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Citizen participation in the Gauteng Provincial Legislature:

A theoretical and case study

Graduate School of Public and Development Management

by

Graeme Howard de Bruyn

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Commerce, Law and Management, University of the Witwatersrand, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Management in the field of Public Policy

Supervisor: Prof Susan Booysen

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own, unaided work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Management in the field of Public Policy at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

_____

Graeme Howard de Bruyn

July 2013

DEDICATION

Dedicated to the memory of my mother Annia Wilson, brother Etienne (the Fox) Wilson and my grandmother Franzina Mentoor.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writing and completion of a thesis, albeit a product of individual effort, is very much the culmination of continued and enduring support of a collective. Similar to my life's journey this Masters is the outcome of the contributions and support of innumerable people. I appreciate my Ouma Ma (Franzina Mentoor) for her selfless nurturing, affirmation and 'forcefully' instilling a love for books and reading, which shaped the essence of my being. The de Bruyn clan, sensing your presence through your prayers and support, served as constant inspiration.

Alec Offie Smith, probably the most well read and articulate factory worker, with an ever expanding book collection: Your Fridays with Offie book and dictionary reading sessions created a paradigm-shifting parallel education experience, which have set me on my path of self-discovery and life-long learning. My deputy dad, Willem Sanderse, for his amazing generosity and belief; creating the opportunities for interacting with best practice in the Netherlands regarding citizen involvement in governance. This degree is the outflow of an invitation to a P&DM public lecture at Wits, by Robert Cohen, who through his on-going discerning counsel, personal affirmation and Sunday walks challenged and deepened my understanding of our country's challenges.

I benefitted from the generous editing and writing guidance, patience, reflective supervision of Prof Susan Booysen. Her approach to teaching, supervision and in particular her module on Politics, Power and Political Environment instilled a mature engagement with public policy. Sincere thanks go to Mrs Tozi Zeka, previously of the P&DM Academic Development Unit, who enabled so many components of the successful completion of this degree. Ursula Lottering's perceptiveness of public participation and the PPP Unit offered the central point for this thesis. The quality and readability of this thesis and my academic writing were substantially improved by the editing skills and professional assistance of Dr Andrew Graham.

Special thanks for the encouragement, literature, comments and friendship of Makho Ncgobo (the most abundant study partner), Ebrahim Fakir (whose insightfulness, generously sharing of his time and literature has profoundly challenged and shaped my thinking), Ricardo Wyngaard, Emile Koopman, Verna Jo Riddels, Art Kaufman and Chris Landsberg

for almost a lifetime of inspiration, the many experiences to interact with the institutions of policy-making and policy makers and for his contribution to my understanding of the world of politics and policy. Father Brian C. Williams has had a powerful influence on my life and his boundless generosity of friendship and guidance is truly cherished.

My deep gratitude and eternal debt to my 'boeta' Alistair, you continually redefine dependability. Alana, Douglas and Manzoor you are an eternal inspiration and celebrated for your unfailing love. Daddy, I salute you for committing your meagre farm-worker salary to enable the luxury of tertiary education. All of your sacrifices are embodied in this thesis and it is as much yours as it is mine.

I am very grateful to my wife Geraldine and kids Abigail, James and Joshua who had to 'venture off' and make do without the attentiveness of a husband and dad, but still encouraged, recognized and believed in my need to complete this thesis.

Birgithe Faith I dedicate the next research project to you.

ABSTRACT

This study investigated the extent and scope of citizen voice in public decision-making in the Gauteng Provincial Legislature (GPL) from two theoretical perspectives. It is structured around three components; an in-depth exposition of the literature on citizen participation, application of two theoretical frameworks applied to the scope of citizen voice in the GPL and an applied case study approach. This study found that the literature ascribes multiple meanings to citizen participation and that there are incongruities in the manner in which the literature conceptualises, describes the mechanisms, and outlines the intentions, and outcomes of citizen participation. Citizen voice in the GPL is deemed to be contextual to and influenced by the interplay of the socio-political environment, multiple interests, values and sub-systems. The case study approach allows for an expanded analysis of the implicit power dynamics in the GPL and the institutional political processes on the nature and extent of citizen voice. In this study citizen voice is regarded as an opportunity for direct, representational and/or institutional expression of citizen interests in public decisions consolidating democracy, citizenship and legitimate government.The GPL's policy documents point to a stated intent of democratic public participation conceived and pursued as citizen control, empowerment and partnership. However the conclusion is that this participation vacillates between information sharing and consultations, but not decision-making control. The study asserts that the theory on citizen voice in public decision-making is under-developed and there is a disconnection between the literature and citizen experiences.

Keywords: citizen voice, legislature, advocacy coalition framework, political environment, multiple streams theory, governance, public policy, public officials

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS USED IN THIS REPORT

ACF	Advocacy Coalitions Framework
ANC	African National Congress
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
Codesa	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
Cogta	Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs
DPLG	Department of Provincial and Local Government
EIPP	European Institute for Public Participation
GCIS	Government Communication and Information System
GDLG	Gauteng Department of Local Government
GPL	Gauteng Provincial Legislature
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
IAP2	International Association for Public Participation
Idasa	Institute for Democracy in Africa
IDEA	The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IDS	Institute for Development Studies (Sussex University)
MEC	Members of the Executive Council (MECs)
MPL	Member of Provincial Legislature
MST	Multiple Streams Theory
NCOP	National Council of Provinces
Nedlac	National Economic Development & Labour Council
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OSF-SA	Open Society Foundation South Africa
PPP Unit	Public Participation and Petitions Unit
PSC	Public Service Commission
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
Sanco	South African National Civic Organisations
USAID	United States of Agency for International Development

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

"*Governance intimates a paradigm shift in civic agency and in democracy. The shift can be conceived as a move from seeing citizens as voters, volunteers, clients, or consumers to citizens as problem solvers and co-creators of public goods. It involves a shift in the role of public professionals like civil servants, non-profit managers, and office-holders, from providers of services and solutions to partners, educators, and organisers of citizen action. Overall, it entails a shift in the meaning of democracy, from elections to democratic society. Yet officials are not the center of the civic universe, nor are government the only location for democracy's work*".

Harry C. Boyte, Center for Democracy and Citizenship (2005)

1.1 Introduction

This introductory chapter outlines the background and contextualises the study's focal point and purpose, its orientation, rationale, assumptions, and preliminary reading that will direct the research questions and propositions. It sketches the background of citizen participation and the motivation for this study and the structure of the overall thesis. This study analyses through the lens of the literature and two theories of policy-making the Gauteng Provincial Legislature's (GPL) practices to enable citizen voice in public decisions. It is concentrated on policy-making at the provincial sphere and the efforts to concretise citizen voice. As the introductory quotation illustrates, democracy is perceived as being embedded within the emerging ethos of an enabled citizenry and redefined functions for citizens and public officials alike. In this thesis public participation and citizen engagement are used to refer to interactive policy-making processes (as defined by Feldman & Khademian, 2003, 354).

1.2 Study terminology

The use of term 'citizen' rather than 'the public' in this study is informed by two factors; first, the former denotes a deeper connectedness with 'the whom' in policy-making and argues for a collective model of participatory democracy. Second, the latter is something of a misnomer, suggesting a notion of a commonality with those serving the public interests in a representative context.

In this study 'the Legislature' is interchangeably used, depending on the context, to refer to the Gauteng Provincial Legislature (GPL) and the Public Participation and Petitions Unit (PPP Unit).

The literature on citizen participation simply uses 'citizenship' to mean the participation of people in public affairs (Gaventa, 2002, 3), with Hemson's (2007, 10) conception of 'citizen' meaning an individual acting within a framework of rights and in a political context. Ramphele (2008, 139) highlights that citizenship entails an acute awareness of community, self-actualisation, stewardship and engagement with government as patriotism. This aligns to the vision and values statement of the GPL, stating that core to its mandate is the facilitation of collective decision-making through public participation (GPL, 2012). Goetz and Gaventa (2001) position voice as the various forms of expressions employed by citizens in public or policy and decision-making arenas. For the purposes of this study, citizen voice is a form of direct, representational and/or institutional expression of citizen interests in public decisions consolidating democracy, citizenship and legitimate government.

1.3 Statement of the research problem

The South African literature reviewed in this study, documented reports on the GPL and various research studies centre on the types, the legal and policy frameworks, or the impacts and challenges of citizen participation. However, there has been insignificant examination of their multiple meanings, the tensions between the literature and the adopted practices to realise citizen voice in policy-making. Second, whilst many studies (Fung, 2003; Gaventa & Barrett, 2010; Hicks, 2005; Booysen, 2008; Friedman, 2006; Baccaro & Papadakis, 2009) have addressed the questions of expectations, impact, outcomes, design types and quality of participatory practices in government, not many have gauged the extent and/or nature of such citizen participation. For that reason this study centres on the depth, breadth and nature of citizen voice in public decision-making. The characterisation of citizen participation precedes analysis of impact, outcomes and quality as the actual conceptualisation of the intended purpose, definitional orientation and stated extent of participation defines the parameters of the results and value of engaging with citizens. It is clear that there is a growing interest in public participation and the functioning of legislatures, among others the GPL, which have been used to examine public institutions' efforts to formalise citizen participation in public decision-making. In constructing the focus of this study a preliminary

interview revealed that in the GPL citizen policy preferences are excluded from the final legislation (Lottering, 2010[1]).

Further, some of the reviewed literature and recent dissertations on participation (Ile & Mapuva, 2008; Hartslief, 2008; Matladi, 2008; Rapoo, 2005; Sansom-Sherwill, 2006; Scott, 2009; Shepherd, 2007) conclude with expansive revised models, increased mechanisms and recommendations to improve citizen participation. As this research proceeded, it became clear that, as Sansom-Sherwill (2006, 5) argues:

> …public participation in its contemporary usage worldwide, is poorly or broadly defined and may thus encompass a range of processes, which differ in the roles and influence afforded to their stakeholder participants, and in their ability to deliver desired outcomes and benefits to government or the public.

These sentiments espouse the principal arguments regarding citizen participation, in respect of scope, extent, goals and citizen expectations during participatory policy-making processes. The aforementioned studies' positioning of participation and the mechanisms employed to enable it interchangeably use distinctly diverse activities within the domain of participation identified and defined as public communication, public consultation, and public participation (Rowe & Frewer, 2005, 254). In sum, the GPL reports, participation dissertations and the literature on citizen participation assume that where two variables are casually linked, then a steady input in one variable is consequential to the other one, where specific outflows necessarily have an identifiable explanation and cause (Taleb, 2010, 88, 119). Given the interplay of politics, the environment, diverging stakeholder preferences and contestations, necessitate a more circumscribed stance on the success or failures of citizen participation. It is clear that redesigning and assessing citizen voice necessitates an acknowledgement of the purpose with and the context within which it occurs (Bryson, Quick, Slotterback, Crosby, 2013).

[1]Interview with PPP Unit manager

1.4 Rationale for study focus on theory and case study

1.4.1 Introduction

This section describes the rationale for the particular approach to the understanding of citizen voice within the GPL. With the introduction of broader democratic participation in 1994, South Africa's citizens and government required new structures and methods to formalise policy engagement and spaces for interaction between the framers of policy and those for whom it was intended (Friedman, 2002). The GPL used South African and international literature to guide its citizen participation approach, it is crucial to elaborate on the literature on citizen participation. Further, in order to address the gaps in the particular conceptualisation of citizen voice employed by the GPL, the varied perspectives and practices articulated in the literature was interpreted through the lens of two theoretical frameworks. It thus follows that this study should analyse the literature on citizen participation, which leads to an alternative analysis of the extent of participation in the GPL.

1.4.2 Rationale for literature study focus

It was important for the purposes of this study to provide a contextual (political, social, economic, ideological) and theoretical picture of citizen participation, both in terms of how it is implemented and the broader theoretical anchoring. As a consequence, citizen participation will be discussed in terms of how it is conceived and described in the applicable legislation (e.g., the Gauteng Petitions Act, 2002), the accompanying procedural aspects and as a "substantive ethical and sociological statement" (Roberts, 2004, 319). The argument is that the solution to high quality and continuous participation is a construct not of an increase of "a combination of different types of public participation" (Mafunisa & Maphunye, 2005, 36). In addition it is not merely as a consequence of the efforts to 'mainstream' citizen involvement, but in clarity on terminology, the extent and infusing "more realism about its possibilities" (Tapscott & Thompson, 2010, 17) in the public space. Admittedly, the GPL adopted a range of common practice rules, invests substantial human and programme resources to increase citizen participation. However, although there was an increase in the mechanisms of participation, it has not expanded the scope and extent of their voice in policy-making.

This suggests that we require an alternate pivot to explore possibilities for substantive participation that will provide citizens with some level of decision-making power. Based on

the expectations of the GPL's stated intent and citizens experience of participation in decision-making its processes and structures have been viewed as having achieved disproportionate results in relation to the level of effort and resources expended on effecting citizen's participation (Rapoo, 2004, 8).

A particular example of the expansiveness of the GPL's attempts to involve citizens is highlighted in the schematic diagram of its law-making processes (appendix 2). This then challenges the usual prescriptions of, inter alia, increased resource allocation and delinking participation from broader political processes as a means to engender expansive citizen voice. Second, one needs to understand what and which interventions are appropriate to address the extent of citizen voice. Moreover, such an investigation may make a contribution to clarifying the linkage between the "frequently used or promoted" (EIPP, 2009, 34) participation mechanisms, advocacy coalitions (e.g., elected and agency officials, interest group leaders, researchers, political parties) and the underlying party and individual philosophy and assumptions (belief systems). Booysen (2008, 36) found that there is lack of convergence of the conceptualisation and expectations within the South African literature between citizens and government. This highlights the need to adequately situate the South African and international literature and how it compares (or not) with the range of practices, processes and structures of discharging with citizen voice in policy-making.

The literature pays scant attention to the specific construction of participation, its institutional dynamics and the actual practices of participation (Gaventa & Barrett, 2010, 3). As it stands, the pattern that emerges is that the purposes with citizen participation varies (White, 1996, 144), dependent on the policy stage and policy issue, through which a mix of interests are enabled. It is therefore important to understand how citizen interests in public policy will find expression that is agency-specific (Strivers, cited in Austin, 2010, 223). Exploring citizen participation is crucial in establishing how societal norms in a new democracy are shaped by government and how they find mechanisms to enhance accountability towards citizens. Therefore, when challenging the extent of citizen participation in the GPL, one should interrogate such issues as potential pre-set agenda or policy frames and the nature of power relations, elite capture, lack of citizen capabilities and other local factors (Gaventa & Barrett, 2010, 14). The very nature of deliberative policy-making mechanisms allows various possible studies on the participation of citizens in democratic processes (Houston, 2000, 54).

Unrelated to the GPL an article on the petitions and comment process in administrative rulemaking, Shapiro (2007, 47) argues that there has "been insignificant examination of the impact of varying levels of participation on agency regulatory decision-making", but scant understanding on whether the amount of participation is significant. Further, as evidenced in Ham and Hill (1993, quoting Minogue):

> what governments do embraces the whole of social, economic and political life, either in practice or potentially. Public policies do things to economies and societies, so that any satisfactory explanatory theory of public policy must explain the interrelations between state, politics, economy and society.

1.4.3 Motivation for theoretical orientation of study

International and South African research studies emphasised "public deliberation" (Hamilton, 2009, 355) with it becoming increasingly prominent in policy-making (Kaarsholm, 2009; Stout, 2010), entrenching a collaborative relationship between government and citizens. Many of these studies do not adequately factor in the "place-based characteristics of citizen engagement in participation programmes" (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004, 56). The dominant approach to studies on participation is to disregard its broader societal context. In addition, citizen participation is multi-layered and has various interdependent pathways within which the context acts as a constraint that falls beyond the control and capacities of public officials (Baccaro & Papadakis, 2009, 254). Understanding these complexities and avenues of participation within their institutional and systems context will provide insight into the extent and nature of participation.

Citizen participation in policy-making has been conceptualised in a rights-based approach, but despite this has not been effective, inclusive, or appropriately mainstreamed within the GPL (GPL, 2009/2010). This thesis argues that more mechanisms will not result in increased participation, as these seemingly value-free and neutral mechanisms conceal the embedded values, interests, contestations and power relationships under a scientific and neutral pose (as argued by Boyte, 2005, 9) that undermine the interests of those it aims to empower.

Roefs and Liebenberg (2000, 279) caution that societal strains will emerge once the level of participation drops "below a certain level", with the potential to "disintegrate" society. If this is the case it may have serious implications for legislatures, especially the pursued aims and extent of engagement with citizens.

This makes a compelling case for a study of citizen participation and for finding ways to address what Scott (2009, 63) refers to as a growing apathy concerning citizens engaging with legislatures. Notwithstanding recent studies on participation, and despite abundant literature on participatory institutions in democratising countries, there is a lack of coherent theoretical explanation for where and when these participatory experiences are likely to be successful.

In addition, Naidu (2008, 83) indicates that:

> First and foremost, a deepening of democracy… requires the necessary political resolve to create a 'people-driven' development agenda. Such an agenda has to be driven both by those who wield the power and influence as well as by those who are affected by it. But …political 'resolve' are not enough. A deepening of democracy will not occur unless resolve also includes the attitude of each and every person in power to listen. The foundation for real democracy begins to solidify only when the desire to listen is combined with the attitude and desire of those who are affected by the power to participate, an increased awareness of the existing mechanisms and how they function, and the belief that their participation may have some tangible results.

This is a crucial distinction since the GPL's efforts are focused on increasing the mechanisms (processes, techniques and instruments) of participation and implementing all manner of best practices. In this regard, this study posits that, although not unproblematic, the possibility for deepened participation is not created by an increase of forums, tools, or the types of mechanisms to build on existing citizen engagement levels. As noble as these efforts are, they have been viewed as inconsequential to expanding citizen participation throughout the GPL. In addition, Booysen (2009, 23) reveals that "building a layered complex of participatory opportunities", and additional forms of participation have not remedied responsive relationships between government representatives and citizens.

In particular there is no traceable process to ascertain how citizens' initial policy preferences are eliminated, making it crucial to understand both the theory and practice of citizen participation in the GPL (Nabatchi, 2010, 389). This then requires an examination of policy-making and citizen participation, of the nature that the current study presents.

Public participation is one of the core values of the GPL, as it reports annually on its progress, outlining its intention and actual achievements regarding citizen participation

processes in law-making[2], the interface of the participation of citizens, and the oversight responsibility of the GPL. At the level of the governing party in South Africa, the ANC's 2010 national general council discussion document stressed that legislatures "act as the voice and custodians of citizens, which in turn enhances representative and participatory democracy" and the legislatures are to be treated as activist forums that contributes to changing fundamentally the lives of its citizens (ANC, 2010a, 5-6). The extent and scope of citizen engagement with policy-making is core and as such it is important for this study to ascertain the explicit and dominant conceptualisations of participation.

Despite improved citizen participation and even government accountability (Johnson, 2001), the GPL's ability to address the gaps between citizen expectations and policies that address their expressed service delivery needs remain relatively modest. Brody, Godschalk and Burby (2003, 246) found, in a study on legislatures that manage states' involvement of citizens in planning at federal level, that the requirement for participation in legislation remains "vague, outdated, and general", providing inconsequential directives to officials entrusted to craft effective citizen participation processes. South Africa's Public Service Commission (PSC) indicated that citizen participation is crucial in making service delivery responsive to their needs and ensuring citizen needs finds expression, and that where they take ownership and government plays a facilitative role (PSC, 2008).

Rapoo (2005) writes that South Africa's legislatures are inconsequential in terms of policy-making, making a telling case for further debates about the role and efficacy of South Africa's regional government structures. This is explored in Chapter 3, outlining the functions and current debates regarding legislatures.

In their analysis of the inefficiencies of legislative policy-making, Battaglini and Coate posit that little is known about the 'legislative policy choice dynamics' (2007, 118). Moreover, a study garnering the opinions of senior public servants in Gauteng and Mpumalanga makes two telling claims: (1) there is a general failure by provinces to promote effective and sustained democratic citizen participation; and (2) ordinary citizens are peripheral to policy-making processes (Rapoo, 2004).

In the case of the GPL, most policies adopted or the Legislature's responses to policies are driven by the National Council of Provinces (NCOP) policies, for which the Legislature organises public participation processes. However, in the main the GPL enacts legislation

[2]In relation to the GPL, law-making and policy-making is equated given the explanation in the text.

within its provincial mandate, through hastily convened consultation and information sharing exchanges.

Houston (2000, 56) writes that "…the oversight responsibility of a provincial legislature requires input from the provincial population on issues of governance in order to enable the Legislature to hold the executive accountable." Through such participation a more informed view emerges of the policy expectations and interests of citizens (Houston, 2000, 56). Mafunisa and Maphunye's 2005 review of the GPL confirms that it needs to expand its public engagements to accomplish meaningful participation. Shulock's (1998) study on legislatures as rational systems explored the idea of whether legislative outputs are driven by "member interest in policy outcomes or political positioning".

Her conclusions imply that, in general, legislatures are under-studied because of their institutional ambiguity and what Shapiro (2008) termed the "limited" applicability of established organisational and political theories to legislatures. A study of the gaps between citizens' inputs through the PPP Unit of the GPL and the eventual policy choices devoid of citizens' content may yield a richer set of conclusions concerning how decisions are made in legislative settings. Similarly, one may find conditions under which legislative policy choices are reflective of efficient policy processes, but where citizen voice may be circumvented in the process. Citizen voice occurs through them being provided with opportunities for the articulation of their interests on public matters affecting them. This participation varies on a continuum of accommodative to transformative representation, where the latter correlates with shifts in power relations and is illustrative of the realisation of full and substantive participation (Booysen, 2006, 172).

The study by Mafunisa and Maphunye (2005) was unable to identify the process flowing from a particular input from citizens, or trace it to determine whether it culminated in a policy decision. Nor could it reveal how such processes have been dovetailed through ubiquitous informal mechanisms and policy patterns that circumvent formal policy-making in general, and citizen preference in the final policies.[3]

This study echoes Roberts' (2004, 335) statement, in the context of international literature, that:

[3]Not an unusual policy influencing mechanism and has been identified as a concern by a former manager of the PPP Unit

> Although there is much speculation on what makes direct citizen participation successful or unsuccessful, few definitive statements can be made for all policy arenas, for all stages of the policy process, and for all participants. What works in one situation may not work in another.

Similarly, Buccus (2008, 56), writing about participation strategies for provincial government in South Africa, suggests that it is necessary for legislatures to broaden the "scope for public participation in the public policy management process". To that end, the manner in which the GPL's PPP Unit effects and conceives of citizen participation is analysed on the basis of the reviewed literature, the legal framework and the theoretical framework as outlined in this study.

1.5 Purpose of the study

The purpose of this thesis is threefold, first to elaborate on the relevant South African and international literature on citizen participation; two to integrate the contextual and institutional dynamics in the GPL from the perspective of two appropriate policy theories, and third to analyse the extent and scope of citizen voice in the GPL. There are many studies on citizen participation; however there has been insufficient examination of the extent and impact of such participation. To set a foundation for this investigation, a baseline is established through a comprehensive literature review which provides the broad parameters of citizen participation and constitutes an integral part of the research. Secondly, the theories of Multiple Streams (MST) and the Advocacy Coalitions Framework (ACF) are used to analyse the nature, extent and intentions with citizen voice in public decision-making.

Blumler (2011) referring to political communication in public institutions, points out that due to the diversity of political actors and organisations necessitates appropriate interpretive frameworks that enables deeper understanding of the nature and impact of their interrelationships. The initial literature review and exploration of the GPL documentation illustrated that the literature on citizen participation has produced a complex and untidy conceptualisation, mechanisms which lead to an unevenness in how citizen voice have been actualised. In addition, it has found incongruities in how the literature conceptualises, describes the mechanisms, and outlines the intentions, expectations and outcomes of citizen participation. Thus, the first component of the study is on the characterisation, purposes, mechanisms, typologies, stakeholder and institutional dynamics, the role of public officials,

best practice models, the role of participation in legislatures, legal framework and theoretical models of citizen participation. The exploration of the aforementioned aspects is crucial to gain an incisive understanding and address the conflicting findings across citizen participation studies and those in relation to the Gauteng Provincial Legislature (GPL). Second, to examine the GPL as a case study in relation to how it provides, defines, advocates and implements citizen participation in its governance practices. The research investigates the characteristics of making legislation (a core component of policy-making) in the GPL, and the extent of citizen involvement in policy-making through the PPP Unit.

The main objectives of the study are to:

- investigate the extent of citizen involvement in legislation making and petitions in the GPL;
- explore and analyse the literature and theory on citizen participation; and
- assess the validity of the stated propositions as outlined in section 1.8.

1.6 Primary and secondary questions

To pursue these objectives and in elaboration of the dual themes of an in-depth exposition of the literature on citizen participation and the application of two theoretical frameworks applied to the scope of citizen voice in the GPL of the thesis, the research is guided by a two-pronged primary and four interrelated secondary research questions.

The two primary research questions are:

- What are the nature and extent of citizen participation in policy-making in the GPL?
- To what extent does the prevailing theory explain the influence of the political contexts within which citizen participation occurs?

The study's four supplementary and inter-related research questions are:

- What are the expectations of citizens with regard to the extent of their involvement with policy-making processes in the GPL?
- How do public officials' levels of accountability shape the extent of citizen engagement in policy-making?
- What are the predominant institutional perspectives of citizen participation in the GPL?

- How does the PPP Unit organise citizen participation in policy-making?

1.7 Propositions

This study is guided by specific propositions and questions regarding participation and the limitations of citizen participation in policy-making, specifically how these tentative statements relate in terms of the variables that facilitate and/or hinder citizen participation and their ability to influence policy decision-making. Much of the study will be informed by tentative statements on the relationship between the variables that facilitate and/or hinder citizen participation and its ability to influence policy decision-making in the GPL. This is to limit an "over-reliance on pre-understanding of participatory processes and propositions informed by personal biases", as observed by Gummesson (2000, 64-65).

In order to qualify the continuum of citizen involvement (participation) and decision-making (influence), three propositions (Table 1.1) were drawn from the reviewed literature and the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF). These propositions will also test the validity of the ACF in relation to the expected outcomes (conceptualised by Kalof, Dan, & Dietz, 2008, 16) of citizen participation in the GPL. It illustrates the tentative propositions impacting upon and mediating the scope and nature of citizen engagement with public policy.

Table 1.1: Study propositions regarding the applied, GPL leg of the research

Propositions	Description
Proposition 1	The extent of citizen participation in the GPL is limited to policy involvement (narrow participation) and not influence (empowered decision-making).
Proposition 2	The expansiveness of citizen participation in the PPP Unit is relative to the extent of public officials' sense of accountability to citizens.
Proposition 3	The PPP Unit's participatory process attributes is a direct construct of the value priorities and the political purposes of the political party/ies.

1.8 Structure of the report

The thesis is structured as follows:

Chapter One describes the overall research purpose of this dissertation, the propositions, assumptions and the general background to the study, problem statement and the motivation for the focus of this study. **Chapter Two** examines the streams literature of on the role, legal mandate and implementation of citizen participation in legislatures. It outlines the centrality of public participation and covers models, mechanisms overall trends and practices. It provides a broad framework for analysing citizen participation in the GPL. It then shifts to discussing citizen participation in the Legislature, how the political environment impacts on the nature and extent of participation.

Chapter Three sets out the methodology, approach to data collection, the nature of the desktop study linked to the theoretical part of the operationalisation of the research purpose and objectives. **Chapter Four** outlines the theoretical and conceptual frameworks that underpin this study. In addition, it guides the understanding of the multiple causal factors that accelerate and/or impede participation. It further integrates and analyses the practices of citizen participation through the lenses of these theoretical frameworks.

Chapter Five presents the research findings on the literature review, application of the theoretical framework and the case study. **Chapter Six** deals with the thematic conclusions and emphasises the emerging lessons from the literature review and the case study. It concludes with some of the unanswered questions and possible future research on this subject.

CHAPTER 2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY, DESIGN AND APPROACH

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an account of the research design and methodologies incorporated to answer the research questions and test the study's propositions. Before examining these, this introduction sets out the background to the research, the study's design and the parameters informing this study. The goal of this research was to enable a better interpretation of citizen voice that offers a clear understanding of the difference between the policy intent and practice of citizen voice in the GPL. To facilitate such analysis a desktop review of the relevant literature on citizen participation, the official documentation of the GPL and an in-depth exploration and application of two policy theoretical frameworks were utilised. The literature and theoretical desktop component of the study was helpful to analyse the variations in practice and intent.

The relationship between policy-making and participation has been adequately investigated in local government since the incorporation of citizen involvement in public decision-making in South Africa. This study is intended to use the Gauteng Provincial Legislature (GPL) as the case study to help understand whether such participation is reflected in the GPL's policy decisions. The common approach is to study whether public participation has occurred within institutions and the levels of satisfaction with such participation. This thesis is aimed at reviewing the varying interpretations of and then subjecting the GPL's particular approach to and extent of citizen decision-making to a consolidated perspective from the literature. The clarity on the interpretation, purposes and contexts of citizen participation is important since it is an inherently complex and value-laden concept" (Nabatchi, 2012, 13). At the same time an in-depth literature review can offer a more nuanced analysis of the design choices, prevent mis-diagnosing and allows for the incorporation of evidence-based approaches to citizen participation (Moynihan, Bryson & Quick, 2012, 8). In addition, this case study on citizen voice in the GPL proceeds from a theoretical perspective testing three hypotheses (Table 1.1) and the interplay of subsystems of stakeholders (discussed in Chapter 4). As will be evident in Chapter 3, the Mafunisa and Maphunye (2005) report on public participation in the GPL recorded some citizens expressing the view that

participation has not been sufficiently participative, genuinely empowering or expansive in terms of their expectations. Thus, the methodology section is geared towards guiding the analysis of the breadth and depth of citizen participation in the GPL, through a literature review, the application of two theoretical frameworks and a case study analysis.

A review of the South African literature and studies of public participation reveal a focus on public participation in the affairs of government, and on the local sphere of government and community level (Sansom-Sherwill, 2006; Hartslief, 2008; Phago, 2008; Matladi, 2008). These studies' research preferences have been for particular cases related to municipal and specific types of participatory modes, such as ward committees, public consultation, educational opportunities and Izimbizo. Furthermore, some examined the methods used to enable such participation (Izimbizo in the case of Hartslief, 2008; Phago, 2008) and how such participation adhered to international or national best practices and the applicable legal framework governing participatory practices. Although there may be difficulties with ascertaining the extent and an 'optimum level of participation', determining the scope and nature of participation will offer significant insights to policy-makers and those responsible for facilitating interactive policy-making. In this study such an analysis will be made by examining the literature on citizen participation, practitioners' handbooks and materials, the processes, policies and practices in the GPL and the selected theoretical frameworks.

2.2 Research design and methodology

This section examines the rationale for the research design and approach and the particular methodology employed. An important acknowledgment is that there are limited publicised theories and academic research that examine the extent of how the institutional setting and the political contexts influence the practices and outcomes of citizen participation. This thesis uses two theoretical perspectives, integrates the citizen participation literature and applies both to the case of the Gauteng Provincial Legislature (GPL).The thesis design has three components, namely a literature and theoretical conceptualisation review, review of the GPL participatory practices and interviews with citizen participation practitioners and PPP Unit officials.

In exploring the extent of citizen voice in the GPL the qualitative research approach was employed. This study used primary and secondary research sources, especially the desktop review of the South African and international academic literature on public participation. The research design – combining desktop review, case study analysis and applied theoretical

work – was limited to the link between participation, citizen expectations and the context-specific strategies that facilitate authentic participation, "where citizens have real influence over policy decisions" (Mafunisa & Xaba, 2008, 459). In particular, this thesis aims to highlight the under-analysis of the contextual socio-political environment within which citizen participation occurs. The research design, which incorporates anchoring theory, the wide-ranging literature review and the GPL case study, is deliberate as the citizen participatory landscape is complex. This research design allows for analysis of both the intent and the practice of citizen participation.

2.2.1 Case study approach in the applied component of the research

A case study approach is "reliant on the nature of the research problem and derived from the nature of the explored social phenomena" (Noor, 2008, 1602). Tellis (1997) points out that the general practice in exploratory case studies is that it is preceded by a process of fieldwork, data collection prior to the definition of the research, and applicable propositions. The observation of citizens in a Gender, Youth and People with Disability (GEYODI) standing committee public hearing (see appendix 2) was an integral part of the case study; which augmented the applied nature of the case, where the researcher participated as a non-disclosed observer (as outlined by Yin, 2009, 111). The case study involves three phases:

- A review of all previous external reports on public participation undertaken on behalf of the Gauteng legislature;
- A review of internal reports, media coverage of petitions, participation toolkits and documentation related to public participation and petitions; and
- Direct participation in the activities of the GPL and discussions with the internal stakeholders and custodians of public participation, to identify major achievements, obstacles, access and best practices that would inform this study.

The research centred on the law-making processes as highlighted in the shaded sections of the GPL law-making process map (Appendix 2). Tellis (1997) stated that case studies "are multi-perspectival analyses", and require a pre-determined framework to make analysis meaningful. This aspect is addressed through the extensive literature review and the theoretical frameworks that are brought into the current research project.

To this end, Yin (1994, 20) outlined a number of aspects to be considered when designing and implementing a case study:

- Clarifying the study's primary and secondary questions;
- Formulating appropriate propositions;
- Agreeing on the unit of analysis;
- Ensuring a logical connection between the literature, data and the propositions; and
- Identifying the criteria for assessing the findings.

The GPL's efforts to facilitate participation is representative of what Noor (2008, 1602) refers to as "complex real-life activities", a process which is important as the context cannot be disregarded as having a taken-for-granted status (Leitch & Palmer, 2009, 1195), and which often leads to a misplaced orientation to the phenomenon being studied. A case study approach "enables the researcher to gain a holistic view", especially because a range of evidence sources are gathered (Noor, 2008, 1603). In explaining the case, Yin (1994) refers to an event, an entity, or unit of analysis, where it is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence. He saw a case study as an investigation of a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially in the absence of blurred boundaries and contexts (Yin, 2003, 13). A frequent criticism of the case study methodology is that a single case renders it incapable of providing generalisable conclusions. These concerns will be addressed in the validity and reliability section.

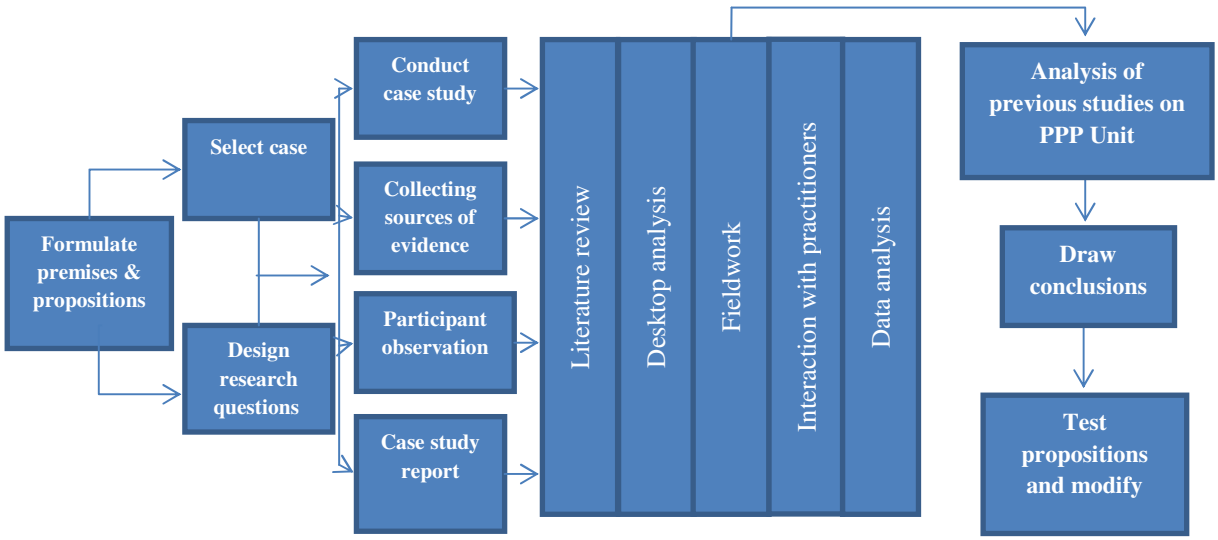


Figure 2.1: Outlineof the case study implementation, Noor (2008); Yin (2009)

As shown in Figure 2.1, the process and sequencing of the execution of this case study aspect of the research project is outlined. The discussion under data sources and analysis provides the detail of and reasons for the above elements being incorporated into this study. Characterising the policy process and their participating coalitions poses considerable methodological challenges, as policy involves a complex interplay of legislative decisions and participants.

2.2.2 Gauteng Provincial Legislature as the case

The GPL was selected as case to this study because it illustrates the divergent mechanisms of citizen engagements and is best aligned to the various citizen participation models (e.g. Arnstein's ladder of participation, ordering stakeholder citizen model, Goldfrank's and the Cascading vitality model) presented in the literature review (Chapter 3). The GPL as a case study is being evaluated in terms of what is meant by participation rather than merely an "appraisal of participation exercises or mechanisms" that engenders participation (an activity that is illuminated by Rowe & Frewer, 2004).

At the heart of this applied component of the research is examining first, the conflation of mechanisms, methods, definitions of public participation in the GPL; and second, the manner in which the GPL has adopted these best practices to provide for a minimum level of expectations for participation to the various stakeholders.

Hence, the case approach was initiated from the perspective of the literature, the theoretical framework and the actual practices in the GPL.

In contextualisation of these processes, the ANC envisages that legislatures will move beyond (ANC, 2010a, 6):

> the narrow extrapolations of the provisions of Chapter 4 of the Constitution to a broader appreciation of the critical role of the Legislatures in the fundamental objectives of nation building, participatory democracy and the promotion and protection of a liberation movement culture, and how this contributes to the social and economic, judicial and governance transformation project of the ANC.

In addition, selecting the GPL is driven by its early adoption of their constitutional mandate and the establishment of the dedicated unit responsible for effecting public participation. The GPL is regarded as at the forefront of developing petitions and law-making, through its passing of the Gauteng Petitions Act (2002) (Scott, 2009, 56). The GPL is also relevant as there is available baseline data for assessing the extent to which citizens participate in the Legislature and substantial research reports of the role of provinces as policy-making institutions. This provides further data for an assessment of the extent of policy-making in general and citizens' involvement in particular. The International Association for Public Participation (IAP2) (2009, 2) cross-cultural exploration of public-government decision-making report found that: "There is evidence of improved outcomes as a result of public participation, but better evaluation mechanisms are needed."

Given this, the GPL provides an ideal opportunity for an assessment of how to evaluate participatory practices, as well as better assessment instruments of participation. This case study is inspired by the consistency of the GPL reports of how advanced, well attended and impactful their participatory processes have been. In this regard, the IAP2 (2009, 10) argues that despite formalised and high attendance figures during processes of citizen engagement, these do not "necessarily equate to a high quality public participation process".

Further, Mafunisa and Maphunye (2005, 28) solicited citizens' views on public participation through the PPP Unit, and reflected that:

> SANCO indicated that communities are usually guided on how to participate and thus channelled towards a particular process (as if the GPL states: "we want this group and not the other").

A typical example in this regard is the Liquor Act in which only the shebeeners were invited by the GPL to comment. There seemed to be reluctance on the part of the GPL to allow everyone (including non-shebeeners) to participate in the formulation of the Bill (before it

became an Act). The studies by Mafunisa & Maphunye's (2005) and Pigou, et al. (1999) were analysed and provided pointers for this thesis. In particular, the 1999 evaluation of the public participation and petitions office of the GPL answers such questions as: what will make the PPPO more efficient? There was also the 2005 study conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) on public participation in decision-making in the GPL. Whereas these studies have been conducted over relatively extensive periods of between two to six years, the current research project does not review participation in the GPL during a specific period, but rather assesses the general intent and practices as they emerged from the conception of citizen voice as a cornerstone of public decision making.

Although studies on the types, levels of satisfaction and mechanisms of participation are beneficial, the mentioned studies technically constitute evaluations of "the mechanisms… and systematic comparisons between different forms" and not necessarily on whether these various tools have served the aims ascribed to public participation (Rowe & Frewer, 2004, 515). For example, the Mafunisa & Maphunye study noted the need for participation and the various means by which this was effected, and what steps could be taken to improve these. What it does not answer is whether these particular mechanisms (these are processes/techniques/instruments used to enable citizen voice) broadened participation as envisaged by the GPL statutes.

2.2.3 Interviews

This thesis involved a range of interviews with current and former PPP Unit staff members and three interviews with practitioners in the field of participation. These interviews were conducted to increase the understanding of participation from the perspectives of the convenors of these forums for deliberation. The aim of these interviews was to complement the theoretical and applied components of this research in sharpening this analysis and to point the researcher to additional relevant sources of information that would test the propositions and assumptions of this study. It was also used to gather data regarding the extent of these public officials' engagement with policy-making. The PPP Unit is staffed by eight officials, led by a unit manager, who reports to an executive director. Since these staff members are responsible for the operationalisation of citizen participation processes they potentially influence the practice of participation. Representatives of the following respondent groups were interviewed:

- One former manager employed in the PPP Unit;
- One current PPP Unit staff member and the manager with overall responsibility for the PPP Unit; and
- Three public participation practitioners.

These interviews were aimed at better understanding the components of the PPP Unit's design for empowering citizens to participate in governance, this study made use of semi-structured interviews and a questionnaire targeted at current and former PPP Unit staff and coordinators. The extent of the reliance on the findings from these interviews was purposefully limited as many of the practioners and PPP Unit staff were framing their work from a perspective of the literature and rhetoric of their intentions to engage with citizens. As will be evident in later chapters, if the operating premise (in this case that of PPP Unit staff) is flawed, then the analysis of such interviews will be influenced by these conceptions of citizen engagement. Aspects like the citizen participation, the mismatched conceptions in the literature and practice are further analysed and discussed in chapter 3, sections 3.2.5 (page 47) and 3.2.6 (page 51). At the same time, however, the interviews are an important data point to ascertain the validity of propositions 1 and 2.

2.2.4 Data sources, collection and analysis

Multiple forms of data were collected through document analysis (internal and external), interviews, participative observation[4], media reports, legislation and the actual policy discussion documents and final policy decisions. Neuman (2011, 40) draws on Ragin's notion that most qualitative research seeks to construct representations based on in-depth, detailed knowledge of cases. In Yin's (1994, 126) conception, data analysis consists of examining, categorising, tabulating, testing or otherwise recombining evidence, to draw empirically based conclusions.

This topic was then reframed by field research, attendance of public hearings and document analysis. To ensure that this study answered the research questions, data was collected from the following sources:

- Documents
- Archival records
- Interviews

[4]See the Edelenbos et al.'s case studies on interactive policy-making in the Netherlands.

- Direct observation
- Participant-observation
- Physical artefacts

Neuman (2011, 44) suggests that content analysis is useful for examining the content, symbols and data found in written documentations. The data sources ranged from internal documentation, the two above-mentioned evaluative reports, a range of available data (citizen attendance), unit business plans, citizen surveys, annual reports and institutional directives. The collected documentation was systematically analysed to "discover specific features" and patterns, used for "descriptive purposes", processes that Neuman (2011, 44) highlights. The documents were studied in order to "identify commonalities and differences", in the words of Leitch and Palmer (2010, 1199), in relation the scope and extent of citizen participation. Rowe and Frewer (2004, 540) posit that the inclusion of technical reports, as part of an analysis, are as valid as journal articles (or to a lesser extent, chapters in edited books), although these reports may not have been through a peer review process.

Table 2.1: Specific types of data collection method for the GPL case study

Policy-specific	Process-specific
Collect documents and review audio and visual material	Conducting unstructured, open-ended interviews
Collecting e-mail notifications, personal letters to and from citizens related to citizen participation	Observations of the actual hearings and events where citizens gave input into policies
Policy content review and analyses	Review of processes in policies and strategy documents

The interviews were analysed for patterns and generalisations with the overall portrait of the case and issues analysed within the body of the thesis. In addition the theoretical framework, literature, policies and documentation were analysed on the basis of their relevance to providing the following on the GPL:

- The definition of participation and the embedded paradigms that support such a conceptualisation;
- The question of what or who defines the scope and parameters of participation;

- The justifications and explanations offered for why and/or how policies and citizen participation were selected as a mechanism to develop policies;
- Issues listed in relation to the study of citizen participation and policy-making; and
- Acknowledged limitations and challenges of participatory processes or mechanisms.[5]

These different texts were analysed employing the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework common in organisational studies (Leitch & Palmer, 2010, 1196). Leitch and Palmer argue that a CDA approach is valuable in that it offers deeper explanations of the 'causal effects', despite the potential for such meaning to be influenced by the particular lens of the interpreter. This textual analysis was executed in two phases. First, the compilation was done of a number of documents in the public domain; and second, the compilation of those that were not in the public domain, known as 'grey' documents, and including internal memoranda, reports, minutes of meetings, organisational directives, internal evaluations, and PPP Unit strategic plans.

Primary data

The main method in the case study part of the research was qualitative face-to-face and telephonic individual interviews with selected staff in the PPP Unit and targeted stakeholders. This delivered the primary, empirical data.

The interviews involved unstructured and open-ended questions designed to gauge perspectives relative to the specific research questions. The type of analysis is indicated in Table 2.2. In terms of the GPL, the analysis of the extent and nature of participation will be conducted through the conceptualisation of participation, how the institutionalisation of participation impacts on the type of participation, the demographics of those who participate and employing Arnstein's ladder of participation as a means to assess the GPLs practices.

As shown in Table 2.2, the aim of this assessment matrix is on the specific conceptualisation, scope, purpose, extent and methods of participation.

Table 2.2: Framework to analyse the study propositions and extent of citizen participation in the GPL[6]

[5]Adapted from Leitch & Palmer, 2010, p.1999.
[6]The extent of participation will be analysed based on the rungs presented in Arnstein's ladder of participation.

Focus Areas of Study		Number of attendees	Category of group / people	Significantly affect – do not affect	Description/ definition of citizen participation	Location on ladder of participation
1	Conceptualisation of participation				X	
2	Accountability		X			
3	Participatory methods, attendance, venues, deployed resources and demographics	X				
4	Streamlining and institutionalisation of participation (impact/influence)			X		
5	Scope, purpose and extent of participation					X

Secondary data

Since interactive policy-making is highly institutionalised and to varying degrees legislated, this study also explores the findings of two reports initiated by the PPP Unit and the findings of a dissertation inquiry[7].

To test the propositions and primary research question, this research utilised available baseline data collected by the PPP Unit and recently conducted assessment reports. Four models of citizen participation have been presented, selected on the basis of these frameworks being current and tested through practice. In order to depict the degree to which citizens are involved in public policy, the core elements of these models will be used as benchmarks. A significant part of the secondary data was collected from written documents such as notices, correspondence, *Hansard* reports, stakeholder reports, and transcripts of speeches, books, journal articles and newspapers.

2.3 Validity and reliability

The collected data in this single case study is grounded in two specific theories and field observations, combined with a variety of sources of evidence. The section on participation

[7]Thabo Rapoo's PhD dissertation on cooperative government, with Mpumalanga and Gauteng as his case study.

models refers to Goldfranks's study, where range, structure and decision-making power were used as determinants of citizen involvement in policy-making. Gummesson (2000) argued that it is important that the case study be supported by observations, document review, focus groups, extensive literature review and combining the descriptive and explanatory case analysis.

For Yin (2009, 110) reliability is ensured by an expansive literature review, along with internal documentary evidence, which offers a convergence of data sources. As such, the data will be systematically checked to ensure that it and the conceptual framework are aligned with the analysis, and that interpretation is monitored and confirmed constantly. In addition, the frequently used participant observation and observer approach (Yin, 2009, 111), by which the researcher participates as delegate and as a non-disclosed observer of the citizen policy engagement processes, provides data which could later be analysed and lead to generalisations and conclusions. Since the aim was to analyse the influence of the contextual socio-political environment on citizen participation, this was best implemented through direct observation and attendance of actual hearings at the GPL. This was possible through observing the planning for and implementation of the actual citizen forums. These observations were made and correlated later through the researcher's attendance of planning meetings in the GPL and interviews with PPP Unit staff.

2.4 Limitations

It should be noted that this study empirically reviewed only one case from a well-resourced and politically stable provincial sphere of government, therefore limiting potential generalisations and applicability to other spheres of government and legislatures in general. It is thus obvious that conclusions in this study will be impacted by this constraint. Further, there are a variety of factors that affect the nature and extent of participation and this study pays specific attention to those aspects that are pertinent to this study's theoretical frameworks, the Advocacy Coalitions Framework and the Multiple Streams Theory (MST). This is done at the risk of disregarding other theories and variables that may also help explain the interaction between participation and institutional policy-making, increasing the risk of bias.

In addition, there is no national guiding legislation or policy framework for citizen engagement at provincial level, as is available for local government. The absence of a collective policy and/or strategic framework makes it difficult to assess the GPL's

compliance or not to definitive parameters of citizen participation. In sum, there are differences of interpretation over the meaning of citizen participation, citizens' role and the PPP Unit's responsibilities (institutional factors, discussed in Chapter 5), as well as the criteria to assess the outcomes of legislation (Roberts, 2004, 334). In addition, PPP Unit staff are a core source of guidance on the official position, processes and practices of how citizen participation is operationalised, who themselves have different interpretations and perceptions of participation. Second, the availability of survey data from the GPL on the extent of citizen participation impacts on the conclusiveness of this study. Despite the above mentioned limitations, the analysis and conclusions in this study have merit and provide a significant level of insight into citizen participation.

2.5 Conclusions

In summary, this research has collated data from interviews, direct observation of actual participatory processes and through desktop research. This chapter outlined the data sources, research analysis framework and described the research methodology. The next chapter positions the literature applicable to the case study to enable the analysis as envisioned for this study.

CHAPTER 3 PUBLIC PARTICIPATION LITERATURE – STATE OF RESEARCH AND THEORY

3.1 Introduction

The literature on participation and policy-making enables an understanding the extent, nature and a broader classification of participation in public decisions. The aim of this literature review in relation to understanding public participation in the GPL is twofold. First, it emphasises the centrality of citizen participation in governance, and synthesise available research, with a focus on the case for citizen engagement in the policy process, typologies, critiques and theoretical frameworks underpinning it. Second, it examines the role of legislatures in citizen participation, the forums, and its legal mandates to effect participation. Much of the literature on participation reflects varying notions of the extent and scope of participation and the various roles envisioned for citizens and those who manage these participatory approaches. The need for understanding citizen participation necessitates a deeper analysis of the official GPL position, as well as locating the GPL's stance on participation in the perspectives of South African and international literature.

The first section of this chapter develops a framework for understanding citizen participation. Subsequent sections provide an indication of the overall characterisation of participation (also in terms of participatory democracy). The chapter concludes with a review of literature on the alignment of the assumptive premise (citizen participation is limited to inputs and not real decision-making), and the challenges and opportunities for citizen participation, in particular the differing versions of its evolving characterisation and practice. Whilst acknowledging the centrality of citizen involvement in the affairs that affect them, this literature review focuses on its anomalies and differing visions, the GPL and citizens' practical experience of participatory policy-making.

3.2 Citizen participation

3.2.1 Literature perspectives

A renewed focus on the extent and purposes with citizen participation practices was given prominence during the 1960s–70s (Austin, 2010, 223; Ling et al., 2010, 5; Rifkin & Kangere, 2002) and were regarded as governance from the ground up (Elias, 2010, 9).

Booysen (2008, 4) argues that despite the creation of additional opportunities for citizens to engage with public policies it lacked the depth (extent) and had inconsequential results. There is a body of literature that recognizes the use of citizen interaction in governance, spanning from numerous academic disciplines that range from conditional to deliberative democracy (Booysen, 2009; Brabham, 2009, 243; Buccus, 2008; Fung, 2003; Nabatchi, 2010; Stout, 2010). Waghid (2002, 185) holds that citizen voice in political life occurs through the exercise of the people's rights and utilisation of the opportunities to partake in political decision-making and holding decision-makers accountable, which then ensures that the rights of citizens are satisfied and their opportunities for participation maximised. Hartslief's (2008) study concluded that the manner in which participation has been implemented has been "perverted," and that there has been no common approach to public participation (2008, 89, 91). Public participation in general (here referred to as 'citizen participation') is depicted under labels such as "citizen panels, community governance, citizen participation, stakeholder involvement, demand-driven services, and others" (Edelenbos et al., 2009, 125). This often results in citizen participation being interchangeably phrased as different forms of democratic practices and mechanisms[8] that are a means to bring it about. Furthermore, the current difficulty with such enmeshment of connected but potentially conflicting concepts is complicated by the assumption that participation in policy processes occurs on an equal basis, "exchanging arguments and considering the collective good" (Cooper, 2009, 2). Referring to the variety and number of public engagement mechanisms, Rowe and Frewer (2005, 258) conclude that "such confusion is inimical to conducting research and unhelpful to practitioners".

In her review of participatory democracy (and in particular the deepening of participatory democracy), Booysen (2008, 27) sees participatory democracy as inextricably linked to "the process of deliberative democracy". Further, that public participation "comprises

[8]Rowe and Frewer (2005) refer to processes/techniques/instruments collectively as mechanisms.

cumulatively assembled layers of participatory actions" (Booysen, 2008), leading to the instruments of citizen participation being described as 'participation'.

A challenge arises in that some of the activities described as participation are actually "one-way transmissions of information from public official to citizen or from citizen to public official rather than citizen engagement in dialogues and deliberations over public policy with fellow citizens and public officials" (Roberts, 2004, 331). Rowe and Frewer (2005, 252) argue that the "very existence of a variety of mechanisms implies uncertainty". This ambiguity is present at two levels, in the "competing perspectives on citizen participation" (Roberts, 2004, 333) and in the varied ways that the instruments or mechanisms are described and implemented as synonymous with the stated intent to create space for citizens to partake in governance.

3.2.2 Participation as co-governing

The twenty-first century can be characterised by growing dialogue between government, civil society and business actors on the nature and form of engaging in public decision-making. It has been argued that the various vehicles of co-responsibility (Bang & Esmark, 2009, 14) and the deliberative nature of policy-making are desirable, and act as a guarantee of its scientific and democratic approach (Fu-feng, 2009). Interactive policy-making is an approach where government includes citizens, businesses, and organised interest groups in the formulation and implementation (Edelenbos, Klok & Van Tatenhove, 2009, 126). Fung (2003, 340, 341) writes:

> Participation through mini-publics… Izimbizo is an educative forum, participatory advisory panel, participatory problem-solving, participatory democratic governance that aims to create nearly ideal conditions for citizens to form, articulate, and refine opinions about public issues through conversations with one another.

In South Africa, participatory governance is a regulatory guideline for governing the public affairs in ways that "comprise the participation and involvement of various state institutions and civil society groups" (Friedman, 2006).

Mhone and Edigheji (2003, 3) emphasise that governance is understood as the manner in which the machinery of the state is constituted, how it executes its mandate and its inter-connectedness with society, particularly constituents such as civil society, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), the private sector and community based groups.

The concept of governance emphasizes the transformative, empowering and creativity embedded in the network of government, civil society, firms, NGOs and individual citizens, which produces policy solutions (Bang & Esmark, 2009).

For Hyden (2007, 16753) governance is more than accountable government, universal franchise in electoral systems, the rule of law and the free organisation and participation of civil society. He highlights the World Bank version of governance with qualities of:

(i) voice and accountability

(ii) political stability and absence of violence

(iii) regulatory quality

(iv) the rule of law

(v) control of corruption.

This is closely tied to Hajer's argument (as cited in Bell & Hindmoor, 2009,151) that governance has led to and can be associated with a dispersal of power and the emergence of an "institutional void" within which there are endless reworkings of the mechanisms and processes but no clear rules or clarified purposes for how policy should be decided. In addition to the preceding location of citizen participation in policy-making, such participation occurs within the context of the need to devolve power, focus on the systemic design and institutional architecture of citizen participation in policy-making, and give full expression to the existing legal ambit of citizen participation (Fu-feng, 2009, 60).

Citizen participation is generally regarded as facilitative of the broadening of participatory democracy (Booysen, 2008, 11) and strengthening democratic processes (Mafunisa & Maphunye, 2008, 463). The participation of citizens in governance (voting, administrative affairs, adherence to the rule of law, participation in public decision-making) is part of responsible citizenship, requiring well-informed citizens (Panyarachun, 2008, 3).

Citizen participation is a vehicle for the legitimisation and socialisation of the public sphere (Hicks, 2005; Irvin & Stansbury, 2004; Panyarachun, 2008) and "a by-product of the trend to decentralise governance" (Du Plessis, 2008, 6). In this regard, the implicit premise is that citizen participation is a building block of democracy.

Boyte (2005), writing about a new shift in governance, echoes the message of participation holding new possibilities for reframing the role of citizens, public officials and politicians in strengthening democracy. At the heart of this reconceptualisation are citizens as "doers and

not the done-for", as enablers and co-producers of the public good (Boyle & Harris, 2009, 2). In relation to South Africa, Friedman (2006, 8) states that "participatory governance mechanisms have not offered citizens an effective say in policy-making". This should be read in the context of Waghid (2002, 198-199), who contends that direct citizen participation is "unfeasible" as direct democracy is aimed at ensuring the mass of citizens involved in political decision-making rather than any qualitative and reasonable policy outcome. Kangur (2008) argues that despite the challenges and limitations of deliberative policy-making it could play a complementary role in support of the variety of needs and development views from outside the formal structures of bureaucracies.

3.2.3 Policy-making and participation

Prior to exploring citizen participation, clarification is required of what public policy is. For Parsons (1995, 15), public policy-making is concerned with how issues and problems come to be defined and constructed and how they are placed on the political and policy agenda, whilst for Pain and Shah (2009) it is broadly conceptualised as political agenda-setting and interest-based process to develop a coherent response to 'state-building and reconstruction'. Landsberg (2006, 250) contends that public policy is a 'purposive or goal-oriented course of action' (a set of political purposes, Parsons, 1995, 15) pursued by decision-makers of a state, premised on a set of social values in pursuit of the resolution of matters of public concern.

The interpretation of public policy-making and its implementation that does not factor in the interrelationship with politics is ignorant of its overt and covert implications on the eventual policy decisions. Thus conceptualising policy, citizen voice and governance will have diminished applicability and usefulness unless specifically located in the political and the level to which politics shapes the governed and the government (see Brinkerhoff & Crosby, 2002, 163). Public policy depends on human decisions and all such decisions are made in historical contexts. As Kay (2006) notes, such decisions are inevitably influenced by their historical connections and uncertainties of the future. The contexts within which policy-making occurs is best understood as 'political embeddedness', and as McLean (cited in Booysen, 2006, 163) observes, "there can be no politics without policy" and by extension no policy without politics. Bang and Esmark (2009) refer to this as the shift from politics-policy to policy-politics. Similarly, Baccaro and Papadakis' (2009) study on participatory forums in South Africa noted that public policy discourses are mostly about the

"accommodation of existing interests". Politics (as the expression of power) is an aspect of all social relations and is a central part of any situation where groups of people make decisions. It thus follows that policy-making is political in nature because the distribution of power among and between the groups and individuals involved will inevitably be unequal. From the perspective of Dunn (1994, 27), policy-making is a political process incorporating interdependent phases of policy-making; such as policy agenda setting, policy formulation, policy adoption, and policy implementation and assessment. Furthermore, Dunn (1994) suggests that policy-making does not unfold in a linear cycle or series of activities structured around a definable timeline. This study positions policy-making as inextricably linked to its socio-political contexts and the policy actors' pursuance of entrenched agendas to cultivate the aspirational metaphor of 'we the people' (Addis, 2009), the notions of 'the will of the people' and the common good.

3.2.4 Historical perspectives on citizen voice in South Africa

Whilst the GPL has a particular interpretation of participation, it has been drafted on the basis of foundational documents such as the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP) and the Freedom Charter, and has been substantially influenced by international best practice. The RDP policy framework[9] underpinned most of government policy and programmes that were used as a framework for the first phase of South Africa's transition to democracy (Houston & Muthien, 2000, 43). The RDP therefore offers a starting point for the analysis of participative policy-making and ascertaining the extent of participatory approaches.

As a policy framework the RDP articulated its intentions regarding participation as follows (ANC, 1994, par. 5.2.6.):

> Democracy for ordinary citizens must not end with formal rights and periodic one-person, one-vote elections. Without undermining the authority and responsibilities of elected representative bodies, the democratic order we envisage must foster a wide range of institutions of participatory democracy in partnership with civil society on the basis of informed and empowered citizens and facilitate direct democracy, and other consultation processes.

[9]The DPLG policy framework, 2007 the ANCs provincial and local government review document and the Constitution are modelled on this governing statement of intent.

Activities such as elections and direct engagement with citizens in terms of this participatory starting point in democratic South Africa were aimed at (ANC, 1994):

- empowering the population through expanded rights, meaningful information and education, and an institutional network fostering representative, participatory and direct democracy; and
- creating a wide range of institutions of participatory democracy in partnership with civil society to facilitate direct democracy.

South Africa's participatory policy-making approach thus stems from such historical experiences as the negotiations involved during Codesa processes. The major tenets reflected in the GPL public participation strategy and legislation are replete with the language found in the historical frameworks such as the ANC Freedom Charter and its RDP.

Accordingly, any discussion on interactive policy-making requires a review of these historical documents as yardsticks for the expansiveness of citizen interaction with decision-making, and thus represents a reference point for an analysis of citizen participation. Given the study's focus tracing the historical roots of how and what extent these founding documents and process necessitate an impression of the founding documents substantially guided and positioned policy-making towards a citizen focused orientation. It is crucial to explore the links between the mandate captured in these documents, such as the Freedom Charter (with its injunction of "the people shall govern"), the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP) and the South Africa's interim Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

South Africa's post-1994 constitutional democracy and the struggle mass movement were rich in the practice of popular participation of citizens in shaping the socio-economic contexts and frameworks (Friedman & Reitzes, 1996; Heller, 2009; 1996; Marais, 2011). Maganya (1996) and Heller (2009) highlighted that significant grassroots mobilisation and consultation were key features of the pre-democracy era; as such citizens are drawn to the memories of a past when they were exposed to citizen decision-making, which amounted to an increased or deepened participation rather than mere involvement.[10] The discussion on documents such as the RDP is pertinent to citizen voice in the GPL, as the adopted public participation strategy (2011), Gauteng Petitions Act (2002), the institutional mandate and the PPP Unit's staff views consistently use it as the rationale for citizen participation. The GPL's socio-political landscape and citizen participation in particular are inextricably linked

[10]During the interview with Fakir, he made a distinction between citizen involvement and the decisiveness of their inputs to shape policies and the policy positions of documents like the RDP.

to the degree to which it is able to align its policy processes to the principles and practices experienced in the pre-1994 era. The current study describes and analyses the way citizens of Gauteng province are engaged in collaborative forums and mechanisms through the Legislature's PPP Unit.

This thesis ascribes to what Fakir (2011) refers to as an over-estimation of the value of citizen participation, especially in relation to what he regards as a dichotomy of influence over decisiveness (Fakir, 2011). The RDP document, itself the outcome of extensive and popular participation of a broad mass movement under the ANC Alliance and civil society, was premised on a participatory policy-making framework, with its emphasis on participatory citizen-centeredness (Maganya, 1996, 4; Miller, 1996, 251, 260), their empowerment and consultation (Friedman & Reitzes, 1996, 232) at the core of its development. Examining, public policy-making in South Africa, Booysen points out that the ushering in of a political democratisation brought about a participatory character to the policy-making processes, resulting in policy processes that are substantially different (Booysen, 2006, 174). It should also be noted that although citizens were at the forefront of shaping the RDP and South Africa's transition, such participation did not determine the eventual policy dispensation (Fakir, 2011).

Admittedly, the GPL extensively engages with citizens through institutionalised mechanisms and in a participatory manner. In terms of this study, the focus is not on whether citizens are engaged in popular and participatory processes, but whether their actual policy inputs were reflected in the formulated policy documents.

The RDP, Freedom Charter and the pre-1994 period are resonant in the DPLG's (2007, 4) provincial and local government policy review document which states that:

> The process to reconstruct and develop the country since 1994 has consistently placed the previously excluded, the poor, women and youth in particular at the centre of our country's development. As a result millions of South Africans who were excluded from participating in the political, social and economic life of the country under apartheid now benefit directly from democratic government.

Likewise, many of the participatory practices associated with the anti-apartheid movement reserved a central role for citizens' participation (Heller, 2009, 14). Friedman (2002, 1) holds that the nature and scope of participation was fundamentally altered as a consequence of the anti-apartheid struggle, entrenching a deepened sense of the centrality of respective

interests of citizens and affluent stakeholders in decision-making. However, it was assumed that such participation would be broad and expansive, to incorporate communities in their entirety and through representation by one homogenous group representing all interests of a particular constituency (Friedman, 2002, 2).

On the other hand, Marais (2011, 396) argues that the extent of the participation of citizens have not lived up to the intentions of the framers of these documents, and points out that the envisioned tenets biased to the interests of citizens are neglected by the manner in which participation is implemented. In other words, the problem with documents like the RDP lies in the implicit notions of cooperation and delegitimisation of alternative forms of participation, foremost of these being citizen protests (Miller, 1996, 262). Documents such as the RDP and the Freedom Charter represent similar ideological standpoints and stated intent of citizen participation, and thus provide part of the context of a review of the extent and scope of citizen voice in the GPL. Marais' (2011, 353) pointed out that:

> Development challenges are approached as technical puzzles that need to be solved within relatively conservative frameworks. Notwithstanding the dramaturgy of 'inclusion' and 'consultation' citizens tend to be reduced to the status of objects.

For instance, the RDP characterised the following as key priorities to effect a democratic government (ANC, 1994):

> … empowering the population through expanded rights, meaningful information and education, and an institutional network fostering representative, participatory and direct democracy; creating a wide range of institutions of participatory democracy in partnership with civil society to facilitate direct democracy

The participation of citizens is thus regarded as restrictive, limited, and defective in terms of engendering empowerment. Here their voices in decision-making are controlled and co-opted, and the extent of such participation is controlled in the institutionalised settings to predetermined outcomes (Friedman & Reitzes, 1996, 242). In sum, deepened participation is decidedly political in nature, politicised, bureaucratised, selective and contained, and the extent and scope of participation is restricted by the misconception that democratic and participatory processes can be controlled and managed (Heller, 2009, 24; Marais, 2011, 354).

3.2.5 Defining citizen participation

This section highlights a range of depictions of citizen participation across the spectrum of interpretations from the literature. These capture the mismatches in the literature pertaining to how citizen participation is defined, the techniques employed to effect it and how these are practiced. The formulations of citizen participation are broad characteristics of the type of participation, and often the mechanisms occur in tandem, regardless of the specific type of process. It is argued that the framing of an issue underpins its intentions, meaningfulness and the framework for its evaluation.

Participation of citizens in the GPL should be analysed on clearly defined parameters, the scope and extent to which citizens have decision-making power and how the final policy outcome aligns with their initial inputs. This thesis categorises citizen participation in policy-making as "imprecisely conceptualised, constrained, complex, untidy and generally regarded with a degree of scepticism and ambivalence" (Roberts, 2004, 318). Hence this study argues that core to participatory policy-making is the clarification of the actual purpose, intentions and the conceptualisation of the mechanisms needed to engage with citizens. Such clarification should be grounded in an agency-specific understanding of the citizen's interests (Strivers, cited in Austin, 2010, 223), appropriate institutional engineering (Goldfrank, 2010), and a shared understanding of citizen participation.

In South Africa, citizen participation is conceived as a right (Phago, 2008; Seedat, 2007), with government having an expressed commitment to participation "which is genuinely empowering", and not mere tokenistic "consultation or manipulation" (DPLG, 2007, 6). To validate the assumptions, propositions and conclusions for this study, it relied on a recent report (PSC, 2008), assessing public participation practices in the public service, including the GPL, which concluded that:

> … all 16 departments that participated in the study seem to have a common understanding of public participation as a process of engaging citizens to allow them to have a say in policy-making and service delivery initiatives of government.

However, the PSC report further notes that such an understanding is not matched by the department's actual implementation of citizen participation (PSC, 2008).

The GPL's public participation strategy outlines citizen participation firstly as a process that enables citizens to express their individual and communal expectations in public decision-

making (GPL, 2010, 11). In this strategy document it furthermore states that citizen participation contributes to the (GPL, 2010, 11):

- strengthening of participatory democracy;
- legitimisation of decision-making;
- improvement of systems of service delivery; and
- creation of opportunities and a voice to citizens on issues that affect them.

Participation is described as a catch-all phrase that it is not "well formulated, leading to disagreement amongst researchers on the scope of activities implicitly or explicitly included within the concept by others, and synonyms of uncertain equivalence" (Rowe & Frewer, 2005, 252). The term 'citizen participation' often encapsulates a range of diverse processes, techniques and practices, as explored in the literature review (see Chapter 2). Examples of these are contained in the report of Mafunisa and Maphunye (2005, 6), broadly listing strategies such as "the hosting of provincial workshops", "consultation on proposed plans, programmes and policies" as potential means to effect participation of the public. A recent publication on participatory democracy by Mafunisa and Xaba (2008, 453) characterises it as citizens' participation in decision-making, while Raisio (2010, 20) contends that:

> Citizens are experts in their own right on matters about which no other expertise is available: their own (individual) values and value-priorities. They are experts in the matter of their own lives, their own lived experience.

In other words, citizens had and wanted to have a voice in policy matters (Kondlo, 2010, 386), and this participation has a direct bearing on their experience of democracy, which in turn strengthens democratic processes (Maphunye & Mafunisa, 2008, 463). In this study the working definition of citizen participation is the participation of representative, individual, collectives and/or social movements' in public decisions to effect policy preferences aligned to their interests (Booysen, 2009, 23). Citizen participation occurs when citizens and public institutions have identified particular needs, advocated directly or through institutions where the mechanisms exist for such participation can transpire (Aikins & Krane, 2010, 89). Consequently, this study uses the collective term 'citizen' to refer to the participation of both individuals and representatives.

Further, Rowe and Frewer (2005, 252) encapsulate the issues regarding definitional clarity as:

> Research is ideally a process through which humans increase their understanding of the universe and its characteristics; through research, we seek to define the universe-its objects, forces, activities, and the relationships among these-with greater precision. Ironically, definitions are also a necessary forerunner of research, yet at the start of the research process we exist in a state of lack of knowledge. …The more precise our definitions, the better (more reliably, validly) we can conduct research, the easier it is to interpret findings, and the greater the confidence we can have in our conclusions.

In the then Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG) (subsequently renamed the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs), (2007, 15) national guidelines on participation it is noted that public participation has been interpreted by groups in various ways dependent on their motivations. The varied and inconsistent manner in which participation is described is notable in the language employed in reports by the GPLs speaker, secretary (chief executive), PPP Unit and the directorate in which the PPP Unit are located, all using different conceptualisations and interpretations of 'citizen participation'. This research relies extensively on the comprehensive study on direct citizen participation by Roberts (2004), whose article, *"Public deliberation in an age of direct citizen participation"*, represents building blocks of this study. Roberts (2004, 335) writes:

> …although there is much speculation on what makes direct citizen participation successful or unsuccessful, few definitive statements can be made for all policy arenas, for all stages of the policy process, and for all participants. The number of individual, group, and organisational variables, not to mention contextual factors that could be considered, can be overwhelming. One reasonable response has been to reduce this complexity by focusing on one aspect of direct citizen involvement.

Contextual factors, organising mechanisms, institutional variables, the centrality of power and the type of decisions (substantive policy decisions vs. information exchanges on process issues) are critical in determining the level and scope of citizen participation in public policy-making. Ling et al. (2010, 7) framed participation as wrought with "contested definitions" advanced by individuals and collective actors seeking to "further their agendas".

Importantly, Booysen (2008, 30) argues that:

> … there are the expectations that the mechanisms of representation will work well and will be sufficient to ensure that citizen voices will be heard in the processes of need and interest identification, and in the continuous ways in which policy implementation matches these needs. Participatory democracy is often equated
>
> with the notion of continuous participation in 'decision making', and participatory democracy may be criticised for often falling short of this objective … participation would then concern feedback and evaluations about the effectiveness of policy, as experienced on the ground.

This is a critical point, as often expectations of participatory governance and one of the vehicles of such governance, participation, are equated. The Public Service Commission's (PSC) report on public participation in government concluded that the characterisation, practice and purpose of participation is contested and constrained (2008). Despite the increased use of these mechanisms, the GPLs institutional record of achievement in expanding voice and extending the scope of citizen participation is for the most part limited to involvement, information exchanges (communication) and consultation. There is a constant tension between, on the one hand, political expediency of tokenistic participation in political machinations and the noble intentions espoused by GPL values through which policy outcomes are at best 'choreographed consent' (Deegan, 2002). As noted in the PSC findings there are gaps in the implementation of citizen participation. In particular, the report notes that the GPL's practice of participation closely matches those of other departments, especially that of the Free State and Mpumalanga Legislatures.

By contrast, what is regarded as a common understanding does not refute the contention in this study. Admittedly, the PSC (2008) report seems to reflect a commonality of practices and conceptualisation of citizen participation, but it does not necessarily equate to a shared expression of citizen voice.

3.2.6 Extent and nature of citizen participation

Provincial legislatures are constitutionally empowered as the legislative authority and in pursuance of this are tasked with being receptive to the public's participation and their petitioning for their interests to be considered in public decision-making (Besdziek, 2006, 107, 111). According to Besdziek, participation of citizens is a cornerstone of the functioning of legislatures, necessitating provisions for an enabling legislative and

institutional framework that facilitate such citizen involvement (2006, 111). The dominant depiction within the GPL is that of citizens as shapers of a "new conversation" (Boyle & Harris, 2009, 3), built on an ethos of empowered participation.

One of the earliest conceptions of participation was from Arnstein's (1969) 'ladder of participation', developed in the context of public management in the United States of America (USA) (Ling, McGee, Gaventa & Pantazido, (010, 6). Arnstein (1969) regards participation as synonymous with citizen power, and implicit in her conceptualisation is the notion of enabling redistributed power to 'have-not citizens', who in most cases are excluded from political and economic decisions.

The Presidency's 2008 strategic plan states that "(t)here remains a concerted effort to increase citizen participation in further growing the economy, thereby relieving the social burden on the state and working South Africans" (Presidency, 2008). This categorisation is symptomatic of how the language of participation is constantly being reframed (Brody, Godschalk & Burby, 2003, 260). The manner in which the Presidency of South Africa conceives of participation[11] (not dissimilar to a growing conceptualisation of participation in the provincial sphere) is further discussed under section 2.4.2. To illustrate, in his 2011 State of the Nation Address, president Zuma spoke of citizen involvement as 'interactive government that engages through information exchanges from direct contact with our people and visiting villages, townships and suburbs' (Zuma, 2011, 3).

Naidu (2008, 86), writing on local government, makes the link with citizen control in stating that participation "involves the true devolution of power to the grassroots citizens and this brings with it a series of challenges". This illustrates Arnstein's emphasis on the "substantive interests" of citizens differentiating between manipulation and tokenistic participation (Roberts, 2004, 320). Marais, Everatt and Dube (2007), in their review of participation in local government in Gauteng, offer a similar characterisation of participation as "drawing people into existing political and/or development processes" with the aim of transforming these forums so as to advance participants' chances of claiming their rights. In addition, they conceive of participation as part of a "transformative and distributive project" (Marais et al., 2007).

[11]Bond and Tait (1997), referring to housing delivery, argued that South Africa was witnessing a neo-liberal abdication and transference of government responsibility.

However, outlining the case for citizen involvement in the case of healthcare policy and reforms in Finland, Raisio (2010, 8) noted that it is unlikely that citizen deliberation "will ever drive self-interested, power-based competition from democratic politics".

Following Arnstein's line of thinking, Roberts (2004) provides an overall depiction of participation as a process of power sharing between citizens (outside of the administration) and public officials when making societal public decisions and actions. This depiction is similar to Arnstein's third level of participation, in which citizens are active participants in substantive decisions, as experts of that which is "critical in community life" (Roberts, 2004, 520).

According to the South African national policy framework for public participation, direct participation is envisaged as a process that is open and governed by accountability, where individual citizens or a representative collective (groups) gather to "exchange views and influence decision-making" (DPLG, 2007, 15). This perspective seems to be an expansive interpretation of participation, affirming both the collective and individual interests, responsiveness and the prospect of influence. However, the conceptualisation of this policy framework on participation is partly ambiguous. First, it regards participation as aimed at having an "empowering and meaningful" influence on decision-making, then reverts to a conceptualisation of it as involvement, consultation and information exchanges. Whereas the preceding aspects can facilitate improved citizen engagement, these do not necessarily equate to participation nor represent the totality of what can be regarded as empowered participation and decision-making.

A key aspect of these guidelines is the manner in which the DPLG frames participation in its legal conception. This resonates with what Waghid (2002) offers as a rights-based and representative approach to citizens' actual participation in political life, with accountability to the rights of citizens and maximisation of their opportunities for participation. Edigheji (2003) argues for citizen involvement in the affairs that affect them, seen as their participation in agenda setting, formulation and implementation of policy, and creating less disconnectedness in communities between them and the state. Booysen (2006, 172; 2009, 5) views participation as citizen involvement through information exchange, decision-making and expanded opportunities for engagement with governance. Her broader depiction incorporates the centrality of "power and authority", citizens' ability to influence policy choices, the responsiveness of decision-makers and the actual outcomes of participation.

This could be regarded as a limited characterisation of the extent of participation, which may be the result of a realistic weighing of the environment within which policy operates.

In noting the complexities of participation, Booysen (2008) has pointed to a distinctive difference between participation (involvement) and the ability to influence (decision-making). Drawing upon comparative and case study material, the EIPP (2009, 6) refers to participation as a process in which citizens, civil society organisations and government actors are involved in policy-making before a political decision is taken. The EIPP clarifies the policy actors, their role, and the terrain, and conceives participation as active citizenship. These conceptualisations and types of participation should be seen in relation to their contributory value, where the organising schema is its particular function or objective, and has an interlinked hierarchy of types rather than isolated or discrete alternatives (Brinkerhoff & Crosby, 2002, 55)[12].Mafunisa and Maphunye (2008) depict participation as a "kind of verification mechanism or assessment tool" with the presence of such processes assumed to mean that democracy has been practiced. This is akin to Arnstein's lower levels of participation, and part of the dominant language of involvement, solicitation, public hearings, information exchange, and the like.

3.2.7 Synthesis

The preceding sections sketched the challenges with the unresolved purpose and definitional clarity on citizen participation. A significant part of assessing citizen participation in the GPL is located within how it is conceived, especially since the particular categorisation determines how one measures the nature and extent of citizen's voice in policy-making. In this section, a broad synopsis was given on the manner in which participation and the role of citizens are described and linked to this how government engages with citizens in relation to such depiction. Interestingly, the GPL uses an expanded (see Table 2.1and Table 2.2) interpretation of citizen participation, mechanisms to engage with its citizens. However, as Chapters 4, 5 and 6 argue, the approaches and mechanisms are not functioning in accordance with the founding documents and its stated intent of increased participation. Importantly, this section provided the ideal of citizen participation, a critique of these frameworks and the context within which citizen voice will be assessed in the GPL. In the next sections, the nature of the anomalies in the literature regarding citizen participation is interrogated and the GPL's versions will be explored.

[12]See Booysen (2008, 25) for typology of uses "outputs, outcomes and impacts" of participation modes.

3.3 Types of participation

A variety of typologies have been developed in order to distinguish the degree, scope or type of citizen engagement in public matters (Ling et al., 2010), which this section briefly explores to enable their positioning and purpose. Varied terminology is used to describe participation and its types, with a wide range of activities included (IAP2, 2009). Brinkerhoff and Crosby's (2002, 51) perspective is that selection of the participation mechanisms is dependent on what is intended by participation with "people-centred deliberations" (Kondlo, 2010, 385).

Whereas these may be helpful tools for engaging with citizens, technically they are mechanisms (tools, techniques) to enable and facilitate citizen participation, and they differ in the manner or mode in which they engage people (EIPP, 2009,7). On the other hand, Rowe and Frewer (2005, 262) refer to conceptually different elements of engaging with citizens, observing that these processes are incorrectly linked under a single term, but that they are distinctly different aspects of participation. For example, public hearings are commonly cited as a form of public information exchange and not necessarily public participation, although described as such.

Rowe and Frewer (2005) also write that these mechanisms described as participation are problematic in relation to them being unclearly defined, and they "may incorporate others either completely or partly" (Rowe & Frewer, 2005, 256). The tools and techniques differ only in the sequencing of processes being implemented, and this creates research problems in the sense of extending them to multiple settings and offering objective research (Rowe & Frewer, 253). Such a distinction is important, because attempts to evaluate participatory policy-making tend to become entangled in the mechanisms employed to effect participation. Conceptually, participation relates to 'being part of' and 'taking part in', and carries an active component (Steffek et al., cited in EIPP, 2009).

Suh (2004, 6) offers a limited depiction, distinguishing between political participation, voting in elections, and administrative participation, e.g., submitting petitions and involvement in the formal processes of the GPL. However, participation implies a broader and encompassing system of governance, in which citizens possess the power to hold public officials accountable. Suh's (2004) categories are expanded in Table 3.1by drawing a distinction between traditional and enhanced participation. A more expansive depiction of political participation includes voting, protest, petitioning elected officials, attending public

forums and providing public input (Crow, 2009, 120). In a report on democracy and political participation by the Open Society Foundation-South Africa (OSF-SA), participatory democracy entails more than participation and voting for political parties, also guaranteeing citizens opportunities to belong and structure themselves to impact government decisions (OSF-SA, 2006, 28). Furthermore, the report notes that citizens should be given opportunities to interact with decision-making processes of the state, thus aligning policy outcomes to citizen interests (OSF-SA, 2006).

In such a construction, citizens influence the way government governs, and the state in turn shapes the localities and the extent within which direct or representative participation occurs (Commins, 2007).

Table 3.1: Comparison between traditional and enhanced participation

Traditional participation	Enhanced participation
Representative democracy	Participation in forums
Standing for office	Citizen initiatives
Voting for representatives	Information gathering
Participation through political parties	Direct activism (protest action)
Involvement in elections and institutions	Community decision-making
Involvement in the legislative or official policy-making process	Involvement in civil society or social movements

Source: IDEA (2001)

The traditional typology implies that project or policy decisions are presented to citizens, whereas in the enhanced participation model these programmes or packages of solutions are the outcome of collaborative decision-making processes. Thus, enhanced participation is premised on citizens being the creators and custodians of concrete proposals, whereas in the traditional participation model, decisions are delegated to their elected representatives (Edelenbos et al., 2009, 129). The need for citizen engagement in public issues is guided by two distinctive approaches: ad-hoc, issue-based methods (examples being e-tolling; liquor licensing; development initiatives, such as housing projects; demarcation of municipal boundaries; and service delivery issues[13]); and ongoing institutionalised collaborative mechanisms, with long-ranging issues such as education or town planning (IDEA, 2001, 146).

[13]Kowalski (2010, 81) refers to this as an "adversarial approach"

Table 3.2outlines a range of typologies that depicts the predominant modalities in how government engages with citizens.

Table 3.2: Typology of citizen engagement

Increased / Higher level of participation	**Type of citizen engagement**	**Flow of information**	**Functional purpose**	**Activity examples**	White's Typology
	Information/ Communication (informational/ information-sharing)	Organiser → Public	Public information exchanged from organiser to citizens.	Public workshops, media releases, distribution of bills or policies to stakeholders, public billboards	Nominal
	Consultation	Organiser ←/→Public	Public consultation, where citizens make inputs.	Public hearings Izimbizo	Instrumental
	Institutional, representational participation Joint decision-making	Representatives ↔/→ citizens	Institution building and revision of democratic institutions.	Nedlac SANAC Legislatures	Representative
	Protest participation	Public → Government	It is a means to an end.	Popular street protests, civil disobedience campaigns, boycotts and media campaigns	Transformative
Decreased / Lower level of participation	Direct participation Empowerment	Organiser ↔ Public	Public involvement, with information exchanged between stakeholders.	Petitions Submissions	Transformative

Source: Adapted from Booysen (2009); Brinkerhoff & Crosby, 2002; EIPP (2009); Rowe & Frewer (2005); White (1996)

In addition to Rowe and Frewer's (2005) four types, their representation is expanded by White's (1996) framework, additional examples, the functional purpose, and Booysen's characterisation. Table 3.2distinguishes between five major types of participation, and the characteristics of each. The first column, showing the form of participation, is sequential in that the more expansive forms of participation are presented towards the foot.

As can also be noted fromTable 3.2, direct participation is the highest form of citizen engagement, with consultation occurring through exchange of information, which is utilised during subsequent consultations. With citizen participation being regarded as inclusive of, yet beyond "ensuring people are well informed", this depiction is not dissimilar to Arnstein's (1969) rungs of participation, the first of which contains information exchange. In this study, Rowe and Frewer's (2005) typologies and engagement mechanisms, alongside Booysen's (2008, 25) framework of "outputs, outcomes and impacts" of participation modes, will be adopted as the frame of reference.

3.4 Purposes with citizen participation

Increasing evidence emerged linking citizenship, participation and law-making (Buccus, 2008; Gaventa, 2002; GDLG, 2009). Many authors list social capital, accountability, increased legitimacy and compliance with public decisions, societal trust and citizenship as typical of the impact of a participatory orientation to government. Commins (2007), writing on the link between community participation and service delivery, advances the idea that among the key goals of citizen participation are to:

- improve the technical efficiency of how services are delivered;
- improve the allocative efficiency of where and whom receive services; and
- strengthen accountability mechanisms.

Roberts (2004, 321) advocates that what is practiced in government ranges from an emphasis "on mandatory to advisable involvement". Citizen participation can be examined on a spectrum of access to decision-making, government, and empowerment, reflected in the capacity to organise and address public interests (Feldman & Khademian, 2003, 345).

Engaging citizens in public policy-making augments electoral democracy in that it enhances the 'flow of information', accountability, and 'due process', and crucially gives voice to those directly affected by public choices (IDEA, 2001, 146).

Giving citizens a voice in policy-making produces a richer texture of democracy and effective policy, whilst coordinating the exchange of arguments based on principles and aligning respective stances "to generalisable interests" (Baccaro & Papadakis, 2009, 246). This does not preclude institutional or representational engagement, but its primary focus is on socio-political processes operating at the individual level (Austin, 2010, 222). Citizen participation enables (Friedman, 2006; Houston, 2001):

- Citizen awareness of participation mechanisms and processes of the Legislature;
- A demonstrable intention to engage with citizens through legislative processes; and
- Institutional responsiveness and policy outcomes aligned to citizens policy interests.

As Kowalski (2010, 78) states, "the literature validates stakeholder influence … and direct citizen participation is advantageous". Walters, Aydelotte and Miller (2000, 352) identified five purposes for citizens to be involved in decision-making, listed inTable 3.3.

Table 3.3: Five purposes for citizen involvement

Discovery	–	Aid in the search for definitions, alternatives, or criteria.
Education	–	Educate the public about an issue and proposed alternative.
Measurement	–	Assess public opinion regarding a set of options.
Persuasion	–	Persuade the public toward a recommended alternative.
Legitimisation	–	Comply with public norms or legal requirements

Source: Walters, Aydelotte & Miller (2000)

Table 3.3illuminates the general intentions with citizen participation, which directly relate to the mechanisms, scope and extent of participation. For instance, the most recent annual report of the GPL highlights the purposes with citizen participation as involvement, participation and the canvassing of citizen perspectives on decision- or policy-making processes (GPL, 2009/2010, 7, 12).

The following points summarise Roberts' (2004, 323) exposition of the rationale for citizen participation:

- **Direct citizen participation is transformative.** Citizens' participation in policy-making affords them opportunities for development of their potential and expertise.
- **Direct citizen participation is educative.** The more citizens participate, the more they develop the attitudes and skills of citizenship, and the more a shared sense of the common good emerges. Citizens also learn to be accommodative of others and the 'restrictiveness' of the legislative environment. They also create a deeper appreciation of conflicting government mandates and capacities.

- **Direct citizen participation is cathartic and integrative.** People develop a deeper commitment to the issues of governance as a result of their participation. Given, South Africa's disenfranchisement of citizen voice, such processes provide cathartic experiences of self-efficacy and a sense of helping to give shape to a new society. A sense of efficacy is crucial, as the degree of influence is subordinate to the feeling of having influenced decisions.
- **Direct citizen participation is legitimating.** As citizens deliberate in public affairs they legitimise the decisions and the government by virtue of their participation.
- **Direct citizen participation is protective of freedom.** This direct citizen involvement fosters more citizen-directed and responsive policies and administrative systems.
- **Direct citizen participation is facilitative.** Direct citizen participation creates the platform for citizens to express their interests and to work for the interests of the marginalised.

In the GPL, for example, the PPP Unit introduced e-petitions (facilitative), infused Members of Parliament's (MPL) constituency work (legitimisation) with citizen participation, held workshops (educative), developed a gendered approach through a focus on women (facilitative and transformative), and involved youth through Youth Parliaments (integrative). Applying Roberts' rationale to the South African government's intention, as expressed by then Minister of Provincial and Local Government, Sydney Mfumadi, illustrated government's operating frame of reference in terms of the centrality of citizens and participation (DPLG, 2007, 7):

> Government views community participation as an end in itself. Rather the purpose of participation is the very essence of a people-centred approach to development. In this context communities should not be viewed as passive participants but as active agents of change and development. Participation processes should develop people to become more resourceful themselves in as much as it should be aimed at ensuring that service and infrastructure delivery is enhanced through community participation.

In sum, the stated intent of government (on paper) aligns with citizen expectations in terms of the need for citizens to be involved in making public decisions. This section showed that citizen voice in policy-making facilitates the participation in public decisions, where they

are included at various stages, directly or through representatives or representative forums in the development and implementation of policy decisions. At the core of this study is the manner ('how') and 'when' the GPL engages with the citizens of Gauteng, as it is determinant of the extent and scope of such participation.

The preceding discussion provided the rationale and purposes for participation, relating to the cumulative benefits of the process and the intended outcomes of citizens in policy-making. Beyond these benefits and rationale the envisaged participation is dependent on appropriate access, sufficiently devolved power and/or co-ownership and adequate resourcing of both the process and those who participate. Some of the advantages of direct citizen engagement with public decision-making can be structured under two headings, namely *process* and *outcomes* for each of the two main actors respectively, i.e., government and citizens (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004, 56). These, together with a short description, are presented inTable 3.4.

Table 3.4: The advantages of citizen participation

Components in Participation	Advantages to citizens	Advantages to government
Decision process	• Offers an engaging learning experience and opportunity to share information • Persuades and enlightens government • Gives voice to citizens (community empowerment) • Provides access to decision-makers and to participate in decision-making process • Frees a paralysed policy process • Information is exchanged between the sponsors of participation processes	• Builds strategic alliances • Gains from citizens' wisdom, expertise and knowledge • Overcomes existing divisiveness so that consensus can develop • Better need identification for communities • Gain from complimentary modes of policy-making • Can facilitate and mediate political deadlocks • Acts as an antidote to national political elites or technocrats
Outcomes	• Improves service relevance, responsiveness and delivery • Better wealth distribution • Improved service delivery • Greater accountability	• Promoting a healthier democratic culture and more capable citizenry • The legitimacy of decisions are increased • When citizens participate it will bring down the costs of policy implementation

Source: Adapted from Austin (2010); DPLG (2007); EIPP (2009); Irvin & Stansbury (2004)

3.5 Disadvantages of citizen participation

Generally, there are strong arguments for and against the centrality of citizen involvement, which as Feldman and Khademian (2003, 345) argue is integral to the enactment of democratic politics. A case can be made that citizen participation has come to represent an over-ambitious governance agenda and process with which to address a wide variety of governance challenges. That is partly why this study is circumspect regarding broadside criticisms levelled at citizen participation.

Despite the challenges and unintended consequences of "direct citizen influence over policy" (Bowler, Donovan and Karp, 2007, 353), it has in some instances increased, whilst in others it has tempered the expectations of people's sense of the provincial government's mandate. Pieterse (2002, 12) notes that citizen participation, through whichever strands of direct or representative mechanism, is not an all-encompassing solution for the governance challenges, nor a panacea for policy implementation challenges (Brinkerhoff & Crosby, 2002, 52). Table 3.5presents a tabular outline of the disadvantages of direct citizen participation in relation to the decision-making processes and their outcomes.

Table 3.5: Disadvantages of citizen participation in government decision-making

Components in Participation	Disadvantages to citizen participation	Disadvantages to government
Decision-making process	• Time-consuming. • Participation serves no purpose if decision is ignored. • Complicates the policy process in cases where there are diverse groups.	• Huge demands on time and resources. • Creates animosity towards government.
Outcomes	• Policy outcome could be inappropriate if it attempts to incorporate opposing and divergent interests.	• Decision-making held by various actors. • Prospect of incoherent decisions. • Budget constraint to implement actual policies.

Source: Irvin & Stansbury (2004)

Despite the wide-ranging mechanisms that facilitate citizen voice, these mechanisms and formal settings have been unable to comprehend the expectation of citizens (the majority of

whom are poor) (Friedman, 2006, 11). In the case of the USA, Shapiro's (2008) study on citizens' petitions and agency responses illustrates that legislatures were more likely to listen to sophisticated policy specialists, and individual commentators raised issues different from those of the interest groups. He referred to two other studies, which had found that the public input process had limited influence and that there was little relationship between the type of interest group and the influence of the group's inputs. In addition, drawing on Manor's conception Buccus (2008, 49) argues that these participatory mechanisms are in the main inaccessible "to the majority population in societies characterised by inequality, particularly marginalised communities and sectors", and typically do not "automatically benefit poor people and groups that have long faced social exclusion". In sum, involving citizens in policy-making in the GPL has its limitations and detractors, who do not equally share its virtues.

3.6 Models of participation

Based on the review of the case study in question, research and existing literature, the major features of the predominant citizen engagement models are shown to be representative of a continuum of the level and extent of citizen interaction. This section will discuss four models based on these being explicitly referenced in the GPL public participation strategy, previous reviews on participation in the GPL and these models being part of the spectrum of the PPP Unit's model of participation. Most of the participation studies in South Africa are on local government, especially since direct citizen involvement in policies has been mandated through policies and legislation. The national policy framework on public participation draws its theoretical and conceptual orientation from the most successful and oft-cited participation models.

Although the South African participation models are mainly from international best practice, these "experiences from elsewhere in the world" (DPLG, 2007, 11) have been adapted and adopted by the South African government, practitioners and stakeholders. In this regard, the GPL public participation strategy has infused key aspects from these models into what is now common in the design and implementation of citizen participation (GPL, 2011). These models are depicted in the literature and the South African practice from a conceptual and comparative perspective with various forms and mechanisms on how to enable citizen voice in the legislative and policy-making process (Maphunye & Mafunisa, 2008, 467).

The DPLG/Cogta (2007) guidelines mainly focus on local government; hence, the practiced models at provincial sphere are often drawn from national and local government frameworks. The DPLG/Cogta policy guidelines outline the following model explicitly, and reference the Brazilian experience of participatory budgeting. What follows is a discussion on a select few of these models, with the aim of using them as a reference point in the study's analysis.

3.6.1 Arnstein Ladder of Participation

With the well-known ladder of participation, Arnstein (1969) created a particularly helpful conceptual framework for citizen participation. The levels of participation range from "manipulation," with non-participation as the norm, to "citizen control," in which citizens play significant decision-making roles in the policy process. The model is depicted in Figure 3.1. Arnstein's frame of analysis remains robust in terms of understanding participation, and is used to ascertain the extent of citizen engagement in policy-making. This useful three-part characterisation and framework is widely used internationally and in South Africa to interpret and measure the scope and extent of participation (EIPP, 2009; Ile & Mapuva, 2008; Marais et al., 2007). Arnstein's model is a rich mixture of the assumptions of this study and provides the parameters related to the questions posed, especially as it is arranged in a ladder pattern with each rung corresponding to the extent of citizens' power.

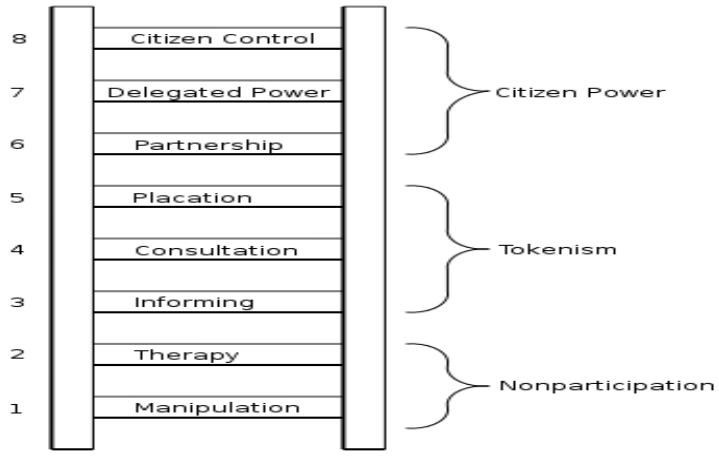


Figure 3.1: Eight rungs on Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation.

Source: Arnstein, 1969

This model deliberately excludes an analysis of the significant challenges and constraints to actualising the "genuine levels of participation" (1969, 217). Rather, it offers a common framework for categorising participation, cantering on the "gradations" of movement from "increasing degrees of decision-making" and "control to non-participation".

Arnstein's eight rungs typology stemmed from an evaluative programme for countering poverty which offered a useful description of the degrees of citizen empowerment in legislative processes. It identifies three levels of the spectrum of participation (1969, 217):

Level 1: Non-participation (passive citizenship)

Level 2: Tokenism (un-engaged citizen)

Level 3: Citizen power (active citizenship).

The sequential typology commences with non-genuine participation, represented by manipulation, with citizen control as the highest rung, and is typical of the unevenness of participation. The second level of participation is thus typical of what Stout (2010, 45) refers to as "a ritualistic adherence to participatory practices in the face of political directives". From this perspective, it gives citizens scope to assume decision-making power (Goldfrank, 2010, 3)[14], and marks the degree to which they actually participate in decision-making and possess the right to make non-binding and/or binding decisions.[15] In short, Arnstein's third level of citizen power can be regarded as authentic or high quality participation, with citizens having deep and continuous involvement. Stout argues that such a degree of citizen involvement is achievable if practitioners empower citizens, and it is authorised by elected representatives (2010, 55). Arnstein's emphasis on power and decision-making are central to the concept of direct citizen participation (Roberts, 2004, 320). Arnstein notes that her model of the eight rungs of participation does not offer an expansive discussion or analysis of the factors that impede genuine participation, except to acknowledge that these factors impact all rungs (Arnstein, 1969). It is unlikely that citizen deliberation "will ever drive self-interested, power-based competition from democratic politics" (Raisio, 2010, 8).

[14]Some, like Cary Coglianese (2006), extend participation to the way citizens help make government decisions.

[15]Bowler, Donovan and Karp's (2007) study on direct citizen participation in affluent democracies was instructive in terms of clarifying this aspect and showing how to measure citizen involvement in policy decisions.

3.6.2 Goldfrank: Montevideo and Porto Alegre

Similar to Arnstein's spectrum, the model illustrated in Figure 3.2is from a comparative case study analysis of citizen involvement in budgeting processes in Montevideo and Porto Alegre. In this analysis, Goldfrank (2010) used range, structure, and decision-making power to analyse the extent[16] of citizen engagement in government processes.



Figure 3.2: Goldfrank (2011) participation model.

Source: Author's depiction for this study, 2011

Goldfrank's (2010) range relates to the extensiveness of issues presented for deliberation, with the range determining the diversity and number of participants. Structure is inclusive of the selection of those who represent citizens, their terms, and the "periodicity and accessibility of meetings" (Goldfrank, 2010, 3). Goldfrank's participation framework argues that decision-making power was relative to government's perception of the centrality of citizens' role. Decision-making power is centrally located, which emphasises the centrality of the power dynamics in citizen participation. A review by Marais, Everatt and Dube (2007, vii) on the depth and quality of public participation in the Integrated Development Planning process in Gauteng posits that in South Africa, "the decisive powers remain concentrated higher up in the chain of government". They add that the right to participate is invariably devolved, "but that the decision-making power to truly transform the content of these processes, and to contest and oversee their outcomes is not held by citizens".

3.6.3 Feldman and Khademian: Vitality model

Another categorisation is the Cascading Vitality model, as depicted in Figure 3.3"where inclusive processes lead to new understandings, new connections, and new information and thus contributes to the expanded capacity" of citizens and the institutions (Feldman & Khademian, 2003, 348).

[16]Booysen (2008, 4) uses the quality and frequency of participation as a measurement.

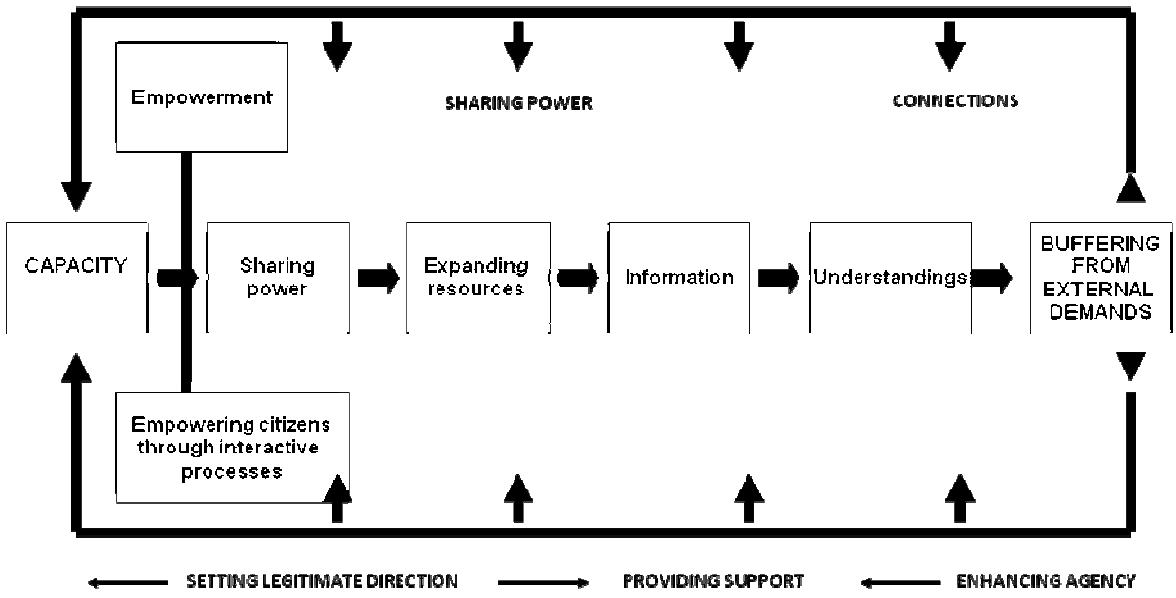


Figure 3.3: The Cascading Vitality model.

Source: Adapted from Feldman & Khademian (2003)

The fundamental movement in the model is the mediating factor of capacity and the buffering from external expectations, cascading from empowerment to capacity to empowered citizens (Feldman & Khademian, 2003, 348). It is a useful lens through which to view the impact of devolved power, capacity, empowered citizens, and external demands on participation in the Legislature. Citizens are authentically empowered through enhanced mutual intent, interactions, information exchange, altered power relations and distributed power. It demonstrates clear synergies with the International Association for Public Participation spectrum of participation, comprising informing, consulting, involving, collaborating and empowering citizens (IAP2, 2009).

Such postulations of citizen empowerment in policy-making, albeit a noble attempt to analyse and interpret the extent of citizen involvement in policy processes, is problematic for two reasons. First, they are limited in ability to be descriptive of parallel processes, agency, and power relations, and second, they are deficient in the interface between the ideal citizen-oriented mechanisms and the real-time operations in legislative settings.

3.6.4 Handley and Howell-Moroney: Ordering of stakeholder citizen participation model

Similar to the Cascading Vitality model and Goldfrank's model, Figure 3.4depicts Handley and Howell-Moroney's (2010)[17] ordering of stakeholder citizen participation. This model reflects the simultaneity present in budgeting processes, the feedback loops, the place of citizens in the hierarchy of decision-making and the specific policy issue under discussion.

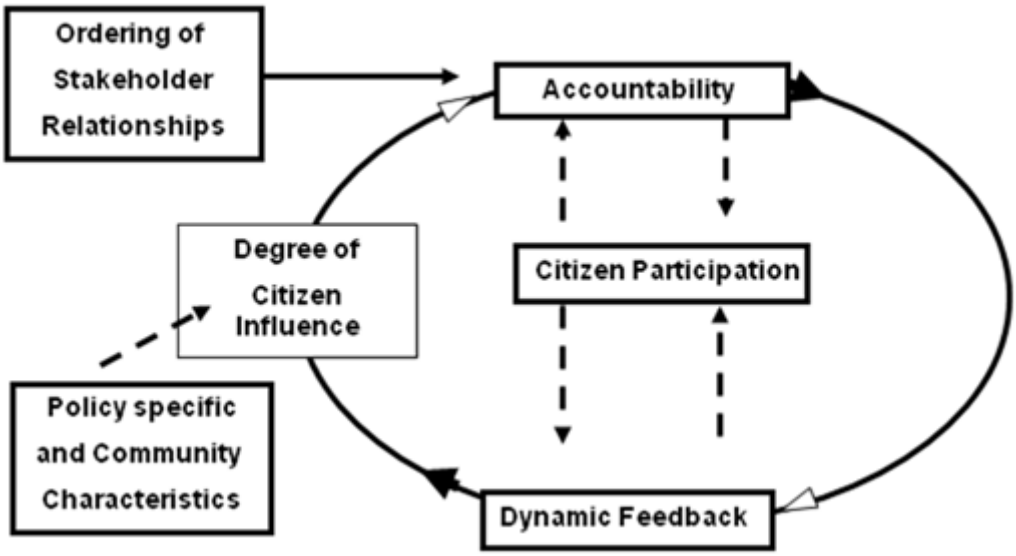


Figure 3.4: Ordering stakeholder citizen model.

Source: Handley and Howell-Moroney's (2010)

The above representation of Handley and Howell-Moroney's ordering of stakeholder citizen model has been extended to capture more adequately their interpretations of the process and practice of participation. Although Handley and Howell-Moroney (2010) do not depict it as such their model positions accountability towards citizens as central to the extent of the practice of participation. Whereas many authors place the type, mechanisms and practices of participation as central to participation, Handley and Howell-Moroney's analysis posits the type and extent of participation as dependent on the role of citizens and how one views them.

As such, they posit that accountability drives citizen influence on policy-making processes, and further argue that the degree of citizen participation is relative to the level of accountability and to whom public officials feel accountable. Conversely, they conclude that

[17]This was a USA community development programme study into the influence of citizen participation on a grant programme, and has been directive in terms of the thesis data collection and analysis.

citizen influence over policy processes could also be a driving force of accountability (Handley et al., 2010, 605). By extension, the model suggests that the degree of citizen participation is also inextricably linked to the specific issue. The ordering of the stakeholder citizen model also suggests that the catalyst for participatory engagements is the degree of citizen participation. This aspect forms the cornerstone of this study.

3.6.5 Synthesis

In this section, multiple best practice models have been outlined on how citizen engagement is implemented. These models do not represent the totality of interactive policy-making as the citizens and the institutions often produce unexpected challenges, and the models are not easily applicable to other settings. It would be over-simplistic to relegate citizen participation, in itself a constrained and ambivalent concept, to 'one best way' model or ideal type. Importantly, these models exist to guide, illuminate and clarify the main trends linked to the major propositions of this study. A distinguishing characteristic of the discussed citizen models is how they vary in terms of citizen decision-making power, the centrality of citizen empowerment, the importance of the external environment and perceptions of citizen expectations. It may be the case that the higher rungs of citizen voice (citizen power) will be conditional on the particular institutional arrangements and the policy issue. Despite the GPL's resource and capacity constraints to process multiple demands, many of these models are at best yardsticks and indicative of the range of approaches for citizens to claim their agency in public decisions and a framework to govern public officials approaches to engaging with citizens.

In particular the preceding sections was resonant with what John (2009, 501) found that any belief in "a magic formula" will meet with disappointment as there is not one to "address the long-engrained patterns of" citizen participation.

The models presented in this section assist in crystallising the questions: What does public participation in government decision-making processes mean and what are the avenues created for such participation? The next section explores the question of the means utilised to facilitate participation.

3.7 Public participation methods

There is a range of evolving mechanismsto engage with citizens, and these methods are implemented at all levels of government in Europe, developing countries (IAP2 study) and elsewhere (IAP2, 2009). For the sake of clarity, Roberts (2004), and Rowe and Frewe (2005) conceive of the processes used to engage citizens – often referred to as methods, processes and techniques as 'mechanisms'. Since there are various modes through which citizen voice may be articulated, this section will provide an overview of predominant methods used to expand citizen participation in governance. Central to this study's argument is that some of these methods are interchangeably conceived as participation, despite their falling short of the particular expectations of citizens. Use of these methods is cognizant of the "pluralism of aims and values, and enables collaborative problem-solving designed to achieve more legitimate policies" and encompasses multiple methods (EIPP, 2009).

As noted by Bingham (2010, 290), there is a range of citizen deliberation techniques,[18] among them, the 21st century town meeting, appreciative inquiry, Bohmian dialogue, citizen choicework dialogues, citizen juries, compassionate listening, consensus conferences, conversation café, deliberative polling, dynamic facilitation and the wisdom council, intergroup dialogue, national issues forums, nonviolent communication, open space technology, public conversations project, study circles, sustained dialogue, wisdom circles, and world café. For the purposes of this study these methods have been selected as they are invariably practiced in the GPL and are representative of the spectrum of citizen engagement.

3.8 Participation as service delivery

Although legislatures are not direct deliverers of services, their oversight role and policy developments provide the frameworks for such delivery to take effect and ensure that the government departments and the legislature themselves adhere to the principles of governing *with* the people. In her study on legislatures as rational systems, Shulock (1998) concluded that the dominant aim of legislatures is to maintain their legitimacy as institutionally representative of citizens and custodians of legitimised self-government.

[18]Sometimes these processes go by other names and are implemented in a multiplicity of variations and combinations.

She further states that legislatures are important to citizens, "not because of their structure as organisations or their production of goods and services, but because of their place in the democratic order" (1998, 312). Provincial legislatures generally have been tasked with performing functions ranging from representation, legitimisation and socialisation of political leadership to acting as a conduit between government and constituencies (Baaklini & Do Rego, 1991). In particular, the legislature in South Africa provides the interface between national policy-making processes, playing an oversight role while representing and intervening on behalf of citizens in policy forums such as the National Council of Provinces (NCOP).

This conceptualisation may be indicative of the well-known participatory practices embedded in cases like Brazil, India, Venezuela, South Africa and Indonesia, where citizens have power in decision-making processes, negotiating between themselves and with government over the allocation of infrastructure and capital investment spending on development projects, such as housing, health facilities, sewerage, community libraries, schools and road infrastructure (Heller, 2001; Wampler, 2012). In that context, Commins (2007, 4) argues that accountability of government citizen participation in service delivery entails more than the direct delivery of services and their participation offers opportunities and incentives for government officials to be responsive to the needs of communities. This is in line with international and even to a certain degree South African best practice models. However, citizen participation is not service delivery and legislatures are not spaces where such extensive citizen empowerment will take root.

Viewing participatory policy-making as "unmediated contact with the people" (DPLG, 2007) as service delivery to citizens, is equally problematic.

It could be argued that citizen participation in the main creates platforms for increased access to underrepresented citizens, which may support efforts at programmatic level to "grow the economy" and open spaces for citizens to relay their service delivery expectations and concerns. Another acceptable approach would be to regard citizens' participation in the processes of governance as enablers of appropriate services, and means to engender socially responsible service delivery systems and allocations. As Tapscott and Thompson (2010, 2, citing Cooke and Kothari) argue, citizen participation has reduced "complex processes to a series of participatory methods and techniques, which, once mastered would facilitate efficient and sustainable patterns of development". They argue that the proponents of participatory government naively underestimated the impact of local power relations and

that the poorest of the poor were seldom the primary beneficiaries of participatory programmes which were frequently subject to capture by elites.

Karpowitz et al. (2009, 576) write that:

> Considerable evidence from … traditional deliberative settings (e.g., juries and public hearings) suggests that those with more education and higher status speak more frequently and that "the vast gap between elite and citizen expertise is likely to make elites far more influential than citizens" in such contexts. In addition, insistence on consensus can suppress discussion of difficult differences in ways that "narrow the possible agenda for deliberation and thereby effectively silence some points of view," especially the values and interests of the marginalised.

Thus, the primary aim is to improve citizens' participation in the Legislature as a means to empower particularly the poor and those disconnected due to unequal access to the policy-making agenda and how these policies are implemented (Buccus, 2008, 51). In an important research piece reviewing the existing literature on the field of public deliberation, the institutional dynamics and the methods and design choices, *Public deliberation: where we are and where can we go?* Williamson and Fung (2004) argue that:

> All efforts at public deliberation aim to increase the number of individuals who are engaged in discussing and thinking about some issue or problem. Initiatives vary greatly, however, in both the quantity of participation they generate and the degree to which those who participate reflect or represent the interests, perspectives, and backgrounds of the wider body of citizens who do not directly participate.

It thus follows that one of the core objectives of legislatures should to ensure participation and access, and to significantly increase the depth and scope of participation of those it claims to represent. Figure 3.5is an adaptation of the GDLG's original depiction of the impact of citizen participation, in which it depicts participation as a means of ensuring governance and service delivery. This is typical of the dominant conceptualisation within the GPL. Although it may mean that the participation of citizens enables more appropriate delivery of services, it is doubtful whether their participation necessarily enables delivery of services, as in goods, water, sanitation and housing. The national policy framework for public participation describes participation as being facilitative of transferring responsibility for services and promoting community action (DPLG, 2007, 15).

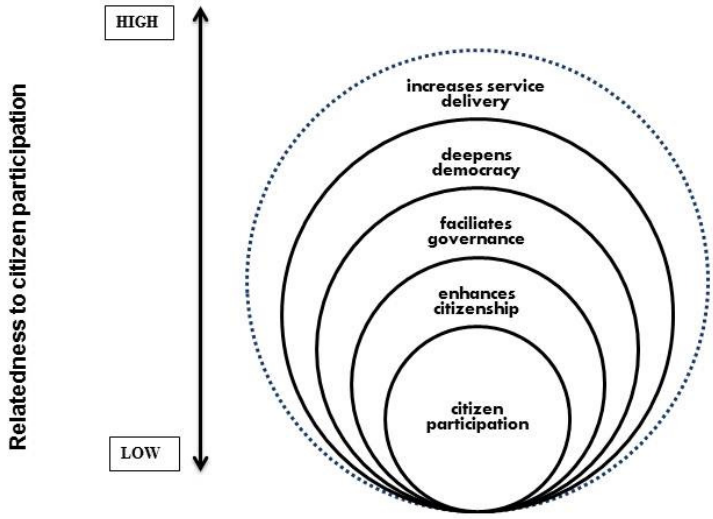


Figure 3.5: Participation and the deepening of democracy

Source: Gauteng Department of Local Government, 2009, 12

This figure depicts the centrality of citizen participation, especially that "legislatures must be felt by the people", reflecting the ANC's "people-centred and people-driven" imagery (ANC, 2010).

According to Buccus (2008, 48), such a citizen orientation is advocated not only because it is right or in the interests of democracy but also because it is located in its value proposition, pertaining to the quality of policy and legislation, strengthening accountability and transparency, and increasing trust in government. In this view, there is a critical link between citizen participation, service delivery, accountability and the institutions that facilitate these, especially as influencing the contexts and experiences of citizens (Commins, 2007). According to Commins, service delivery failures are a consequence of decreased citizen voice, accountability, community disengagement, and manipulated processes to advance the interests of certain service delivery agencies (2007). Furthermore, this study highlights similar questions posed by Ramjee and Van Donk (2011, 11) writing on community voice and dissatisfaction in the local government context:

> Do regulated institutions [like the Legislature and in particular the PPP Unit] appropriately channel excluded and/or marginalised voices or do institutionalised opportunities to participate in public decision-making reproduce and maintain the existing status quo?

Employing Cornwall's postulation, Ramjee and Van Donk (2011, 15) suggest that at the core of giving citizens "a meaningful opportunity to exercise voice in processes that shape the outcome of development that has a direct bearing on their daily lives", is when they create and claim opportunities for their voices to be incorporated and have an influence on decision-making. In a similar manner, Commins (2007, 4) finds that voice will emerge from demand-driven approaches aimed at empowering citizens to claim services that offer renewed chances for re-establishing trust and accountability and establish a 'social contract' between citizens and government.

3.9 Role of public officials in participation

This section presents an argument that renewed effort should be devoted to understanding public officials' sense-making of the continuum of policy development and implementation. Whereas much has been written about specific South African policies and some of the policy-making institutions, little attention has been paid to the role of public officials in general or those employed in the PPP Unit in particular.

Not one of the reviewed studies from the *South African Journal of Public Administration* or the five reference point dissertation (Sansom-Sherwill, 2006; Hartslief, 2008; Matladi, 2008; Scott, 2009; Makhondo, 2010) studies has an explicit focus on the role of public officials. In the main, studies have linked the prospects of participation with the capacities, skills and resources required by public officials. Therefore, the proposition (see section 1.5) states that there is correlation between citizen participation and the cognitive sense-making and belief systems of public officials working in the PPP Unit. Roberts (2004), in her international literature review on direct citizen participation, found that amongst other factors, participation was being hampered by "deeply ingrained beliefs and role expectations" of public officials caught between "competing theories" and "claims about administrative and citizen behaviour" (Roberts, 2004, 327). This depiction is being explored through the third proposition, in relation to public officials (see section 1.7, Chapter 1).

Stout (2010, 54) points out that if a public official or politician does not wish to empower citizens, or rejects their inputs because they do not resonate with their positions, they will merely "go through the motions and that input will not impact outcomes". This study therefore explores the extent of citizen participation and seeks to determine whether its expansiveness could be the result of the conceptualisation, beliefs and self-interest of public officials. According to Ile and Mapuva (2008, 31), officials oppose participation on the

grounds that it undermines the institutions of representative government, and believe public decisions should be at the behest of public officials. The evidence from a study on community participation in water rights in Colorado and the nexus between public officials and citizen engagement, Crow (2009, 6) found that citizen participation in policy decisions is a direct construct of the self-interest (although not necessarily selfish interests) of public officials and politicians. On the other hand, public officials' direct influence is mediated through elected officials who base their public decisions on a "self-defined notion of 'public interest' (Crow, 2009, 5). It is thus argued that the general motives of officials are usually mixed, including power, future income, political expediency (Hampton, 2009), job security, party and personal loyalty, constituent needs, desire to serve stakeholder's interest and commitment to a specific course of action (Manzer, 1984). As confirmed in Chapter 5, public officials has a general connection and dedication to the emotive and ideological stance of notions of the 'people shall govern' and the 'will of the people'.

To offer a deeper understanding of the role of public officials this study examined how policies find their way onto the policy agenda, who dominates the policy platforms, how these policies are formulated and by whom.

Tapscott and Thompson (2010), exploring public participation in a provincial housing project in the Western Cape, observed that there is a deeply entrenched commitment and intention in the South African government towards collaborative decision-making at national level, but that provincial officials lack a coherent interpretation and practice of citizen participation. The expansion of participatory democracy requires clarity on the role of the public officials. As such, the Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA, 2001) suggests clarification on whether public officials are advocates, promoters, mediators, listeners, arbitrators and/or facilitators of these processes. In this sense, Crow's study is helpful to understand that policies are partly representative of the self-interest of political leaders and how these interests are acceded to and facilitated by deployed public officials. On the contrary, "officials appear to have made policy decisions without citizen input, but not necessarily guided by a personal self-interest motivation" (Crow, 2009, 20). Undertaking such a focus requires recognition that the "relationship between staff policy recommendations, citizen participation, and policy decisions outcomes is complex" (Roberts, 2004, 334).

3.10 Public officials' responsiveness to citizen participation

Aikins and Krane (2010) studied the use of e-government, and the extent to which public officials were enablers of citizen centred e-government. They explored (1) whether local government officials believe in or prefer to use traditional citizen participation; and (2) whether they deploy adequate resources to support citizen participation. They concluded that officials had a high regard for engaging citizens in policy, incorporating their opinions into decision-making, and providing feedback to citizens on their inputs and inquiries. However, citizen participation has been constrained by their beliefs and they preferred the traditional citizen participation. Public officials further regarded "policy-making and agenda setting as professional matters and that involving citizens could slow down the decision-making process to address problems" (Aikins & Krane, 2010). Consequently, it is argued that direct citizen participation is impacted by public officials' beliefs and/or attitudes towards citizen participation.

Ile and Mapuva (2008, 32) maintain that public officials regard themselves as the representatives of citizens and are therefore justified in making decisions for and on their behalf. The various roles of officials are summarised in Table 3.6. Aikins and Krane (2010) note that officials' reluctance to involve citizens in budgetary processes is due to an assumed increase in government spending beyond what they regard as affordable levels. There is much ambiguity and many contradictions in how the roles of public officials are conceived and their own perceptions of them, here described by Roberts (2004, 343) as:

> On the firing line between government and citizens, their role conflicts pull them in different directions—from being efficient, responsive professionals to being co-learners and stewards of the public trust. When should they rely on indirect citizen participation through top-down directives from legislative and executive authority, and when should they open up the problem-solving process to invite more grass-roots citizen participation?

Table 3.6: Publicofficials' roles in participation processes

Role	Description
Convener	Public official convenes and decides on the structure, participation, and nature of participation, agenda, outcomes and implementation.
Mediator	Acts as third-party facilitator of divergent policy interests.
Catalyst	Serves as a consultative catalyst of participatory processes, ultimately facilitated by other intermediaries or themselves.
Sponsor	Provides the funding for conceptualising and implementing the preferred participatory process. This is either direct funding or through appointment of an external party or civic organisation.
Technical assistance	Public officials also serve as technical experts on citizen forums, or may be drafted in to provide technical assistance. knowledge, information, and expertise
Capacity builder	Building of individual or group capacity is integral to the role of public officials.
Partner	Direct citizen participation could require a partnership role for officials and even the institutions responsible for such processes. Partnership may include, division of the workload, leveraging and combining resources, shared obligations and institutional support.

Source: IDEA (2001)

In sum, public officials play the role of building coalitions, engaging with the conflicting perspectives of citizens and the political principals, negotiating and mediating contending forces, forging consensus and managing the administrative and political interests of the Legislature (IDEA, 2001, 152). This section clearly points to a significant role for public officials in "creating opportunities for and in shaping participation" (Brinkerhoff, 2002, 70).

3.11 Expanding citizen participation

Walters, Aydelotte and Miller (2000, 351) found that the prospects for successful citizen engagement in public policy is dependent on crafting appropriate participation strategies, aligned to the purpose and the nature of the issue. Furthermore, what will eventuate is an exploration of the influence of politics and the political environment prompting an adjustment of citizens' policy expectations, the GPL reviewing its overall mechanisms and policy priorities, and possibly necessitating changes in the institutional and process design and implementation (Unsworth, 2009).

In their study on increased involvement of citizens in the Utah wilderness debate and growth summit, Walters, Aydelotte and Miller (2000) explored the broad literature on the challenges and critiques of public participation. They suggested that among the more prudent issues to be addressed were the following (Walters et al., 2000):

- Public officials and experts regard public problems beyond the comprehension of citizens;
- Incremental decision-making is perceived as irrational;
- Citizen participation is hampered because officials perceive the public as irreverent of the broader common interest;
- The goals of rational decision-making and democratic decision-making are regarded as incompatible, with an inherent tension between the rational pursuit of administrative efficiency and the pursuit of participation;
- Greater citizen participation redefines public officials' roles in the decision-making process; and
- Officials oppose citizen participation because of the impact on time, costs, its complexity and emotional energy.

These issues speak directly to the primary and secondary questions of this project. Overall, the presented perspective of citizen participation has been expansive with regards to range, scope and decision-making power. Moreover, it has been argued here (as elsewhere) that authentic participation requires a desire to empower citizens in the policy-making process (see John 2009; Raisio, 2010; Roberts, 2004). In the absence of such a paradigm it may be far more prudent to be minimalistic in the expectations of citizens' engagement with policy-making beyond electoral participation. In the extreme that government needs to face up to the need for them to clarify and/or limit the scope and scale of their participation.

According to Friedman (2006, 3), "Citizen participation in government – and in particular that of the poor – is more likely, therefore, not when governments create formal mechanisms to ensure it but when they develop attitudes and institutions accessible to citizen action."

3.12 Evaluation of participatory processes

This section outlines various approaches to assessing citizen participation and as such provides a framework for this study's purpose of ascertaining the nature and scope of participation in the GPL. The evaluation of participatory processes is beneficial to participants and convenors, but is not only difficult but also complex and value-laden, and lacks reliable measurement tools (Rowe & Frewer, 2004, 516). The EIPP report's review of best practices suggested that the particular method for participation needs to be appraised on the basis of a predetermined benchmark. Rowe and Frewer (2005, 256) point out that the forms and types of engagement are significantly distinct in terms of structure and its purposes, requiring the employed mechanisms "to be evaluated against different criteria for effectiveness". This resulted in the common problem of how to ascertain the efficacy, extent and appropriateness of collaborative decision-making (IDEA, 2001). Further clarity is required on what constitutes the necessary conditions for the practice of citizen participation?

This requires a thorough process, and the dominant approach is to assess participatory policy-making on the basis of its compliance with the statutory requirements. Any evaluation of citizen participation should be mindful that it cannot merely be relegated to unhelpful causal assumptions, especially in a sphere of government for which there is "currently no policy or legislative framework" (De Villiers, 2008, 3). For instance, many participatory practices at local government level are often evaluated on the basis of compliance with what the legal framework provides, whereas in the case of provincial government such policy frameworks are non-existent, province-specific or conceptually broad, leaving space for "variable interpretation" (Rowe & Frewer, 2005, 254).

The elected method or model should also be cognizant of the purpose, social and monetary costs and the degree of citizen participation. The question that arises is what evaluation framework is to be employed to decide on the model of methods that will maximize impact and extent of participation.

The EIPP (2009, 39) report emphasises the following as a suggested approach to evaluation:

- the effectiveness and efficiency of the planning;
- implementation of public participation processes;
- the quality of decisions;
- improving decision-making;
- the democratic effects on those involved in the process;
- the resultant changes in the political system; and
- future orientation.

Although helpful, many of the practiced participatory mechanisms each involve a different kind of under-engaged and "underrepresented citizen" (John, 2009, 501). These types of methods juxtapose diverse streams of participation to assess the spectrum and potentiality of interactive policy-making.

To counteract and address certain concerns with participatory mechanisms, Roberts (2004, 342) suggests a number of critical evaluative questions:

- Do the public deliberations involve substantive issues of concern to the public?
- How are participants selected? Are all individuals and groups invited and do they attend and actively participate?
- To what extent does the deliberative process affect the role of public officials? How do their views of citizens change as a result of the deliberative process?
- Do public deliberations achieve their stated intentions? Do the outcomes inform new policy and procedures?
- Do the outcomes of these deliberations have the potential for unintended consequences and, if so, is there an attempt to consider what they might be and how one might deal with them?

What hinders the objective assessment of citizen participation at the level of legislatures is that there is "currently no policy or legislative framework" (De Villiers, 2008, 3). The issue of the absence of a policy guide on participation and the legislated petitions process is discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 respectively.

3.13 Participation in legislatures

The GPL forms part of the cooperative governance system in terms of which government interacts with its citizens. The actual public participation strategy will be reviewed in the final chapter. This chapter reports on the research that evaluated the role that the GPL play in ensuring that citizens interact with the governance processes at the provincial sphere. Similar to other research on participation and in particular the role of legislatures, it focuses on four aspects:

- The statutory framework of citizen participation, with the objective being to understand the alignment between the legal conception and the practical interpretation and implementation of the participation model within the Legislature;
- The parameters, contexts, legal framework, the forms and underlying conceptualisation of the GPL's mandate for citizen participation;
- A framework in which to analyse and assess the details of how and under what conditions participation takes place; and
- The mandate and the implementation mechanisms of citizen participation in the Gauteng Provincial Legislature.

To enable a contextualised review of citizen participation in a legislative setting, the following section outlines the functions of legislatures, positions the premise of this study and the environmental factors that impede and/or facilitate the participation of citizens.

3.14 Role of legislatures

Legislatures have been established to fulfil specific functions, and implicit in these are the responsibility to engage with the citizens. The GPL was established in 1994 in terms of the Constitution as an autonomous institution, empowered to make laws, fulfil an oversight role and to create citizen participation (GPL, 2009/2010).

Saiegh (2005) succinctly summarises the roles played by legislatures as:

> … representative and participatory … by citizens having access to, and input in, the policy-making process through the legislature; there is high degree of interaction between members and citizens; issues are addressed or legislation amended because of public input or pressure; and civil society organisations, advocacy organisations, and/or interest groups are active participants in the legislative process.

In terms of enacting policy, a proactive legislature is one in which the policy formulation and law-making processes are the product of informed decision-making, and legislation is well-thought out and drafted. However, in terms of the South African case, the ANC's discussion document states that "passing legislation has not been the major preoccupation of provincial legislatures, with comparatively little legislation enacted in concurrent and exclusive areas of competence and …provincial governments are mainly receivers of national policy, rather than policymakers" (ANC, 2010a, 9).

In terms of policy implementation, an accountable legislature ensures that laws and government programmes are being implemented fairly and effectively; the national budget is scrutinised and agreed upon; public revenues and expenditures are monitored; and issues of public corruption and mismanagement are addressed. The USAID's Centre for democracy and governance acknowledged that legislatures are "complex and multi-faceted" institutions and proposed three primary roles of legislatures (USAID, 2000, 7). These functions are: representation, law-making and oversight, and are described in the USAID's Handbook on Legislative Strengthening (2000, 7–8) as follows:

> **Representation:** In the South African context, citizens elect representatives to serve for a defined period, and it is through these representatives or the institutions that citizens' interests are implicitly articulated.
>
> **Law-making:** The generally accepted role of legislatures is that of making laws. In practice, these law-making processes originate from canvassed public concern issues that are turned into policy proposals, which are then drafted into formal legislation.
>
> This is formalised through various stages of the legislative process, with formal citizen involvement and opportunity to influence, before these policies are adopted. The GPL has supported 76 NCOP mandates and four provincial laws (GPL, 2009/2010, 129).
>
> **Oversight:** The core premise of this study is that citizen participation and policy-making processes can become exclusionary in terms of the scope of participation and the equal extent of citizens voice. It is thus incumbent on legislatures to oversee the development and implementation of laws and policies to ensure that its actions are transparent, accountable and consistent with the expressed interests of citizens. According to the GPL's annual report their oversight role is operationalised by the directorate parliamentary business, which has provided research, administrative

> support and co-ordination to 235 committee meetings and over 28 House sittings in the 2009/2010 period.

In terms of its oversight role and to illustrate, the annual report records that during the 2009/2010 period the committees adhered to the mainstreaming of public participation in all committees through numerous committees being held in various communities and additional resources being allocated to committees to effect citizen participation (GPL, 2009/2010, 23). In addition to the above-listed functions, the GPL identified citizen participation as one of its functions. The legislature creates opportunities for citizens to interact with lawmakers and often through direct participation in public policy processes. Legislatures' role as 'representative institutions' are to create links between citizens and their government (Kurtz, 1997, 2). The significance of this aspect is captured in a recent discussion document of the ANC (2010b, 9) which makes telling observations about provinces for which:

> passing legislation has not been the major preoccupation of provincial legislatures, with comparatively little legislation enacted in concurrent and exclusive areas of competence and …provincial governments are mainly receivers of national policy, rather than policy makers.

Thus, despite the continued reservations about provinces as a sphere of government, their role as policy-making institutions is secured and this study's focus on the modalities and extent of citizen participation remains relevant. As the study by Murray and Nijzink (2002, 73) has noted, a legislature's diminished law-making stature does not preclude it from having a "significant role to play in the passage of legislation".

A study conducted in 2005 by Saiegh into the role of legislatures in policy-making asked the following questions in relation to law-making, oversight and its performance:

- Are legislators equipped to draft legislation?
- Does the Legislature have professional staff – either partisan or nonpartisan – to assist them in developing legislation?
- Is the staff adequately trained? Does the legislature have adequate information upon which to base decisions?
- Does the legislature have adequate financial resources for carrying out its responsibilities effectively?
- Are legislators willing to exercise the oversight authority they possess?

- Are staff and information resources sufficient for the legislature to exercise effective oversight?
- Do political concerns preclude legislators from utilizing the powers they possess?

The above questions could equally be applicable to this study's focus on the nature of and scope for citizen participation in the GPL. As noted by Saiegh (2005, 4), legislatures' capabilities to adhere to their mandate of law-making, oversight and representing citizen interests are largely dependent on their internal organisational structure. Similarly, De Villiers' (2001) review of public participation in government concluded that the stabilisation of the democracy is facilitated through the oversight and accountability mechanisms that govern legislatures and the participation of citizens in the law-making and policy decision processes. Thus, the legislature is a vital forum in which citizens can engage and have access to law-making and public decision-makers. In sum, the typical role of Legislatures is to represent their respective constituencies, develop and provide input on law and policy-making, and act as a constraint on how the executive exercises its role (World Bank, 2004).

This oversight role is defined as incorporating briefings, public hearings and submissions, and review of governmental documents, ranging from strategic plans, annual reports to budgets; the approval or rejection of pending legislation; and the engagement of the public in all these activities (Open Society Foundation for South Africa, 2006, 2). In the case of the GPL, its oversight role is hampered by the imperatives of party politics, where members "are likely to play a gatekeepers and protectionist role for policies and programmes initiated at national and provincial department level" (Maloka, 2000, 117). Rapoo (2005, 76) adds that:

> provinces are vehicles for realising key democratic values and ideals, such as democratic representation of citizens at sub-national level, popular participation and involvement in processes of government, as well as reflecting the diversity of political interests of regional majorities and minorities in the country.

The above depiction is the core of this thesis, and the crux of the challenges embedded in the GPL's efforts to solidify citizen engagement with the Legislature and its policy-making. The democratic values are particularly strained in the extent to which citizens trust the quality of policy and legislation, and are afforded opportunities to influence and participate

in public policy-making, and what Buccus (2008, 49) refers to as the "process to initiate legislation or bring a matter to the attention of the legislature".

A report by the Open Society Foundation for South Africa (2006, 145) concluded that provincial governments are bureaucratically weak, as a result of "weak amalgamated apartheid institutions". The ANC's own assessment of the role of the legislature came to similar conclusions. These administrative problems manifest themselves in how citizen engagement processes are implemented. For example, the GPL has undertaken various study tours and research projects on participatory governance, but is dogged by the same institutional and administrative challenges that are faced by other legislatures.

3.15 Legal mandate of citizen participation

Citizen participation needs to be entrenched in the principles and the rights of individuals to be informed, consulted and offered opportunities to express their views on public decision-making (Brody, Godschalk & Burby, 2003, 246). Legislation and policies are important enablers of a new governing style and shift from government as the 'cockpit from which society is governed' (Bell & Hindmoor, 2009). The South African legislature's legal mandate is to facilitate processes for citizens to participate in legislation and broader public decision-making through direct interaction with individuals, community-based, non-governmental and other state institutions (Whiting & Salmon, 2010). As De Villiers wrote, such framing of the transformational and democratic intent of participation has been used to assimilate, placate and manipulate citizen voices and social actors (De Villiers, 2001, 24). Initially, there was widespread acknowledgement of the enlightenment of South Africa's constitutional democracy, widely heralded as a success story in some literature (Gaventa, 2005), more so because of its emphasis on participative citizen policy-making. The South African Constitution enshrined public participation as one of the fundamental principles. Conversely, during an electronic exchange De Visser (2011)cautions that:

> our legal history of ultra vires thinking (you do what the law tells you to do - and nothing more/less), turns citizen participation in a chase for compliance rather than a sensible policy-making strategy to improve the quality and legitimacy of decisions.

Hence this thesis' advocating for an analysis of the extent of participation, rather than an assessment of how participation aligns to best practices and adherence to legalistic frameworks. Citizen participation in formulating public policies and decisions were asserted

as a constitutionally enshrined requirement, however, such a rights-based orientation to citizen participation has not eliminated the gap between the stated objective and reality (Gaventa, 2002). Buccus (2008, 49) argues that a rights-based approach or specific rules for engaging with citizens through legislatures "does not by itself guarantee that people will be able to exercise that right". In terms of Section 195 (1) of the Constitution, citizens' "needs must be responded to …and must be encouraged to participate in policy-making"[19], reflecting the tenets of a representative and participatory democracy (Mafunisa & Xaba, 2008, 452).

3.15.1 The Constitution

The South African Constitution states that citizens must have access to and involvement in the provincial legislature through facilitating their involvement in the legislative and other processes of it and its committees, and hold its sittings, and those of its committees. In addition, the Constitution creates the link between public administration and citizens' participation, by stating that in exercise of its administrative duties; government needs to responsive to citizens' needs and create avenues for their effective participation in policy-making (Section 195(1)e, RSA Constitution, 1996). Provincial government and legislatures in particular have a constitutional mandate to pass laws and participate in and influence national legislative processes through the National Council of Provinces (NCOP) (Maloka, 2000, 107). Citizen participation was built around the idea of democratisation and transformation of key institutions of governance, including the legislature (Edigheji, 2007). To this extent, section 195(1) of the Constitution requires all spheres of government to be responsive of the needs of citizens and must be encouraged to participate in policy-making'.Similarly, section 114 stipulates that the provincial legislature may consider, pass, amend or reject any policy before the legislature or initiate or prepare policies (RSA Constitution, 1996). According to Whiting and Salmon, citizen participation refers to a Constitutional mandate to facilitate public involvement in legislative and other processes, conduct parliamentary business in an open manner and to hold plenary and committee sittings in public.

Further, it involves not excluding the public or media from sittings of the House or committees, "unless it is reasonable and justifiable to do so in an open and democratic

19Some argue that this denotes a legislated framework for participation. Close interpretation places no legal obligation on government – beyond mere facilitation, enablement and encouragement of such processes as desirable – but not necessarily a legal injunction.

society". As pointed out by Murray and Nijzink (2002, 4), the Constitution incorporates "accessibility and participation" as core to the principles of citizen participation, fostering "openness and responsiveness". These authors highlight public access to law-making in legislatures as the means through which citizens are given "a voice in provincial government and linking citizens and government" (Murray & Nijzink, 2002, 4).

3.15.2 Gauteng Petitions Act

The GPL enacted a Gauteng Petitions Act as part of creating opportunities for citizens to engage with it through petitioning for their public needs. These petitions are submitted by individuals, associations, a mass group or a collective submission on any complaint or request for intervention, remedy or institution of a particular interest (Gauteng Petitions Act, 2002). This Petitions Act outlines the established standing rules for petitions and the development of a draft petitions Bill that resulted in the Petitions Act of 2002. Section 6(f) prescribes that:

> On a quarterly basis report to the Legislature on the petitions submitted to it during that period and all its activities in respect thereof, including:
>
> (i) The responsiveness, efficiency, and timeousness with which petitions were dealt
>
> (ii) The efficacy of the petitions process and procedures

3.15.3 Synthesis

Baccaro and Papadakis (2009, 259) conceded that the post-1994 "South African legislation is among the most advanced and comprehensive in the world" and, in particular, that it emerged from a participatory policy-making process. Such legislation is challenged in that it employs typical government jargon, with terms such as 'enablement', 'encouragement' and 'facilitation', and, second, it has limited parameters of participation, depicted in words such as 'involvement', 'participation' and 'consultation'. Most studies use the legal framework as a baseline to evaluate citizen participation and the policy guidelines and legislation addressing participation often do not clarify the nature or extent of such participation.

The challenge is that such an approach is potentially constrained by the constrictiveness of the legal definitions and conceptualisations, often framing issues in the language of 'enabling', 'facilitating', and 'creating a facilitative environment'. However, writers such as

Gaventa (2002) continue to argue for a participation and institutional accountability to be grounded in a conception of rights.

3.16 Participation in the Gauteng Provincial Legislature

Although the focus is on the GPL, this chapter supports the generally accepted mandate of legislatures as it has been structured internationally. As part of the institutions responsible for provincial law-making, the GPL has to develop processes and mechanisms to ensure citizens are involved in such decision-making. The GPL has identified "active and effective citizen participation" as one of its core objectives (Maloka, 2000, 116). This, by extension, may mean that the experienced and allowed participation is more akin to receiving citizen proposals than them being afforded decision-making power (Goldfrank, 2010).

On the basis of the scale, range and scope of citizen participation at the GPL, Mafunisa and Maphunye (2005) state that this is a clear indication of an actualised commitment and intention to accommodate citizen involvement in the decision-making process. It should be noted that citizen participation is facilitated through direct participation and through their elected representatives working in provincial legislature portfolio committees and their constituency-based locations. In that sense, the representatives provide an oversight role on behalf of the citizenry. However, citizens' aspirations in public decision-making require a multi-pronged response as legislators' representatives of citizens would not be able exclusively to address such expectations (Mafunisa & Maphunye, 2005, 18). Thus, the various channels and mechanisms used to ensure that citizen voice becomes central to the business of the Legislature are all interlinked and essential components of the overall citizen participation strategies. The remaining question however, is to what extent these mechanisms are enhancing and increasing the policy spaces and opportunities for citizens in the Legislature. To ascertain the scope and extent of citizen engagements in public decision-making, Brody et al. (2003, 246) suggest the following framework:

> **Administration** – development of a participation plan and staffing citizen engagement initiatives;
> **Objectives** – clarification of the purpose, scope and extent of citizen participation
> **Stage** – determination of when such citizen involvement will commence;
> **Targeting** – outlining the types of stakeholders;
> **Techniques** – deciding on the types (mechanisms) of participation techniques that best suit the process and citizen initiatives; and

Information – determining what information and dissemination processes will be integrated in the participation initiatives.

The above guidelines provide a far more robust framework for tailoring citizen participatory practices that reflect the tenets enshrined in the legal frameworks and aligned to the expressed expectations of those who engage with legislatures and that meet the GPL's envisaged purposes with participation. Although Brody, Godschalk and Burby's six critical choices for participation practitioners are not necessarily the official protocol employed by the GPL. The GPL adopted similar guidelines, premised on the legal framework and also best practice models. It annually outlines the intention and its actual achievements regarding citizen participation processes in law-making and oversight.[20]For example, it reported in its 2009/2010 annual report on the following programmes as part of its citizen participation activities: public hearings, petitions, workshops, committees, lobbying, road-shows, and exhibitions, submissions arising from public awareness on the legislature's work, and distribution of relevant information (through brochures and media releases) to the public. The PSC report on public participation in government departments and three Legislatures illustrated that the study's Legislatures use different methodologies to effect public participation (PSC, 2008, 15).

For some these mechanisms are one-dimensional information exchanges between public officials and citizens, from citizens to public officials rather than being truly deliberative dialogues on public policy (Roberts, 2004, 331).

3.17 Synthesis

The purpose of this chapter has been to summarise the key aspects related to citizen participation and in particular those related to the primary question and propositions for this study. Finally, the literature reviewed in this chapter illuminated both the theory and practice of citizen participation in policy-making.

The presented literature indicates that (1) there is universal acceptance and preference for the expression of citizen voice (participation) in governing public decisions, and (2) there are numerous levels of participation, typologies of participation mechanisms (ranging in breadth and depth), a continuum of 'participation' (communication, consultation and

[20]The 2009/10 annual report is again congratulatory of the GPL's achievements in this regard. Unfortunately, the manner in which PP is envisioned speaks to the anomalies that this study intends to explore – it defines (as described in this report) public participation as 'involvement'.

participation) and characteristics that affect the quality of participation. What has been presented is a wide-ranging idea of the literature in relation to the ambivalence with which critical voices regard citizen participation. In this chapter citizen participation was reviewed by exploring its interrelated aspects that impact and play a facilitative role in expanding opportunities for citizens to engage with public policy issues. There is an ongoing debate on participation and positioning aspects such as: historical perspectives, models, evaluation, participation mechanism, role of public officials, types of participation; and definitions have a bearing on the conclusions and findings of this study. Positioning the literature in the presented manner is an important focal point to address Rowe and Frewer's (2005) assertion "that imprecise conceptualisations of public participation hampers the pursuance of research and militate against the implementation of acceptable participation practices". The second part of this chapter was dedicated to locating the role of participation in legislative settings. Since the focus is on understanding citizen voice in the GPL, the latter part of this chapter outlined the institutional and legal frameworks and the Legislature's implementation of citizen participation. This literature review was specific in order to locate the study's purpose and ensure that the analysis is mindful of the contextual and institutional complexities. What follows is an integration and application of the broad literature on citizen participation with the theoretical analytical framework.

CHAPTER 4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter highlighted and positioned the literature regarding citizen participation to clarify definitional and typology aspects of the mechanisms employed to report on the nature and extent of citizen participation.This chapter uses two distinct policy-making theories to explain the complexities of participatory policy-making, and explore these two theories to reflect the dynamic features of participation and, inter alia, the interactions of competing interests and coalitions. The chapter facilitates understandings of how subsystems, beliefs and the political impacts on the GPL's attempts to increase the extent of citizen voice. The major reason for such a discussion is that explanations for the challenges and successful implementation of participation in the legislative and governance processes are often ascribed to variables and practices that do not equate to improved participation. It is judged crucial to offer a nuanced assessment of the reasons for the failures, successes and challenges for citizen voice to be expressed in the public decision-making. The primary aim of this chapter is then to explore the circumstances and motivations that lead to policy decisions on the basis of two policy theories, which examine various causal factors that influence participative policy-making – such as in the case of the GPL. The implementation of direct citizen participation is often the responsibility of public officials (Roberts, 2004, 317) and is impacted on by "multiple sources of causation" (John, 2003, 483). In the case of citizen engagement with public policy these models need to explain the often complex and dynamic of policy networks.

4.2 Reasons for selecting Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) and Multiple Streams Theory (MST)

Building on existing literature on the context within which participation operates is central to analysing participatory governance. These contexts "exert a background influence, which can drive the policy-making and implementation processes" (John, 2003, 495). Because of the fluidity of these environments and contexts, theories represent a "body or system of propositions" that indicate the potential causal relations linking various aspects of participation from the perspective of the social, economic, and political worlds (John, 2003, 482). The ACF in tandem with Kingdon's work on multiple streams is used to understand

the extent and scope of participation, the mechanisms, and the outcomes of participatory policy-making. It is necessary to conduct a political analysis of the context (Creech & Willard, 2008, 27) within which participation is practiced. The Multiple Streams Theory (MST) and the Advocacy Coalitions Framework (ACF) are credible theories that provide a useful lens and underscores citizen empowerment in government decision-making as political constructs.The ACF and the MST outline how citizen participation is interlinked with the environment and contexts of its institutional location, the political environment, political parties' mandates and its purpose.

Kingdon's work *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies* envisions policy change as the consequence of the convergence of the policy, politics and problem streams (Sharpe, 2005), whereas Roberts (2004) advocates that such theories are limited in assessing citizen participation, first, by "the complexity of the topic"; second, the myriad of individual, group and institutional variables; and third, by the contextual factors. The implication here is that one requires objective theoretical paradigms within which citizen participation can be analysed. The application of any particular framework in policy contexts does not necessarily equate to theory, but these models assist with the identification of a range of causal processes and often may not be explainable by just one theoretical framework (John, 2003, 487).

For this reason, the ACF and MST are used collectively to test the validity of this study's propositions, questions and general assumptive premises. Furthermore, the ACF and MST as theoretical frameworks may differ in "their applicability; but the linkages are the prospects to generalise" (John, 2003, 482), using propositions informed by literature and guided by the ACF and MST.

Notwithstanding the criticism, theories such as the ACF and the MST are especially useful in making sense of general situations or problems, in particular creating rules, which structure the lenses through which to analyse the policy process and its application to real-world situations. The streams and the ACF are not dissimilar in how they conceive of individual and institutional actors and the conceptualisation of policy as an iterative process (Sharpe, 2005, 228). On the other hand, the ACF and MST vary in that the streams theory acknowledges the prospect of change while the ACF explores the mechanisms that lead to policy change. For example, the conventional mode of analyses of participation focuses on reviewing the institutions, structures, mechanisms and systems as the assumed identification of the root cause. This misaligned analysis and/or review of the causalities of the nature and

extent of participation were discussed in the literature review chapter (chapter 3). Given the preceding context, the primary purpose of this chapter is to explore the key aspects of the selected policy theories, position the context of the primary and secondary research questions and align it with the appropriate theories.

Within the context of analysing citizen participation in an institutional context, the case can be made for increased use of theoretical models. Naidu (2008, 83) found that:

> The challenge for South Africa is not to create new institutions to promote public participation, but instead to question this concept critically in order to determine its true nature and intent as well as to examine the reality of the implementation of public participation. Only then will we understand the true intentions and how they are translated into reality for the majority of South Africans today.

This is particularly relevant as participatory policy-making crosscuts many aspects of politics with the ever-changing ideological standpoints, shifting and contested power dynamics as a defining characteristic of these engagements. How, when and to what extent citizens participate in the provincial policy-making have undergone a major shift, and this reconfigured governance model necessitated the incorporation of all citizens.

The selected theoretical frameworks recognise the centrality of understanding the interwoven streams of policy, politics and problems, and stakeholders' predispositions (beliefs and values). In sum, citizen participation occurs in what Marais, Everatt and Dube (2007, 55) refer to as: "a highly politicised context", maintaining that its analysis should be informed by its environment. In the case of the GPL, communities are encouraged to participate in the activities of the Legislature as part of the notion of a people-driven democracy. However, it is important to recognise that neither the public forums nor the participants are homogenous entities but rather are often driven by competing interests, which are either facilitated or mediated by the formalisation of these participatory institutional settings.

This relates to two aspects, first, that citizens have a more sophisticated understanding of the constraints and prospects faced by government; and second, that citizens indeed understand the institutional limitations, conflicts and compromised decision-making embedded in deliberative forums.

Policy changes are generally regarded as the consequence of six interrelated factors, described by Brinkerhoff et al. (2002, 18-21) as:

- The result of stimulation or forces outside of government, which can be 'powerful blocks' to whom the policy interlocutors owe an allegiance, e.g. policy directives emanating from political party conferences;
- The highly political nature of decisions to change policy;
- Relative inexperience of those in government[21];
- Lack of or limited resources;
- Inability to adapt and incorporate new policy mandates; and
- The dominance of the policy process by technocrats.

The above six factors are relevant but complex, and are often cited as the overarching reference points for explaining why policies change and/or why some are not adopted.

To increase the levels of clarity in understanding citizen engagement in the policy-making terrain a combination of the MST and the ACF creates the framework for the "disaggregation of the complex and varied policy process into manageable segments" (Jenkins-Smith & Sabatier, 1994, 177).

4.3 Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF)

According to Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, in their 1993 text *Policy Change and Learning* (1994, 175), an advocacy coalition approach offered a theory that proved a more "conceptually integrated" and empirically driven analysis of what influences policy, what makes the policy process work and what leads to policy change through citizen participation.

4.3.1 ACF overview and analysis

The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) has been applied to various case study policy decisions and policy processes, through which it was clarified, adapted and certain aspects re-explored in subsequent case studies and broader analyses (see for instance, Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1999; Fenger & Klok 2001; Sabatier & Weible, 2007; Beverwijk, Goedegebuure & Huisman, 2008). While this is not a review of the ACF, these studies are referred to as additional argumentation in the analysis section and captured in the

[21]Heller's (2001) case studies also refer to the issue of state capacity.

contextualisation of the ACF in relation to the GPL. Beverwijk, Goedegebuure and Huisman (2008, 357) contend that the ACF has proven to be a valuable theory to explain policy change. In contrast, these authors refer to other researchers who have found the ACF limiting in its neglect of its various dimensions, such as definitions of the key variables and their operationalisation, and its applicability to various contexts (Beverwijk, Goedegebuure & Huisman, 2008, 358). This study focuses on the original postulations of the ACF and acknowledges that any theory has limitations in how it interprets competing advocacy coalitions within multiple subsystems (e.g., political parties, civil society, the media, and different spheres of government).

For instance, the Mafunisa and Maphunye (2005) study reflects how various civil society actors present and advocate their particular stakeholder (coalition) interests (this impression may be as a result of how the report was written, the intended aim of these civil society actors or the manner in which the questions were posed), vis-à-vis the broader interests of civil society as a collective. Evident from the analyses of the GPL documentation, reports and the literature is that the policy position of policy coalitions is dependent on the considering of the realities of winning a particular policy issue, which may destabilise certain coalitions.

This may be contrary to Jenkins-Smith and Sabatier's assertion that the policy core of advocacy coalitions is resistant to change. To this end, the integration of the ACF and MST of Kingdon becomes integral to augmenting the weaknesses in these respective theories. Fenger and Klok (2001, 157) have concluded that the ACF is one of the "most significant theories of policy processes" for the analysis of policy changes.[22]Criticisms notwithstanding, the ACF is one of the most widely cited and promising theoretical perspectives to expand on the limitations of the conventional policy stages approach. Fenger and Klok (2001) found the ACF's exclusive focus on the structure, content and stability of the policy coalition's belief systems problematic. However, it does offer a structured approach to reading how various stakeholders interact around specific policy issues. Furthermore, the applicability of the ACF developed by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith has been tested in both developed and developing countries and across various policy domains (Beverwijk, Goedegebuure & Huisman, 2008, 358). The Advocacy Coalition Framework has four premises, namely that (Jenkins-Smith & Sabatier, 1994, 178):

[22]They made an analytical review of the usefulness of the advocacy coalition framework as a theory to explain beliefs, interdependency and coalition behaviour.

(1) making sense of the process of policy change requires a time perspective of a decade or more;

(2) the most useful way to think about policy change is through a focus on policy subsystems, that it is the interaction of actors representing different interests and organisations which seek to influence, public decisions in a legislative arena;

(3) these subsystems are inconclusive of various levels of government; and

(4) public policies (or programmes) can be conceived of as similar to belief systems, that is as sets of value priorities and causal assumptions related to these public decisions.

These authors describe policy-making as constrained by societal, legal and resource aspects within which these policies operate. As illustrated inFigure 4.1, the ACF advances the notion that core to policy changes are what can be called 'advocacy coalitions', fashioned around a set of core beliefs and values about society and the policy problem. These core beliefs (later referred to as ideological and theoretical beliefs) influence how coalitions of subsystems exchange information, experiences and policy preferences, within and through a network of inter-governmental relations.

The figure provides a graphical depiction of how the ACF envisages policy changes. Relating this to the GPL, the past two reviews of participation and decision-making in the GPL are clearly only starting to add significant value to participatory policy-making as realigning the social system and institutionalising citizen participation in decision-making. In terms of the second premise of the ACF, the GPL is custodian of multiple interests and many processes, enacted to ensure public input into the work of the Legislature.

This role is hampered by policies still being dominated by the executive, especially the committees, where policy decisions become constrained by the imperatives of party politics (Rapoo, 2000, 117), and not necessarily premised on what is in the best interests of either the province or citizens. Another layer of the GPL's policy subsystem is the way the opposition political parties intervene in policy dialogues representative of constituents' policy interests.

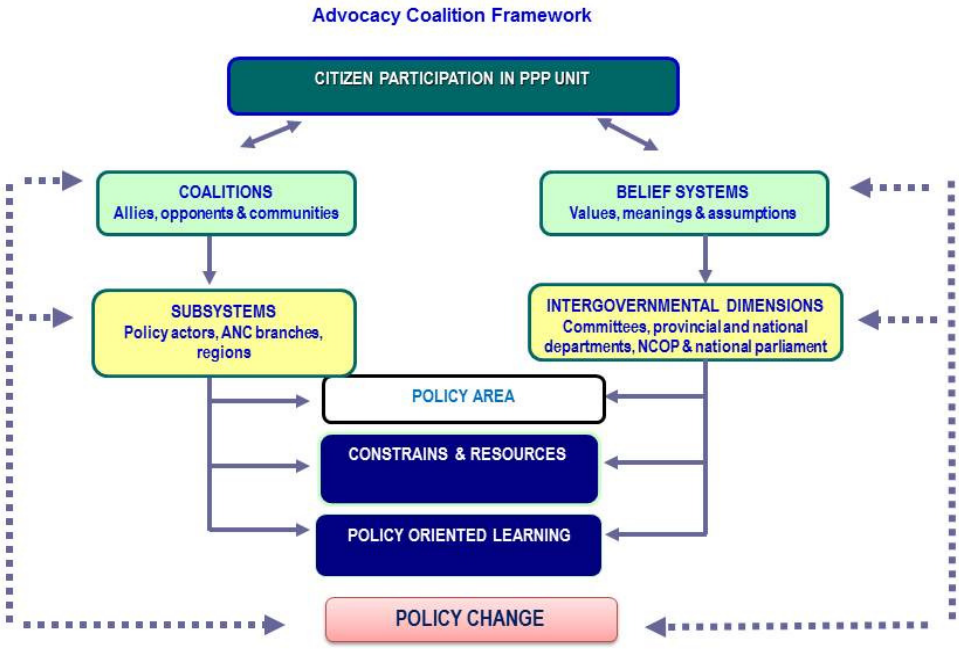


Figure 4.1: Adapted Advocacy Coalitions Framework

Source: Jenkins-Smith & Sabatier, 1994

4.3.2 Subsystems

Policy subsystems are broadly conceptualised as legislative committees, interest groups at all levels of government, business, organised labour, civil society, journalists, researchers, and policy analysts crucial to the development, dissemination, and evaluation of public decision-making (Jenkins-Smith & Sabatier, 1994, 179). Presumably, the ANC has to be cognizant of policy preferences and ideas of the 'dominant' or more 'powerful' (during election periods) branches and regions, the national parliamentary prerogatives and the national mood. Creech and Willard interpret the ACF's core beliefs as comprising the coalition's fundamental orientation "towards the world which form the basis for beliefs about problems and a favoured programme of interventions in the particular policy fields" (2008, 6) (see the discussion under MST, referring to the ANC's National General Council discussion document). At the heart of the ACF is the notion that policies are sensitive to shifts in the "non-cognitive factors external to the subsystem" (Jenkins-Smith & Sabatier, 1994, 183), such as uncertainties of the policy role of legislatures, the rise of a new governing coalition and turnover in staff (Jenkins-Smith & Sabatier, 1994, 183). Jenkins-Smith and Sabatier (1993, 20) distinguish between stable and dynamic externalities that interlink with different subsystems and the broader political contexts.

The validity of the three propositions (drawn from the literature and particularly the ACF) is explored and the outcomes described under the analysis section (see Chapters 5 and 6). This is the principal reason the ACF has been adopted as the basis for this study. The basic argument of the ACF is that policy-oriented learning is an important aspect of policy change.

4.3.3 Belief systems

At the centre of the ACF is the notion of "value priorities, perceptions of important causal relationships", perceptions of the role of citizens, the centrality of the governing party, and perceptions of the efficacy of citizen involvement in participatory governance (Jenkins-Smith & Sabatier, 1994, 180). These belief systems between coalition members are formulated and maintained by virtue of the interdependencies between actors (Fenger & Klok, 2001, 159), giving rise to the question: why would citizens continue to participate in the GPL, despite their policy preferences and/or service delivery not being directly accommodated?

Moreover, the question arises as to how one explains the impact of civil society (such as the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) that disengaged from the GPL? The addition by Fenger and Klok (2001) of interdependencies to the ACF provides significant insights into explaining the behaviour of the continued participation in the GPL by certain sections of the community (and/or civil society). Contrary to Fenger and Klok's perspective, it is argued that through the GPL citizens are given direct access to resources and/or to those with the direct access to them, which serve their respective interests. Those participating in the GPL, may have divergent or congruent aims and beliefs, but do not necessarily agree or disagree with one another (Fenger & Klok, 2001, 163) on the means of engagement.

In this regard, citizens participate to gain access and exercise responsible citizenship, and by so doing support institutions of governance, while the PPP Unit gains through keeping their mandate of citizen input in public decisions. Whereas Fenger and Klok (2001, 162) regard the access to and acquisition of resources as a conflictual and zero-sum competition, or as they put it "competitive interdependencies", it may be that citizens have found ways to appropriate what Bowler, Donovan and Karp (2007, 353) refer to as "profound dissatisfaction with the performance of institutions like the PPP Unit".

This scenario creates a co-dependency to and access, power or proximity to power and resources which could be reminiscent of Fenger and Klok's "symbiotic interdependencies".

The ACF uses belief systems instead of interests, as beliefs are more inclusive and verifiable, with beliefs representative of individual self-interest and organisational interests (Sabatier, 1993, 28). The belief systems of coalitions (political party, civil society, media, research agencies, government) will strive to employ public policies as vehicles to effect their beliefs and ideologies (see discussion under MST), which direct and determine the goals for the administration. Whereas an argument is made elsewhere that public officials' political affiliation may affect the particular processes and outcomes of citizen participation, Jenkins-Smith and Sabatier (1994, 188) contend that "official stances or statements of political appointees may not reflect the positions of those civil servants whose opinion counts". A specific proposition has been developed to examine the role of public officials and how their role may impact participation. Akin to Sabatier's (1993, 28) approach, the questionnaire and content analyses were used to ascertain 'belief systems' and examine them in relation to how they support or hinder citizen's participation. In addition, a discussion on the role of public officials' role in participatory practices is outlined in Chapter 3.

In terms of changes in the belief system in the policy, core aspects of a governmental programme are usually the results of perturbations in the non-cognitive factors external to the subsystem, such as the ascendancy of the ANC Youth League, (and the Legislature feeling beholden to policy positions advanced by this formation), or the rise of a new power block within the ruling party coalitions (Jenkins-Smith & Sabatier, 1994, 183). An earlier discussion on coalitions and their belief systems illustrates that (Sabatier, 1993, 28):

> Coalition stability could be the result not of stable beliefs but rather of stable economic and organisational interests. …belief systems are normally highly correlated with self-interest and the causation is reciprocal.

4.4 Multiple Streams Theory

This research integrated Kingdon's policy streams approach and the ACF, which will serve as the frameworks for analysing law-making, citizen participation and why policies change despite citizen preferences.

Kingdon (1984) developed a helpful lens for thinking about how legislation is placed or eliminated from the agenda or how certain preferences are 'crowded out' (Puentes-Markides, 2007). Kingdon's three-part 'streams' of the policy process are: the problem

stream what is happening, the policy stream what can we do about it and the political stream 'is it worth attending to this?' (cited by Colebatch, 2009, 7-8). The value of the multiple streams lies in what Burstein (1991) refers to as 'interest politics' of politicians, stakeholders and officials whose relationships are socially constructed and subject to manipulation. The PPP unit manager reports to an executive director, directly accountable to MPLs, whose main interest is how this legislation will meet the mandate of the party and/or their constituency, but not necessarily what is best for citizens. The relevance of Kingdon's model of agenda streams is that it brings together "how problems, policies and politics intertwine to bring about policy windows which networks should seek to construct and to take advantage of" (Willard and Creech, 2008, 9). In the case of the GPL, public officials execute their duties consciously aware of the competing interests of political office-bearers, citizens and the institutional administrative management. This often blurs the constitutional structures (legislatures) and the mandate to effect citizen involvement, with the political feasibility of normally rational decisions real and assumed power and the relative entrenchment of the governing party.

There is evidence (see discussion in Chapters 5 and 6) that in line with Kingdon's political stream, law-making at provincial level is guided and influenced by the politics of the party and politicians operating within the political environment. Instead of being a hindrance to participation and/or policy-making, Kingdon's MST notes that it is in such environments that participants, referred to as 'policy entrepreneurs', exploit these 'windows of opportunity' to act as brokers between the different groups and their discourses, and so enable issues to move from one stream to another (Colebatch, 2009, 8).

In this instance there was a window of opportunity for citizens, however such engagements were negated by earlier decisions by the GPL executive, to transfer provincial land, prerogative and decisions to the national department of transport and its roads agency (SANRAL). Through direct observation of the public participation meeting, it was noted that although legitimate concerns were tabled, the actual participation process was a mere listening and information sharing exercise. In particular as the consultation process occurred after provincial and national executive decisions was implemented and the actual power to rescind the Gauteng freeway e-tolling system's implementation was subject to national government (and not GPL) revoking their plans and finding alternative funds to bankroll the already undertaken roads infrastructure expansions in the 2009/2010 periods.

Indeed, policy-making is a complex process governed by internal and external socio-political forces with varying degrees of power (Cloete & Meyer, 2006, 112). The micro-dynamics of how the streams of policy, problem and politics interface in the GPL are summarised in Figure 4.2. While the depiction of these streams suggests that they operate independently of each other, they are often interlinked at various stages of the participation process. In addition, it may occur that only some of these streams impact on participation and on the outcome of policy decisions. As such, these streams interact with each other and drive participation and the specific policy outcomes collectively, even though some of these may have a more significant influence than others.

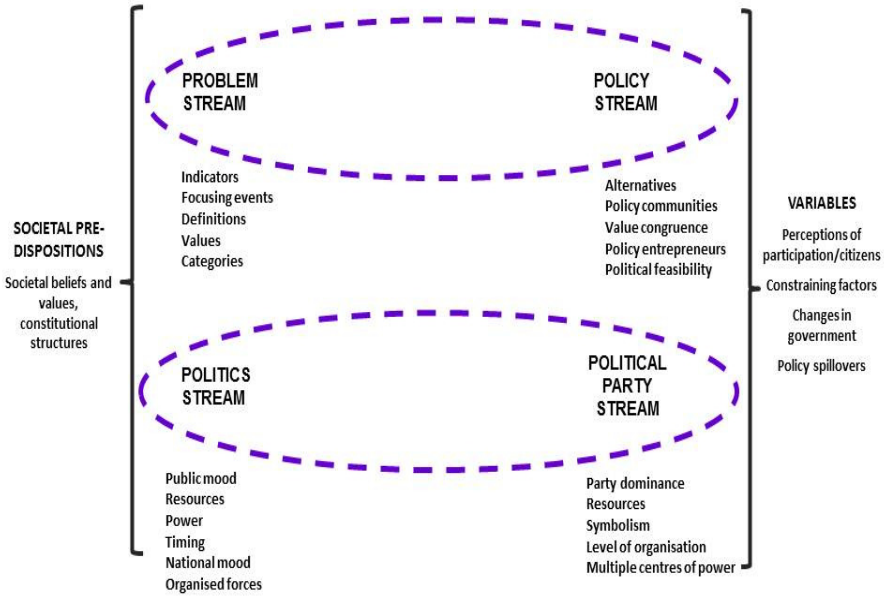


Figure 4.2: Multiple Streams Theory

Source: Adapted from John Kingdon, 1984; Puentes-Markides, 2007

The ACF and Kingdon's MST provide the framework for answering the questions of how to explain the activities which produce a legislative outcome and the manner in which the political environment impacts on policy-making and citizen participation. According to Mafunisa and Maphunye (2005), the processes leading to the enactment of the Gauteng provincial Liquor Act resulted in the broad stakeholders being left out from the consultative engagements. Figure 4.2 presents a general outline of the MST. For the purposes of this study, a fourth stream has been added, which represents how law-making is often the outcome of perturbations at party political level.

The dotted lines in the figure designate that these streams interact interchangeably on the policy issue, with the stakeholders and the institutions that eventuate in a public decision. Cohen-Vogel and McLendon (2009) make the point that, viewed through the lens of multiple streams theory (MST) thinking, the problem, eventual policy and politics 'surge' simultaneously.

As depicted in Figure 4.2, the MST suggests that the "problem stream consists of those conditions which policy-makers have chosen to interpret as problems". The manner in which the policy, problem, solutions and political party stream converge is illustrated in the ANC's National General Council (2010a, 5) discussion document on the transformation of state and governance:

> Legislatures are the arena in which the battle of ideas must take place between the political parties. Legislatures by definition are a forum of debate and of engagement. The battle of ideas and the contestation of ideas is a reflection of a deeper struggle for the correct ideological and theoretical direction that the State must be driven, to realize the expressed interests of the people especially the poor. This means that an activist legislature driven by the ANC must prepare for the battle of ideas and be adequately equipped to do so by the ANC.

The identification of the broad public agenda, roles and legislatures as critical spaces to engage with citizens and the state's development trajectory are central to the specific problems that are included in the policy agenda, as a result of the protestations of various actors and the aligned ideological and theoretical models of the ANC (and often translated into government mandates).

According to Kingdon (1984, 187), the confluence of the three streams of problems, policies, and politics correlate directly with any policy issue being placed on the decision agenda (those issues that are considered as critical to be decided upon) and governmental agenda (the list of issues finding their way onto the Legislature's agenda) (Kingdon, 1984). It is argued, therefore, that certain policies move onto the agendas of governments and the public, but may not be adopted as policy, as a the result of the confluence of at least two of the streams (Creech & Willard, 2008, 11). The cumulative effect is that policy stakeholders are to be regarded as integrated networks; operating on a political terrain through which different coalitions "fight it out" (John, 2003, 490). This jostling for ideological debate and engagement evidenced in discussions on the terms and tenets of a development state,

participation, the role of citizens in public management and the like is a common feature of democratic politics.

Such political interactions are indicative of the conception of politics as the struggle for (Bastian & Luckham, 2003, 19):

> power or access to collective goods (resources to implement policies that speaks to party and constituency interests) and as such not all forms of politics are democratic, even inside these formal institutionalised settings enacted to effect citizen involvement.

In the extreme, citizens expecting engagement with policy are often caught in and between this fleeting 'ideological and theoretical' contestation. Fung (2003, 340) refers to citizen participation as projects of political construction. In their report on public participation in the Gauteng Provincial Legislature (GPL) Mafunisa and Maphunye (2005) recorded some citizens expressing the view that participation has not been sufficiently participative, genuinely empowering or expansive in terms of their expectations. Thus, in spite of the rhetoric of citizen power in decision-making, the reality indicates that citizens do not necessarily have the power to decide, nor operate in an unrestricted environment to enforce their policy preferences.

4.5 Conclusions

Throughout this chapter the theoretical framework was applied to the GPL and reviewed on the basis of these theories. In this chapter the extent and nature of participation located within the institutional, socio-political and stakeholder contexts were analysed on the basis of two well-known theoretical frameworks. The chapter highlighted the interplay between the political environment and how participation is conceived, as well as the ambiguity with and the social, economic and political bias concerning who and how citizens participate. Thus, this chapter recognises that citizen participation is enmeshed in the prevailing socio-political, stakeholder and policy agendas. As such the ACF and the MST offered plausible frameworks for the analysis of the nature and scope for citizen voice as the outflow of politics, beliefs and subsystems and how these aspects informs policy decisions, and political party and stakeholder policy preferences. Finally, the ACF and the MST provide a more nuanced interpretation of why efforts to shift from citizen involvement (consultation) and legitimating of policy outcomes to the expression of citizen voice in actual policies, and citizens fail having decision-making power.

CHAPTER 5 STUDY FINDINGS OF CITIZEN VOICE IN THE GPL

5.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present the empirical research findings from the application of the theoretical frameworks and the review of the Gauteng Provincial Legislature (GPL) through lens of the applicable literature.

A number of South African dissertation and government review studies on participation has labelled the Gauteng Provincial Legislature (GPL) practices as thought leadership and best practice regarding public participation and petitions (Pigou, et al. 1999; Mafunisa, et al. 2005; Rapoo, 2005; Mafunisa & Xaba, 2008) Understanding the depth and breadth of citizen voice from a literature and theoretical basis have specific relevance to practitioners and policy-makers. Chapters 3 and 4, synthesising the extensive literature in the field, focused on the role of participation in policy-making, outlined the socio-political environmental influences, the legal framework, institutional guidelines, definitional aspects and processes that underlie the interaction of Gauteng citizens with the GPL. The GPL is used as the case study on the extent of citizen participation, which centres on three particular aspects: the role of public officials; the potential influence of the political environment, politics and political party; and definitional aspects pertaining to the meaning, purpose and intended outcomes of citizen participation (chapter 1, 1.5 and 1.7). This chapter presents the findings and assesses the prospects of citizen participation in the GPL. The arguments in this chapter are based on the reviewed literature, comparable case studies, studies on participation in the GPL's findings and interviews.

5.2 Review of the study objectives

This study used the Advocacy Coalitions Framework (ACF) and the Multiple Streams Theory (MST), to explore the following questions:

- What is the extent of citizen participation in policy-making in the GPL?
- Is there a linkage between citizens' expectations of their involvement in policy-making processes and the scope provided for such participation in the GPL?

- What is the possible influence of public officials on the nature and extent of citizen engagement in policy-making in the GPL?
- What is the general conception of citizen participation in the GPL?
- How is citizen participation in policy-making organised in the GPL?

5.2.1 Extent of citizen involvement in legislation making and petitions

Despite the fact that public participation has received significant attention in the GPL (GPL, 2012) as reported in the rest of this chapter – suggests that citizens' initial policy preferences are not incorporated in final policy documents. This then challenges the extent to which public participation serves citizen expectations and whether citizen engagement is merely about consultation or about empowered decision-making. The review undertaken by Mafunisa and Maphunye (2005) and the research by Pigou et al., 1999, on the initial Public Participation and Petitions Office of the Gauteng Legislature confirms that the GPL need to expand its public engagements to give effect to meaningful participation.

The GPL established the Public Participation and Petitions (PPP) Unit, with the mandate of involving the citizens of the province in the governance processes. The PPP Unit offers participation in public policy-making, reducing the transactional and process costs (Fu-Feng, 2009). Through it, citizens participate directly and/or through civil society formations or their political party representations as a mechanism to channel the collective views of citizens to shape and influence government policy (Panyarachun, 2008, 7). For instance, the GPL's provincial secretary has listed citizen participation in public decision-making processes as the cornerstone of the GPL's mandate. According to a PPP Unit staff member, citizens are afforded opportunities to "raise policy issues" which lead to proposed policy frameworks (interview with Petitions Officer). As an example the 2010/2011 GPL annual report states that:

> … the Committee of Health and Social Development implemented the Bua le Sechaba listening campaign in Sedibeng where the concerns of people on matters of health were heard. Local authorities and health officials were held to account to the people on the quality of services rendered and health facilities such as hospitals and clinics were visited by the Committee for on-site monitoring service delivery.

One interviewee explicitly indicated that what is practiced in the GPL is not participation but involvement. Furthermore, the interview research revealed (Sambu & Lottering interviews) that the newly adopted public participation strategy acknowledged this gap and

was initially developed to remedy the limitations of participation. It is the responsibility of the PPP Unit to "design and implement processes that permit those voices to be heard and taken seriously" (Mafunisa & Xaba, 2008, 453). With the conception of provincial government, Legislatures created public participation and communication units to facilitate engagement with citizens through "public education workshops and promotional material" (Buccus, 2008, 51). The attempts by the PPP Unit to document these processes have gone through much iteration and culminated in a specific Petitions Act. The PPP Unit falls under the office of the executive director for core business, with the directorates' information and knowledge management (documents and services, *Hansard* communications, public participation and communications), parliamentary business (NCOP),[23] legal and research services, committees and proceedings.

What follows is a descriptive analysis of the annual report (2009/2010) of the GPL in relation to public participation as reflected in various subsequent reports. This annual report is selected as it represents the totality of work done in this area of citizen engagement and also because it was reported in an expansive manner in this report. The heart of the Core Business Directorate mandate is to ensure alignment between the GPL's vision, mission and strategic objectives and its functions of oversight, law-making and public participation (GPL, 2009/2010). In relation to citizen participation, the Core Business Directorate (amongst the other 17) has as its strategic objectives to "renew citizen and stakeholder participation as part of committee work creates a space for public involvement in the legislative governance processes" (GPL, 2009/2010, 124).

The GPL has developed a number of initiatives to engage and empower citizens to participate in the work of the GPL. Table 5.1shows a summary of the initiatives during 2009–2010 by the GPL to effect citizen participation.

[23]The National Council of Provinces is made up of delegations from the nine respective provinces.

Table 5.1: The GPLs sub-programme activities for the period 2009/2010

GPL Programme Intent	Output	Target (with actual in brackets)	Outcome and impact
Informing public on legislative processes	Public participation workshops	Public participation workshops (121)	Gauteng citizens are well-informed of GPL processes
	Budget process workshops	Budget process workshops (40) and regional budget workshops (6)	
	Briefing sessions on legislative processes Road shows		
Enhanced public participation in decision-making in GPL	People's assembly Women's parliament Youth parliament	Preparatory workshops (2) and the main event	Enhanced profile of the GPL
Enhanced participation of organised stakeholders in GPL processes	Stakeholder relations sessions	Quarterly stakeholder relations sessions between committees and stakeholders (five)	Improved relations with stakeholders
Effective resolution of petitions	Increased processing of petitions	Resolution of 80% of received petitions (80% resolved)	Enhanced public participation in legislative processes

Source: GPL, annual report, 2009/2010

The above GPL annual enumerative report indicates what the GPL regards as its efforts to engage with citizens. The nature of participatory efforts involves various stakeholders, and their expectations with regard to purpose and outcomes. The PPP Unit forms part of a directorate that includes public relations, advertising, media, internal communications and electronic communications. The PPP Unit is responsible for coordinating activities related to citizen participation ranging from:

- Receiving and processing of petitions (written and through the PPP Unit's e-petitions system);
- Development of citizen skills development materials and information about legislation and legislative processes – and participation mechanisms; and

- Provision of capacity and information exchange sessions for citizens and stakeholders through which they are educated on how to submit petitions and participate in public decision-making in the GPL (GPL 2012). The core role of the PPP Unit is to administer and coordinate citizen participation through public hearings, education workshops, citizen surveys, participation in committees, and petitions process through the establishment of clear procedures for implementing the standing rules. In addition, the PPP Unit is responsible for reviewing, disseminating and implementing strategic assessments of public participation initiatives. In the case of the GPL, its self-awareness and independent authority (USAID, 2000, 7) prompts it to effect citizen participation as much more than consultation and ratification. In Chapter 3, White (1996) and Arnstein's (1969) typology of citizen participation was outlined and what follows is the application of these two frameworks in relation to the practices of the GPL. The mapping of White's, Arnstein's and the IAP2's participation continuum was plotted based on the information sourced from the GPL documentation and practices. Table 5.2frames the particular practices in the GPL, with the subsequent columns reflecting the typology on a continuum according to three perspectives.

Table 5.2: Continuum of citizen participation in the GPL

	Typical activities used to enact citizen participation	International Association for Public Participation (IAP2)	White Typology	Arnstein's Typology
1	Departmental awards and premier's service excellence awards	Involve	Instrumental	Therapy
2	Izimbizo, community awareness day and other outreach and public communication and consultation programmes	Inform/Empower	Nominal	Informing
3	E-governance and Gauteng provincial government portal	Involve	Instrumental	Informing
4	Community Development Workers' Programme	Collaborate	Transformative	Partnership
5	Provincial government services database, services directories, exhibitions and other information products and mechanisms	Inform	Instrumental	Informing
6	Anti-corruption campaign	Involve	Nominal	Partnership

7	Africa Public Service Day	Inform	Nominal	Therapy

Source: PSC, 2008

In the case of the PPP Unit participation is in the main delivered through information and briefing sessions, capacity workshops, community meetings, stakeholder relations meetings, road shows, petitions, public hearings (GPL, 2009/2010, 149).

5.2.2 Findings from the literature on citizen participation

Chapter 3 argued that the fundamental challenge with participation studies is that they conflate various mechanisms and their efficacy to enhance participation. In addition, these studies regard citizen involvement, consultative events, information exchanges, media campaigns and public hearings as participation. Much of the analysed research presumes that participation is a "rational altruistic and ideological" construct that can be explained without an analysis of the impact of a complex political environment and the pursuance of coalitions' political self-interest (Crow, 2009, 5).[24] Furthermore, that micro- level managerialist intervention (Stout, 2010, 47) offers little to alter the unequal power dynamics, access to resources or capabilities to participate fully. Central to this thesis is the argument that citizen participation in policy-making has not given adequate expression to their interests, and as Friedman (2006) argues "participation mechanisms do not enhance participatory governance".[25] This then challenges the extent to which public participation serves citizen expectations and whether citizen engagement is merely about consultation or about empowered decision-making. Similar to the GPL experience, Brabham's (2009, 244) study of the use of crowdsourcing (participation) through web-based technologies found that as much as there is a credible case for the benefits of participation, some literature refutes and challenges "these broad, rosy promises of public involvement, citing public participation failures based on specific cases and long-range studies". This then challenges the extent to which public participation serves citizen expectations and whether their engagement is merely about consultation or about empowered decision-making.

Further, this report holds that interpreting the participation of citizens in public policy-making as devoid of politics ignores its overt and covert implications in the decisions regarding the scope and extent of such participation. The conceptualisation of policy and governance will have diminished applicability and usefulness unless specifically located in the political, and the level to which politics has shaped the governed and the government.

[24] A study that focused on the responsiveness of public officials and its link to engaged citizens.
[25] Booysen (2009) contends that participation has not been 'deepened'

5.2.3 Findings from GPL reports

Whereas the GPL is one of the early adopters of citizen participation, it still states that it is busy revising its public participation strategy and finding additional mechanisms for engaging with the public. The speaker of the GPL indicated that a key mandate for the current term would be to redefine the mainstreaming of public participation (GPL, 2009/2010, 11). The GPL annual report (2009/2010) and the Mafunisa & Maphunye (2005 report are reminiscent of the flawed approach of fixing the range and sequencing of the techniques (mechanisms) to effect participation. As this chapter suggests, significant effort should be devoted to clarification of the purpose and definitional aspects of citizen participation. However, as with previous institutional reviews they are incorrectly built onto each other, framing the problem as associated with a lack of extensiveness of the mechanisms employed to effect participation rather than interrogate its foundation and characterisation. Marais (2011, 459) argues that these revised schemes are mere tinkering with the existing structures or a repeat of bureaucratic ritual. In sum, attempts to focus on techniques or increased mechanisms without clarification of purpose, especially if there is no intention to transfer power to citizens, will result in dissatisfaction and perpetuate existing trends of nonparticipation and tokenism (Stout, 2010, 54). However, the GPL implemented these mechanisms and processes aimed at the mainstreaming citizen participation, but still lacked the required results or impact on policy outcomes and the depth of participation. There is an acknowledged gap between the practiced participatory model in the PPP Unit and citizens' expectations of interactive policy-making. Thus, a critical question would be: what is required to ensure a considerable shift in the nature and scope of citizens' engagement within legislatures?

In relation to the GPL, its Speaker, Linda Maseko indicated that policy development is an evolving process in the Gauteng Provincial Legislature (GPL, 2009/2010, 11). This comment was made in 2005, and in the 2009/2010 annual report it is noted that public participation was being revised (p.23) and processes needed to be incorporated to ensure that "public participation is comprehensive and mainstreamed" (p.124). Developments in the GPL point to a continuation of efforts to increase citizen voice, however, it is unable to attain this goal.

Some sectors of civil society described citizen participation in the Legislature as public forums "relegated to mere rhetoric" (Maphunye & Mafunisa, 2005) prompting questions like: what factors constrain the expansiveness of participation in the policy-making process?

Which conditions facilitate effective participation that results in policy influence? More specifically, how does one interpret these failures to expand citizen participation despite their participation?

5.2.4 Findings from the Public Service Commission report

The documentary research part of the case study of the GPL revealed that the characterisation, practice and purpose of participation is contested and constrained.Despite the increased use of these mechanisms, the GPLs institutional record of achievement in expanding voice and extending the scope of citizen participation is for the most part limited to involvement, information exchanges (communication) and consultation. There is a constant tension between, on the one hand, political expediency of tokenistic participation in political machinations and the noble intentions espoused by GPL values through which policy outcomes are at best 'choreographed consent' (Deegan, 2002). As noted in the PSC findings there are gaps in the implementation of citizen participation. In particular, the report notes that the GPL's practice of participation closely matches those of other departments, especially that of the Free State and Mpumalanga legislatures. By contrast, what is regarded as a common understanding does not refute the contention that there is unevenness in the conceptualisation, interpretation and practice of participation.

As alluded to in Chapter 3, the Mafunisa and Maphunye (2005) report on public participation in the Gauteng Provincial Legislature (GPL) recorded some citizens expressing the view that participation has not been sufficiently participative, genuinely empowering or expansive in terms of their expectations. More importantly, the said conceptualisation of citizen participation in government departments, discordant practices and the "haphazard implementation" (PSC, 2008, 18), still borders on an imprecise understanding of key terms in the public participation domain. This not only complicates solid research but militates against effective participation practices (Frewer & Rowe, 2004, 284).

Two pertinent concerns highlighted by Rowe and Frewer (2005, 256) with regard to the participatory mechanisms are, the "functional ambivalence" and their "comprehensiveness". Whereas the literature describes and evaluates citizen participation as influence on policy and decision-making, an examination of the ground level practice and character of participatory policy-making in the GPL reveals that the actual experience is that the participation of citizens is at the level of policy consultation, involvement and co-option. This conclusion is evident from the Public Service Commission's (PSC) assessment of

public participation practices that public officials' interaction with citizens only occurs during periods where they are accompanied by elected members of the executive (2008, 23). In addition, interviewees were requested to indicate to what extent the GPL incorporate citizens' views during planning, the response stated very often. What follows is a discussion on the findings in relation to the three propositions.

5.3 Propositions: Assessing the findings in relation to empirical research

The following section is a summary of the key findings with regards to the propositions, which are discussed under three key headings; institutional dynamics, the role of public officials and the influence of the political environment and political party on citizen participation in the GPL.

5.3.1 Proposition 1: Institutional dynamics

Citizen's pursuit of their interests requires new structures and methods to formalise policy engagement and spaces for interaction between the framers of policy and those for whom it is intended (Friedman, 2002). This thesis explored the institutional spaces as well as the convenors (public officials) in terms of their likely impact on citizen voice. Citizens' participation in and support for the institutions of governance hinges on these institutions' ability and efficacy in relation to the expectations of the governed. While the GPL is often regarded as a prototype of citizen participation widely heralded for its expansiveness and replicability to other settings, its ability to transform participation from involvement to decision-making power (participation) is a constant challenge. The employed strategies to involve citizens in public decisions are informed by sequential recommendations contained in internal and commissioned reports that build on existing mechanisms to enhance broadened participation (GPL, 2009/2010, GPL, 2012, Pigou, 1999, Mafunisa, et al. 2005).

Much of the GPL participatory practices have been modelled on the national parliament's approach to engaging with citizens. Citizen participation and parliamentary mechanisms, such as the Official Opening of the Legislature, "Taking Parliament to the People", Women's Parliament, Youth Parliament, People's Assembly, Regional Budget Preparatory workshops and the establishment of a PPP Unit, are key features of these participatory mechanisms (PSC, 2008). The GPL acknowledged that despite its best efforts in engaging citizens in public decisions, their voices are heard but find limited if any expression in policy and legislation (GPL, 2009/2010). Another important aspect is the views from

interviewed PPP Unit staff who confirms that they continually add to the mechanisms of participation, but these fail because of a number of factors. Although these interviewees mentions citizen capacity, resources and the GPL's proximity to its constituents as the primary influencing factors, the interviewees acknowledged that citizen participation will unlikely shift beyond involvement. A senior committee member expressed this as the *'agenda of the Legislature's governing party will always reign supreme'* and stating that this is not as a result of a disregard for citizen inputs, merely part of the exertion of political party interests (Stephen Makwarela, interview, 2011).

Citizens across the provincial boundaries are constantly invited to participate in public policy decision-making, which is typical of an institutional approach to policy-making. Schick (2009) describes legislatures as representative forums that allocate benefits to groups and voters on the basis of political considerations, often disregarding programme effectiveness. This research found that the level of participation, the participants, the nature of the engagement and its location is representative of the constituency of the majority party of the Legislature. So it would seem that such discriminatory 'distributive' policy-making and resource allocation as a means of entrenching party-specific interests is not an uncommon feature of legislatures' functioning. This resonates with the ANC party's stance that engagement in the Legislature is inimical to forums for contestations between various political parties over political and theoretical underpinnings of its mandate. In light of this, some authors argue that representatives' policy decisions are deliberate attempts to effect policy regimes that are "proportionally beneficial to their constituents at the expense of the general population" (Battaglini & Coate, 2006, 1).

Having been a participant in public policy activities of the GPL as an outside observer and external consultant, it is argued that the GPL's citizen voice processes are often held hostage by jostling priorities, political point scoring and the expectations of the political custodians. In such contexts, citizens' participation in these forums is less about their agreement with the type of participation or validation of the processes followed, and more indicative of a fear of exclusion, and thus wanting to engage in public decisions. The GPL's governance model, values statement and motive are unambiguous about the extensive nature of participatory policy processes.

Based on actual involvement and two interviews, the foregoing is particularly evident in the way the PPP Unit forums for citizen engagement are more representative of the ruling party

interests and delegates.[26] Indeed, citizens engage as individuals and as collectives, which creates an interesting overlap between citizen values, interests and identities and those of the political party with which they often identify. If the GPL is to be a vehicle for citizens' participation then the key challenge is to ensure that such participation is more than mere responsiveness to the ideological strands of the ruling political the party of the GPL.

5.3.2 Proposition 2: The role of public officials

A third aspect of this study was the adoption of three propositions, which are discussed in this section under the respective summarised headings in relation to the findings and conclusions (chapter 1, section 1.7, page 12). Since these propositions were analysed on this basis of the Advocacy Coalitions Framework (ACF) and the Multiple Streams Theory (MST), it is discussed in that context. An analysis with regard to the role of public officials, the influence of the political environment, multiple stakeholder interests (subsystems) and belief systems are provided in Chapter 4. What follows are the findings and conclusions of this study in respect of public officials belief systems and impact on citizen participation.

This study examined the views of public officials and their institutional approaches towards participation and the contexts (systems) within which it is executed. An important remark in the Legislature's annual report (2009/2010) expresses the need to streamline and institutionalise interactive citizen participation through "mainstreaming of public participation" and to …"create a space where the public can get involved in the democratic processed used to govern Gauteng" (GPL, 2009/2010). This is particularly important for how public officials find mechanisms to effect this mainstreaming. In their study on institutional entrenching of participatory policy-making in the Netherlands, Edelenbos et al. (2009, 128) found that the required institutional structure necessitates significant realignment to provide for receptiveness at the level of process and the institutional environment.

There is a misalignment between the organisational architecture (structure and conditions) and processes to institutionalise citizen participation, which leads to the GPL continually expressing the inadequacy of citizen participation in the Legislature (GPL, 2009/2010; GPL, 2012). Against this background, it is plausible (and requires and in-depth study on its own) that the GPL and how it is constructed as an institution may itself be the constraining factor, through which citizen participation, in terms of opportunities, how it is defined and

[26]Interview with Makwarela

facilitated, is continually restrained (Clemens & Cook, 1999, 445). Especially since one of the assumed causalities of limited citizen participation was seen as the belief systems and capacities of public officials. However, in this regard, a systems approach would assist with better understanding of what Clemens and Cook (1999, 458) have framed as:

> the constitutive powers of political institutions frequently have unintended consequences (p.454)…Institutional arrangements may also suppress alternatives by decoupling the components necessary to enact a particular policy".

Mafunisa, interviewed (2011) for this thesis, pointed out that:

> The role of officials is very limited as they are the secondary policy-makers. Politicians in the legislature are the primary policy-makers and therefore have direct impact on public participation, hence public policy. Only senior public officials can influence policies through public participation as the dichotomy between politics and administration is a myth.

Importantly, the GPL commissioned study by Mafunisa and Maphunye (2005) clearly made a link to the attitudes and direct influence of public officials on citizen participation, however the authors did not dedicate any discussion to how public officials impact on decision-making and participation in the Legislature. Mafunisa and Maphunye (2005, 33-34) further found that:

> The PPP Unit's staff must be capacitated by being exposed to international trends and best practices on public participation. Negative attitudes to public participation could be due to the perception people harbour towards public participation (Such personnel need to be appropriately trained and capable in all respects to effectively promote public participation in the province.

A number of studies make the link between public officials' capacity and resource constraints (Rapoo, 2005; Mafunisa and Maphunye, 2005; Scott, 2009). However, contrasting levels of success with citizen participation have been observed despite increased capacity and resourcing of these participation units. It is far more plausible that as Rapoo's (2004) study of the perceptions on the level of influence of senior public officials at provincial level have found that, officials ranked the ruling party, the media and opposition parties high in terms of exerting policy influence in legislatures. Although not a distinct focus, the study suggests that officials do not regard themselves as policy influencers, hence

their role should be analysed on two levels, first, as conceived and defined in the general literature, and second as the fulfilment of a political mandate.

Despite the mainstreaming of citizen participation there is limited understanding of the actual influence of public officials on participatory policy-making spaces. As noted in Chapter 3, the role of the public official remains under-studied, especially because of an over-emphasis of the policies and legal frameworks and institutional dynamics within which participation occurs. Second, participation is mistakenly perceived as an administrative exercise and thus its structure and format is exclusively defined by public officials. Thus, the conclusion is that the "weight of the imperative to create meaningful spaces for participation" (Kondlo, 2010, 386) is significantly less dependent on the role of public officials. Handley and Howell-Moroney (2010), in their study on ordering stakeholder relationships and citizen participation, and bureaucratic responsiveness, note that participation is influenced by the organisational structures and the officials' beliefs and actions, which have a profound impact on direct engagement of citizens.

On the contrary, Rapoo (2005, 89) asserts that citizens use public officials as conduits for their voice to effect their social demands. Despite the aforementioned, these same citizens denounce officials when they have misrepresented their interests or when policy outcomes are misaligned to what they anticipated (Rapoo, 2005). The proposition in relation to the influence of public officials has been partially explained and confirmed by the literature, but in terms of their direct influence on citizen participation it was inconclusive. It is concluded that although there is merit in the assumption of this proposition, it requires empirical validation.

What is clear is that, regardless of expanded resources, mechanisms and increased staff, citizen voice is contextual, with public officials' role in citizen participation subjugated to political processes and predetermined policy mandates (Fakir interview, 2011).

5.3.3 Proposition 3: Influence of political environment and political party

Given that public decision-making is in essence political and a contestation of interests, it would seem that the prospects for deepened participation and incorporation of ordinary voices will broadly be subjected to party political interests, especially since institutions such as the PPP Unit are functioning at a political level and act as purveyors of the political agenda of the ruling party. Moreover, Fakir (2009, 21) notes that institutionalising contestation and various interests requires a government that is able to uphold the competing

mandates, ideologies and special interests. This line of argument should, however, take cognisance of Mafunisa's (2011) argument that citizen participation is a "political tool" through which government decisions, policies and actions are legitimised. Furthermore that such participation is used to leverage and cling to "political power" and ensure that they "remain popular" (Mafunisa, 2011).

The following two examples help to clarify this point. First, one may consider the cited example in the HSRC report, where the representative council of the disabled community stated their slogan: "nothing on us without us". This indicates their need for deeper engagement with a direct intermediary at political level representing their interests in the Legislature, but also someone with a disability. The South African civics organisations coalition stated their need for a formal parallel and direct channel for the facilitation of prior and continuous engagements on policy issues. Second, according to a Member of Provincial Legislature (MPL), "citizen forums are an extension of the ANC or a forum of ANC aligned members of society" (Interview 1, anonymous MPL)

Policy-making and participation are extremely politicised and complicated by multiple centres of power, inter-forum and institutional politics and parallel mechanisms. As an example, MPLs and MECs have to account to regional and provincial structures within their respective political parties, where their perceived alignment with regional and/or branch level political agendas determines what type of policies they pursue or do not pursue.

While it is clear that the GPL intends participation to serve noble purposes, the unintended consequences, and in some cases co-opted purposes, alter the original aims of citizen participatory practices. There is an expressed view that the GPL's participative policy-making model is at best 'crowd-sourcing', where initial citizen policy expressions are omitted in the final policy documents. Hamilton (2009, 364) points out that whilst the public sphere has opened up more opportunities for active citizenship it has simultaneously been restrained, equating public interest with national interest.

5.4 Definition, types, extent and mechanisms of citizen participation

The GPL documentation points to a stated intent of democratic citizen participation conceived and pursued as citizen control, empowerment and partnership. However, what one witnesses is an increase and strengthening of participation and the institutions of participation, without necessarily expanding the range and scope of citizen decision-making.

These studies' research preferences have been for particular cases related to municipal and specific types of participatory modes (such as ward committees, public consultation, educational opportunities and izimbizos). Furthermore, some of these studies examined the methods used to enable such participation (Izimbizos in the case of Hartslief, 2008; Phago, 2008) and how such participation adhered to international, national best practice and the applicable legal framework governing participatory practices. Although these studies have offered new perspectives and directions for citizen voice, some of these studies lead to 'descriptive inaccuracies', because they commenced from different platforms in terms of anomalies and ambiguities in the literature. It is for this reason that the literature review in this study has been expanded to reflect these tendencies and imprecise analysis. Important for this thesis is that there has been little research conducted on the links between the type, outcomes and scope of participation and citizen expectations of interactive policy-making (see Sansom-Sherwill, 2006; and Tapscott & Thompson, 2010). A need emerged for the link between participation, citizen expectations and the context-specific strategies that facilitate authentic participation, "where citizens have real influence over policy decisions" (Mafunisa & Xaba, 2008, 459). Any review of citizen voice in the GPL is unlikely to yield spectacular results due a misjudged focus on increasing the mechanisms.

Although there may be difficulties with ascertaining the extent and an 'optimum level of participation', determining the scope and nature of participation will offer significant insights into policy-makers and those responsible for facilitating interactive policy-making. As is evident in the definitions, there is little commonality or consensus on the concept of citizen participation. Such descriptions and definitions are often uneven in their premise, purpose, scope and the employed mechanisms.

In the case of the GPL it has been noted that authentic participation can be enhanced by first addressing the micro-level (accessibility to the Legislature, transport, appropriate notice of events, language) and simultaneously the macro-level hindrances (the level of participation, entry points to citizen engagements, power and the political environment). On the contrary, the Public Service Commission's (PSC) assessment of public participation practices is that public officials' interaction with citizens only occurs during periods where they are accompanied by elected members of the executive (2008, 23).

5.5 The prospects for expanded citizen participation

Whereas this study drew on particular comparative case study material, it highlighted that, overall, citizen participation has shown marked improvements and, may have increased the GPL's levels of accountability. However, the challenge remains addressing the scope and extent of such participation. Through case study research the GPL has been analysed with a special focus on its participatory decision-making processes. It was argued that the fundamental challenge is that it conflates various participation mechanisms and their efficacies to enhance participation (see Chapter 3, section 3.2.6). In addition, many of these practices regard citizen involvement, consultative events, information exchanges, media campaigns and public hearings as participation.

The GPL regularly reviews its public participation processes and ultimately the outcomes of policy-making (a summary of the GPL's citizen participation practices and outcomes are summarised in annual reports) (GPL, 2009/2010). However, these institutional reviews incorrectly build onto each other framing the problem as associated with a lack of extensiveness of the mechanisms employed to effect participation, rather than interrogate its foundation and characterisation.

Similarly, Marais (2011, 459), referring to participatory democracy in the broader South African context, argues that what emerged is that these revised schemes are mere tinkering with the existing structures or a repeat of bureaucratic ritual. Walters, Aydelotte and Miller (2000, 351) found that the prospects of successful citizen engagement in public policy is dependent on crafting appropriate participation strategies, aligned to the purpose and the nature of the issue. A preliminary review of the past three annual reports and related strategy review documents (GPL, 2009/2010, GPL, 2010/2011) indicate challenges in ensuring citizen policy inputs find expression in the final policy outputs. It is clear that the GPL employs the language of citizen power in participation, but that the practiced model of 'participation' is consultation and information sharing (see discussions on this in section 1.3 and section 3.2.4).

The GPL's vision statement, constitutive preamble and its core values (GPL, 2010/2011) articulate the notions of participation that is beyond information sharing, and transfers power to citizens to make decisions on the objectives, operation and beneficiaries of GPL programmes. Even the literature revealed that at the ideational level participation is defined as citizen action directed at influencing policy decisions and the mechanism through which

their demands and values are incorporated into public administration (Suh, 2004, 6). This then challenges the extent to which public participation serves citizen expectations and whether their engagement is merely about consultation or about empowered decision-making.

One of the interviewees expressed the view that the Legislature's deliberative policy-making model is at best a "crowd-sourcing" (Brabham, 2009), where initial citizen policy expressions are omitted in the final policy documents (Lottering, 2011). Moreover, it can be hypothesized that empowered participation is unlikely if the majority party is uncertain about their political dominance. Which leads to citizen participation vacillating between tokenism and delegated power, where overall control is retained by the politically deployed officials, politicians and political party. Expanded citizen voice in the GPL depends on its ability to adapt to a different and more transparent political and institutional environment. The study suggests that involving citizens do not equate to genuine involvement and that citizen participation has contested meaning. Moreover, the GPL experience suggests that participatory policy-making should be approached with a degree of circumspection and not be offered as a formulaic solution to the myriad of stakeholder expectations.

Implicit in the analysis is the need for the mapping of the complex party, institutional and stakeholder politics, power, interests and the prevailing political culture (Reich, 1995; Fakir, 2009). It is thus questionable whether such participation is indeed possible through institutional spaces in which citizens attempt to exert influence over provincial public decisions. Having discussed the IAP2 and a range of theorists' models and conceptualisation of citizen participation, it could be assumed that what is required is simply to align or expand the purpose, technique and scope of interactive policy-making. This means that increased citizen voice will merely be a construct of selecting the appropriate technique, mechanism or process, and will proceed through the decision-making process as advised by institutions such as the IAP. However, Naidu (2008) writes that real citizen voice is solidified only when there is an attitude and credible aspiration towards participation, a reorientation of the mechanisms and genuine believe that participation has a tangible impact on governance. Goldfrank (2010) concurs that citizens' participation will be voluntarily relative to their believe that their self or community interests are guaranteed. On the contrary, direct citizen participation should be solidified by the combination of a real intent to listen and an positive disposition towards those affected by "the power to participate",

"an increased awareness of the existing mechanisms and how they function", and "the belief that their participation may have some tangible results" (Naidu, 2008, 84).

However, the micro-level managerialist intervention (Stout, 2010, 47) offers little to alter the unequal power dynamics, access to resources and capabilities to participate fully. This is particularly evident in the study of Mafunisa and Maphunye (2005, 8), where they regard the expansion of the quality of participation of citizens with the expansion of types, forms and strategies to effect such participation. The GPL annual report (2009/2010) and Mafunisa and Maphunye (2005) report is reminiscent of the flawed approach of fixing the number, sequencing and/or geographic location of the techniques (mechanisms) of participation. The chances of expanded participation are low, especially if citizens' interests do not find resonance as a result of an outflow of four levels of interests (party, individual, societal and organisational – the GPL) (Fakir, 2011).

5.6 Conclusions

This chapter has argued that although the GPL has remodelled the way it engages with its citizens, their processes became more expansive and varied; the primary task of directly engaging with citizens has also become more complex, sometimes removing citizens from direct interaction with and understanding of decision-making (EIPP, 2009,5). However, these unintended consequences are not attributable to a lack of intent, political will or institutional capacity. The overall impression is that the general legal framework guiding citizen participation is in place, but has its limitations in terms of being sufficiently expansive to enable high-quality participation. Secondly, the tenets of such legal frameworks merely outline the broad parameters of the extent of citizen participation. There is considerable ambivalence in relation to the manner in which legislatures contribute to the overall policy-making processes and how they exercise these roles. Despite these reservations, the GPL is critical in making a democratic system function (Saiegh, 2005, 1). Finally, what has been discussed in this chapter contributes to a broader understanding of the inter-relationships of the mandate of ensuring citizen input into public decisions. Based on the literature, what emerged in terms of the GPL are three strands of participation. On the one hand, citizen participation captured by an ambiguous legalistic language of involvement, information sharing and educational activities, assuaging the minimum requirements for such participation.

The other being a tokenistic, non-binding participation in public life, with overall control vested in the officials and their political custodians. So, it is more akin to Arnstein's level two (tokenism – informing - un-engaged citizen and finally a kind of dual participation as direct participants with an exit and militant option, where parallel processes are employed through an "agitating citizenship" or protest politics.

Thus, the prospects of successful citizen participation are, inter alia, relative to the environment, the particular policy issue, the institutional structure, resources, beliefs of coalitions, maturity of political engagements, and a range of other factors.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSIONS AND ANALYSIS

6.1 Introduction

The purpose of this qualitative investigation was to report the trends and mechanisms of citizen participation in the Gauteng Provincial Legislature (GPL) in relation to their stated principles and constitutional obligation to ensure a citizen-driven democracy. Their practices of citizen participation in public decisions are pervasive (PSC, 2008; GPL, 2012) and follow an established norm and adherence to best practices described as governance from the ground up (Elias, 2010, 9) and conditional to deliberative democracy. The GPL was used as the case study focused on three aspects: the role of public officials; the potential influence of the political environment, politics and political party; and definitional aspects pertaining to the meaning, purpose and intended outcomes of citizen participation.

This study's literature review demonstrated that there is a credible case for participation of citizens in public decisions that affect them. Citizen voice has its sceptics who refute and challenge the abilities and political will of those charged with the responsibility to facilitate such expressions. These concerns range from skewed power dynamics to unmet expectations and outcomes of citizen involvement. Likewise, this study argued that there are limitations both in terms of innovation capabilities, political interests and the expansiveness of citizen voice. This argument is mindful that citizen participation may rarely truly equate to "absolute control" (Arnstein, 1969).

The present study was premised on there being incongruities in the conceptualisation of citizen voice in public decisions. It noted the definitional aspects of participation and from that perspective offered an alternative analysis of participation in the GPL. It was argued that despite the GPL's stated purpose of ensuring *thepublic's participation to incorporate their views* there is a disjuncture between their declared intent and the practical expression (outcome) of direct citizen participation. To engage the question of the nature and extent of citizen voice, a body of literature was presented and analysis was done through policy frameworks and practices within the institution.

This was undertaken with the theoretical lens of the Advocacy Coalitions Framework (ACF) and the Multiple Streams Theory (MST) (chapter 4), focused on three distinct areas:

(1) the meanings and origin of citizen voice within the GPL;

(2) the stakeholder coalitions (individuals, collectives and political parties) and their political interests; and

(3) understanding the dynamic institutional and socio-political contexts.

The ACF and the MST details how participatory democracy is facilitated and/or impeded by the confluence of problems, policies, and politics (Kingdon, 1984) and the belief systems of coalitions (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1994) of stakeholders involved in the GPL.This concluding chapter provides an overall summary and conclusions of the broad research findings.

6.2 Citizen voice in the literature and theoreticalframeworks

This study interpreted the extent of citizen participation through two particular theoretical frameworks, drawing on comparative case studies and literature, through focusing on four main propositions. The GPL's prominence and thought leadership regarding citizen participation in petitions and policy-making directed this study to explore and explain the dynamics, the decision-making spaces of policy formation and implementation. While the GPL is often regarded as a prototype of citizen participation widely heralded for its expansiveness and replicability to other settings, its ability to transform participation from involvement to decision-making power (participation) is a constant challenge. The GPL acknowledged that despite its best efforts in engaging citizens in ensuring that their voices gets heard, such participation has had limited if any policy and legislative expression. The employed strategies to involve citizens in public decisions are informed by sequential recommendations contained in internal and commissioned reports that build on existing mechanisms to enhance broadened participation. How, when and to what extent people were able to participate in the policy-making and execution process has undergone a major shift, evidenced by the propagation of a new governance model of deliberative and participatory democracy.

Most of reviewed literature extols the virtues of citizen participation and mainly focused on the various mechanisms, institutions and the typologies employed to facilitate participation.

However, to understand citizen participation, requires a shift towards the institutional contexts, the politics of policy, political party influence and various forms of individual and institutional power and the limits of a rights-based approach. The reviewed literature laid claim that in South Africa participatory policy-making has become central to policy-making, has an inclusive character and is part of extending political participation and interactions between the governing and the governed. This study was framed by questions like: is there a mismatch between what citizens expect and the practiced model of citizen participation in the GPL? This study investigated the relationship between citizen involvement in policy-making in the Legislature, the potential influence of public officials and the extent and scope of such participation.

There is a glaring vagueness on the extent of citizen voice in decision-making that would produce different conclusions with regard to the nature, scope and outcomes of public participation. Instead of being directed on civil society formations, groups, networks and other intermediate social structures, this study attempted to go beyond the dichotomy of the government versus its civil society, but rather focus on citizens themselves as the primary drivers of policy deliberations and influence. Thus, the question was whether there are notable differences in how the GPL and citizens contextualize public policy participation in government? What are the respective expectations of government and citizens regarding policy decision-making? The GPL has a stated principle of public participation and established a PPP Unit to achieve this mandate. However the presented evidence points to a misalignment in terms of the nature and depth of participation. Whereas citizens may envisage 'authentic deliberation', based on the belief of stakeholder involvement in policy decision-making, the Legislature's practices suggest mere involvement.

This study addressed and critiqued the prescriptions and sometimes empirical generalisations (Baccaro & Papadakis, 2009) that lead to the formulaic and uncritical pursuance of participatory policy-making and deliberation through an analysis of policy-making in the GPL. Peripheral to this study was how to interpret the extent of citizen participation and citizens' continued participation regardless of its limited impact on the final policy outcomes.

There is an acknowledged gap between the practiced participatory model in the Public Participation and Petitions Unit (PPP Unit) and citizens' expectations of interactive policy-making. Despite any concerns citizen participation has given new impetus to an intention of partnership (Colebatch, 2006, 311) underlying the governance preferences of government

and the centrality and valuing of the governed. Whilst acknowledging the centrality of citizen involvement in the affairs that affect them, this study was directed at the anomalies between the differing interpretations in the literature, the GPL and citizen's practical experience of participatory policy-making.

6.3 Future citizen participation studies

Citizens across the provincial boundaries are constantly invited to participate in public policy decision-making, which is typical of an institutional approach to policy-making. Citizen participation occurs within the context of formalised settings and forums, focused on the institutional perspectives on participation and how the GPL gives expression to the notions of empowered citizenship. As noted in Chapters 1 and 2, there are few studies on the extent of participation in provincial legislative settings. Where these studies exist, they are centred on a single case study, a range of mechanisms, aimed at the provincial, national legislative branch and its various mechanisms to engage with the South African citizenry (Hartslief, 2008; Makondo, 2010; Marais et al., 2007; Scott, 2009).

Somewhat different is an in-depth study by Rapoo (2008) on provincial government centred on participation and Makondo (2010) reviewing the role of the NCOP in relation to oversight and the interface with citizens. Some of these studies (Scott, 2009; Mafunisa et al., 2005; Makondo, 2010) are helpful contributions to understanding citizen participation as a phenomena, but was unable to answer what constitutes an ideal quality of citizen participation, its implementation challenges and specific case studies regarding key components that make up participation (Booysen, 2009, 5). While these studies contribute in their own right to an evolving narrative on citizen participation, they are limited in that they articulate the breadth of current and innovative means to engage with citizens, and not outline the crucial aspect of extent of such participation.

Also, these studies (although not specifically on the GPL) are unable to interpret why the GPL still lack an increased (higher) level of participation (decision-making), despite adherence to an array of international and national best practice as advocated by studies with similar assumptions.

Understanding the scope and extent of citizen voice in public policy-making in the GPL requires closer scrutiny and clarification of seven broad areas:

- Definitional clarity on the meaning and terms employed in the domain of participation;
- The development of various streams of intent/purposes with participation;
- Classification system of various mechanisms (Rowe & Frewer (2005);
- Explanation of the terminology employed in participation discussions;
- Categorisation of participation from nonparticipation Rowe & Frewer (2005);
- Distinguishing between public communication, consultation and participation (Rowe & Frewer (2005); and
- The character of the dominant political party and its political culture and their adopted practice of government-citizen relationships.

The evidence shows that quality, outcomes and impact are all important aspects requiring continued interrogation, but that empirical multiple case studies are required on the extent and nature of citizen voice.

6.4 Key findings from this study

The research findings based on the theory of participation and the South African and GPL literature for this study has shown that the Legislature's citizen engagement practices have been developed after various study tours tailored on best practices in South Africa, Africa and also the broad spectrum of international literature. As noted in chapter 1, the Legislature has to ensure authentic participation but it has an inherent bias and is exclusionary towards particular interests, citizens and stakeholders, which requires more than mere tinkering with the mechanisms or types of participatory practices.

There is no perfect citizen participation model, so this section provides an indication of the emerging citizen engagement policy-making models, which inherently attempt to ameliorate the common pitfalls of traditional participation mechanisms. They are representative of a continuum of the level and extent of citizen interaction, and serve as the principal theoretical and reference points for conceptualising participation. Throughout this thesis, the case has been made that citizen participation is a necessary element to democratisation and the means to give expression to heightened expectations from citizens to engage directly in public affairs.

In Chapter 3, section 3.6.2, mention was made of Goldfrank's (2010) description of how Porto Alegre's budgeting structure privileges "accessibility, equality, and informality, and helps build in accountability", with an assembly at neighbourhood level which "provide citizens with a direct, informal channel through which to pursue their demands". It also offers a glimmer of hope for authentic participation, where citizens have an equal voice in public decision-making. This argument is mindful that citizen participation may rarely equate truly to "absolute control" (Arnstein, 1969).

This study clarified the definitional aspects of participation and from that perspective offered an alternative analysis of the extent of participation in the Gauteng Provincial Legislature. In addition it argued that the conflation of the mechanisms and tools of participation and the particular characterisation of participation impedes reflective interrogation of citizen engagement strategies. To this end, we require a classification of citizen participation according to its social, political and policy goals across a continuum of citizen impact and level of participation. It argued that despite the institutional and legislative intent there is a disjuncture between the theoretical (intent) and practical expression (outcome) of direct citizen participation.

The GPL is located in the economic and political hub of South Africa and its particular contribution to how citizens participate could be consequential to the broader societal governance disfunctionalities. There is, therefore, a pressing need for a renewed look at the manner in which citizen participation is implemented as well as a re-examining of an over concentration on mechanisms and instruments of participation. This study posited that crucial to the advancement of expanded and high-quality citizen voice in the GPL is definitional, purpose and practice clarification.

While we can see that legislatures intend participation to serve noble purposes, the unintended consequences and in some cases co-opted purposes misconstrue the original aims of citizen participatory practices.

The literature review reveals that even where a comprehensive legislative framework and national intent exist to provide for citizen participation, such voice can still be restricted to mere information sharing. For example, the case of the PPP Unit indicates how resources, techniques and additional processes become the tyranny in the face of pressure to expand on participation. However, placing the spotlight on the techniques of participation is insufficient to meet the expectations of citizens, but it affords citizens the opportunity to re-

evaluate their specific policy interests and create avenues for true citizen-led government. Some argue that the political and social capital is absent in the South African political landscape and as such that it would not be to duplicate the models like Porte Alegre and elsewhere. On the other hand best practice models offer a glimmer of hope for authentic participation, where citizens have an equal (or at least increased) voice in public decision-making.

This thesis contributed to citizen participation in policy-making in three respects. First, the extensive literature review enabled a systematic and foundational perspective of citizen voice, which led to the clarification of intent and an analysis of increasing efforts to engage with citizens. Second, the literature revealed an inconsistent conceptualisation of participatory policy-making, which impacts on implementation anomalies and an inability to increase the scope and extent of citizen voice due the contested ascribed meanings and typologies. Third, the political perspective from the presented theoretical frameworks (ACF and MST) constructed a nuanced analysis of citizen voice and efforts that facilitate and constrain empowered citizen decision-making in public policy. The following is a summary of the key findings from this study:

- First, the case was made that citizen participation is a necessary element to democratisation and a means to give expression to heightened expectations from citizens to engage directly on public affairs.
- Second, many studies continue to explore participation in relation to how these institutions heeded best practice guidelines and advocate for a series of correct models.However, the GPL implemented similar mechanisms and processes aimed at the most appropriate access to citizens in policy-making but it still had limited impact on policy outcomes and the depth of participation. Thus a critical question would be: is it feasible to speak of an optimum level for the scope of citizens' engagement within legislatures?
- Third, as is evident in the definitions (chapter 3) there is little commonality or consensus on the concept of citizen participation. Especially with regard to how citizen participation is interwoven with the particular conceptualisation of the relationship between the government and citizens (International Association for Public Participation, 2009).
- Fourth, the degree (consultation, information sharing, and participation) at which the GPL engages with its citizens may impact on how they participate or

withdraw their participation from the participatory forums. In addition, citizens' participation in and support of the GPL hinges on its ability and responsiveness to the expectations of its citizens. In this regard whilst discussing civic engagement, Malik and Waglé (2002, 4) suggest that citizens express their dissatisfaction through disengagement from these institutions and finding alternative means to effect policies "rather than working from within".

- Fifth, this study considered the challenge with an idealised and linear conceptualisation of participatory policy-making and some of its associated problems. Implying that to understand the continuum of participation (consultation – > participation) requires an appreciation of the complexities of the broader institutional and socio-political environment.
- Sixth, despite the mainstreaming of citizen participation there is a limited understanding of the actual experiences of these institutionalised deliberative policy-making spaces, and how they differ one from another. These deficiencies are related to the institutional framework within participation occurs, the participatory mechanisms (as defined in chapter 3), the capacity and resourcing of the administrative units responsible for citizen engagement and its inherent exclusionary nature.
- Seventh, understanding these mechanisms, classifications and legal frameworks is critical to democracy with its attention on the legitimacy of the decisions made in the Legislature as a form of representative democracy in South Africa. The challenge is to understand the relationship between the participatory mechanisms and the respective policy decisions.
- Eighth, although there may be difficulties with ascertaining the extent and an 'optimum level of participation', determining the scope and nature of participation will offer significant insights to policy-makers and those responsible for facilitating interactive policy-making.
- Ninth, in the case of the GPL, it has been noted that authentic participation can be enhanced by first addressing the micro-level (accessibility to the Legislature, transport, appropriate notice of events, language) and simultaneously the macro-level hindrances (the level of participation, entry points to citizen engagements, power and the political environment).

- Finally, the socio-political and institutional environment and the interplay of power and politics impact on the scope and extent of participation. Interpreting and defining the case for citizen voice from a political perspective is useful because it highlights its centrality and importance to public policy-making.

Thus, the prospects of successful citizen participation are amongst others relative to the environment, the particular policy issue, the institutional structure, resources, beliefs of coalitions, maturity of political engagements and an array of inextricably linked factors.

6.5 Conclusions

This study posited that efforts to develop citizen participation to an optimum level of a decision-making and empowerment require a policy and/or legislative framework, dedicated institutional resources and clarification of the definitional and scope aspects. It further advanced a political perspective of participation in how institutional and subsystem politics impact on building such degree of citizen voice. Overall, the presented perspective of citizen participation has been expansive with regards to range, scope and decision-making power. Moreover, it has been argued here as elsewhere (e.g. John 2009; Roberts, 2004; Raisio, 2010) that authentic participation requires a desire to 'empower citizens in the policy-making process. In addition, in the absence of such a paradigm it may be far more prudent to not engage citizens beyond electoral participation. Alternatively that government need to face up to the need for them to clarify and/or limit the scope and scale of their participation.

This research has shown that studies on citizen participation necessitate definitional clarity and distinguishing between mechanisms and types of citizen involvement in policy-making. If the GPL is to advance a deeper understanding of the reasons why citizens participate in general and particularly when their expressed policy inputs are overlooked, the key aspects include whether there is a genuinely expansive perspective of citizens' role in policy-making, being mindful of the contextual realities and various dimensions of participation. By design this study steered clear of precise formulae or neatly packaged recommendations for increasing the extent and scope of citizen participation. What it did present was a different frame of analysis and arguments for a shift from type, outcomes and impact to quality (depth and breadth) of citizen participation. In sum, the enactment of an empowered mode of citizen engagement requires the posing of different questions, especially in relation to the reinvention and reconstruction of citizen-government spaces that engender participation and not mere involvement.

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APPENDIX 1: LIST OF INTERVIEWS

Interviewee	**Dates**	**Organisation**	**Designation**
Ursula Lottering	10 November 2010	GPL	PPP Unit Manager
Stephen Makwarela	14 March 2011	GPL	Former MPL
Russell Sambu	20 July 2011	GPL	Petitions Officer
Ebrahim Fakir	4 August 2011	EISA	Manager (co-author of IDASA report, 2001)
Letticia Naid	12 May 2011	Centre for Municipal Research and Advice	Programme Manager for Public Participation

APPENDIX 2: SCHEMATIC DIAGRAM: LAW-MAKING IN THE GPL

