meeting targets', 'appearing corrupt and unaccountable', and

'confusing institutions', implying that government is seen as responsible for doing very specific things, in a very specific way, within a very specific structure. There is an idea that all of these levels of responsibility exist, and yet they all rest on the shoulders of government, thus making government a target for much blame as well.

4. Institutional weakness: this phrase/idea represents an emergent acknowledgement of the fact that the institutions surrounding South Africa's sanitation policy are weak. This idea only emerged from analysed data which was from the 2009-2014 period, which does not necessarily indicate the recent nature of the problem, but rather that it had possibly been ongoing for a decade and a half before it was acknowledged. Institutional weakness was most strongly correlated to 'confusing institutions', a process which as mentioned implies not only institutions that are confusing in nature but also actively muddling up institutional arrangements, this paints a picture of a completely inadequate institutional structure, characterized by a lack of clarity and cohesion, which is found weak and wanting.

5. Acknowledgement of the importance of institutional structure: this emergent phrase/idea is important in that it indicates a realization that goes one step beyond simply labelling institutions as problematic and actually recognizes the seriousness of the problem. This idea also emerged from the data in a consistent nature, indicating that well before institutions were labelled as problematic they were always acknowledged as important. It was most often associated with the process of 'working on institutions', indicating that that process has always been a prioritized work-in-progress. It is comparatively only very weakly associated with the process of 'passing responsibilities on to communities', supporting the earlier inclination that suggested the marginalization of non-state entities.

6. Government must give to the people: As mentioned multiple times there was a strong leaning in the analysed data towards viewing government as responsible in the face of citizen entitlement, the idea was often taken further than that to imply that government's responsibility was specifically linked to giving. Though not a very frequent theme its emergence was consistent in the analysed data

across all of the years of South Africa's sanitation policy's existence. This idea was most often seen in conjunction with the process of 'giving resources', creating an image of government as responsible for giving resources and a site for resource extraction for citizens who are entitled to enjoy this benefit. In contrast it was very weakly associated with 'planning' or 'legislating responsibility', indicating that there is a conception that government's first and foremost duty is material provision, not creating empowering frameworks for example, or helping people to help themselves, those are only secondary when compared to the priority of resource-sharing/giving.

7. Communities are important levels of action: an idea/phrase which emerged often was that there was a great potential for driving change and sparking action at the community level. This theme emerged much more strongly in the earlier half of the sanitation policy's life, and was most often associated with the process of 'emphasizing community' in the data. In comparison, it was only barely associated with 'passing responsibility to communities', indicating that communities were simply labelled as important levels of action, but that neither government nor communities themselves acted on this massive potential.

8. Communities have responsibility: the ideas that communities were important potential levels of action has already been listed, however the idea that communities actually had responsibilities was a much rarer emergent idea/phrase in the data analysed. The emergence of this phrase/idea was far more common in data dating to the earlier period of the sanitation policy's existence, suggesting again that there was a change in mind-set. This idea's occurrence was strongly related to the gerund 'passing responsibility to communities', however the low incidence of this phrase as well as the correlation of the two indicates that this recognized potential of communities as a nexus of power and change has not been realized and remains exactly that: potential. The phrase was only very weakly correlated to the gerund 'giving resources', indicating that that is not seen as one of the responsibilities of communities.

9. Governance is a joint duty: highlighted because of its low incidence, this self-explanatory idea/phrase indicated instances wherein governance was described and understood as a task involving more than one entity, more than one active

participant. The emergence of this idea, however, was almost exclusive to the first half of the policy's life (the 1994-2002 period), almost disappearing thereafter and hinting at a potential shift in thinking. This was most often associated with the process of 'encouraging collective action', but only weakly associated with 'planning' or 'passing responsibility to communities', suggesting that whilst this idea was acknowledged, it was only weakly so, and very little was done to act on that acknowledgement in such a manner as to translate its existence from rhetoric to reality.

10. Lack of certainty about the role of individuals and communities: this self-explanatory idea/phrase emerged very weakly, either indicating a lack of interest in addressing this issue, which is indicative of the fact that (usually) in the few instances when the role of non-state entities was discussed, it was clarified. This theme arose more frequently in the latter half of the sanitation policy's life, and was most often associated with the gerund 'giving resources', indicating that where there *was* confusion regarding the role to be played by non-state entities, it was with regard to their contribution of resources towards the process, and not necessarily due to the institutionalization of non-state entity marginalization, which it was only weakly correlated to.

11. Expectations must be realistic: this idea referred to the emergence of calls for realistic expectations to be levelled against government in the fulfilment of its sanitation-related responsibilities, a theme which was mentioned sporadically throughout the years of the sanitation policy's existence. It was most closely correlated to the gerund 'acknowledging government's burden', however its low incidence overall is indicative of the fact that even government itself failed to create realistic expectations regarding its responsibilities and abilities, pinning the blame for unrealistic expectations on all spheres in society.

12. Communities as decision-makers, monitors & consumers: this idea/phrase emerged very rarely, pointing to the rarity of occasions on which specific roles were delegated to the community level, roles which inevitably came to be restricted to decision-making (in terms of what type of sanitation service a community wanted out of the various options available), monitoring, and consuming. The emergence of this idea was much more concentrated in analysed

data from the 2011 period onwards. It was closely associated with gerunds like 'consulting', 'emphasizing community' and 'institutionalizing non-state exclusion', indicating that even when community responsibility was vaguely specified it was done so in a marginalizing manner, relegating participation to largely passive roles.

13. Nobody wants to be responsible; lack of political will: this rarely-occurring idea/phrase refers to the shirking of institutionalized responsibility at the governmental level. It emerged much more strongly in analysed data from the 2011 period onwards, and was most often associated with the gerund 'confusing institutions', indicating that a result of the lack of institutional clarify was a lack of willingness of accept responsibility. But also indicating that government's refusal to accept responsibility is merely a suspicion and not a reality, a perpetuated myth but nothing more.

14. Communities as passive victims of non-delivery: a theme which had emerged early on was the suggestion that communities were passively victimized by the politics of non-delivery in terms of sanitation policy. The low incidence of this idea/phrase suggests that although the perception persists it doesn't have strong explanatory power, however its emergence only began in data from the 2012 period onwards, and it could potentially be an important theme in future research if it persists to the degree that it becomes a widely held view.

15. Government does not enable participation: one emergent idea/phrase which was strongly correlated to 'institutionalizing non-state participation' was the idea that government was failing in relation to this responsibility of creating enabling institutions. However it can be assumed, based on the low incidence of this idea/phrase as well as its almost exclusive emergence in data dated to the earliest period of sanitation policy, that it was a problem which quickly disappeared or stopped being regarded as a problem.

16. Individuals have responsibilities: in stark contrast with the incidence of the idea that government has responsibilities, the emergence of the idea that individuals have responsibilities was extremely rare and largely restricted to the analysed data from the 2010-2013 period. The idea was most often related to the gerund 'giving resources', although only weakly so.

17. Citizen entitlement: the idea that citizens were entitled as opposed to invested with rights was a rarely emergent one, thus indicating that citizens' expectations with regard to service delivery (here specifically sanitation) were largely based on rights they were invested with. However it is worthwhile to note that it only began to emerge strongly in the 2012-2013 period and if it persists in the future it has the potential to become a powerful norm and an interesting subject for further research on this topic. It was most often associated with the gerund 'promising delivery', indicating a recent mind-shift towards feeling entitled as a result of government's service delivery promises.

18. The individual is an important level of action: whereas the importance of the community was often emphasized, the importance of action at the individual level was a rare emergence in the analysed data. Interestingly the emergence of this idea was largely restricted to the earliest years of South Africa's sanitation policy, suggesting that it was a strong norm initially and then was phased out. The gerund with which it was most often associated was 'highlighting the role of individuals', proof of the fact that whilst it was highlighted it was never discussed with specificity, potentially the reason behind its eventual disappearance.

19. Citizens doing government a favour: the low emergence of this theme in the data suggests it has limited explanatory power in and of itself, however it is important in that as a measure of citizens going above and beyond what is deemed to be expected of them it occurred very rarely, it was only acknowledged by government twice early on in the life of the sanitation policy indicating that government stopped acknowledging it thereafter, but also that its occurrence became a disappearing rarity.

20. Individuals and communities must pay: the emergence of the idea/phrase that non-state entities should directly contribute resources to service delivery was almost non-existent as opposed to the high frequency with which the idea that government should contribute its resources emerged. This idea was most highly concentrated in the earliest years of sanitation policy, hinting at a change of mind-set in later years.

21. Governance must include rights: the idea that government is lacking enough of a focus on rights emerged quite rarely from the data, in stark contrast with the

idea that service delivery (in the case of sanitation) was already heavily characterized by an emphasis on citizens' rights, indicating that the rights of citizens are not a major problem in the current case. The idea only emerged in analysed data from 2014, and thus could potentially become a powerful idea if its existence persists.

22. With rights come responsibilities: the idea that 'with rights come responsibilities' only emerged from the data once, and it was in relation to the gerund 'honouring rights'. It emerged from data dated to 2013, and suggests that up until very recently there was a perception that rights were completely unencumbered by responsibilities at the non-state level. The fact that the idea emerged once two years ago and never again is suggestive of the fact that it still does not have much clout.

23. Communities should exercise control: despite the emphasis on the importance of communities occurring quite frequently in the data, the emergence of the idea that communities should exercise any real level of control when it comes to the sanitation policy is almost non-existent, save for one mention in 1994, a clear hint at the fact that the power of communities remains unclear and unharnessed.

Making Sense of the Data

By now the reader will no doubt be inundated with a plethora of ideas and concepts in their infancy, confusing in their sheer numbers. This was precisely the aim of the above section which was an effort to include the reader in the process of the study as much as possible. The above section of this chapter listed and explained each initial code in detail in order to demonstrate the process of initial coding, an effort to fragment the data and suspend meaning outside of its contextual structures in an effort to expose them (Birks & Mills, 2011; Derrida, 2000; Wolfreys, 1998). It is only by engaging in this process that GTM's next phase, intermediate coding, can truly begin. The above section thus not only explained the codes, their emergence and their significance, but it went one step further than simply fragmenting the data and began to reflect on the relationships between the gathered data, the data and the codes, and the codes with one another, revealing the foundation for transitioning from initial to intermediate codes, giving the reader some insight into the often porous boundaries between these two mental exercises (Holton, 2007).

Having raised the initial codes to the level of concepts, it became easy to compare the codes to one another. In order to begin to consolidate the fragmented initial gerunds were compared to one another and phrases were compared to one another. The result of this exercise was the narrowing down of the 25 initial gerunds to three intermediate ones, and the narrowing down of the 23 initial phrases to three intermediate ones as well, as shown in Tables 1 and 2 below. Thus the data was unified based on the relationships which emerged between them once subjected to analysis. This process of intermediate coding formed an important precursor to the construction of theory (substantive coding), as these intermediate codes and emergent concepts provided the bedrock for that process (Birks & Mills, 2011; Holton, 2007).

Based on the author's understanding of the texts analysed, as well as contexts within which the initial gerund codes most frequently occurred, three thematic gerunds emerged (blaming, institutionalizing wrongly, and absolving & marginalizing) within which the 25 emergent gerund codes could be unified and grouped. These three gerunds became intermediate codes and are listed below. In Table 1 the intermediate gerunds are emboldened and numbered as row headers. Below each intermediate gerund those initial gerunds which were combined are listed and are numbered (in the leftmost column) based on their frequency of occurrence in the overall dataset. These numbers correspond with the numbers assigned to them in Table A1 in Appendix 2, as well as with their numbering in the conceptual descriptions within this chapter. Thus based on the first row it is evident that 'legislating responsibility' was the most frequently occurring initial gerund in the data, and it was noted 65 times.

Table 1: a list of the intermediate gerund/process/action codes indicating the initial codes combined (below) in each case

	(1) blaming	
1	legislating responsibility	65
3	honouring rights	51
5	giving resources	44
8	promising delivery	34
9	meeting targets	32
12	planning	24
14	addressing injustice	22
16	empowering	15
17	acknowledging government's burden	15
18	appearing corrupt and unaccountable	10
19	guiding	7
23	thanking	2
24	supporting government	1

25	unifying interests	1
(2) institutionalizing wrongly		
2	confusing institutions	54
4	institutionalizing non-state exclusion	47
6	working on institutions	43
11	fragmenting institutional arrangements	23
21	not participating actively	3
(3) absolving & marginalizing		
7	emphasizing community	40
10	passing responsibility to communities	24
13	encouraging collective action	22
15	consulting	17
20	highlighting the role of individuals	7
22	calling for help	2

Based on the context from which they emerged, processes such as 'legislating responsibility', 'honouring rights', 'giving resources', and many others were found to be part of a larger process of 'blaming'. Processes like 'confusing institutions', 'institutionalising non-state exclusion', and a few others were understood to be part of the overall process of 'institutionalizing wrongly'. Lastly, processes like 'emphasizing community', 'passing responsibility to communities', and others, emerged most often as part of a process of 'absolving and marginalizing'. Thus the 25 initial gerund codes were narrowed down to six intermediate gerunds.

Based on the author's understanding of the texts analysed, as well as contexts within which the initial phrase codes most frequently occurred, three thematic phrases emerged ('the duties of government vs the prerogative of citizens', the effect of institutions, and 'the role of non-state entities'). Within these the 23 emergent phrase codes were unified and grouped. These three phrases became intermediate codes and are listed below. In Table 1 the intermediate phrases are emboldened and numbered as row headers. Below each intermediate phrase those initial phrase which were combined are listed and are numbered (in the leftmost column) based on their frequency of occurrence in the overall dataset. These numbers correspond with the numbers assigned to them in Table A2 in Appendix 2, as well as with their numbering in the conceptual descriptions within this chapter. Thus based on the first row it is evident that 'government is responsible; citizens have rights' was the most frequently occurring initial phrase in the data, and it was noted 185 times.

Table 2: a list of the intermediate phrase/idea/meaning codes indicating the initial codes combined (below) in each case

	(1) the duties of government vs the prerogative of citizen	
1	government is responsible; citizens have rights	185
3	government fails responsibility	46
6	government must give to the people	33
12	expectations must be realistic	16
16	citizen entitlement	9
21	governance must include rights	3
22	with rights come responsibilities	1
	(2) the effect of institutions	
2	non-state stakeholders largely marginalized	65
4	institutional weakness	43
5	acknowledgement of the importance of institutional structure	43
13	nobody wants to be responsible; lack of political will	12
17	government does not enable participation	9
	(3) the role of non-state entities	
7	communities are NB levels of action	33
8	communities have responsibility	23
9	governance is a joint duty	20
11	lack of certainty about role of individuals and communities	16
10	communities as decision makers, monitors & consumers	16
14	individuals have responsibilities	11
15	communities as passive victims of nondelivery	9
18	the individual is an NB level of action	7
20	individuals and communities must pay	4
19	citizens doing government a favour	4
23	communities should exercise control	1

Based on the context from which they emerged, ideas/phrases such as 'government is responsible; citizens have rights', 'government fails responsibility', and others were most frequently associated with ideas surrounding 'the duties of government vs the prerogative of citizens'. Phrases such as 'non-state stakeholders largely marginalized', 'institutional weakness', and others listed above emerged most often in connection with the idea of 'the effect of institutions'. Lastly, ideas such as 'communities are NB levels of action', 'communities had responsibility', and many others all bore a strong connection to the idea of 'the role of non-state entities'.

Thus based on the relationships between the data and data, data and codes, and codes and codes which were explored during initial and early intermediate coding (as shown in Tables 1-4 and Figures 1 & 2), the above six intermediate codes emerged, which for the purpose of explanation will be treated as two sides of the same coin (this will be expanded-upon in the following chapter).

Of course intermediate coding involves combining codes in order to locate relationships, whilst substantive coding involves coding on the basis of relationships, thus having reflected on the relationships between initial codes and their contexts, substantive coding can take place in the form of reflecting on the relationships between intermediate codes and *their* contexts, i.e. the relationship between the substantive codes and the intermediate codes which combined to create them (Birks & Mills, 2011; Glaser, 1978). This will be the task of the following chapter which discusses theory-building.

A Foundation for Emergent Theory

At the outset of the research presented here the author was motivated by one aim: to answer (both at a case-specific as well as more abstract level) the question 'why has demand-driven service delivery failed as a method for governing South Africa's sanitation policy?' In the course of doing so the method described in chapter five was put in motion, with initial and intermediate coding producing the results shown in chapter six and further expanded upon in the current chapter. The following chapter on theory building guides the reader through the process of substantive theorizing, the final and most abstract formalized process in the course of drafting grounded theories. What has been demonstrated up to this point is how codes emerged from the data, first destroying meanings and then allowing new ones to emerge as the codes were brought together and grouped.

However as they stand the current codes remain segregated in the form of separate processes and meanings. Having made ourselves aware of the harmful and dangerous contexts of each, it is now appropriate to bring them back together and reunite the element of process with that of meaning so that the overall deconstructivist goal of revealing the source of a problem can be realized (O'Reilly, 2008). In what follows the groupings will be explained and further generalized and formalized so that by the end of the next chapter a new theory can be

presented, one in whose process of 'creation'[11] the reader has been able to participate even if only passively.[12]

[11] The term 'creation' is used loosely here, acknowledging that the theory was not so much created from scratch as it was an already existent theory brought to light by the investigative powers of deconstructivism and GTM
[12] For a more detailed (though far less organized) insight into the coding process the reader is invited to refer to Appendix 2 where the memos created during the course of constant comparative analysis are provided. The memos are grouped by source.

Theory-building

A Mental Exercise

At the outset of the presented research the author's interest in this subject was fuelled by the aim to answer one question: why has demand-driven service delivery failed as a method for governing South Africa's sanitation policy? This was a policy tool created by the South African government as they tried to tackle the task of supplying 21 million people with sanitation services, and it entails service delivery being demand-receptive, with demand being generated by citizens showing a willingness to contribute in some manner to towards the realization of services they wanted to enjoy (DWAF, 1994). Thus in the course of theorizing the writer focused on the failure of this idea of service delivery based on a mass-contribution system, as opposed to focusing on the failure to simply deliver sanitation (the failure of the policy governance tool as opposed to the policy itself).

True to the aims of the paradigm and methodology which characterized the writer's approach both a case-specific as well as a generalizable answer that would serve as a middle-range theory were hoped to be located through analysing the data collected (Kearney, 2007; Strubing, 2007). In the previous two chapters the first two parts of GTM theory preparation were laid out and explained, ending off with the six intermediate codes which emerged when that process came to a natural pause (the term pause is used rather than ending because GTM and deconstruction both do not believe in endings or the permanent establishment of truths, just the suspension of meaning until it is examined again) (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Leitch, 1983; Royle, 2000).

These intermediate codes (shown in Tables 1 and 2) included: 'blaming', 'institutionalizing wrongly', 'absolving and marginalizing', 'the duties of government vs the prerogative of citizens', 'the effect of institutions', and 'the role of non-state entities'. In what follows the reader will be guided through the final stages of intermediate coding as they overlapped with substantive coding. It was during this phase that the relationships between the various codes were not simply stated as they were when listed in tables in the previous section, rather they were *explained* which subsequently enabled the author to acknowledge an emergent theory (Birks & Mills, 2011; Holton, 2007).

During intermediate coding the 25 gerunds and 23 phrases were narrowed down to three of each by comparing gerunds to gerunds and comparing phrases to phrases, and then plainly listing them in their newly condensed groups. However for the purposes of deconstruction the relationships between gerunds and phrases must be elaborated upon so that the underlying

harmful relationships between meaning and action can be revealed, creating a space for new meaning to emerge. In order to honour GTM too, codes must be raised to a higher level of abstraction before theory can comfortably emerge, thus an effort was made to combine the six final intermediate codes.

This process consisted of grouping the intermediate codes into three pairs, each consisting of one intermediate gerund code and one intermediate phrase code, based on the author's understanding of each, and it is illustrated in the Figures 7-9 below. Thus 'blaming' and 'the duties of government vs the prerogative of citizens' (initial gerund 1 and initial phrase 1) were grouped together under the explanatory label 'the government-citizen nexus', as both codes were concerned with the relationship between government and citizens.

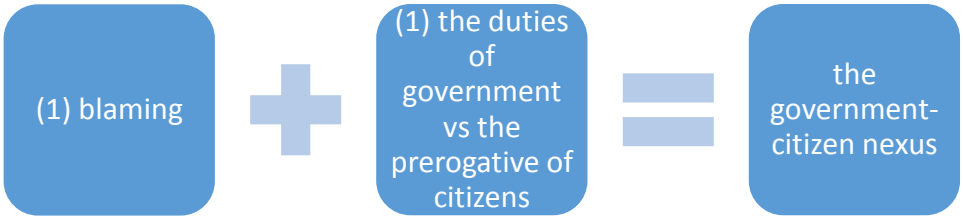


Figure 7: Substantive pre-code 1

'Institutionalizing wrongly' and 'the effect of institutions' (intermediate gerund 2 and intermediate phrase 2) were grouped together under the label 'troublesome institutions' as they were both concerned with poor governance of institutions.



Figure 8: Substantive pre-code 2

Lastly, 'absolving and marginalizing' and 'the role of non-state entities' were grouped together under the label 'confused and on the outskirts…' as they were both concerned with the status and stature of bodies outside of the official state structure.



Figure 9: Substantive pre-code 3

These labels functioned as semi-final substantive codes, aiding the process of conceptual abstraction before a final label could emerge in the form of a unifying (quasi) theory, and it is the description of this process which is the focus of this chapter.

In the course of reading this chapter the reader is advised to make regular reference to the charts and tables provided in preceding chapters and the appendices which summarize the evidence on the basis of which the writer's understanding of the theory emerged. It is also worth noting that this section will not contain many case-specific references, which may confuse the reader in the context of the primary research question. In an effort to honour the aim of GTM to allow generalized theory to emerge from the data this final phase of coding was done in as general and abstract of a manner as possible, raising ideas and themes to the highest level of abstraction possible in order to increase their applicability and usefulness (however in following chapters this theory will be applied on a case-specific level and yield answers for South Africa's sanitation policy too) (Strubing, 2007).

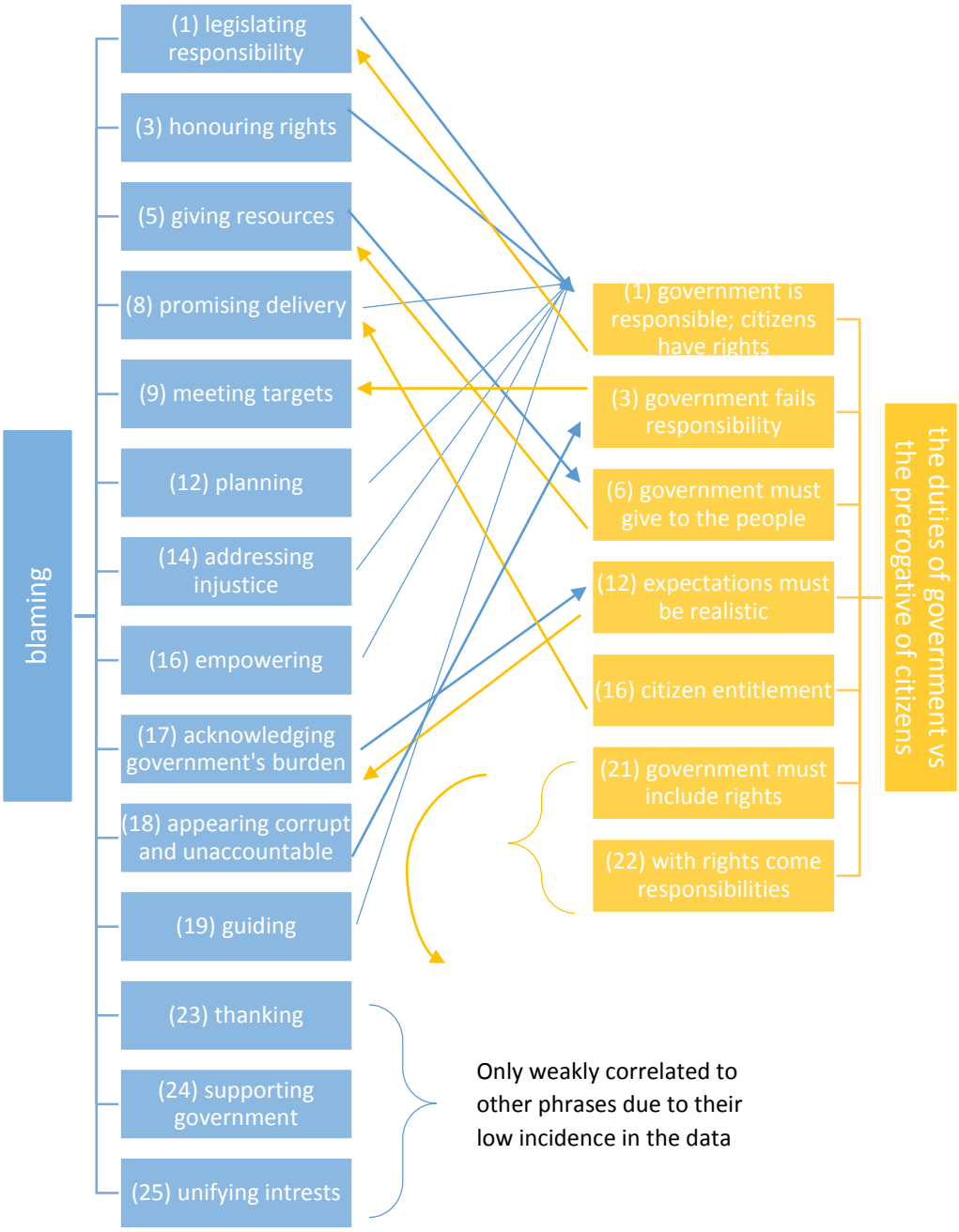
Suspending Meaning and Raising the Level of Abstraction

The government-citizen nexus

One of the strongest emerging ideas was that of 'the duties of government vs the prerogatives of its citizens' (intermediate phrase 1) and time and again the act which the data implied it was most associated with this was that of blaming (intermediate gerund 1). These two substantive codes, when understood together, paint a rich picture of the current understanding of governance, citizenship, and the processes related to both. In order to come to this understanding it was necessary to map out the relationships between the initial gerunds and phrases combined within each of these intermediate codes, as well as the relationship

between the intermediate codes themselves. To aid this process the following diagram was created:

Figure 10: The government-citizen nexus



Though at first glance the above diagram seems chaotic in its detail, it is a reflection of the cognitive process of conceptualization and as such naturally reflects multiple simultaneous processes of analysis. A common critique levelled at GTM studies is that those which attempt to artificially make the process appear neatly structured in the more classical sense of research actually undermine their own results (Barbour, 2001). Thus in an attempt to avoid

that pitfall the somewhat 'messy' cognitive processes involved have been mapped out in full in this section.

In Figure 10 (above), on the left (in blue), the initial gerunds which were grouped together under the intermediate gerund 'blaming' (1) are listed, numbered as they were in table A1 in Appendix 2) for ease of reference. As the initial gerunds and phrases were listed in based on frequency of incidence within the dataset, their numbers serve as an indication of this, i.e. the smaller the number the higher the frequency of its occurrence, thus initial gerund 1, for example, was the most frequently occurring process or action within the data analysed, whilst initial gerund 25 was the least frequent.

On the right (in orange) the initial phrases which were combined to form the intermediate phrase 'the duties of government vs the prerogative of citizens' are listed, similarly numbered as they were in Table A2. The arrows pointing outward from each (blue) initial gerund indicate the initial phrase with which it was most frequently associated, and vice versa. Thus the arrows indicate the meaning most associated with each action or process, as well as the processes most frequently associated with each idea or understanding of meaning. This exercise served to clarify the relationship between meanings, understandings, processes and actions within the government-citizen nexus, the explanatory label chosen within which to discuss 'the duties of government vs the prerogative of citizens' (intermediate phrase 1) and 'blaming' (intermediate gerund 1). This created a sense of context within which theoretical conceptualization could begin.

Within this context government is seen as responsible. The diagram on the previous page indicates that the meaning most associated with the majority of the processes within the government-citizen nexus was initial phrase 1: government is responsible; citizens have rights. It is responsible for ensuring that citizens' rights are honoured (initial gerund 3), and responsible for giving to the people largely in the form of resources (as is suggested by the high incidence of initial phrase 6 and initial gerund 5), as opposed to guidance, support and planning which are by far less appreciated governmental services (as is suggested by the relatively much lower incidence of initial gerund 12 and 19). The extremely high frequency of this trend's emergence indicated that regardless of what people think and understand when it comes to service delivery, there is an overwhelming image of government as the provider and citizens as recipients. Based on the low incidence of initial phrases 12 and 16 it appears that recipients are not seen as entitled in terms of having unrealistic expectations, not only

because of the fact that no limits have actually been placed on their expectations, but also because their expectations of government have been cemented in legislation, all of which reemphasizes this responsibility-rights dichotomy where one party enjoys rights exclusively at the expense of the other shouldering all of the responsibility (as is suggested based on the low incidence of initial phrases 21 and 22).

This asymmetrical power-play is further cemented by the overwhelming sense of government's failure, the idea that government's performance in relation to meeting its duties has been weighed and found lacking, not only by citizens but by its own organs too (based on the high incidence of initial phrase 3 and its strong correlation with initial gerund 9). And so both government and the process which it carries out come to be associated with negativity and a sense of inadequacy. The range of issues for which government is seen as being responsible is large, including empowerment, creating solid institutions, and embodying transparency and accountability, yet in all these areas it is most often deemed to have failed, perpetuating the idea that citizens' rights are not only products, but a process as well, a specific way of doing specific things for which government is solely responsible. This notion emerged based firstly on the large number of initial gerunds combined under the intermediate code 'blaming', and secondly based on the fact that initial phrase 1 (government is responsible, citizens have rights) indicated that wherever government responsibilities were discussed it was attached to the idea of citizens as rights-holders.

The failure of citizens or civil society to carry out any task or activity is a rare emergent theme, not because it doesn't exist but simply because it does not even enter into the discourse on these issues, so powerful is the government-civil society responsibilities-rights dichotomy that it has permeated the level of norms and standards and created a discourse rich in hierarchies which informs it and reality (Derrida, 2000). Interestingly, there is an across the board acknowledgement of the rights-centric nature of governance, and government's focus; however it is almost never associated with the idea of corresponding responsibilities (as is suggested by the very low incidence of initial phrase 22: 'with rights come responsibilities').

This negative perception of government and governance has been a long-existing trend (based on the fact that the data analysed spanned two decades and, as mentioned in the chapter on conceptual codes, these powerful themes emerged throughout that period). Thus it has become an almost institutionalized viewpoint with powerful social effects (Derrida,

2000). In comparison the positive acknowledgement of rights emerged only once in two decades' worth of data, and never surfaced again thereafter, enhancing the idea of the strength of this powerful institutional norm of a failing government charged with unmet responsibilities, judged to be inadequate by citizens vested with powerful rights.

The 'flipside' of this conceptual coin furthers those ideas and captures their essences in the act of 'blaming' (intermediate gerund 1). Government is blamed in the context of legislated responsibilities (initial gerund 1) which burden it with unrealistic expectations and open it up to criticism for inevitable failures (as is suggested by the high incidence of initial phrases 3 and the relatively lower incidence of initial phrase 12). It is blamed for unmet rights which are narrowly understood to exclude responsibility and are conceptualized as prerogatives (intermediate phrase 1), privileges rather than precious gifts, and so they are wielded like weapons rather than being treasured and honoured by those who wish to enjoy and realize them (as is suggested by the high incidence of initial gerunds 1 and 3 in conjunction with initial phrases 1 and 3).

Government is blamed for a shortage of resources, for not giving enough to people who only want to take, and for not making available what is already there resource-wise. However it is important to note that government is not a passive victim in this aspect based on the data at hand, in fact it is an equally responsible party in terms of the perpetuation of these asymmetrical norms. Government is responsible for planning (initial gerund 12) and setting targets to be met (initial gerund 9), government promises delivery (initial gerund 8), and government announces that it will address injustices within society (initial gerund 14), and so it is also government which creates impossible expectations which, when unmet, are a further impetus for the act of blaming government (as is suggested by the low incidence of initial phrase 12 in conjunction with the high incidence of initial phrase 3).

Interestingly, government is hardly ever blamed for a failure to empower, a failure to guide, or a failure to adhere to habits of transparency and accountability (as is suggested by the very weak relationship between initial phrase 3 and initial gerunds 16, 19 and 18) because there is less interest in those aspects of governance for the majority of people who view government as a sphere from which to extract resources (as is indicated by the high incidence of initial phrase 6 in conjunction with initial gerund 5), a sphere without strong moral imperatives. A sphere to help them, not to help them help themselves.

There is very little acknowledgement of the burden placed on government and their ability to meet it (as is suggested by the relatively low incidence of initial gerund 17), instead there is an overwhelming sense of greed and self-interest, and evidence of an asymmetrical hierarchy which is entrenched within government-citizen relations at a deep institutional structural level. There is also very little blame directed at the fact that legislated responsibility does not attribute many specific tasks to non-state entities, further cementing the idea that when it comes to the responsibilities associated with governance they are only very weakly correlated to any body/entity other than government.

This mentality has also translated into a complete denial of government's responsibility to empower and to enable by a civil society seemingly uninterested in being given the power to help itself and only open to being empowered to demand help from other spheres (whilst a strong relationship exists between initial gerund 16 and initial phrase 1, it is in the context of government seeking to empower, not civil society seeking empowerment).

Troublesome institutions

The second set of intermediate codes to be grouped together were the act of 'institutionalizing wrongly' (intermediate gerund 2) and the idea of 'the (significant) effect of institutions' (intermediate phrase 2). Based on the initial codes contained within each respective intermediate code, they were grouped under the label 'troublesome institutions' in order to create a space within which to explore the relationships between meanings and processes, as is portrayed in the diagram on the following page which maps out this exercise:

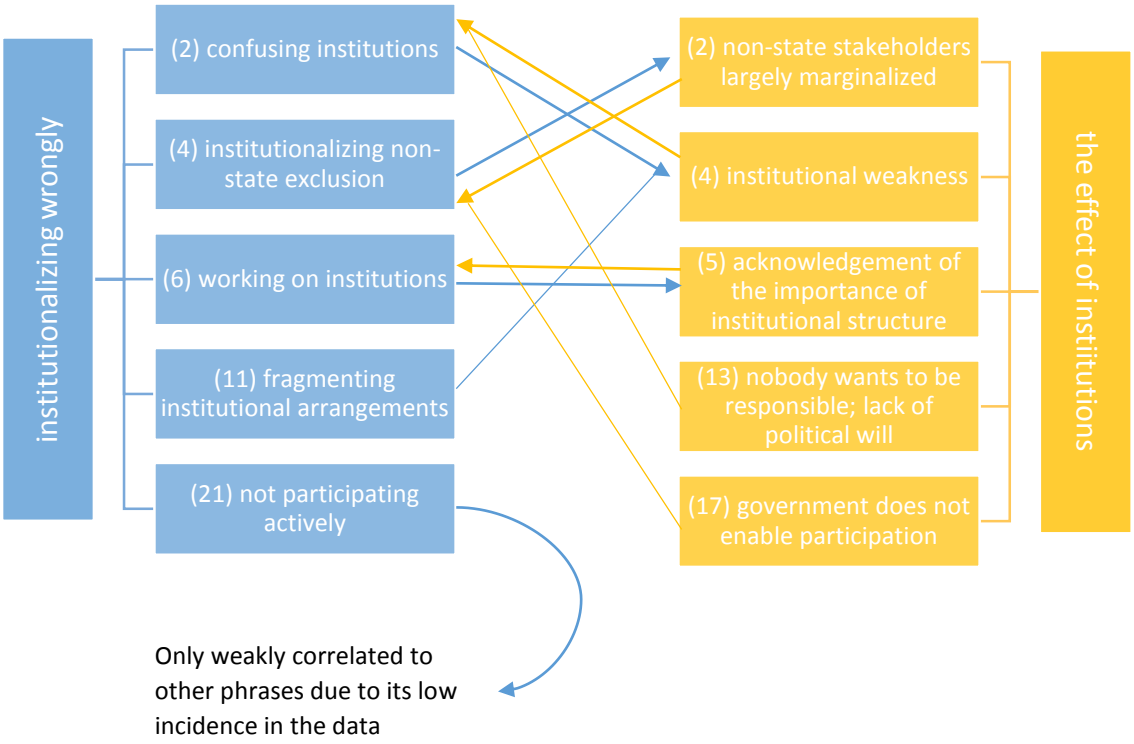


Figure 11: Troublesome institutions

As with Figure 10, the above figure demonstrates the transformation of codes from initial, to intermediate, to early substantive 'pre-codes'. The initial gerunds which combined to create intermediate gerund 2 (institutionalizing wrongly) are listed on the left in blue, whilst the initial phrases which were united under the umbrella of intermediate phrase 2 (the effect of institutions) are listed on the right in orange. The initial codes have all been numbered as they were in tables A1 and A2 (Appendix 2) for ease of reference. The arrows pointing outward from each box indicate the context which each gerund or phrase was most often associated with so as to facilitate the understanding of the link between processes and meanings in the data.

A prevalent theme underlying much of the collected and analysed data was the idea that non-state entities were largely marginalized from government due to the effect of the current institutional structure (intermediate gerund 2) surrounding the sanitation policy (as is suggested based on the high incidence of initial phrase 2 in conjunction with initial gerund 4). Interestingly this did not occur within any context of complaints in that regard, simply an acknowledgement of the fact. Thus there is an acknowledgment of the weakness of

institutional structure as well as the importance of working on these weaknesses as imperative to the functioning of service delivery and government as a whole (as is indicated by the high prevalence of initial phrase 5 in conjunction with initial gerund 6).

Yet this idea of institutions as a work in progress never crosses paths with a desire to extend the realm of institutionalization to include entities outside of the state or parastatal organizations (as is indicated by the lack of a significant relationship between initial gerund 6 and initial phrase 2). It is almost exclusively associated with shifting responsibilities from one branch of government to another, sometimes fragmenting the institutional arrangements (initial gerund 11) and shifting it to several branches at once. Thus whilst there are complaints in this context that government shirks its responsibility and that the weak institutions created to organize this responsibility are characterized by a lack of political will to shoulder it , there is absolutely no complaint of that fact that government doesn't enable or encourage the participation of bodies outside of the state in these matters. This can be seen, for example, in Figure 10 in the form of the weak relationship between the idea that 'government is responsible; citizens have rights' (initial phrase 1) and the process of 'working on institutions (initial gerund 6), as well as the weak relationship between the ideal 'government fails responsibility (initial phrase 3) and the process of institutionalizing non-state exclusion (initial gerund 4).

Simultaneously to acknowledging the importance of institutions (initial phrase 5) there is an ongoing process of actively either failing or avoiding to harness this potential power and strength, a process the writer attempted to capture in intermediate gerund 2: 'institutionalizing wrongly'. The strongest force at work within this overall process or action is that of confusing institutions (initial gerund 2), representing a longstanding habit of creating confusion around institutional structures which results in confusing institutional norms, both equally powerful agents of change if and when harnessed properly. As was mentioned the data suggested that ideas like the duties of government being tied to the prerogative of citizens (intermediate phrase 1) have reached the status of unquestioned standards, norms that were shaped by institutional structures and have begun to influence these structures in a reciprocal fashion, entrenching a lack of clarity around the policy and causing it to be situated within norms which are contrary to its very core principles.

Similarly to the lack of emphasis on citizen responsibility with regard to governance (as indicated in Figure 10) the lack of active involvement from non-state entities, rarely emerged

as problematic with regard to the less-than-satisfactory institutional arrangement of government. Furthermore the data suggests that government is not blamed for not creating an enabling environment when it comes to participation in governance (as is indicated by the low incidence of initial phrase 17). Yet the blame for the scenario is placed firmly on government's shoulders, leaving one with a sense that the desire to participate actively at the institutional level is not extremely strong amongst non-state entities.

These institutionalized norms, though problematic in and of themselves, become extremely confusing when viewed in conjunction with the concept of mass contribution-driven performance by government (i.e. the idea of demand-driven service delivery), as the idea of broad-based and self-starting collective action is completely at odds with the reality of institutionalized marginalization (a reality which is inferred form the high incidence of initial phrase 2 in conjunction with initial gerund 4), and thus becomes a confusing institution in its own right (initial gerund 2). Confusing institutions (initial gerund 2) are also problematic in that they are conceptually at odds with a government which aims to help people to help themselves (i.e. the aim of demand-driven service delivery) as marginalization does not enable self-help, it perpetuates self-indulgent dominance (on the part of civil society).

It is worthwhile noting that this marginalization is not only empowering to citizens and disempowering to government. It is simultaneously empowering to government in that they maintain a large degree of control whilst citizens lose a lot, unfortunately the kind of control which government gains and citizens lose is a control that carries responsibilities with it, and so it tips the balance of power asymmetrically in favour of civil society. The problem is that this phenomenon is so often misinterpreted to mean the opposite of what it implies, so that control and power are synonymised and because control is often the more observable and measurable of the two phenomena it is given more attention. Subsequently the view that government has more power than citizens due to its perpetuation of marginalizing institutional structures and norms comes to be more accepted and widespread (initial phrase 2), detracting attention from the true locus of power which is in the hands of civil society.

Confused and on the Outskirts…

The third and final set of intertwined intermediate codes are represented by the idea of 'the role of non-state entities' (intermediate phrase 3) and its oft-associated process or act 'absolving and marginalizing' (intermediate gerund 3). Whilst initial and intermediate coding enabled the comparison of gerunds to gerunds and phrases to phrases, in order to fully

deconstruct the data and in order to raise the codes to the highest level of abstraction possible gerunds and phrases needed to be understood in relation to one another, and so these intermediate codes were combined under the label 'confused and on the outskirts..', a pre-code facilitating theoretical conceptualisation. This process is shown in the diagram and explanation which follow.

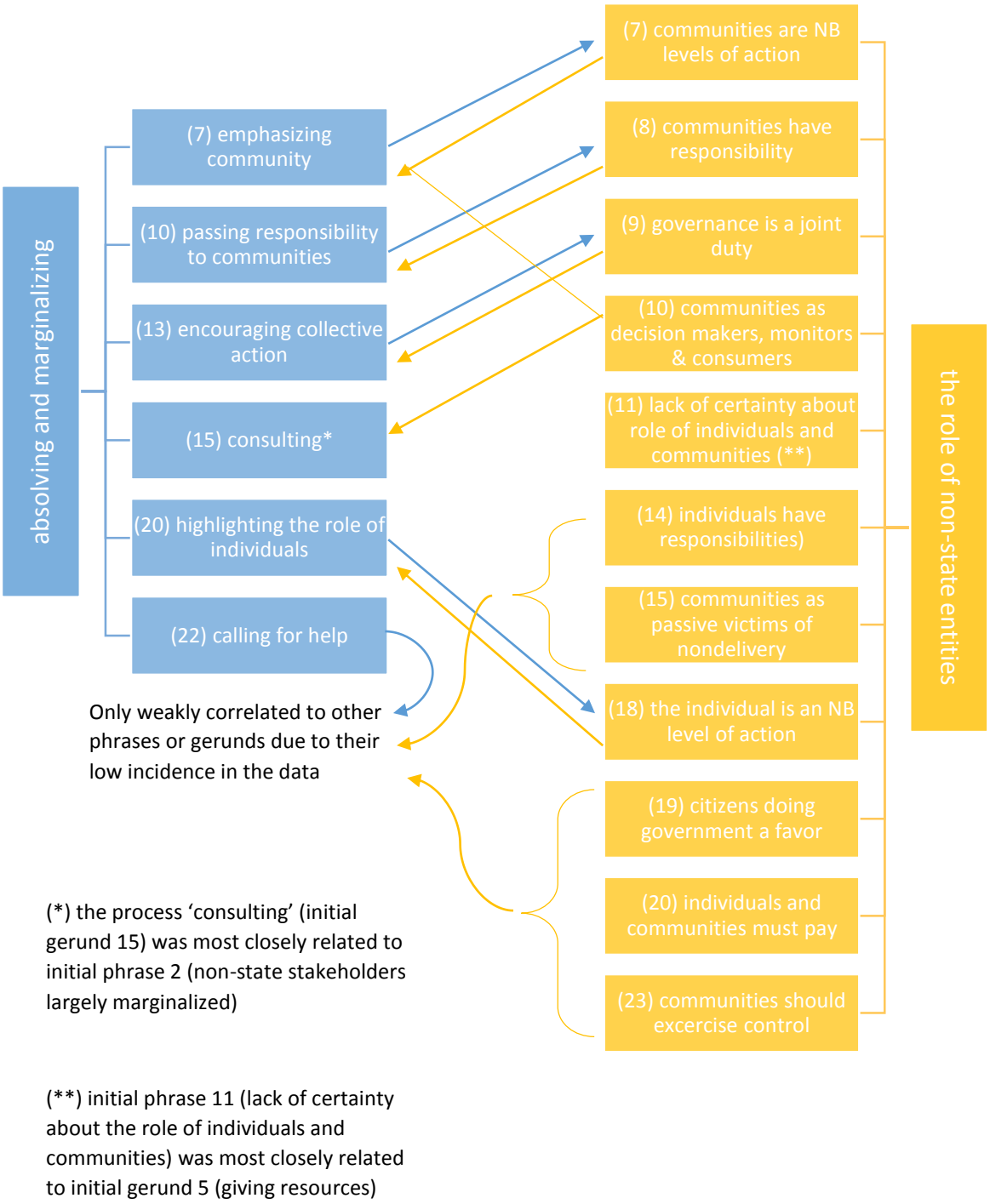


Figure 12: Confused and on the outskirts…

As with Figures 10 and 11 the above figure demonstrates the transformation of codes from initial, to intermediate, to early substantive 'pre-codes'. The initial gerunds which combined to create intermediate gerund 3 (absolving and marginalizing) are listed on the left in blue, whilst the initial phrases which were united under the umbrella of intermediate phrase 3 (the role of non-state entities are listed on the right in orange. The initial codes have all been numbered as they were in tables A1 and A2 in Appendix 2 for ease of reference. The arrows

pointing outward from each box indicate the context which each gerund or phrase was most often associated with so as to facilitate the understanding of the link between processes and meanings in the data.

As has been made clear, the role of government as the primary and often only responsible party in the government-citizen relationship was one of the strongest themes to emerge from the data (Figure 10). By comparison the idea that responsibility existed which was not squarely placed on the state's shoulders almost never emerged from this same collection of data. And where any responsibility was implied or acknowledged at the level of subtext it was always unclear or heavy on rhetoric but light on translating that into practice.

Beyond that the data indicates that the power-imbalance between government and citizens has permeated the realm of role-assignment as there is an incredible wealth of detail when it comes to prescribing duties to government, explaining exact roles as well as how performance in each role will be ranked, i.e. what standard performance will be held up to. This was inferred from the high incidence of initial gerund 1 (legislating responsibility) in conjunction with initial phrase 1 ('government is responsible; citizens have rights'). And as implied by the frequency of the code 'working on institutions' (initial gerund 6) wherever government's responsibility isn't clear it is immediately worked on.

In comparison the space within government's activities that is dedicated to clarifying the roles of non-state entities is left almost entirely empty rather than being used to specify or clarify any loose roles. The only clearly-stated responsibility of individuals and communities is paying for the services they want (initial phrase 20), but it is mentioned in unambiguous terms so few times that its incidence in the dataset was very low. And as indicated by the strong correlation between the 'lack of certainty about (the) role of individuals and communities' (initial phrase 11) and the process of 'giving resources' (initial gerund 5), there is a lack of clarity about the fulfilment of this one and only responsibility of non-state entities (intermediate phrase 3) which emerges from the data.

It would appear that the intention behind this is to give citizens that freedom within which to exercise what many would consider due diligence, however in an environment where few responsibilities or duties have even been suggested how practical of an approach is that? The problem is that this lack of prescribed roles tends to legitimize the notion of passive citizenship and the idea that those not within the sphere of government or its related branches

have no expectations to fulfil in the course of being citizens. Thus it would seem to absolve the marginalized whilst marginalizing them (intermediate gerund 3).

The group most emphasized other than the state was that of the community (initial gerund 7), whose importance was strongly present in the context of early policy language but then disappeared, taking with it any hope of balancing out the duties levelled against government. The high incidence of initial gerund 7 (emphasizing communities) in conjunction with initial phrase 7 (communities are NB levels of action) supports this notion. As does the high prevalence of community-related phrases within the list of initial gerunds which are included under 'the role of non-state entities' (intermediate phrase 3).

However even when the idea *was* prevalent it was always in the context of highlighting the potential of communities, the possibility that if rallied and responsive they could prove to be a powerful nexus for action and change. Never was solid responsibility placed on the shoulders of communities, despite acknowledging that responsibility *should* rest at the community level they were never vested with clear tasks which would have brought them to own their policies and realize the rights they wanted to enjoy for themselves. This notion emerged based on the lack of any strong correlation between initial gerund 1 (legislating responsibility) and any of the community-related phrases listed within intermediate phrase 3 (the role of non-state entities). It is also further supported by the relatively low incidence of the 'action of passing responsibility to communities' (initial gerund 10) and the idea that 'communities have responsibility' (initial phrase 8).

The recognized potential of communities to assist government remained just that, a powerful potential overshadowed by the rights communities were legislatively entitled to enjoy. This notion emerged in the high incidence of initial gerund 7 and initial phrase 7, as well as the strong correlation between the two, as shown in the diagram for this subsection. By comparison, the relationship between the process of emphasizing community (initial gerund 7) and the idea that communities should be decision-makers and monitors as well as consumers (initial phrase 10) is far weaker. Even when it came to simple resource contribution (initial gerund 5) the idea was that communities were very weakly linked to that, delegating the giving of resources to government's to-do list (initial phrase 6). This is evidenced by the low incidence of the idea that communities must pay, as captured by initial phrase 20, compared to the high incidence of initial gerunds 5 and 6, as well as the strong correlation between the two.

The problem with the current understanding of the importance of community (here used interchangeably with the family as a unit) lies in the fact that it most often emerged as associated with delivery, with receiving, as it is perhaps the most convenient unit of analysis to use in planning delivery (initial gerund 12). What this serves to do however, is to remove responsibility and active engagement from the individual level and place it at the collective where it is easily distanced from and rarely acted upon because this same community level is where sweeping promises of service delivery are made which often seem to cancel out the requirement for any action on the part of citizens, save for being included in superficial consultations which serve only to placate and pacify them. This can be surmised based on the fact that ideas such as the community being an important level of action (initial phrase 7) and communities having responsibilities (initial phrase 8) emerged far more frequently than the idea that the individual represented an important level of action (initial phrase 18), or that individuals have any responsibilities (initial phrase 14).

Within the idea of the role of non-state entities the data suggested that governance was a joint duty (initial phrase 9), a process in which citizens and other non-state entities had a role to play, but not necessarily a responsibility. This is evident in the fact that initial phrase 9 and initial gerund 13 (encouraging collective action) are strongly correlated, however as is indicated by intermediate phrase 1 (the duties of government vs the prerogative of citizens), duty is only associated with government, as is responsibility (initial phrase 1).

Unfortunately the aforementioned role of citizens is almost never clarified, and when it is it is only done so to relegate citizens, communities and other bodies to the role of decision-makers (in the most limited sense possible), monitors and consumers (initial phrase 10). With this being the full extent of non-state participation it is apparent that the role of non-state institutions (intermediate phrase 3) is not only unclear (initial phrase 11), but also insignificant, completely at odds with the idea that governance is a joint duty (a core tenet of demand-driven service delivery).

This in turn supports the idea that the institutional arrangements (intermediate phrase 2) supporting government and citizens in the process of negotiating their roles and relationships are very confusing (intermediate gerund 2) and inherently flawed (initial phrase 4) as they seem to be compromising some of their own basic aims. This is further emphasized by the fact that there is very little support for the idea that communities should exercise true and active control in this scenario (initial phrase 23), or that individuals and communities must

contribute resources to the realization of their needs and wants (initial phrase 20). This goes completely against the idea of demand-driven service delivery as it is a model which requires the contribution or active participation of non-state entities essential for its sustainability and fortification (DWAF, 1994).

The emergent process of absolving and marginalizing (intermediate gerund 3) played a strong role in contextualizing the understanding of the role of non-state entities (intermediate phrase 3). As mentioned, the emphasis on communities rather than individuals has created a watered-down sense of responsibility for individuals. At the same time whilst communities are highlighted above all other non-state levels of action and participation no clear responsibilities are placed on their shoulders, neither are they invited to participate actively in any governance processes save for consultation. Finally, whilst there is an indication of the importance of collective action, there are very few calls for help from government to guide this.

Non-state entities are largely marginalized from active participation in governance through the lack of clarity surrounding their exact roles (initial phrase11) and the insignificant ways in which they are invited to join governance processes (as shown in Figure 12). This creates an impression that these non-state entities are therefore absolved from active participation because of the marginalization that they face from government and from the institutional structures and norms surrounding government (as shown in Figure 11). Little importance is placed on the role played by these very entities in perpetuating these norms themselves, and little complaint is heard from them with regard to this marginalization insofar as it applies to active participatory responsibilities (based on the low correlation between the idea that government has failed a responsibility (initial phrase 3) and complaints about institutionalized marginalization (initial gerund 4), as shown in Table A2 of Appendix 2.

Indeed this is a theme echoed time and again, for even when government itself attempts to empower civil society it marginalizes them from active participation and subsequently active contribution. Government relegates civil society to roles of oversight, of choice and control, roles wherein the choices people make have a huge effect on government's ability to carry out its own duties, and so civil society is in a position where, despite its dependence on government its decision-making imbues it with power; contrastingly, the duties of government (as shown in Figure 10) place them in a subservient role in relation to civil society. Government *must* perform certain obligations, whereas citizens *should* have the

power to make certain choices; that is the dominant viewpoint informing their relationship. Thus we come to see government as a structure, a realm, a standalone force unto itself. One engaged in a relationship with civil society that is characterized by compromises and dangerously dichotomous hierarchies. A realm wherein government, which is accountable to citizens, is at the mercy of citizen wants and whims, to which the latter are supposedly rightfully entitled.

A Behind-the-Scenes Exposé

Investigating the context of South Africa's sanitation problem has lead us to the doorstep of meaning and context as the true root causes of the policy's less than ideal functioning. The initial interest in this problem was sparked by public service delivery protests carried out by citizens disgruntled with government, a factor which was kept in mind and has guided the framing of the writer's interpretations of the data ("Poor and Angry", 2013). The preceding subsections refer in detail to the process of constant comparative analysis carried out in trying to uncover the relationship between gerunds and phrases, i.e. processes and meanings. Thus it was shown that, based on constant comparative analysis of the data and codes, the data has indicated that the meanings associated with core parts of the policy are trapped within a hierarchical framework founded on problematic meanings and processes that empowers citizens over the government, and it is this asymmetrical power relationship that characterizes every problematic aspect of the relationship between government and citizens in this context.

The fact of the matter is that this dichotomizing and highly charged hierarchy has completely permeated all of the most significant aspects of the government-citizen dynamic, as can be seen based on the high number of gerunds and phrases grouped under the heading 'the government-citizen nexus', as well as the intricate correlations between them which were elaborated upon in Figure 10 and the explanation which followed it, and the relationships between these codes and others grouped under 'troublesome institutions' and "confused and on the outskirts…".

Citizens (and non-state entities) are relatively empowered by this dichotomous undercurrent and they are seen as endowed with rights which government is responsible to fulfil (initial phrase 1), and because these responsibilities are not associated with being limited or realistic (initial phrase 12) government is often vulnerable to blame (initial phrase 3 and intermediate gerund 1). These rights are also most often restricted to avenues which require very little reciprocal effort from citizens, and so they will include the rights to specific resources (initial gerund 5 and initial phrase 6), but not necessarily rights related to empowerment (initial

gerund 16) or active participative inclusion in government's activities in this regard (initial gerund 21 and initial phrase 11).

The cementing of this norm within inadequate institutional arrangements (initial phrase 4) is also acknowledged, yet here again institutions are seen merely as a tool through which the state is held responsible to carrying out its prescribed duties, whilst non-state entities are more interested in using them for either extracting from the state or exercising power without exercising effort. This complacency on the part of civil society is perpetuated and absolved by the actions of government (intermediate gerund 3) which legitimize non-active participation (initial gerund 21) by shaping institutional arrangements so exclusively that non-state entities are relegated to roles of oversight and opinions at the most (initial phrases 2, 11, 16 and 17, as well as initial gerund 4).

And so this chapter has demonstrated that from both ends of the spectrum two competing ideas are put forward, the first paints citizens and non-state bodies as targets of state-sanctioned exclusion, making them passive victims of government's failure to deliver on its responsibilities. The second underlying image contextualizes this by explaining that its foundation lies in an understanding of government as the obliged nanny-equivalent of a self-indulgent civil society spoiled by its positioning in a hierarchy that gives it the power, so much power that it can decide to pass all of its responsibility onto the shoulders of government, so much power that it has the power to appear powerless.

Having allowed the underlying processes and meanings at work within policy to come to the fore (in the form of the three previous figures), it can be concluded that that the current understanding of governance is not only problematic but damaging in that once its foundational structures have been have been questioned they are exposed as active compromisers of the goals of policy and the wider context of government-citizen relationships within which it exists. In confronting these problematic meanings, and with the hindsight that enables us to witness their effects, a new theory of governance begins to naturally take shape.

And So New Meaning is Found

At the heart of the issue lies the process and structure that is the relationship between government and citizens known as governance, one which is characterized by poor understanding and harmful hierarchies. We have a poor understanding of governance in that we synonymize it with government, this is evident in the strong correlation between

processes that refer to governance tasks in general like 'giving resources', 'meeting targets', and 'planning', and the idea that 'government is responsible (whilst) citizens have rights (a relationship portrayed in Figure 10)

In reality government and governance are two completely separate though related concepts. Governance is a process, an ideal, in institution, and it involves two main essential actors/parties: government and civil society. Government is one part of this idea, one half of the process and the relationship, and to synonymize it with the product in its entirety is not only to marginalize civil society but to marginalize government too, because whilst civil society is marginalized from control government is marginalized from true power. This notion is supported by the fact that this same dataset which indicated that government is synonymized with many of the tasks of governance also indicated that 'non-state stakeholders (are) largely marginalized' (initial phrase 2) to the extent that their exclusion is becoming an institutionalized norm (initial gerund 4) (as demonstrated in Figure 11). Figure 12 further supports the emergence of this understanding of the meaning surrounding the phrase governance by indicating that there is a correlation between a sense of confusion surrounding the role of individuals and communities (initial phrase 11) and a trend of absolving people of any sense of responsibility whilst marginalizing them thusly (intermediate gerund 3)

This incorrect synonymization imbues government with capacity and control (as indicated by their multiple responsibilities shown in Figure 10), but power lies in the hands of civil society which comes to feel a sense of entitlement to demand the use of this power and control to its benefit.[13] And so government becomes a sphere from which people become disassociated and distanced. Unable to relate to government people can begin to view it as a sphere without morality or accountability, a sphere for extraction, for taking without thought of giving back. This is implied based on the strong correlation between the process of giving resources (initial gerund 5) and the idea that government must give to the people (initial phrase 6), compared to the very weak relationship between giving resources and the idea that 'individuals and communities must pay (initial phrase 20), as shown in Figures 10 and 12).

The synonymization of government and governance means many problematic themes are ignored because they are misunderstood. It is thought, for example, that non-state entities are marginalized from government (as was shown in Figure 11), which is not problematized

[13] Importantly, as mentioned in the chapter on conceptual codes under initial phrase17, citizen entitlement did not emerge with high frequency within the dataset on an overall basis, however its strong emergence over the last two to three years highlighted its significance.

because government is not supposed to be a sphere with significant non-state inclusion (albeit important for it to have a high rate of non-state interaction and cooperation). However the problem is that what is actually intended here is *governance*, the process of governing, not the organ of the state partially responsible for carrying it out known as government. Thus when we say that non-state bodies aren't given responsibilities in government it isn't deemed as a problem because that's not a problematic concept, however when we realize that this actually means there aren't responsibilities attributed to non-state entities in the process of governance (as is indicated in Figures 10 and 12) it becomes clear that there is a big problem.

This points towards the second problem with our current understanding of governance and the effects this has on society: our understanding of governance is too narrow. Because of the asymmetrical distribution of power in the government-civil society relationship (as demonstrated in Figure 10 in particular) we have become excessively trigger-happy in complaining about it, and so governance comes to be understood as a fix, a solution, a cure to an ill caused by its own ineptitude. Because of the aforementioned synonymization of governance and government this cure or fix comes to take the shape of a checklist, blueprint, or plan of what governance should look like. Government views governance as reactionary and so is forced to constantly change its game plan because the problems to which it reacts inevitably change too.

This is detrimental because such ideas replace the more necessary one of establishing what form government should take on a more long-term and sustainable basis. The problem with this is that it misleads government to focusing on problems of government (such as the multiple responsibilities listed in Figure 10), not overall problems of governance, in trying to improve. It is also problematic in that this constant perception of government needing to improve in reaction to problems which it must fix furthers the relative dominance of civil society which reserves the right to judge government and decide what problems need to be solved in the first place (this emerged as a strong explanatory theme in the form of intermediate gerund 1 (blaming) shown in Figure 10).

Thus the public space becomes a realm in which risks and benefits are unevenly distributed, where control is confused with power and where power is used to extract resources and demand more rather than to enable others to exercise power of their own. This uneven distribution of risks and benefits can be seen in the high incidence of initial phrase 1 (government is responsible; citizens have rights) in conjunction with initial gerund 1

(legislating responsibilities), indicating the mandated risks government must bear in honouring its responsibilities which benefit citizens in the form of rights which they enjoy (as shown in Figure 10). That control and power are confused is evident in that fact the side-by-side with the image of government as in charge of all the major tasks involved in governance, the idea that non-state entities have no power because they have no responsibilities has emerged (as is shown in Figures 11 and 12).

Yet government does not have true power because if they did they would not be saddled with the overwhelming majority of responsibilities, one of which is to respond to the resource demands of citizens (Figure 1). It would seem that non-state entities, in fact, wield a great deal of power despite the fact that the data does not indicate it at a surface level. This deeper investigation of the relationship between process and meaning has revealed that despite being labelled as equal partners in the process of demand-driven service delivery, individuals and communities have in fact forcefully outsourced their responsibility to government (DWAF, 1994). The portion of the current discourse surrounding demand-driven service delivery which was examined in the dataset is very telling in that it hides this process of the outsourcing of responsibility, and in doing so it creates a hierarchy which benefits citizens over government and perpetuates this asymmetrical relationship.

What emerges naturally from the exercise in suspension of meaning carried out in this chapter is the ridiculousness of the context and structures uncovered thus far, and thus it creates a space for the emergence of a soft theory or rough understanding of what governance should be and how it should be understood. Uncovering the asymmetrical relationship between government and civil society which has resulted from the uneven distribution of rights and responsibilities (as seen in Figure 10) highlights the need for a new conceptualization of governance. We need to conceptualize governance within a wider and more responsible conceptualization of rights, one which does not dissociate rights from related duties and responsibilities (as shown in Figure 10), one which does not view the various parties involved in governance as different from each other in any way save for the population groups they represent, thereby marking them as equals.

This understanding of governance as a process to which all involved parties bear a joint duty of performance will not only solve institutional problems (problems demonstrated in Figure 11) , but also solve things at a very practical level. Put bluntly, governance has to be viewed and understood and *experienced* as a two way street, where citizens must maintain their

legislated rights and government must maintain its responsibilities, however citizens must also be invested with responsibilities whilst the rights of government must also be realized in terms of the right to make demands of contribution that go beyond involvement in empty consultation (as was demonstrated in Figure 12).

Thus the rights vs. responsibility centricity of governance is not completely wrong, it is just limited due to its dichotomous implications. Governance should be considered as a journey on which the active participation of all is necessary, rather than one in which marginalization has become an institution of its own (intermediate phrase 2). Where empowering and enabling (initial gerunds 16 and 19) are favoured over extractive practices (initial phrase 6), where active citizenship is the norm rather than the outlier (Figure 12). Where the essence of the process and institution known as governance is collaboration in its truest form.

Key to this is infusing the sphere of governance with morals so that it is no longer viewed as an amoral realm within which unjust asymmetrical distributions of power are allowed to flourish. The complete lack of any indication of morality as a strong theme within public policy governance is a clue to the deconstructivist that within this unthought-of concept lies a potential power for problem-solving (Derrida, 2000; Leitch, 1983; Norris, 1991; Younger, 2013). Governance should be understood as a sphere where moral inclinations and instincts are more important than any other so that it can be transformed from a sphere targeted for resource extraction into a sphere where both parties engaged in governance make active contributions. With this introduction of morality to governance active citizenship needs to arise as a key driving force, an enabling force, and a force open to being directed rather than set on forging its own path.

This introduction of morality into governance is a difficult notion whose emergence is difficult to demonstrate in the context of this report, as it was part-and-parcel of the deconstructivist type of thought which guided the cognitive exercises carried out in the course of theorizing. Perhaps the most practical explanation is that in the context of the deconstructivist directive to undo binary constructs which are uncovered within texts, related concepts must be given new contexts which distance them as much as possible from their asymmetrical prehistory (Flame0430, 2008a; Younger, 2013). Thus after revealing and understanding the nature of the relationship between government and citizens (governance), the idea of morality emerged in the author's mind as the least asymmetrical context within which to understand these two concepts.

At the outset of the research process the writer set out to explain the reason for the failure of a particular model of public policy governance. If we assume that the function of governance is to give life to public policies, and that the function of policies are to facilitate the realization of the public good, then it becomes clear that there is no point of departure within this process at which governance and morality *should* be seen as separate, therefore doing away with the conceptualization of government as an amoral sphere which absolves the poor choices made by those with the power to do so.

At Last… An Answer

So why has the idea of governing public policy based on mass action failed? This is the essence of the question asked at the outset of this study. Public policy is enacted by governance, so we need to ask why the idea of governance based on mass action failed, and when we do that the answer becomes clear. It is because governance is poorly understood. It is seen as the opposite of what it should be. A quick fix dictated by those with all of the power and none of the desire to use it beneficially. It should instead be seen as a joint duty, a mutual responsibility through the fulfilment of which its participants become entrusted with sacred rights. It should be understood as an ideal state to which the journey is never-ending because that is exactly what it is, a journey, a process, an action. It is a verb not a noun, one which connotes virtuous motivations on the part of true collaborators. An impossible image? Perhaps, but current images and understandings are so inadequate that they threaten to destroy the very process which they (albeit poorly) define. This understanding has emerged from data which has existed for over 20 years, and so it is not new or revolutionary, yet it is challenging and uncomfortable and different, but perhaps it is just different enough to make us realize how ridiculous the previous understandings were, and how this understanding which has emerged from the data can be improved upon and changed as we move closer to improving governance and public policy with the hope of achieving social justice.

At a general level we have been asking the following question: why hasn't public policy governance been working? This is more a question about governance than public policy (based on the emphasis in the data analysed), and as soon as we frame the question thusly it becomes clear what the answer is. We say we are governing but we're not, we're government-ing, in fact we're not even government-ing but we as civil society are ordering government-ing (this is evident in the analysis of Figure 10). We are not active engagers we are passive complainers and demanders who think that staging a strike or organizing a

petition and speaking on television and in parliament means that we have participated, but this isn't true participation, at least not in terms of governance.

Governance is a two-way street involving altruism and collective action, and participating in *that* looks a lot more like work than most of us are comfortable with acknowledging. The reason governance isn't working is that we aren't engaging in it, all of us, civil society and government included (as is evidenced by Figures 10 and 12). When both entities truly come to the table and embody the ideals of government discussed above, truly addressing the shortcomings in their behaviour represented by the six intermediate codes[14] discussed in this chapter (as shown in Figures 10, 11 and 12), then will we be able to overcome the obstacles to governing effectively and enabling policies based on mass action to come to fruition.

Perhaps this is because the words governance and government are so etymologically similar, which leads us to discuss what is wrong with government when we are trying to instead figure out what is wrong with governance. What has emerged from this final exercise in substantive coding and theory-building is that understanding and meaning and context are the true problems plaguing governance, as suggested by deconstructivism (Flame0430, 2008a; Flame0430, 2008b; Flame0430, 2008c; Flame0430, 2008d; PrestyGomez, 2006). Two semi-final codes or concepts which have emerged from this process (based on reflecting on the intermediate codes) are: responsible active collaboration yields the realization of rights; and dichotomous power asymmetries ultimately disempower both parties. The first code seeks to unseat the idea of rights from its central and ruling position in ideas of participation, it positions rights as the result of a process of active citizenship, something to be earned and valued; the second concept enriches and informs the first by showing the deleterious effects of abusing power asymmetries to earn rights in that they inevitably disempower those in power too by depriving them of the benefits of a truly collaborative relationship.

Perhaps we need to stop using the word governance or governing and use a phrase like co-labouring, one which connotes active involvement and collaboration, one which would truly validate the feeling of entitlement towards rights which results from engaging within its processes, one which suggests equality in achieving a mutual goal, and one which is importantly different from the previous term and thus distanced from the problematic connotations which plagued it. This idea, this code, collaborating or co-labour-ating, is the final outcome of the coding process as it stands. It is the final code, the unifying theory. Some

[14] The intermediate codes comprised of: "the duties of government vs. the prerogatives of citizens", "blaming", "the effect of institutions", "institutionalizing wrongly", "the role of non-state entities", and "absolving & marginalizing".

may posit that labouring is a less than ideal word due to its negative connotation of hard work, but that is exactly what the relationship between government and civil society must be characterized by, hard work. How else will mass participation yield benefits, and how else will transformative social justice be achieved?

Literature Review

Acknowledging General Consensus

Though the rigors of GTM (as it is practiced by its co-founder Barney Glaser) call for a strict avoidance of literature reviews in their traditional sense wherein they inform the views of the writer from the outset of the research process, GTM practitioners are encouraged to carry out a literature review of sorts after the core investigative part of their research is complete in order to position their study in relation to extant theory (Glaser, 2009). This is fundamentally important in testing the worth of the outcome of the research process as GTM research's aim is to provide theory that is new and useful, thereby necessitating a summary of extant theory without attributing undue value to the views and opinions found, but rather treating them as raw informative data (Glaser, 2009; Birks & Mills, 2011). Having completed coding and having presented the resultant theory, the researcher can now safely begin sharing extant theory with the reader knowing that their understanding of the research has already been formed as free of bias and other opinions as possible, furthermore GTM literature reviews are necessarily a work in progress which is updated throughout the coding process thus it would have been impossible to present it any earlier (Birks & Mills, 2011). In keeping with the deconstructivist paradigm as well as GTM, both of which attribute little importance to authorship, this literature review will not place importance on the source of each theory, rather creating groups of theories which indicate common opinions and understandings in extant literature, and comparing the existing state of knowledge and understanding to the contributions made by this study's emergent theory (Birks & Mills, 2011; Leitch, 1983).

The theory which emerged from the data analysed revolved around public policy governance in general, specifically exploring governance and its related institutions, hence the writer focused on exploring extant theory on these themes, turning to theory created within the South African context where possible.

Misunderstanding Governance

Extant theories on public policy governance typically take both a short-sighted and narrow-minded approach to defining this concept. The short-sighted approach to governance is that which treats it as a cure to an ill, a short-term fix to a specific problem at a specific time in a specific place (Grindle, 2007; Lund, 2001; Rose & Miller, 2010). The second grouping of governance definitions found in extant theory treat it as synonymous with government, a common mistake and one which is easily explainable based on the similarity of the two words, however this simple act of synonymization has had important consequences for public

policy governance (Friedman, 2013; Fukuyama, 2013; Grindle, 2007). The collective results of these two major strands of thought in the existing literature have been the normative institutionalization of an image of governance as government, thus instead of creating policies and plans that represent holistic approaches to what governance should look like, public policies created in this context resort to checklists of tasks which government should complete. Public policy thus finds itself aimed at changing government based on short-term issues rather than addressing governance based on long-term goals (Friedman, 2013; Fukuyama, 2013; Grindle, 2007; Lund, 2001).

This synonymization has a further important consequence, the separation of citizens from governance. This separation that takes place in the literature disassociates citizenship from governance without acknowledging that it results in governance becoming the sole task of government, and with it government alone comes to shoulder responsibility and accountability whilst citizens enjoy considerably more power (Gumede 2011, Gumede, 2013; Kamarck, 2007; Lukes, 1993). The literature acknowledges that accountability is key to public policy governance, but fails to problematize its exclusive placement on the shoulders of government and furthermore fails to acknowledge the dichotomous hierarchy which is both a cause and result of this phenomenon, a hierarchy in which citizens are comparatively more powerful than government (Kamarck, 2007; Pierre, 2009; Wenzel, 2007; The World Bank, 2003). It acknowledges that government's legitimacy (based on accountability) is judged by citizens, but fails to realize that this is a highly damaging habit when it exists to the exclusion of government being able to judge citizens on their performance with regard to public policy (King, 2003; Pierre, 2009). This literature fails to acknowledge that citizens can even 'exercise' power by doing nothing, and that at that subconscious level of being 'exercised' it influences the creation of standards and norms (Lukes, 1993).

Creating an Amoral Space

The dichotomization of civil society and state which is reflected in the literature has resulted in governance without morals and the marginalization of non-state entities. In separating citizens from governance what has emerged is the dangerous dichotomization of the public and private spheres, so that one becomes imbued with morals and ethics and the other becomes devoid thereof (Ekeh, 1975). The sphere of government becomes the sphere associated with extraction, with responsibility but not with accountability in its moral or ethical sense, simply an accountability to deliver (The World Bank, 2003). In light of this the sphere of civil society comes to be seen as a sphere to which government must give, and so

government becomes a site of extraction from which civil society members (even those acting in their professional government-related capacities) feel comfortable to take without giving (Ekeh, 1975).

Whilst acknowledging the lack of morals/ethics/virtuosity in public policy governance, the theoretical literature simultaneously acknowledges the distinct need for it due to the fundamentally subjective nature of public policy decision-making (Shue, 2006; Morell, 2009; Williams, 2006). Interestingly practice-based and case study literature which discusses the application of morals and ethics in leadership seems corroborate this idea of an amoral public sphere by reserving its commentary to leadership in the private sphere (i.e. management). Here a definition of leadership as guidance and collaboration emerges as it is realized that power and influence are better used as tools for creating progress towards the achievement of common goals (Northouse, 2001). This creates a style of leadership which is in essence transactional, where the exertion of effort is bidirectional as 'leaders' and 'followers' engage in a relationship between two equal entities pursuing mutually-beneficial goals (Northouse, 2001). This segment of the literature draws on Aristotle's conceptualization of leadership as necessitating respect, servitude, justice, honesty, and community-building, characteristics which would not be remiss in public governance yet despite that they are relegated to the private sphere (Northouse, 2001).

Counterintuitive Exclusion

The marginalization of non-state entities is another result of this separation of citizens from governance. The literature on governance, as a result of its focus on government, takes two divergent views on the role of citizens and non-state entities. One group presents citizens as excluded and marginalized, whilst the other paints a picture of citizens as actively involved through the concept of governance-by-network, highlighting the essential relationship between government and civil society (Grindle & Thomas, 1989). This is that set of literature that focuses intensely on institutions and institutional arrangements. It criticizes approaches which focus intently on one institution at the expense of ignoring others and their roles (or lack thereof) in the governance process (Gormley, 1987). A very small segment of the literature highlights the fact that this citizen-state separation has manifested itself in the form of weak states confronted with strong civil societies, however there is little explanation provided which would explain exactly how this power imbalance came to exist or what its consequences are; furthermore this power imbalance is normally framed in the context of trying to invert it so that the state can return to a position of dominance (Luiz, 2002).

This literature highlights an existing gap in research which is an overwhelming focus on the procedure of policy rather than its substantive element making most studies descriptive rather than explanatory and thus truly informative (Gormley, 1987). A narrow institutional focus also means that many studies fail to contemplate the relationship between institutional structure and active agency, limiting the true potential of such studies by failing to explain elements like power and change (Hay & Wincott, 1998; Mkandawire, 2007; Sinwell, 2010). Furthermore the focus on institutions is also problematic in that it takes precedence over exploring concepts like power in public policy governance, resulting in the failure on the part of existing literature to realize the existence and perpetuation of dichotomous and hierarchical power imbalances (Fukuyama, 2013). Lastly, this limited understanding on the part of extant theory when it comes to adequately appreciating the effects of hierarchies has resulted, as indicated above, in a focus on inverting power imbalances rather than addressing them. This simply creates another power imbalance equally as problematic as the first.

Many of the studies on governance and the citizen-state relationship, as a result of failing to acknowledge the existing power imbalance between civil society and government, highlight the need for participation and problematize the small number and range of civil society organizations involved actively in the policy process, a factor which they would posit limits the success of public policies (Bang & Esmarck, 2009; De Leon & Varda, 2009; Gumede, 2013; Innes & Booher, 2003; Peters, 2011; Rose & Miller, 2010; Sandstrom & Carlsson, 2008; Sorensen & Triantafillou, 2009; Speer, 2012; Van Cranenburgh, 2011; Wenzel, 2007; World, Bank, 2003). These studies further the viewpoint that governance problems can only be solved by effecting increased participation in the form of network governance (Bang & Esmarck, 2009; De Leon & Varda, 2009; Gumede, 2013; Innes & Booher, 2003; Peters, 2011; Rose & Miller, 2010; Sandstrom & Carlsson, 2008; Sorensen & Triantafillou, 2009; Speer, 2012; Van Cranenburgh, 2011; Wenzel, 2007; World, Bank, 2003).

Putting the Spotlight on Institutions

The studies which highlight the powerful potential of governance-by-network indicate that it is to take place within the context of purposeful action on the part of institutions as the true locale of power and change due to their ability to impact power-sharing at the structure-agency nexus (Gains, 2003; Klijn & Koppenjan; 2006; Koppenjan et.al, 2009). The literature highlights a particular source of tension and opposition to optimal institutional arrangements in the contradiction which exists between various facets of public policy governance in general, as is evidenced by the friction which exists between the intensely vertical public

policy structure of many democratic countries and the vast horizontal potential network of stakeholders which are excluded, a phenomenon to which South Africa is no stranger (Booysen, 2001; Grindle & Thomas, 1989; Koppenjan et. al., 2009; Lund, 2001; Wenzel, 2007). The literature speaks to the large number and diversity of non-state institutions involved in 'consultation' at the outset of the policy process, only to be excluded towards the end of the process and reintroduced towards its conclusion in terms of experiencing the effects of the resultant policy (Howlett. McConnell, & Perl, 2013; Booysen, 2001; The World Bank, 2003).

In general the main approach to including non-state entities in the public policy governance process is the sharing of responsibility between the public and private sector, however this is most often mentioned in the context of lowering costs, not in an effort to increase the participatory nature of public policy governance (Kamarck, 2007; Morse & Struyk, 2006). In other cases participation is understood as consultation, monitoring, or consuming, thereby suggesting that citizens merely have to approve of public policy governance and that that is the full necessary extent of their engagement (King, 2003; Van Cranenburgh, 2011; The World Bank, 2003). Thus whilst the need for a range of stakeholders in the public policy governance process is acknowledged, it is not defined and explored much further (Peters, 2011; Sinwell, 2010). In all of the literature on public policy governance and institutions which was analysed only one instance of participation in a more holistic sense emerged, in the case of the Confluence Model (illustrated further on) which called for an increase in the number and range of non-state entities involved in more steps of the policy process, with the nature of such participation as well it its importance left largely unspecified (Howlett et al., 2013). Furthermore only once in all of the literature analysed did the idea of the necessity of the willingness of citizen contribution come up as an essential addendum to participatory governance, with the nature and extent of contribution left vague (i.e. the core argument put forward by demand-driven service delivery) (Speer, 2012).

The following is an illustrated diagram of the Confluence Model (Howlett et al., 2013). The labels in uppercase represent the various policy streams, and the numbered labels represent the 5 policy phases. The three asterisks signify important junctures where policy streams and policy phases can combine to produce outcomes in the policy process. The iconic hourglass shape between phases 2-5 indicates the widening and narrowing of the number and range of participants necessary in the process (Rawhani, 2014c).

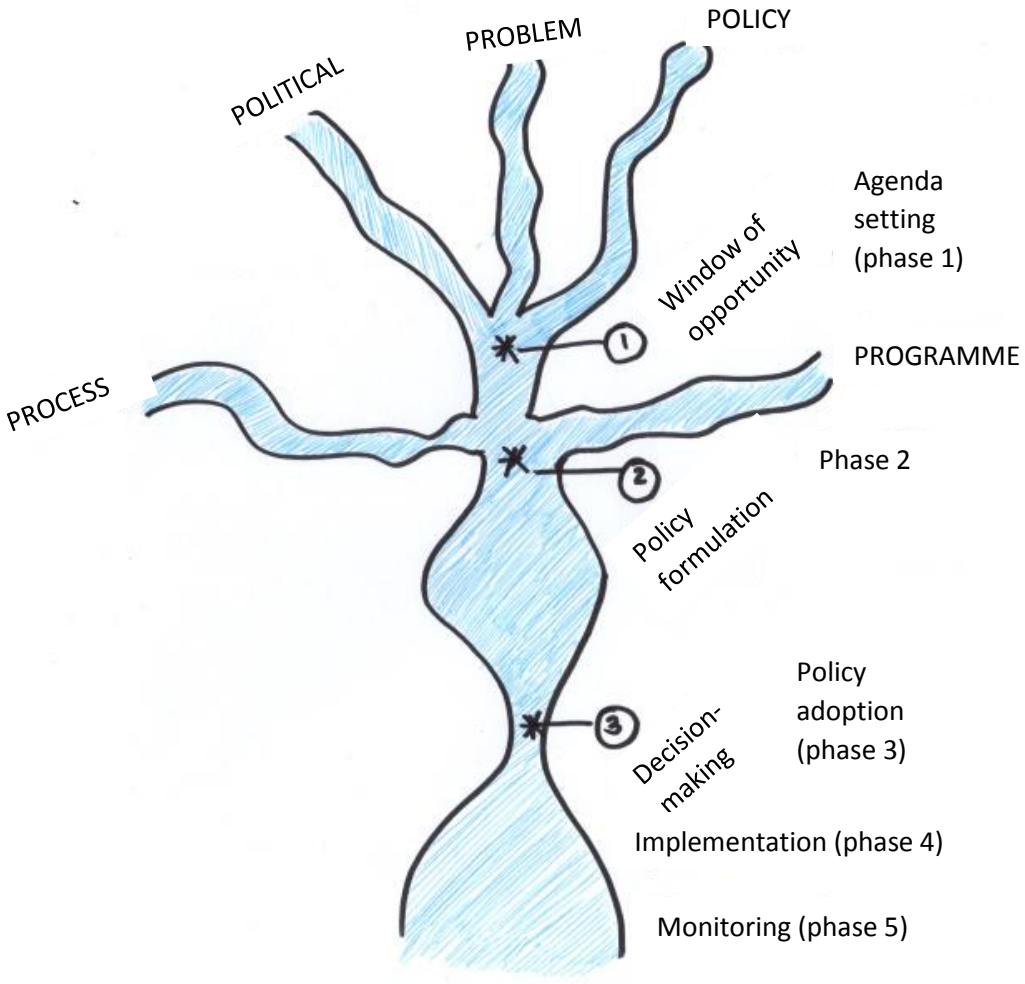


Figure 13: The Confluence Model (Howlett et al., 2013)

Thus another gap in the extant literature on public policy governance is the lack of existence of a comprehensive and holistic definition of participation and collaborative governance. The idea is certainly suggested and hinted at, however it is not discussed in earnest with attention given to its underlying motivation and purpose, or the power relations which should frame it (King, 2003; Morse & Struyk, 2006; Williams, 2006). When participation is discussed it is done so in the context of needing to allow citizens to participate and to do so actively, with little clarification as to what active citizenship actually constitutes. The limitation of this concept which emerges from the literature is that it paints citizens as passive, as an element of civil society which cannot include itself but must be included, as a group whose involvement must be active with little regard to the nature of this activity, i.e. the power relations which should characterize it or the normative institutions it would give effect to. True participation, as alluded to in this study's emergent theory, is collaborative, however the

general trend in extant theory is to equate true participation with cooperation or coordination, both of which are inferior collective processes (O'Flynn, 2009).

A small segment of literature on institutions focuses on normative institutions (including morality) and the need to devote more attention to them and their effect on public policy governance, not only in terms of creating new norms but investigating current ones and their explanatory power. This practice in and of itself forms a step towards creating new norms with the power to combat those problematic existent ones (Moe, 1994; Morell, 2009; Rose & Miller, 2010; Thoening, 2002; Williams, 2006). What the emergent theory does in this respect is to remove the discussion of norms and non-tangible institutions from the margins of the discourse to its very epicentre as informed by the deconstructivist perspective (Derrida, 2000). Through the process of investigation elaborated in this paper the emergent theory demonstrated the powerful explanatory potential of norms and their contributory value to a theory-building exercise with transformative social justice aims.

The Problem With the General Consensus

These trends in the literature are telling, and they are highly instructive in that they indicate significant gaps within which the deconstructivist can work (Flame0430, 2008b; Norris, 1991; Younger, 2013; Zima, 2002). Whilst it is true that citizens are marginalized to a large extent, focusing on including them makes them seem powerless and therefore distorts the dichotomous hierarchy within which governance occurs, a hierarchy in which citizens have so much power that they have made themselves completely unaccountable, that is true power. It is not denied that in some ways citizens *are* excluded, but not simply because of government, because of their own actions too. In outsourcing accountability to government, citizens have disempowered themselves by costing themselves the opportunity to engage in collective governance and achieve true emancipatory change (emancipatory in the sense of socioeconomic social justice transformations).[15]

That is one of the largest gaps in the literature, a failure to truly address participation. The idea which the literature presents is that of inclusion, but true participation with its necessary understanding of power distribution and active engagement is not addressed. As shown in the case of the Confluence Model, the furthest this idea of participation is taken is to mention that

[15] It is acknowledged that this is a somewhat contentious issue in that some may argue the opposite, i.e. that government encouraged this behaviour by marginalizing citizens, even if they have perpetuated this since. Whilst this debate is not irrelevant it would go beyond the scope of this paper to fully argue this point. Thus for the purposes of this paper which, as has been acknowledged, necessitates subjective judgement calls made on the author's part, it is assumed that citizens have been the responsible party in largely marginalizing themselves. This would, however, be an interesting point of departure for further research.

non-state inclusion needs to be more in terms of frequency and range (Howlett et al., 2013). However even when acknowledging the need for a transformation in the relationship between government and non-state entities in the policy governance process, there is no explanation provided for the basis or motivation for this transformed relationship, no explanation given of what its nature should be. And so literature at hand does not adequately address who has to do what, how, and most importantly, why.

Another gap identified is an absence (in most but not all cases) of true reflection on normative institutions and their contribution to problematic public policy governance. Within this gap issues such as context, hierarchy, power distribution and participation are only superficially addressed and fail to be discussed in their true sense. These perceived gaps in the literature do not point to flaws, they simply point to the fact that the truth is ever-changing, and what may have been true of governance then is not true now, or was limited. The gaps in the extant literature prove the usefulness of the emergent theory presented in this study as it ties together many of the fragmented concepts addressed separately in the existing literature, allowing a holistic understanding of public policy governance's ideal state to emerge from the data. This understanding is one which acknowledges above all the importance of context and meaning in affecting the resultant reality within which public policy governance occurs, and thus attempts to create a meaning as free of the uncovered hierarchies and dangerous dichotomies a possible.

The emergent theory's problematization of the data from which it emerged is supported and confirmed by the extant literature, however the theory goes one step beyond problematization and addresses these gaps by engaging with them at the deeper level of context. Thus, whilst the existing theory acknowledges the problems plaguing public policy governance, the emergent theory provides explanatory solutions, thereby achieving its deconstructive goal to think the un-thought-of (Royle, 2000). However the study at hand was not only motivated by deconstructivism but by GTM too, whose goal is to provide theory that is not only new but theory that has function and fit (Glaser, 2009). Thus having demonstrated the 'newness' of the emergent theory, the following chapter will discuss its function and fit by applying it's principles to the case of the failure of demand-driven service delivery as a public policy governance tool for South Africa's sanitation policy.

Theory Application

Getting Down to Specifics

The research presented here was primarily motivated by the search for an answer to the following question: Why has demand-driven service delivery failed as a method for governing South Africa's sanitation policy? As the study took place within the context of GTM it had two simultaneous aims: to answer this question at both a case specific as well as an abstract and theory-generating level (Birks & Mills, 2011; Ellingson, 2011; Perakyla & Ruusuvuori, 2011; Strubing, 2007). In the course of coding the data collected as required by GTM, the abstract answer to the question naturally emerged and could not be separated from explaining the results of the process, hence its placement and presentation earlier in this report. Even though the discerning reader would have already picked up on numerous clues and hints at the case-specific answer in the course of the more abstract theoretical one, it would be remiss to conclude without providing a clear and concise answer to this question too, one which will be aided by an application of the newly emergent theoretical concepts to the case of South African sanitation policy.

The answer provided below has been kept as concise as possible because the case-specific points most relevant to it have already been touched on in the course of chapters six and seven respectively wherein the initial and intermediate codes were explained in depth, touching on the meaning of each and their conceptual relationship to one another. This chapter reflects on the implications of those emergent relationships for demand-driven service delivery in South Africa as it was at that state of initial and intermediate coding where the answer existed in its most specific form, before it was raised to a level of great abstraction in the course of theory-building in chapter eight.[16]

As mentioned multiple times, the problem which sparked this investigation was a particular service delivery protest in Cape Town in 2013 which involved the flinging of faeces by citizens highly disgruntled with the state of sanitation service delivery (or rather the lack thereof) ("Poor and angry", 2013). This seemed odd, particularly in context of South Africa's sanitation policy which from its outset has mentioned that sanitation service provision should be demand-driven, not in the sense that it should respond to the demands of citizens but in the sense that citizens should create demand for the service by indicating a willingness to contribute towards the realization of that service in *some* way, acknowledging the reality of

[16] Any reader unsatisfied with the level of detail in this chapter is advised to refer back to chapter 7 wherein the initial and intermediate coding processes which answered the question at hand are described in detail. For further insight into the drafting of this answer the author has also included their memos in Appendix 2.

the socioeconomic disempowerment of many South Africans (DWAF, 1994; DWAF, 1996, DWAF, 2002b; Mandela, 1994; Mjoli, 2010; Republic of South Africa, 1997a). So why didn't this work? On the surface it would seem a perfectly practical arrangement, a policy designed to help people help themselves, a policy designed to help government help people. The problem was that the reality within which these ideas were meant to flourish contained strong forces which severely undermined them.

The Problem with the South African Policy Context

The fact of the matter is that in South Africa the stage is not set for government to help people to help themselves, the stage is set for people to demand that government help them in the traditional entitlement-driven sense of demand. Rather than empower citizens to embody the demand-driven principles of the sanitation policy, government in South Africa subscribes to a heavily rights-centric version of governance that prioritizes providing for citizens rather than expecting them to earn service provision. This approach treats rights as tools and weapons rather than privileges[17] whose enjoyment should be valued and appreciated. It places heavy responsibilities on the shoulders of government in terms of service provision, which is evidenced by the fact that within the policy sphere a large amount of space is dedicated to detailed descriptions of the roles and responsibilities of government, i.e. what they have to do and how they have to do it, as well as how they will be assesed on their completion of these tasks. In contrast the space in which citizen responsibility was acknowledged, let alone discussed, was virtually non-existent (DWAF, 2002a; DWAF, 2003; Mjoli, 2010). And so citizens have come to be seen as exercisers of rights mainly, in terms of a narrow conceptualization of rights that treats it as dissociated from responsibility.

This has subsequently lead to a misunderstanding of the distribution of power in South Africa's policy governance landscape because it has created and publicized an image of civil society as disempowered and relegated to the role of passively waiting for the realization of its rights, meanwhile the behemoth that is government is seen as hoarding power and delaying rights realization for citizens. In reality this misconception is based on the wrongful conflation of power and control. In South Africa government certainly has a huge amount of control when it comes to governing policy, it is government who plans and it is government who (albeit under pressure from civil society) promises service delivery (DWAF, 2002a; DWAF, 2002b). However the current rights-centric view of governance perpetuated by both

[17] It is acknowledged that the usage of the word privilege is somewhat contentious especially in the context of the human rights discourse.

government *and* citizens has transferred much power to civil society and created a dichotomous power imbalance that favours citizens and disempowers government, although ultimately it disempowers both because it prevents collective action and active citizenship which, if they were to truly unfold, would enable real transformative social justice.

Misunderstanding Rights and Responsibilities

The intent of this section is not to imply that government is a blameless victim whose power has been seized by citizens. Government has a great deal of control over the scenario in that they shape the institutional arrangements which give effect to governance (here speaking in terms of physical institutions not norms and standards which are shaped by all members of society). In the face of a heavily rights-centric definition of governance, South Africa' government has perpetuated an institutional structure which enables participation in the most marginalizing and disempowering ways possible (Mjoli, 2010).

Within this structure civil society is relegated to the role of consultant, monitor, and consumer, roles which pacify them and further the image of citizens as passive victims of poor governance (DWAF, 2001; DWAF, 2002a; DWAF, 2003; Mjoli, 2010). Instead of creating institutions which not only enable but require active contributory participation on the part of civil society during *every phase* of the policy governance process, especially during implementation, the current institutional arrangements enable massive passive participation in the early planning stages of public policy governance, thereafter almost entirely eliminating all non-state active involvement in the process (Mjoli, 2010; Tissington, 2011; South Africa, 2013).

This process is illustrated in Figure 14 below, which should be examined with reference to Figure 13 in the Literature Review. The labels in uppercase represent the various policy streams, and the numbered labels represent the 5 policy phases. The three asterisks signify important junctures where policy streams and policy phases can combine to produce outcomes in the policy process (Rawhani, 2014c). Once compared to the illustrated representation of Howlett et al.'s (2013) Confluence Model, this diagrammatic representation of the institutional arrangements surrounding sanitation policy in South Africa makes it clear that there are significant barriers to true participation, especially in the later phases of the policy cycle.

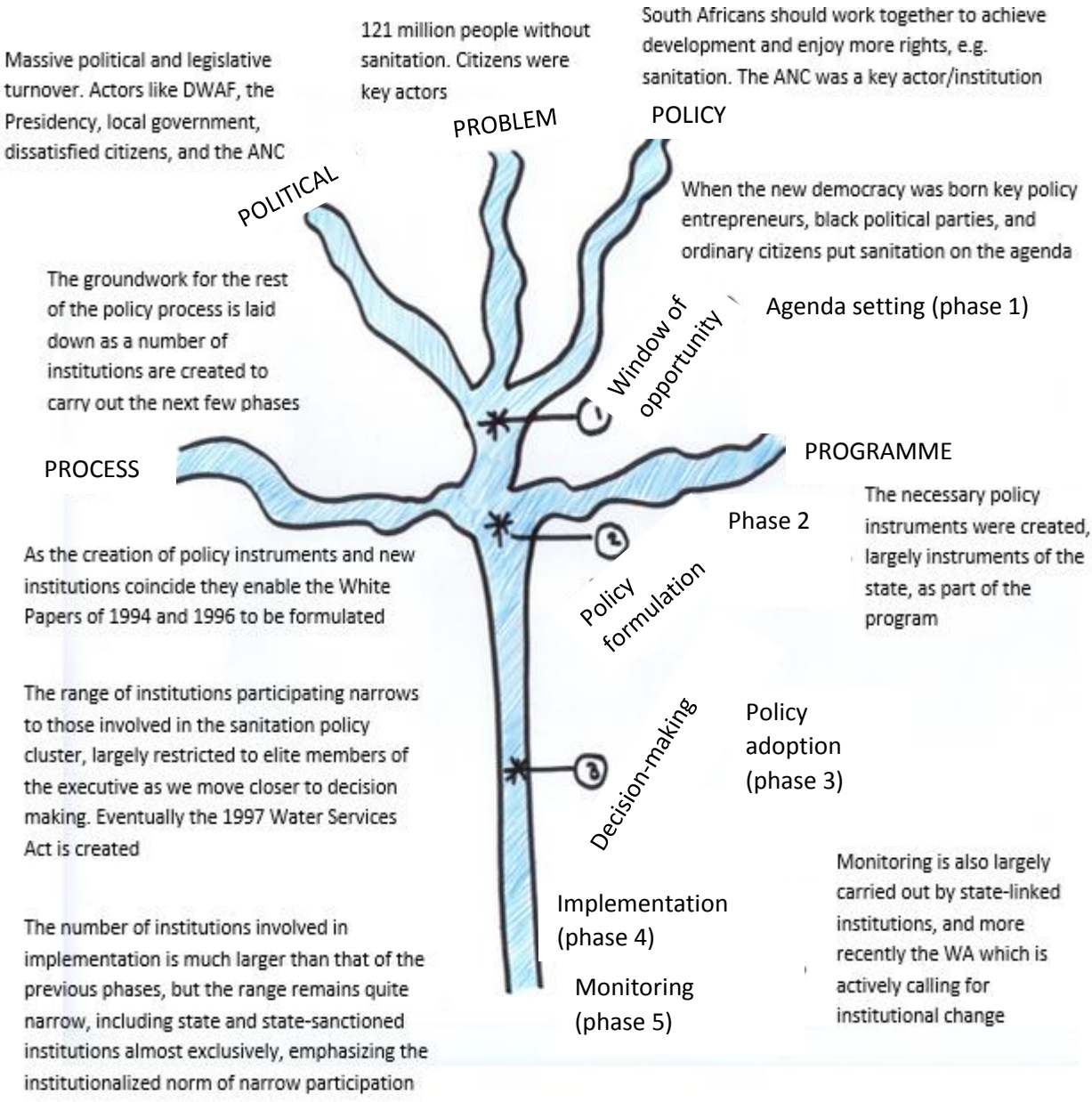


Figure 14: A mapping of the institutional landscape of South Africa's Sanitation policy onto the Confluence Model (DHS, 2011; DWAF, 1994; DWAF, 1996, DWAF, 2011; DWAF, 2003; Mjoli, 2010; Howlett et al., 2013; Tissington, 2011).

It is understandable that this norm of institutionalized marginalization (initial phrase 2) has emerged in the context of a government burdened with immense responsibilities, deadlines of delivery, and a lack of willing helpers in this process; naturally the process would be streamlined to include active and willing participants. However what this has translated to in the South African context is not only a marginalization of civil society but also an absolution of their refusal to actively participate themselves. This is a process in which South African

civil society has had a heavy hand as their overwhelming focus on demanding rights enjoyment as opposed to never demanding empowerment which would enable them to engage in true active citizenship has directed the focus of government thusly, creating this unfavourable institutional structure that perpetuates the very norms which influenced its birth (DWAF; 2003; South Africa, 2013).

So the first problem is that in South Africa we understand governance and government to be the same thing, thus expecting government to do all of the governing. This is closely linked to the second problem which is the lack of morality or virtue in the sphere of governance, because even though civil society sees itself as detached from that sphere there is still an acknowledgement that we interact with it, however the majority of these interactions are self-indulgent and extractive, rather than consciously-responsible and contributive. This conceptualization of governance as an amoral sphere which is responsible for delivering rights to us which we deserve on a largely ethical and moral basis is entirely self-contradictory and serves as another powerful force which not only absolves citizens of responsibility much like the first problem of synonymizing government with governance, but also serves to compromise the very purpose of governance which is to be the coordinated achievement of the public good.

Thus the reason for the failure of demand-driven service delivery in the South African context is that at the most basic level of the norms that govern our understanding and actions within governance, there is a major power imbalance that puts rights-imbued citizens in a position of dominance over the responsibility-laden subordinate government. This set of normative institutions has emerged as a powerful force in the data on this issue and can be seen to have permeated the physical institutional arrangements within which (public policy) governance takes place. And so when we are asking why a system of public policy governance based on collective action doesn't work, in terms of the contextual meanings discussed above it becomes clear that that is because our current understanding and subsequent embodiment of governance is one which actively undermines and compromises the potential of collective action, of collaboration between equals, of responsible and active citizenship in the course of achieving the common good, and until that imbalance is rectified it will be impossible to achieve true governance.

A Problematic Approach to Policy Governance

Ultimately, the problem in the South African context is that rather than try to achieve demand-driven service delivery, the focus shifted to simply achieving delivery as the rights-oriented aspect of the policy and its governance, with very little comprehensive attention devoted to achieving the demand-driven aspect of the policy beyond simply acknowledging that the policy should follow this model. This is what happens when government and governance are confused and we come to see government as exclusively responsible for carrying out governance. This is what happens when we approach governance within the context of a dichotomous hierarchy that places rights in the hands of citizens and responsibility on the shoulders of government. This is what happens when the institutional arrangements (be they physical or other) created to give effect to the policy actively compromise its goals marginalizing the very people whose inclusion is key to its success. This is what happens when we absolve people of the moral duty they have to active citizenship, when we view the state and civil society as so separate that it becomes acceptable to view one as the site of extraction of resources for the other, thereby making the natural decision passive participation which prevents the realization of the type of collective action necessary to effect the social justice transformations public policy governance strives towards. Lastly, this is what happens when we treat governance as a quick-fix, a plaster, a checklist for what government needs to be in relation to a specific problem rather than realizing governance is a position and a process and a product that needs to be a two-way street we all walk on with a shared purpose.

The problem is that we have subscribed to narrow-minded and short-sighted definitions of governance that have prevented us from realizing what it could be. Demand-driven public policy governance failed because it was never translated from rhetoric into action, it remained at the level of an idea with great potential but it stagnated as just that: potential. Meanwhile the focus we placed on its outcome, i.e. service delivery, completely eclipsed any acknowledgement we placed on the ideal method of its achievement, i.e. the demand-driven approach. So much so that demand-driven service delivery was not only ignored but actively worked against. That is why the method itself not only failed to materialize, but so did its intended outcome, universal access to sanitation services for South Africans, and unless the issues problematized in the course of this and preceding chapters are addressed this state of affairs will inevitably continue to prevail.

Conclusions, Reflections & Suggestions

Final Remarks

Faced with the disturbing reality of South Africa's obvious sanitation policy failure, this author set out to understand the problem at hand ("Poor and angry", 2013). The policy requires South Africans to be willing to contribute to service delivery in some way in return for enjoying sanitation services (i.e. that service delivery should be demand-driven), a concept which seems straightforward enough and an excellent compromise in the context of a government serving a huge and impoverished population that may not always be able to pay for the services they want and need (DWA, 2012; DWAF, 1994). However the policy's continued failure 20 years on indicates that this seemingly good policy was not unflawed, and with two decades of failure to its name one could safely surmise that conventional methods have failed to yield appropriate solutions (DWA, 2012; Managa, 2012; SAHRC, 2014; Tissington, 2011). Thus rather than testing a preconceived idea the decision was made to search for a new one (Reichertz, 2007).

Guided by deconstructivist thinking, it was clear at the outset that the real problem lay not in policy as we experience it (i.e. implementation) but in the context that leads to this reality, as reality cannot exist without meaning, and meaning is only found in context (PrestyGomez, 2006; Flame0430, 2008a; Flame0430, 2008b; Flame0430, 2008c; Flame0430, 2008d). In the course of tracing this real-world problem to its contextual roots the author came to focus on policy documents covering the two-decade lifespan of South Africa's sanitation policy and followed GTM in order to allow an explanatory (middle-range) theory to emerge from the data, one which not only fits the case of South African sanitation policy but is also abstract enough to as to be applied to public policy governance in general, especially where demand-driven service delivery is at stake (Kearney, 2007).

The Explanatory Power of Theory

Having deconstructed the meaning-laden context within which South Africa's sanitation policy exists, and having uncovered the problematic dichotomous hierarchical structures at play, a new theory emerged from the data (Derrida, 2000). This is a theory which explains not only why demand-driven service delivery failed as a tool of public policy governance in South Africa, but also has the power to shed light on public policy governance problems in general. This theory is by no means a permanent truth, it is a first step in a never-ending process of expanding understandings and creating emancipatory social justice

transformations, and as such must be subject to further study and testing by other methodologies (Charmaz, 2011).

In short, what the emergent theory revealed is that public policy governance is in and of itself a dangerously misunderstood concept. Because of the synonymization of the words governance and government the term public policy governance is regarded as the sole domain of governments, rather than the nexus of the government-citizen relationship. Because of this government is seen as the sole responsible party in terms of governance and citizens are seen as marginalized sideliners who lie in wait for government to fulfil its duties. As a result another dangerous synonymization occurs: the synonymization of power and control. We assume that because government has more 'control' over policy they have more power, and that citizens therefore *must* be entitled to demand rights because they cannot do anything in their own right. This could not be further from the truth as civil society is in fact so powerful that they have outsourced responsibility to government, perpetuating a norm which masks that abnormality of this asymmetry in the distribution of power and the citizen-state relationship which it has created.

It is obvious that in this context demand-driven service delivery never had a chance, because how could a system of public policy governance based on citizen responsibility work in a system in which citizen responsibility isn't supposed to exist? How could an approach to public policy governance based on a collaborative relationship between equals stand a chance in the context of a dichotomous hierarchical relationship that favours citizens at the expense of disempowering government?

A New Approach to Public Policy Governance

What we need to undergo is a shift at the level of normative institutions, one which will transform the citizen-state relationship and leave in its place a relationship in which rights and responsibilities must be honoured and enjoyed by both parties, with the understanding that rights are an earned privilege and not a demanded good. The current system may favour citizens and civil society at large in the short-term, however it is disempowering in the long term as it forms an obstacle to true collaboration, thus preventing real sustainable social justice transformations. In light of this there needs to be a shift to prioritizing different government responsibilities when it comes to public policy governance. Rather than prioritizing governance-related tasks which strip government of its moral imperatives and empowering potential we need to have government focus on helping people to help themselves, and we need to see civil society helping government to help them, without this

collaborative undertone public policy governance cannot create the necessary transformative environment it hopes to.

This is all well and good from a theoretical perspective, but what does it translate to in concrete terms? Some will, no doubt, posit that the majority of South Africans are disempowered, that they have been crushed by a history of malicious targeted oppression. This point is irrelevant for two important reasons, the first is that it is difficult to believe that the children of a generation that overturned a highly organized and powerful regime are powerless to help themselves. The second is that civil society, in general, is incredibly powerful, if we are powerful enough to contract-out the common-sense responsibility which we should have to play a part in bettering our lives, then there is a great potential for transformative action at the level of civil society, action which could overcome the dangerously dichotomous hierarchy which we have constructed and perpetuated around public policy governance.

Over the last two decades it has become clear that citizens are willing to sacrifice time, energy, and resources in the course of demanding help from government. As of 2013 we realized people were even willing to sacrifice their own dignity and fling their faeces in public in order to get the help they need, in some cases losing their lives in the course of protesting a lack of sanitation services (Managa, 2012; "Poor and angry", 2013; SAHRC, 2014). Yet how many have spoken out in demand of empowerment from government? How many have asked to be helped to help themselves? This author finds it hard to believe that an impoverished and admittedly previously disadvantaged community is capable of orchestrating a trip to go and defecate in front of important political places, yet they are incapable of drafting a proposal for a joint project between themselves and local government which would see the rollout of sanitation services to every home (Managa, 2012; "Poor and angry", 2013).

For these reasons the theory which emerged from the data analysed in the course of carrying out this study suggests that governance should be replaced or at the very least synonymized with the term collaboration or co-labour-ation, in an effort to create a better understanding of what we actually want to happen when we use the term governance. What we actually want is a system and a process and a structure that allows us to be a part of the change we want to see, but for as long as we use the term governance we will keep associating this process, this ideal state, with government, turning it into a one-sided fruitless attempt to create social

justice transformations. As long as we continue to use this problematic term we will continue to think and act within the problematic hierarchies which it perpetuates, and so we will perpetuate the problems were are trying to solve, causing stagnation and regression instead of progress.

That is why a transformation of context is necessary, so that it can effect a transformation in meaning and a transformation of the problematic reality which we see around us (a reality we have played a part in creating through our understanding of problematic meanings attached to the notion of public policy governance). That is why collaboration is the best representation of the citizen-government relationship necessary to effect successful public policy. And that is why demand-driven service delivery failed as a tool to govern public policy governance for South Africa's sanitation policy, because governance as we currently understand and implement the term is at complete odds with its ideal state which demand-driven service delivery assumes, and in order to realize that we have to start understanding and acting on collaboration, translating it from a policy rhetoric couched within ideas like demand-driven service delivery to an empowering reality capable of creating transformative social justice.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Memos

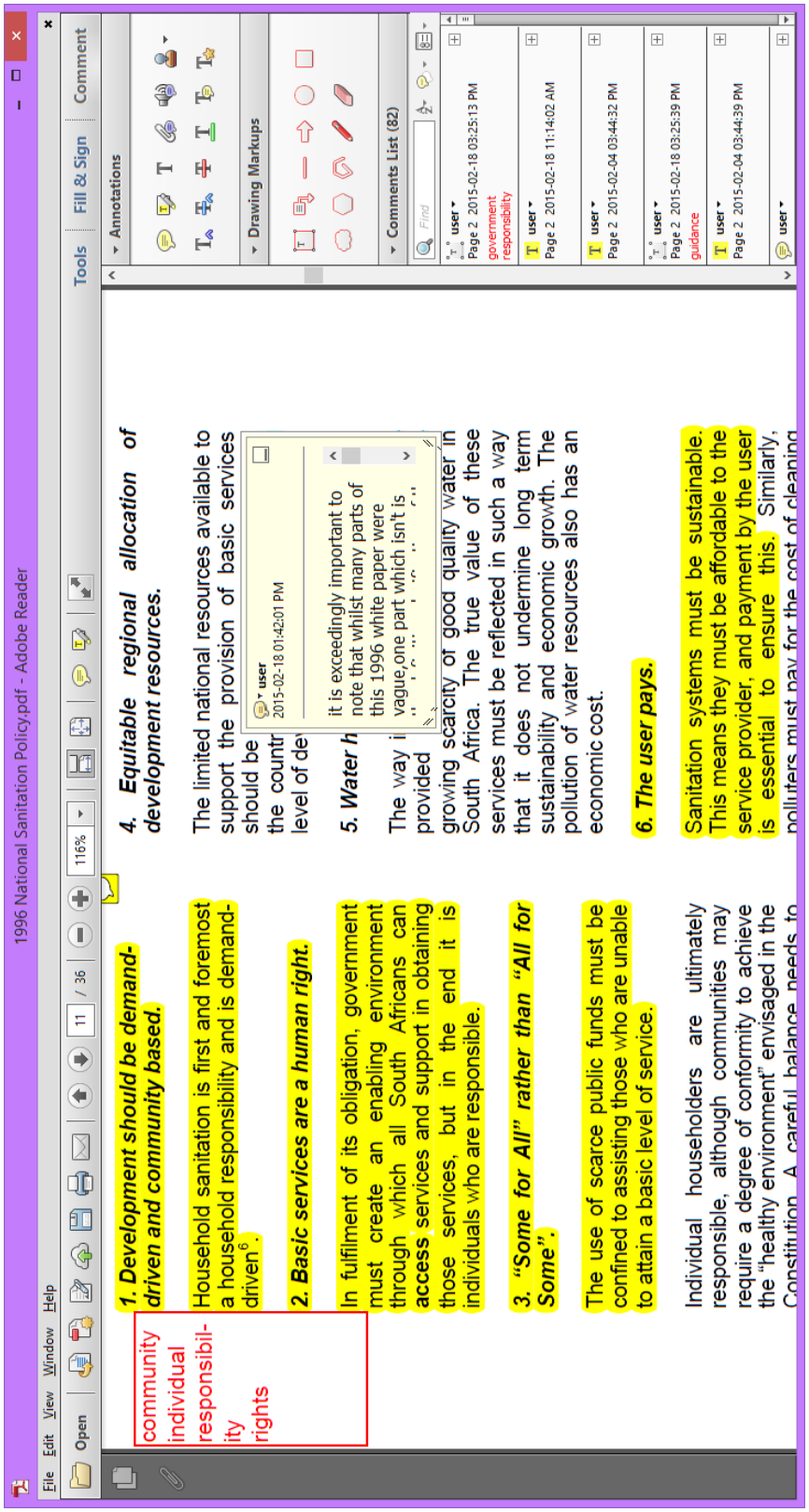

Figure A1: Screenshot of preceding indicating the use of memos in-text (DWAF, 1996).

Memos made during coding:

- General:

Where government responsibility is mentioned pages upon pages are devoted to outlining it in great detail, whilst the same attention is not given to citizen responsibility at all. Government responsibility and institutional involvement is described in great detail, this is hard to represent accurately with the coding but it is a useful side note. Sure early policy documents devoted a small amount of space to the role of NGOs, professionals, the private sector, etc. This was much less than govt's space though, and it was a trend which did not continue beyond the early years of sanitation policymaking

- 1994 Mandela speech:

There is talk of community and joint effort, and yet in the same breath he goes on to promise to meet people's expectations, he takes responsibility and accountability off of the individual and devolves it to the group level, particularly the political sphere.

To find out why the policy didn't work we have to look at the policy on one hand, but on the other we also have to ask what was wrong with the context? So we look at the policy itself but also what world was the policy situated within?

- 1994 white paper:

From the outset of policy-making in 1994 there was a clear appreciation for the immensity of the task and the need for a collaborative approach, requesting that communities take a share of the responsibility. Close to 21 million didn't have access to adequate sanitation. A priority was thus to ensure that they had access to affordable sanitation, i.e. it would not be free. Much like the later 1996 white paper this one goes into detail regarding the responsibilities of government. Of course the paper highlights that all "interested parties" should be involved, but what does this mean? Attending a consultative meeting? Or digging a pit for a VIP latrine? Interesting to note is the history of institutional arrangements (page 8 or 9) which perpetuated the idea that responsibility was largely in the hands of government. Historically, then, even before the new country emerged, there was little infrastructure. The idea of separate development meant that the black governed areas had very low/bad levels of service. Governance as a remedy to injustice and government as an watchdog to correct injustice emerge as a strong theme in the 1994 and 1996 policy documents

Could norms/institutions perhaps be another theme emerging?

This is perhaps one of the most important parts. All of these problems which were listed at the outset are still problems today. Why? The policy still lacks coherency, there is still an inadequate institutional framework, and institutions boundaries STILL overlap (to an extent). There is still an exclusion of areas in dire need, and there is a massive lack of political will to make this a priority

It is mentioned that there is a history of poor service provision

People-driven service delivery, this was the 1994 promise. Government as an enabler is an important addendum to this concept. For the first and last time on page 11 the idea of reciprocal responsibility is brought up. This is not reiterated later, nor is it emphasized

nearly as much as government's responsibility. Regardless of this lack of clarity it is, however, emphasized that the main focus needs to be on demand-driven delivery. Importantly, the definition of demand is given (p12). Whilst the provision of a clarifying definition is encouraging in this context (apart from the fact that those most affected by this wouldn't have read it), it becomes less so when compared to the degree of detail the paper goes in to when describing an emphasising the roles and responsibilities of all the levels of government. Not only are these sections far more detailed, they are much larger/longer.

- 1996 white paper:
  Here government clearly acknowledges its responsibility to improve the sanitation problem, but it mentions that this responsibility is one of guiding policy (and hopefully doing so in as consultative a way as possible). Government unequivocally highlights its responsibility to ensure that all South Africans an access adequate sanitation, but it doesn't state that this access must be unconditional.

  The process is highlighted as one which must be empowering and participative. All stakeholders must be active and hopefully even proactive as the policy aims to help people to help themselves.

  While there is a clear acknowledgement that government is responsible for dealing with this problem, there is also an acknowledgement of the reality of the situation and the limitations placed on government by the resources available to it, which are of course not unlimited. Thus it is mentioned at the outset that only a basic level is to be provided by government, in conjunction with the people, who are to pay themselves if they wish to enjoy a fancier level of service.

  It is worthwhile to note that it is emphasized where the min level of responsibility for the provision of sanitation services lies: with the family unit. Government's responsibility lies in its enabling capacity, i.e. creating an enabling and empowering environment wherein people can make these decisions and enjoy at least a basic level of service which they must maintain and can chose to upgrade if they are able to. Within this context of limited resources it is also noted that improving sanitation doesn't happen immediately. It would be unrealistic to expect the entire country's sanitation levels to be of the highest calibre overnight. Rather it is a slow and evolving process whereby families upgrade their sanitation services as and when they can

  An important statistic: 21 million people did not have adequate access to water and sanitation in 1996 when this was written.

  It is also noted that the policy is a list of to do's, rather than a blueprint or how-to manual. The ground-level strategizing is left to local and provincial authorities and communities who must decide how best to implement.

  it is exceedingly important to note that whilst many parts of this 1996 white paper were vague, one part which isn't is the definitive clarification of the term adequate sanitation, which is described as the continual provision of some kind of a system that will remove and dispose of human excrete and other household refuse water in a way which its users

find acceptable as well as affordable. Importantly it is also noted that this system may be private, public, or even communal.

Demand-driven policy had been introduced as early as 1994 in the White paper on water supply and sanitation policy (find and read). The first and foremost principle on which the 1994 and 1996 white papers were based was that of demand-driven service delivery, an idea rooted in the fact that the provision of sanitation is a responsibility which lies primarily with the household. in light of the injustices of South Africa's past it is noted that the government must carry out certain actions to 'level the playing field', but that these must only go so far as to create an enabling environment wherein individuals are actually responsible for supporting those services which the government gives them access to. This is emphasized in another principle, the sustainability of sanitation services, which is to be based on users paying for them in order for government to be able to continue to provide access to their services. Community involvement is also highlighted, with an emphasis on government's responsibility to empower and enable communities to actively participate in the process of rolling out adequate sanitation services. In fact widespread community mobilization is key to the success of the process

It is equally important to realize that from the outset government was very frank about its lack of an ability to afford to fix everything in South Africa at once. It was noted that due to limited financial resources the responsibility for sanitation services needed to be shared out.

concepts like the user pays and demand driven were meant to be tools to enable people to have a say in what they get and what they can afford to pay for, so that they would not be saddled with expensive systems which were too cumbersome to maintain and unaffordable for them. Leaving them worse off than before possibly.

Government's role is described as one of support, no shouldering the burden alone or leading the charge.

What is interesting to note is that whilst there are detailed lists of government's responsibilities there is significantly less available about household/individual/community responsibilities. This is a problem because perhaps the amount of responsibility they were expected to have at that point in time was not really fair, but that is perhaps a better subject for another thesis.

It is perhaps equally worthwhile to note that this white paper set itself the goal of rolling out basic sanitation services and addressing the massive backlog within ten years.

It is emphasized in this document that achieving the necessary sanitation improvements is not a standalone task, it must be accompanied by other improvements in people's lives. Now, 20 years later, we can see that these improvements which have not happened, like education, are hampering the progress of this policy and its achievement. without proper education, for example, how can people be expected to fully understand what is going on in terms of the technology used for their sanitation, and without decent employment how can people realistically be expected to be contributing towards the enjoyment of sanitation? sure, this is to a degree an oversimplification, but these are important issues which would also need to be explored, both in terms of investigating

their effect on the theory at hand, but also because they are important on a very practical level for finding out how better to apply this policy and achieve its goals.

In the policy it is noted that the right support structure is needed, key to this is the right structure of institutional arrangements

- 1997 housing act:
  The right to housing would later be interpreted as including the right to sanitation, what is important to note is that it is right whose enjoyment is rooted in human enterprise and endeavour, implying that some effort must be made

  Again, in this policy there are extensive sections devoted to describing responsibility at all levels of government, however not so much for other stakeholders involved. A potential new theme is the idea of reciprocity or cyclicality, government helps people to help themselves to help each other, so it trickles down through these levels of institution, community, and the individual. government has the responsibility not to provide endlessly, but to enable so that people can provide for themselves, people were very happy to take the government to task and show that sanitation is a right in and of itself, but it is also included within the right to housing, what they were very quick to gloss over and ignore is that the right to housing is, much like sanitation, one which is to be enjoyed not at the expense of placing an undue burden on government, but rather one which is enjoyed through a collaborative effort of communities genuinely coming together with government and contributing to the process, taking not only services from it but key learnings too which will enable their enjoyment of services to be sustainable and later self-starting or as independent as possible here, much like in the national sanitation task team's 1996 white paper, a range of stakeholders are acknowledged, but really how empowered are these stakeholders to take advantage of their acknowledged role in the process? Is simply acknowledging them enough?
  the responsibility of government is outlined at every step, what about the responsibility of the other stakeholders, it is certainly mentioned in emphatic language, but it isn't given as much space as government's responsibilities, could this be why it is perceived to be less important by citizens? An equally important questions is: is it even government's responsibility to tell people what their responsibilities re in detail? After all this is a new concept, living under 'good governance' was a new experience for South Africans. Should they really be expected to know all of this? Would it even be effective if it was prescribed to them?

  What is very important is that it is not the proliferation of numerous institutions that is blamed, but rather the lack of a clear outlining of responsibilities, this was noted from 1994.
- Even when non-state stakeholders participate it is almost solely restricted to consultation, which is very important and highly significant in light of their past exclusion, but this is not sufficient to achieve what government wants them to achieve, and is at odds with government's self-stated responsibility to empower
- Themes like guidance and planning don't ONLY imply that government has responsibilities and citizens have rights (as implied in coding), they could also be related to collective action because both guiding and planning are 'support activities' which require other actions, and so could be taken to imply that governance is a joint effort too.

- A pre-code which was combined was household with community, both are close to the same level of action, especially if we look at what effect AIDS has had we will realize that the household itself has changed
- Of course the policies *do* say that the policies must involve consultation so that people 'own' the policy, but then it doesn't say that they must help with implementation, just planning
- Clarify that the code 'government does not enable participation' is meant to apply to active participation (participation beyond 'consultation'
- Beyond the obvious implications there are implications of government having power and other stakeholders being disempowered or simply not having any/enough power.
- Where I have written call for collective action it includes non-state institutions
- Explain why in your examination of failure you don't look at reasons outside of policy in your examination. Maybe clarify somewhere that your examination will stick as much as possible to looking at signifiers, a semiotic-type analysis, acknowledging the simple power of words and literature to affect society, and so rather than examine society the study looks o the root of the problem.
- Citizen is also contained within the code 'individual'
- Even where it is mentioned that government can and will only pay so much, so much more detail is put into estimating the burden borne by government, and such little attention is paid to strategizing about how individuals, households and communities will afford this. For example documents go into great detail on funding for different locales, which level of government must be responsible,
- Where new important codes emerged I went back to the sources and would compare the code to the data, and the data to the code, later the codes would be compared with one another
- The unity and indivisibility of all aspects of human life is mentioned ONCE in the 1994 policy; mentioned in a similar vein in other policies in terms of the fact that this is not a stand-alone issue (definitely in 2002a paper)
- Studies often used the term government vs other in describing other stakeholders. This literal 'mothering' is very damaging, it paints the other as less powerful, less worthy of naming
- Even in the 2001 sanitation paper (p21) where it explicitly mentioned institutional weaknesses and acknowledges ALL of the stakeholders involved in sanitation, it still goes on to say A LOT about government. The 2001 white paper does the same thing. (Several pages about govt, a couple bullet points on the role of NGOs).
- In many cases it may look like I did not go back and re-look at documents once a new code emerged, this is because it may have split off from another and already been included in the previous documents' coding.
- Even where policies themselves think they are speaking about collective action, they are really speaking about cooperation within government, between its various branches, not between government and other stakeholders (most of the time anyways)
- When they want to involve the community it is almost always consulting (at the outset); monitoring & evaluation; and planning
- "meeting targets" developed as a code to refine planning and guidance in some ways to capture the fact that government work is measured and closely monitored and evaluated whilst that of other stakeholders in the process is not
- There was a clear change from 1994 from requesting help to encouraging collective action, this is reflected in the change in codes
- Wherever it is noted that communities have responsibility it is done so in an almost empowering manner so that the responsibility which communities have given them

power, they are in charge of a certain task, if they don't do it government cannot complete the task, they are needed and they are in control and hold power. On the other hand when government's responsibilities are listed it is done so in a manner which does NOT empower at all, there is a sense that they are responsible for doing something and if they don't it will constitute a failure of the highest degree, and that due to the stringent monitoring and evaluation measures in place they will face consequences, whilst there is no sense of consequences when it comes to non-state stakeholders and their responsibility. This is probably because community responsibility is often highlighted in conjunction with things like 'household choice', terms that communicate a degree of freedom, the element of choice, whereas government's responsibilities are presented in the context of an obligation (DWAF, 2002a). Even when responsibility is passed on to communities it says they "should" (DWAF, 2002a) do these things, that is never the case with govt which *must*.

- It was identified in DWAF (2002a), paper on sanitation standards, that one of the policy gaps identified was NORMS and STANDARDS, but it is difficult to find information about how and if that taken any further, it is clear that this was an issue though and I also identified this in my research
- There is key legislation which outlines the role of government and its branches (DWAF, 2002a), but not anything nearly as clear on citizens, research further!!
- Government itself is the one legislating! Which makes it all the more frustrating that they do not include more about the responsibilities of people in legislation, but this points to a misunderstanding of the essentials of governance that touches all spheres (DWAF, 2002a)
- "Legislating responsibility" was a new code which emerged and was used to communicate how in legislating responsibility the government both overemphasized their own responsibility AND institutionalized the norm of passive participation or general exclusion for non-state stakeholders.
- Collective action soon came to just be another way to exclude the active participation of citizens, e.g. in DWAF 2002a it is stated that there was a new approach to implementation involving all players, in the same sector -__-
- It is rarely stated that individuals or communities have any implementation-related responsibilities, other than their ability to pay, this is stated in ONE sentence in DWAF 2002a, but there is no description or guidance provided thereafter. Even where it clearly says individuals have responsibilities their responsibilities are usually restricted to their roles as consumers. Interestingly it is usually emphasized that the government cannot fulfil its responsibility to the people without their help, without that collective action at the community level, not that the community has any responsibility to help the government. The phrasing is interesting indeed. It normally said the government is responsible, DWAF is responsible, but when it comes to communise' roles it says we need them to participate. They are included as passive helper's not proactive partners, which is what they need to be!
- The 2002b document also lists in detail budgets and resource expectations placed on government. Here too there is very little space dedicated to what communities can do to be part of implementation, it is present, but barely. In contrast several pages are devoted to what government can, is and should be doing.
- Interestingly in 2002b document (FBS), it says "However, even in these areas it may be necessary to recover some costs from those consumers who can afford basic services." even here in the context of municipalities that definitely cannot afford to serve all of their constituents, it says MAYBE people will have a degree of responsibility. The 2003 document also frames the water issue as an issue lined to many important

developmental elements (2003, DWAF). This document also goes into detail in terms of institutional involvement, making I clear how small and insignificant the involvement of non-sate stakeholders other and semi-private water boards is. Here again the role of individuals and communities is largely relegated to planning and consumption. This same document also points to the policy gap in terms of norms and standards as it says policies strategies and legislation need to be more congruent and in-line with one another. (See page 88 for source leads). It says here too that government must be accountable to citizens (search for accountability as an emergent code). It never says citizens must be accountable, not only is this asymmetrical, it puts government in the position of subservience towards citizens, and citizens in a position of power over government. The document list government's targets that have to be met in detail, including dates and monitoring information, there is no equivalent for citizens' responsibilities.

- 2003 water services framework: the participation of non-state sectors is relegated to watching from the side-lines and only becoming actively involved in the form of consumption really. Such a great deal of attention is devoted to listing the responsibilities of government in the form of targets, with details of monitoring included. This is interesting as there is no equivalent for the responsibilities of citizen's once again non-state participation is not even present in the institutional sector, which is odd given that this description here is a vision not a current portrait.
- In the 2001-2008 document (Mjoli, 2010) it is made clear that there is STILL a lack of common understanding of the policy and its underlying norms, this points to a failure of institutionalising the necessary habits. In the same document is says that service providers need to be more accountable to their customers. There is also a strong theme of governance a service, this is good, but unfortunately it also becomes muddled with subservience very often. In this same document when rights are interpreted they are only interpreted in terms of government's responsibility to honour and fulfil them, not in terms of people's responsibility to actually work towards their realization. This paper also notes the refusal of communities to compromise and accept other methods of sanitation in some cases less than the basic minimum, other did not want to help and pull their weight, expecting payment for their labour. Individuals are wielding rights like a weapon against government. Importantly this study lists a landmark case, although it does so very nonchalantly. In this case (p44) community member were willing to help roll out sanitation services and were a huge help in the implementation process, but only because they were recognized as equals in the process!! This case is not referred to commonly either in the media or in earlier or later reports, so it is hard to know why this wasn't highlighted more and made more of an example, but it is powerful evidence in support of the emerging theory regarding governance.
- Therefore this paragraph is spot on in terms of the problem lying in a lack of understanding, but it isn't just a lack of understanding of the policy, it is a lack of understanding of good governance. The report notes amongst its objectives the need to investigate the understanding of the policy and its O&M/M&E amongst govt, communities, and other stakeholders. But to what extent did it truly do this? And why aren't they all being grilled on implementation? Is it an oversight or is it because implementation is supposed to be beyond their purview? The report notes amongst its objectives the need to investigate the understanding of the policy and its O&M/M&E amongst govt, communities, and other stakeholders. But to what extent did it truly do this? And why aren't they all being grilled on implementation? Is it an oversight or is it because implementation is supposed to be beyond their purview? The report notes amongst its objectives the need to investigate the understanding of the policy and its

O&M/M&E amongst govt, communities, and other stakeholders. But to what extent did it truly do this? And why aren't they all being grilled on implementation? Is it an oversight or is it because implementation is supposed to be beyond their purview? 16 years in to the new South Africa this WRC investigation still confirmed that demand-driven service delivery was the right way to go, but this was based on patterns of action observed in Indian communities. Patterns of action which were largely non-existent in South African communities. Even here, in the all-important section of the report where misunderstandings are discussed, a third-party neutral organization missed out on the fact that demand-driven was a misunderstood and poorly executed concept. This point to just how pervasive the institutionalization of governance as a concept has been, how much of a norm our narrow conceptualization of governance has become. Could obligation be arising as a new theme or sub theme? It is very similar to responsibility but has a slightly more pejorative connotation. Again here it is the government who needs to be accountable to the community, not individuals to community or the community to itself sure there has been a lot of focus on how the lack of a clear definition of exactly what basic sanitation means has prevented full rollout, but this isn't really true, because millions don't have any access to sanitation TO THIS DAY! Did this play a role? For sure? But is it a major explanatory factor? No!
When individuals and communities give their own views they are very rights focused.

Could another theme or sub theme be that of demands, complaints, and victimization? Both self and by other participants in the discourse? This lack of clarity regarding demand-driven service delivery is very important, examine these policies and subsequent ones to determine the veracity of this claim. I think that unless the 2003 source nullifies or completely replaces earlier policies then we can comfortably repudiate this claim. And can this report even prove that these stakeholders had a good knowledge of the policies and their language? NO WAYS! What is clear here is that at a normative level there have embraced the institutionalized narrow definition of governance and that has influenced their interpretation of their right to sanitation. THAT is what I emphasize here. Very important case study example of how successful truly demand-driven sanitation has been in the few instances where it was properly implemented

- Clarify that confusing institutions refers to norms too!! (and mark the document where this was first noticed)
- In the 2009 FBS doc it says "Municipalities have an obligation to ensure that poor households are not denied access to basic services due to their inability to pay". But this is never clarified, what exactly counts as an ability? The idea of government as protector is also within the addressing injustice norm. This paper also emphasise responsibility as choice at the local/community level. Also, when I say communities re important levels of action I mean they are an important nexus of power. In this document it is once again confirmed that community participation in the form of a contribution is needed, but that this isn't happening due to a lack of clarity. Once again the problem of institutional norm rears its head. It is also very interesting because here they say explicitly that although nobody should receive services below the bare minimum, those unable to pay should still be able to at least contribute in kind! The document goes as far as saying that this should clearly be legislated, but for some reason that doesn't seem to actually get carried out later. It is noted here, once again, that sanitation is not a standalone service. NB NB here the say that they contributory part of demand-responsiveness is less important in light of FBD, but the NB part that remains is communities as decision-makers. Again here it is emphasized that demand-

driven largely means choice, responsibility as choice and power comes up again. There is a change here, some more detail is devoted to what is expected of households in terms of their responsibility, all of it has the caveat that none of this is a basis on which to deprive somebody of their basic rights. Households, according to these detailed sections, are at most going to be expected to deal with maintenance. What is even more interesting here is that (page33) it changes the demand-side pressures on citizens and talks of thing like demand-side subsidies, like vouchers given to citizens that they can redeem in return for their services

- The Tissington (2011) document also emphasizes that sanitation is not a standalone issue and is linked to the realization of many other rights and basic dignities. The document acknowledges time and again the need for review of policy. The document also states a lack of clarity as an issue, although this is a delivery issue not a delivery model issue. This document also devotes a lot of space to describing how government can fulfil its role, but not vice versa. On p70 of the documents it points out that (perhaps) the largest challenge facing SA sanitation today is the struggle to provide water to growing settlements, this goes back to the issue of people having children who they cannot support in environments when government has no choice but to effectively be their sole provider, is that fair? Fair to government?
- If government has this prescribed minimum level of service why don't citizens?
- In the 2012 op ed about sanitation (Lewis & Sutherland, 2012) it is also emphasized that sanitation and water are not standalone issues and are central to many developmental goals' achievement. At this point I realized that the code "institutionalizing non-state exclusion" also included measures like free basic sanitation. As did "legislating responsibility". Both of these codes/labels covered the way in which govt was increasingly taking 'pressure' off of communities and individuals. In this same document, and around this time, one could see a thematic narrow conceptualization of justice emerging, much like the thematically narrow conceptualization of governance. An important new code emerged at this time, "communities as passive victims of nondelivery", this code has its roots in a few others, but speaks to the increasing trend of representing non-state entities as passive, and not neutrally so but in a victim or martyr sense.
- In the 2012 DHS meeting minutes document I realized that what I had been coding as government responsibility was now being described as government failure to meet that responsibility, it marks an important change in tone and because I wanted to capture that I didn't go back and change the way I had been coding it previously as I thought the contrast between the two codes was important. I also starting coding 'government is responsible citizens have rights' slightly differently and in some case would label it as citizen entitlement because that was another important change in tone from previous codes
- A 2012 (MANAGA) op ed on unfulfilled promises paints government as lacking in accountability, interestingly it passes on this lack of accountability to citizens and their bad choices or non-active participation in elections. I personally would like to take this concept of citizen accountability and responsibility MUCH further. Confusing institutions also begins to include, for me at least, a trend of almost institutionalizing the promise of service delivery to the extent that it causes people to be misled about what is expected of citizens. A new code appeared at this point "appearing corrupt and unaccountable". I believe I may have undervalued this and will later go back and recode, looking for this in previously coded documents. Another new code appeared "not-participating actively". Another interesting conceptual pairing which emerged here was the idea of government failing its responsibility due to its institutionalizing of

active non-state participation. This was captured in the sentiment expressed by protester who complained about being excluded from decision-making. Unfortunately this was IT, in terms of the fact that these same people who want to be part of decision making didn't take their own active citizenship further and offer to help or participate actively in implementation. They almost cement their own marginalization by relegating themselves to decision makers, monitors and consumers. Also, why should municipalities turn to external agencies? Why shouldn't they turn to the people? And how come people are more than happy to be participating as long as it involves making the rules but not implementing them? There is an overwhelming sense of the failure of government to meet expectations, but what about the failures of people to meet the expectations of government? Sure people want to be included in decisions more, but not everything can be a consultative process when services need to be rolled out quickly, nobody seems to be complaining about a lack of volunteers at the community level? There is a lot of emphasis on campaign promises, but not nearly enough attention given to the realities within which government is working. People quit jobs and risked their financial, psychological, and physical well-being in order to achieve their freedom, and based on that the government assumed that they would be willing to continue showing that resolve in assisting to build their country, which was not the case. This report is characteristic of many policy monitoring and evaluation exercises that take place within South Africa. Strongly associating rights and demands with individuals and responsibilities and failures with government. Ignoring the community level save when describing mass suffering it is encouraging to note that this article, thought almost nonchalantly, dedicates a small amount of space to acknowledging public participation in governance must occur in the form of participating actively in votes. Accountability is strongly associated with government, and corrupt government at that, never with individuals.it is true, that without collaboration service delivery will not improve or even be sustainable at current levels. and yes government must be accountable and corruption free, but what about people not perpetuating this, and what about people not making government's work harder?

- DWA 2012 report of sanitation services in South Africa. Here it is stated that government violated rights by not providing people with their basic dignities. But really to what extent is this true? 20 years into democracy how can people who say they haven't had a job for the entirety of that time AND who have gone ahead and had children and possibly even illegally settled somewhere be complaining that government doesn't do everything for them? Yes everyone has the right to dignity, and sanitation, but doesn't that men they also have a responsibility to behave with dignity? And basic logic? Why can't they build mud walls around the toilets? Or ask government to supply them with materials while they provide the labour to build the walls? Or request a subsidy? SO many options are available, did these people do anything other than actually complain about the lack services they were receiving? Were they aware of the HUGE burden placed on government and the fact that maybe toilets with walls cannot be built for every single person? On the other hand if government wants people to contribute, the appearance of corruption is probably really damaging the chances of this happening. How can people be expected to do their best if government doesn't appear to be doing its best? If people look to government and see millions of Rand being wasted every year and redirected into the pockets of politicians in the form of luxury homes and trips overseas, how can they be expected to sacrifice their meagre resources to do government's job? Furthermore why are there such tight measures in place for measuring and monitoring government's performance when there are almost none to measure citizens' contributions? It is also noted here that sanitation is not a standalone

issue, it needs to be tackled jointly or else lead to massive failure. The document states" This policy approach to basic services entailed government funding the capital costs of new services infrastructure while the users covered operation and maintenance costs. Towards the end of the 1990s however, government realised that poverty, unemployment and the high operational costs of particularly bulk water supply schemes, meant that the poor could not afford services charges. Thus the shared responsibility between government and citizens, as envisaged in the policy would not be implementable. THS IS SO IMPORTANT. WHY WAS IT NOT IMPLEMENTABLE JUST BECAUSE OF THE FINANCIAL BURDEN ON THE POOR? SHARED RESPONSIBILITY IS NOT RESTRICTED TO FINANCIAL BURDEN!! AND WHY DID GOVERNMENT INTERPRET IT LIKE THIS? WHY DIDN' THEY TAKE ADVANTAGE OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND AT LEAST TEMPORARILY EMPLOY PEOPLE TO HELP THEM ROLL OUT THE SERVICES? OR TELL PEOPLE TO WORK FOR FREE? THEREBY REDUCING THE COST? SURELY PEOPLE WOUL DBE MOTIVATED TO PROVIDE GOOD LABOR IF BUILDING THEIR OWN TOILET? It is interesting to note that even government itself labelled itself a failure for not meeting targets, but this was exacerbated by the lack of institutional clarity and the way in which competing branches of government took advantage of this, pointing out one another's failures. Of course some reasons like poor quality of labour, institutional competition, and a shortage of resources affected the policy failure. All of these factors can be traced back to poor implementation on a practical level, but let's take a step back and ask why was it so poorly implemented? For many issues like maintenance problems or a lack of good labour and resources should not have existed had the demand-driven aspect been functioning properly. MANY OF THE PERCEIVED REASONS FOR THE FALURE OF THE SANITATION POLICY EXIST BECAUSE OF THE FAILURE OF THE DEMAND-DRIVEN ASPECT OF IT. It is also acknowledged that there is an issue in terms of government's burden increasing as populations grow. Interestingly the document mentioned that funds are available to create employment in the course of providing service delivery, why hasn't this been emphasized more? It isn't enough to emerge as a strong theme, but I'm noting it because it may prove helpful when applying the theory to my case later, or when building the case. Something else very important which isn't a theme but a useful idea is the fact that national government is responsible for standards and norms, thus even these aspects of institutionalism are highlighted as important. Furthermore this study importantly points out the need for governance to be strengthened by better establishment of norms and standards, institutions must also be strengthened, and the public needs to participate more in implementation. This document more than any other thus far re-emphasizes the importance of norms in numerous place and the need to work on improving them. This document concludes that sanitation is regressing. Serious indeed and backs up my earlier guess.

- 2013 WRC technical brief. even in monitoring and evaluation exercises carried out by supposedly neutral third parties like the WRC, when investigating why certain goals were not met they only look at what government did and did not do, not at anything to do with citizen or community-level responsibility. Look at the 1994 and 1996 white papers, even though they touch on community and individual responsibility they don't bring in any measures to support this, or any major focus to emphasize it. this report says that it aims to assess the impact had by municipal action on communities why is there no assessment on communities' actions to improve their own lives, or better yet their actions and how that has affected the ability of municipalities to effectively

implement the policy. The community is very briefly given a limited voice in the form of their opinions of the level of service

- 2013 molewa govt.gazette. We cannot simply blame the general populace for perpetuating the narrow conceptualization of what it means to govern. Government themselves, when discussing responsibility, only look within government, not all the other spheres of action within society. It is interesting and perhaps somewhat sad to note that government's own definition of cooperative government refers to cooperation within government and not between government and other entities. NB NEW IDEA EMERGED ON P11 "WITH THIS RIGHT COMES A RESPONSIBILITY- NOT TO ABUSE THE RIGHT TO FREE BASIC SERVICES". Interestingly we can see here very clearly in supplied diagram that non-state stakeholders are *firmly* placed on the outskirts of sanitation management, perhaps this is why they are not such active participants. It is very clear here that non-governmental stakeholders are completely excluded from the process, they are cut out completely from the institutional structure that differentiates between insiders and outsiders. Basically we can see that in 2013 there was across the board acknowledgement that things were not going well with sanitation service delivery in South Africa. Even those basic rights that people are entitled to are being reviewed, this is a great time for this research.
- The 2013 article "poor and angry". This makes me wonder why there is any delivery issue at all. If people are able to effect collective action in the form of protest then why are we so quick to dismiss their inability to effect it to help themselves? If people can organize themselves into a crowd and fling poo then why can't they organize themselves into a crowd and demand training to help government build sanitation in their areas? Or building materials to build toilets with?
- 2014 announcement of DWS (Zuma). Official recognition and finally some action based on the long-stated need to
- 2014 speech chastising minister of DHS. Why are we always so quick to highlight the fat that government is underspending? That government isn't doing its best? What about citizens? Surely they aren't doing their best?! In fat this document itself acknowledges that there is a big burden placed on government thanks to the "mushrooming informal settlements". Why is it that we can note government's job is getting bigger but we won't problematize the reason behind that? People settling in ridiculous areas, refusing housing where it doesn't suit what they want, and continuing to have children and grow poor populations?! One interesting thing this document mentions is the need to hold people accountable, that we need to increase accountability on the part of those whose corruption and irresponsibility is hindering developmental progress. I don't know if this is an important theme but it is a good concept. It is not at odds or hugely different with current emergent theory, just an interesting take on it.
- 2014 SAHRC report. Could the law or conventionality be seen as a new emergent trend? Those watchdog or whistle blower organizations talk only of the rights of people, victimizing them and positioning them as helpless. Why are we so comfortable to point out that government has an obligation, but not that anybody in the community does? In Michael's community the situation with the pit latrines was well known, why didn't the whole community put forward a proposal for better toilets? Or why didn't they get together and build safer and more dignified structures above and around the pits? This title (water is life. Sanitation is dignity. Accountability to people who are poor) in itself reduces people who could be proactive partners in development to financially disempowered individuals. Just because they are poor does not mean that they do not have access to any resource whatsoever. This document also importantly calls for accountability, major issue here is what is perceived as unaccountability, and

accountability as a balm. Mention that I will be using this report as a reference to the 'voice of the people' as this commission supposedly carried out detailed hearings. There is an interesting new focus here and that is the fact that governance is missing more of a rights focus. How can they say that? Government is already SO rights focused, how can rights be the thing that is missing? The document also places much blame on a lack of political will, but how fair is that really? What about the will of citizens? We are talking about a country that got rid of a tyrannous regime hell-bent on suppressing them, imagine if they put the same amount of energy into working WITH a government hell-bent on HELPING them. What is interesting to me about documents like this, and others that look to international treaties on the importance of providing the rights to sanitation, yet they don't look to international examples of how successful service delivery has been in examples when people actually helped their government, and we don't have to look that far, in Ghana on our own continent the world bank has done studies on how successful such models of service delivery have been. Even here in tis 2014 document the list of those involved insanitation goes into detail when it comes to government and its branches, yet remaining almost entirely silent when it comes to non-state institutions. Even when talking about non-state actors it doesn't mention individuals or communities, the focus is on organizations and people who will help the state to provide for individuals and communities. Later in the document it goes on to say there has to be "effective and comprehensive public participation that constitutes 'meaningful consultation'. Why should the public only be consulted? What shouldn't they contribute in other more productive ways too? And how much do they really know? The public elected officials a decision-makers, not as blind implementers of their will in all situations. THE TERM GOVERNANCEIS USED NEGATIVELY HERE, IT IS PROBABLE THAT, IN KEEPING WITH DECOSNTRUCTIVISM, I WILL NEED TO COME UP WITH A NEW TERM WITH OUT THOSE NEGATIVE CONNOTATIONS. there is a major governmental weakness when it comes to M&E, and across-the board corruption, which is problematic because this means people view that public sphere as a sphere from which to take.

- General:

In short, demand-driven service delivery failed because the policies which tried to implement it actually tried to implement sanitation as their end goal when demand-driven service delivery should have been what they sought to achieve, and then sanitation would have followed. Having said this it became clear that the context within which the policy was enacted was problematic in and of itself due to the hierarchies and binaries it was based on, concepts which lead to a misunderstanding of the key stakeholders, structures, and processes necessary for the success of this idea (and good governance in general).

NB TO CLARIFY THAT I'M NOT ASKING WHY SOUTH AFRICA'S SANITATION POLICY HAS FAILED TO DELIVER! I'M LOOKING AT A SPECIFIC MODEL OF SERVICE DELIVERY AND ASKING WHY IT DIDN'T WORK IN THE CASE OF SOUTH AFRICA'S SANITATION POLICY

Might be worthwhile to add a note in the intro stating why it is surprising that it didn't work, given South Africa's high unemployment, high poverty, and high demand for services in the economy sense not the policy sense

Insert a table at the end, a network/web type chart that shows each code, how it emerged, what it branched off into, when and where it was discontinued, etc.

If the approach of the supply of sanitation must not be treated or looked at as a standalone issue, then why can't we hold its demand (here demand as in demand-driven delivery) to the same standard? If we say sanitation isn't just about toilets, it's about women's rights and girls going to school etc., then why don't we look at citizens and go further than simply just looking at how they contribute? Why can't we say citizens are responsible for also trying to address these in tandem? So you cannot complain about a lack of adequate sanitation for your village's growing population when you, who couldn't afford sanitation before, went and three children out of wedlock, meaning that they state will likely have to co-support them.

I code in two layers which, informed by GTM's dominant style, work together simultaneously and reciprocally. The first code represents that answer to the question "did what?" Obviously I was less interested in who did what due to my avoidance of placing importance on authors or the source of the action, however I wanted to label in gerund form in order to capture processes which may be important. The second layer represented the question to "what does it suggest", i.e. what was the resultant understanding or context created by this action or process highlighted in the first layer of coding.

Consider representing all of the data in the form of a matrix to show important correlations to be explored, especially since we are looking at relational meanings.

NB: to go through these and cross out the parts that aren't relevant to my exact question. I don't want to know what sanitation has been a failure in general, I want to know why the *demand driven* aspect of the policy failed. That is what I have to focus on.

Note this point on the left as part of the justification for carrying out this study

NB, in terms of codes I have to say appearance of non-accountability because it isn't proven that they are, just that they behave in that manner.

A full list of sources of information treated as data is provided below:[18]

- A 1994 political speech by Nelson Mandela (Mandela, 1994)
- The 1994 White Paper 'Water Supply and Sanitation policy' (DWAF, 1994)
- The 1997 Housing Act (Republic of South Africa, 1997a)
- The 2001 White Paper 'Basic Household Sanitation' (DWAF, 2001)
- The 2002 strategy document 'The Development of a Sanitation Policy and Practice in South Africa (DWAF, 2002a)
- The 2002 strategy document 'Free Basic Water: Implementation Strategy' (DWAF, 2002b)

[18] The discerning reader will note that a number of sources, for example some important Acts, court cases or meetings on sanitation, which have been mentioned earlier in the introduction are not listed as sources which were processed through the coding process, this is because the content of these sources had already been noted in several of the summaries which the author included initially when searching for data, and thus the primary sources themselves provided no new or challenging information and as such were not coded, but were indeed relied upon when researching the context of the problem at hand later in the research process.

- The 2003 strategy document 'Strategic Framework for Water Services (DWAF, 2003)
- The 2009 strategy document 'Free Basic Sanitation Implementation Strategy' (DWAF, 2009)
- A 2010 paper reviewing sanitation from 2001-2008 (Mjoli, 2010)
- A 2011 review of sanitation 'Basic Sanitation in South Africa: A Guide to Legislation, Policy and Practice' (Tissington, 2011)
- Minutes from a 2012 DHS-convened meeting on a 'Sanitation Master Draft Plan' (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2012)
- A 2012 report on 'Sanitation Services- Quality of Sanitation in South Africa (DWAF, 2012)
- A 2012 op. ed. on 'Water and Sanitation Service Delivery' (Sutherland & Lewis, 2012
- A 2012 article on poor service delivery at the local level in South Africa (Managa, 2012)
- A 2013 *Water Wheel* article about the Cape Town sanitation protests ('Poor and Angry', 2013)
- A 2013 Government Gazette announcing the 'National Water Policy Review' (South Africa, 2013)
- A 2013 technical brief on sanitation by the Water Research Commission (WRC, 2013)
- Questions put to the Minister of Water and Sanitation by parliament in 2014 (Minister of Water and Sanitation, 2014a; Minister of Water and Sanitation, 2014b)
- A 2014 speech on sanitation delivered by the DA (Mokgalapa, 2014)
- The 2014 announcement of the new Department of Water and Sanitation (Zuma, 2014)
- A 2014 mandate issued by the Select Committee on Social Services to the Department of Water and Sanitation (Molepo, 2014)
- A 2014 SAHRC report on access to sanitation in South Africa (SAHRC, 2014)

Appendix 2: Tabulated Results of Initial and Intermediate Coding

The initial gerund codes below are listed in descending order based on frequency of occurrence, with the associated phrases (context) within which the gerund occurred listed below each one. Each gerund is highlighted and emboldened for ease of reference. In the leftmost column the initial gerunds and phrases numbers are given, these numbers correspond with their ranking in terms of frequency of occurrence (i.e. gerund 1 is the most frequently occurring gerund in the dataset, whilst phrase 11 is the 11th most recurrent phrase in the dataset).

Table A1: The key initial emergent gerund codes in answer to "did what?"

Gerund/ Phrase #	Emergent gerund in answer to "did what?"	Frequency of occurrence
1	**legislating responsibility**	**65**
1	government is responsible; citizens have rights	39
2	non-state stakeholders largely marginalized	14
11	lack of certainty about role of individuals and communities	3
4	institutional weakness	2
10	communities as decision makers, monitors & consumers	2
6	government must give to the people	2
13	nobody wants to be responsible; lack of political will	1
8	communities have responsibility	1
14	individuals have responsibilities	1
2	**confusing institutions**	**54**
4	institutional weakness	33
3	government fails responsibility	10
13	nobody wants to be responsible; lack of political will	6
11	lack of certainty about role of individuals and communities	2
1	government is responsible; citizens have rights	1
2	non-state stakeholders largely marginalized	1
16	citizen entitlement	1
3	**honouring rights**	**51**
1	government is responsible; citizens have rights	41
21	governance must include rights	3
3	government fails responsibility	3
22	with rights come responsibilities	1
14	individuals have responsibility	1
16	citizen entitlement	1
15	communities as passive victims of nondelivery	1
4	**institutionalizing non-state exclusion**	**47**
2	non-state stakeholders largely marginalized	27
17	government does not enable participation	8

11	lack of certainty about role of individuals and communities	3
	communities as decision makers, monitors & consumers	3
3	government fails responsibility	2
16	citizen entitlement	1
4	institutional weakness	2
13	nobody wants to be responsible; lack of political will	1
5	**giving resources**	**44**
6	government must give to the people	29
11	lack of certainty about role of individuals and communities	8
4	individuals and communities must pay	4
14	individuals have responsibilities	2
8	communities have responsibility	1
6	**working on institutions**	**43**
5	acknowledgement of the importance of institutional structure	41
2	non-state stakeholders largely marginalized	1
1	government is responsible; citizens have rights	1
7	**emphasizing community**	**40**
7	communities are NB levels of action	30
10	communities as decision makers, monitors & consumers	4
8	communities have responsibilities	2
15	communities as passive victims of nondelivery	2
2	non-state stakeholders largely marginalized	1
23	communities should exercise control	1
8	**promising delivery**	**34**
1	government is responsible; citizens have rights	28
16	citizen entitlement	5
3	government fails responsibility	1
9	**meeting targets**	**32**
3	government fails responsibility	13
1	government is responsible; citizens have rights	12
2	non-state stakeholders largely marginalized	3
15	communities as passive victims of nondelivery	2
16	citizen entitlement	1
12	expectations must be realistic	1
10	**passing responsibility to communities**	**24**
8	communities have responsibilities	16
9	governance is a joint duty	3
1	government is responsible; citizens have rights	2
2	non-state stakeholders largely marginalized	1
5	acknowledgement of the importance of institutional structure	1
7	communities are NB levels of action	1
11	**fragmenting institutional arrangements**	**23**
4	institutional weakness	6
13	nobody wants to be responsible; lack of political will	4
1	government is responsible; citizens have rights	4

18	the individual is an NB level of action	2
7	communities are NB levels of action	2
3	government fails responsibility	2
17	government does not enable participation	1
15	communities as passive victims of nondelivery	1
19	citizens doing government a favour	1
12	**planning**	**24**
1	government is responsible; citizens have rights	16
3	government fails responsibility	4
6	government must give to the people	2
2	non-state stakeholders largely marginalized	1
9	governance is a joint duty	1
13	**encouraging collective action**	**22**
9	governance is a joint duty	13
2	non-state stakeholders largely marginalized	3
8	communities have responsibility	2
14	individuals have responsibility	2
10	communities as decision makers, monitors & consumers	1
1	government is responsible; citizens have rights	1
14	**addressing injustice**	**22**
1	government is responsible; citizens have rights	18
15	communities as passive victims of nondelivery	2
3	government fails responsibility	1
12	expectations must be realistic	1
15	**consulting**	**17**
2	non-state stakeholders largely marginalized	12
10	communities as decision makers, monitors & consumers	5
16	**empowering**	**15**
1	government is responsible; citizens have rights	15
17	**acknowledging government's burden**	**15**
12	expectations must be realistic	14
3	government fails responsibility	1
18	**appearing corrupt and unaccountable**	**10**
3	government fails responsibility	9
15	communities as passive victims of nondelivery	1
19	**guiding**	**7**
1	government is responsible; citizens have rights	6
5	acknowledgement of the importance of institutional structure	1
20	**highlighting the role of individuals**	**7**
18	the individual is an NB level of action	5
14	individuals have responsibilities	2
21	**not participating actively**	**4**
2	non-state stakeholders largely marginalized	1
14	individuals have responsibility	1
15	communities as decision makers, monitors & consumers	1

8	communities have responsibility	1
2	**calling for help**	**2**
9	governance is a joint duty	1
19	citizens doing government a favour	1
23	**thanking**	**2**
19	citizens doing government a favour	2
24	**supporting government**	**1**
14	individuals have responsibilities	1
25	**unifying interests**	**1**
9	governance is a joint duty	1

The initial phrase codes below are listed in descending order based on frequency of occurrence, with the associated gerunds with which the phrase occurred listed below each one. Each phrase is highlighted and emboldened for ease of reference. In the leftmost column the initial gerunds and phrases numbers are given, these numbers correspond with their ranking in terms of frequency of occurrence (i.e. gerund 1 is the most frequently occurring gerund in the dataset, whilst phrase 11 is the 11th most recurrent phrase in the dataset).

Table A2: The key initial emergent phrase codes in answer to "what does it suggest?"

Gerund/ Phrase #	Emergent phrase in answer to "what does it suggest?"	Sum of TOTAL
1	**government is responsible; citizens have rights**	**184**
3	honouring rights	41
1	legislating responsibility	39
8	promising delivery	28
14	addressing injustice	18
12	planning	16
16	empowering	15
9	meeting targets	12
11	guiding	6
10	fragmenting institutional arrangements	4
6	passing responsibility to communities	2
13	working on institutions	1
5	encouraging collective action	1
2	confusing institutions	1
2	**non-state stakeholders largely marginalized**	**65**
4	institutionalizing non-state exclusion	27
1	legislating responsibility	14
15	consulting	12
9	meeting targets	3
13	encouraging collective action	3
10	passing responsibility to communities	1
6	working on institutions	1
12	planning	1
2	confusing institutions	1
21	not participating actively	1
3	**government fails responsibility**	**45**
9	meeting targets	13
18	appearing corrupt and unaccountable	9
2	confusing institutions	9
12	planning	4
3	honouring rights	3
4	institutionalizing non-state exclusion	2

11	fragmenting institutional arrangements	2
14	addressing injustice	1
8	promising delivery	1
17	acknowledging government's burden	1
4	**institutional weakness**	**43**
2	confusing institutions	32
11	fragmenting institutional arrangements	6
4	institutionalizing non-state exclusion	2
1	legislating responsibility	2
5	giving resources	1
5	**acknowledgement of the importance of institutional structure**	**43**
6	working on institutions	41
19	guiding	1
10	passing responsibility to communities	1
6	**government must give to the people**	**33**
5	giving resources	29
12	planning	2
1	legislating responsibility	2
7	**communities are NB levels of action**	**33**
7	emphasizing community	30
11	fragmenting institutional arrangements	2
10	passing responsibility to communities	1
8	**communities have responsibility**	**23**
10	passing responsibility to communities	16
13	encouraging collective action	2
7	emphasizing community	2
21	not participating actively	1
1	legislating responsibility	1
5	giving resources	1
9	**governance is a joint duty**	**20**
13	encouraging collective action	13
13	passing responsibility to communities	3
10	unifying interests	2
25	calling for help	1
22	planning	1
10	**communities as decision makers, monitors & consumers**	**16**
15	consulting	5
7	emphasizing community	4
4	institutionalizing non-state exclusion	3
1	legislating responsibility	2
11	fragmenting institutional arrangements	1
13	encouraging collective action	1
11	**lack of certainty about role of individuals and communities**	**16**

5	giving resources	7
4	institutionalizing non-state exclusion	3
1	legislating responsibility	3
2	confusing institutions	2
11	fragmenting institutional arrangements	1
12	**expectations must be realistic**	**16**
17	acknowledging government's burden	14
9	meeting targets	1
14	addressing injustice	1
13	**nobody wants to be responsible; lack of political will**	**12**
2	confusing institutions	6
11	fragmenting institutional arrangements	3
15	consulting	1
1	legislating responsibility	1
4	institutionalizing non-state exclusion	1
14	**individuals have responsibilities**	**10**
5	giving resources	3
3	honouring rights	1
13	encouraging collective action	1
1	legislating responsibility	1
21	not-participating actively	1
24	supporting government	1
2	confusing institutions	1
20	highlighting the role of individuals	1
15	**communities as passive victims of nondelivery**	**9**
14	addressing injustice	2
9	meeting targets	2
7	emphasizing community	2
3	honouring rights	1
21	not participating actively	1
18	appearing corrupt and unaccountable	1
16	**citizen entitlement**	**9**
8	promising delivery	5
2	confusing institutions	1
9	meeting targets	1
3	honouring rights	1
4	institutionalizing non-state exclusion	1
17	**government does not enable participation**	**9**
4	institutionalizing non-state exclusion	8
11	fragmenting institutional arrangements	1
18	**the individual is an NB level of action**	**7**
20	highlighting the role of individuals	4
11	fragmenting institutional arrangements	2
3	honouring rights	1
19	**citizens doing government a favour**	**4**

23	Thanking	2
22	calling for help	1
11	fragmenting institutional arrangements	1
20	**individuals and communities must pay**	**4**
5	giving resources	3
20	highlighting the role of individuals	1
21	**governance must include rights**	**3**
3	honouring rights	3
22	**with rights come responsibilities**	**1**
3	honouring rights	1
23	**communities should exercise control**	**1**
7	emphasizing community	1