

https://dspace.org/

Participation challenges of social groups at the Gauteng Provincial Legislature Public Participation Mechanisms

Mntungwa, Dumisani

2025

University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

https://hdl.handle.net/10539/50200

Mntungwa, Dumisani. (2025). Participation challenges of social groups at the Gauteng Provincial Legislature Public Participation Mechanisms [Master's dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg]. WIReDSpace. https://hdl.handle.net/10539/50200

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/



Name and Surname: Dumisani Mntungwa

Student Number: 700250

Course Code: PADM 7027A

Title of Study: Participation challenges of social groups at the Gauteng Provincial Legislature Public Participation Mechanisms.

Supervisor name: Professor Robert Van Niekerk

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT i
DECLARATION ii
DEDICATION iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iv

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION……..... 8
1.1 Introduction 9
1.2 Problem Statement 9
1.3 Purpose Statement 9
1.4 Research questions 9
1.4.1 Main Research question 9
1.4.2 Sub questions 9
1.5 Research aims and objectives ……..... 9
1.5.1Aims..... 9
1.5.2 Objectives 10

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW……..... 11
2.1 A Conceptual Prism on Participation: The Arnstein Model of Participation 12
2.2 The South African Context of Parliamentary Participation 13
2.3 Substantive Gaps in the Public Participation Process..... 14
2.4 The Problem of ineffective Public Participation: the case study of the disability sector and parliament……..15
2.5 Substance Gaps in the Public Participation Process……..... 16
2.6 The Problem of in-effective Public Participation: The Case of the Disability Sector and Youth Parliament……..... 17
2.7 Learning from Significant International Experience: A Chilean Case……..... 18
2.8 Expectation Disconfirmation Model and GPL Performance ……..... 19

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY 18
3.1 Research Approach..... 19
3.2 Sampling 19
3.3 Research Tools and their Application to Assessing Participation Process 19
3.4 Process of Data Analysis 19
3.5 Reliability, Feasibility and Dependability 20
3.6 Limitations, Feasibility and Posionality..... 21
3.7 Ethics 22

4 CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION 23
4.1 Draft Presentation ……..... 23

5 CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH FINDINGS ……..... 24
5.1 The Findings from the Documentary Analysis……..... 25
5.2 Accountability Theme (Sector Parliament) ……..... 26
5.2.1 Delegate Powers to Participate and Improve the Accountability of Sector Parliament……..27
5.2.2 Window Dressing Participation…..……..... 28
5.3 Management and Governance Theme..... 29
5.3.1 Institutional Reforms in the Management of Sectorial Parliament……..... 30

5.3.2 Inclusiveness of GPL Public Participation Process…….....30

5.3.3 Problems with the new committee led resolution mechanism of Sector Parliament…….……...29
5.4 Considering the Intentions of Participation: Exclusion and Deceptive Inclusion Theme 31
5.4.1 Cosmetic Participation…….....32
5.4.2 Public Officials Biases Towards the Youth Parliament Participation and Related Stigmas…….....32

CHAPTER 6: INTERPRETATIONS AND ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH FINDINGS.....32
6.1 Interpretation and Analysis of Research 33

6.2 Accountability Theme.....34
6.2.1 Structural Problem with the Sector Parliament Process.....34
6.2.2 Ineffective and Weak Institutional Capacity for Sector Parliament Resolution Tracking…….……35
6.2.3 Inclusiveness, Attendance of the Sector parliament Programmes…….....35
6.2.4 Participants feel undermined that we are not Considered by Officials and Institutions……36

6.2 Assessing the Intentions of Participation II: Exclusion and Deception Theme.....36
6.2.1. Public Officials Attitudes Towards the Youth Parliament Participants…….....36
6.2.2 Real Intention of Participation Revealed: Placation with no Real Decision-making Power…….....37
6.3 Considering the Implications for Management and Governance……37

CHAPTER 7: SUMMARY……..….....38
7.1 Summary…….....38

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS…….……40
8.1 Conclusion……...…….....41
8.2 Recommendations……...…….....**42**

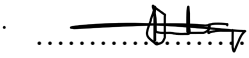
BIBLIOGRAPHY…….…….....43

ABSTRACT

Concerns over the ineffectiveness of the Gauteng Provincial Legislature sector parliament citizens participation mechanism has emerged as a major issue impeding the rights of the social groups in Gauteng to influence policy and legislation and the increase in the resentment of window dress participation has been underscored by the youth participants in the 2019 youth sector parliament. The purpose of this study was to explain the factors that influence the non-participation of social groups in Gauteng in the citizen participation mechanisms of the Gauteng Provincial Legislature as well as determine the extent to which sector parliament have responded to the challenges faced by the social groups in Gauteng. One of the main findings of the research shows that the newly established committee led sector parliament resolution tracking to enhance the effectiveness of sectorial parliament has been found to be cosmetic and inefficacious. It was also established that the three main barriers that discourages the participation of sector parliament participants are management and governance, lack of accountability of the citizen participation programme and exclusion and deceptive inclusion.

DECLARATION

I declare that this report is my own, unaided work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Management (in the field of Governance) in the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before any degree of examination in any other university.



05 November 2025; Johannesburg.

DEDICATION

I hereby dedicate this Master's Degree qualification to my late Father and hero (Mr Sipho Sizwe Ncane Mntungwa) an organic intellectual, handy man and truck driver by profession, who sadly passed away in July 2020 and survived by his beloved wife (Mrs Nomagwane Primrose Mntungwa) a self-employed fashion designer.

My dedication note recognises the collective wisdom of my parents, their tutelage and sacrifice.

Lala Ngoxolo Mntungwa!

Mbulaz omnyama!

Zikode!

Mzilikazi Ka Mashobane!

Nin enadl' umuntu nimyenga ngendaba!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My sincere gratitude goes out to my supervisor Professor Robert Van Niekerk of the School of Governance for his efficacious mentoring and guidance without which this project would not have been a success.

I am forever indebted to the Gauteng Provincial Legislature, my employer for the opportunity to conduct such a study and their cooperation which was very helpful.

Last but not least, a special mention goes to my partner, my two beautiful daughters, my siblings, family and friends who have offered valuable support and motivation throughout this process.

Chapter 1

1.1. Introduction

The participation of citizens in the political process is an integral part of the democratic order. With South Africa's history of apartheid rule, a discriminatory governance system premised on repression and racial exclusion dominated the political life of the society until 1993. With the achievement of democracy in 1994, the role of a democratic parliament was established and constitutionally encoded to build a truly representative peoples parliament that complements representative with participatory democracy to ensure citizen involvement in the public participation mechanisms of the legislative sector. (Ben- Zeev & Waterhouse, 2012).

The National Speakers Forum (NSF) a governance structure of parliament composed of elected executive authorities from the nine (9) provincial legislatures and parliament, conceptualised the legislative sector public participation framework that catalysed parliaments public participation model.

In 2012, concerns over the non-participation of minority social groups in the Gauteng Provincial Legislature's (GPL) public participation mechanisms, prompted the institution to commission a fact-finding multiparty committee to examine the problem later that same year. The findings of the committee led to the revision of parliaments public participation model to include the committee recommendations, albeit with marginal improvement to the problem of poor participation. The question of the quality of citizens participation animates this research study.

Barth (1969:89) argues that democracies in a plural society incorporate a citizenry who reflect the social cleavages and instability in the democratic system, and which in turn is provoked by centrifugal forces of conflicting segmental interests in the society.

Could it be that South Africa is traversing a similar trajectory? Alternatively, does the problems associated with the non-participation of all social groups lies in the inability of the current model of public participation to redistribute power back to participants, rendering the process of participation a largely symbolic ritual, as referred in Arnstein's seminal 'ladder of citizens participation' theory?

This research study adopts a qualitative research methodology involving documentary analysis of three formal parliamentary proceedings of the Gauteng Youth Sector Parliaments to enable a nuanced engagement with the issues impacting quality public participation. The literature review section is framed as a critical engagement between the South African parliamentary model for public participation and the politically informed theory of citizen participation developed by Arnstein , to excavate factors that accounts for the poor participation of social groups in the Gauteng Provincial Legislature's public participation mechanisms.

This study acknowledges South Africa's historical past based on segregatory policymaking under the Apartheid regime, participatory democracy envisages a central role of society in planning. In his *creating a culture of genuine participatory democracy*, Peacock (2012:253) states "participatory democracy is a cornerstone of planning, implementation and evaluation within all three spheres of government service delivery".

In conclusion, the study's intents, objectives, and considerations are embedded in an understanding that South Africa is a participatory democracy. Of importance in this instance is that in policymaking, a policy agenda should be established and pitched at a level of informed public participation if participation is to be both meaningful and empowering for citizens.

1.2 Problem Statement

The diminishing role of enhanced public participation has a negative influence on public policymaking in Gauteng, and the Legislature in particular. In light of this, social problems facing the different sectoral groups in Gauteng, including the establishment of an effective citizen participation process to collectively address social imperatives of our times remains important.

Available evidence on the implementation of the recommendations of the Gauteng legislature's Committee of Inquiry has done little to improve the problems of participation in the provincial legislature.

The factors that influence the poor participation of social groups in the Gauteng Provincial Legislature civic participation mechanisms thus need to be interrogated, to accentuate the issues of inclusivity, implementation and effectiveness of the existing public participation processes with the aim of improving the quality of citizens participation and restoring citizens agency in decision making within public institutions. The case study of the Chilean Punte Puente (Bridge) introduces a comparative perspective to participatory social interventions with impoverished communities and social groups traditionally excluded from social and assistance networks and provides valuable insights on the South African case.

1.3 Purpose Statement

The purpose of this research study is to explain the factors that influence the non- participation of social groups in Gauteng in the citizen participation mechanisms of the Gauteng Provincial Legislature

1.4 Research Questions

Main question

I. Does the Arnstein model of citizen participation provide insights on the problems of non-participation of social groups in the Gauteng Provincial Legislature citizen participation mechanisms?

II. To what extent has public participation in the Legislative sector responded to the challenges faced by sectorial groups in Gauteng?

Sub-questions:

I. -Is the GPL Sector Parliaments public participation model symbolic or substantive in addressing the non-participation of citizens in policy-making decisions?

II. -Is the GPL Sector Parliaments public participation model adequately inclusive in addressing the emerging public policy concerns of the post-2024 multi-party provincial government in Gauteng in meaningfully engaging citizens on their policy concerns?

1.5 Research Aims & Objectives

1.5.1 Aims

I. To analyse the problems of participation of social groups in the Gauteng Provincial Legislature citizen participation mechanisms.
II. Explore the experiences and challenges faced by participants of GPL Sector Parliaments
III. To assess the effects of the GPL public participation model on citizen participation to determine insights if the current model is diminishing the participation of social groups as a constitutional requirement.

1.5.2 Objectives

I. Identify perceptions and attitudes towards sector parliaments with a view to improve the quality of participation.
II. Assess the specific challengers and barriers to enhanced citizen participation in policy making based on analytic review of the Gauteng legislatures experience.

Chapter 2

2.2. Literature Review

This literature review will be structured as a critical engagement with Sherry Arnstein's seminal ladder of citizen participation theory, drawn from her personal insights and subjective experiences during her tenure as a civil servant with the US Federal government. The literature review will also incorporate literature highlighting the existential gaps and problems of participation within the South African context. A case study will also be drawn in the literature review to amplify the influence Arnstein theory of citizen participation in bring about quality and meaningful citizen participation in Chile.

Arnstein theory of citizen participation emerges as an engagement with the problems of participation where Arnstein observes the factors that influence meaningful citizen participation in democratic processes administered by public institutions.

This review will compare and contrast Arnstein's theory and approach to citizens involvement with the South African parliaments public participation approach analysing common themes, experiences and contrasting and drawing lessons for contemporary citizens engagement.

A critical analysis on the limitations of Arnstein theory within the context of South Africa will also be provided, concluding the analysis with a synthesised view that incorporates the perspective of the researcher on the research problem and contribute towards the discussion on how to democratise power relations in the participatory processes and institutions available to citizens to more effectively address the social imperatives facing the sectorial groups in Gauteng.

2.3 A Conceptual Prism on Participation: The Arnstein Model of Participation

Arnstein's typology of citizens participation is an influential model of democratic citizens participation, presented as a figurative ladder with each ascending rung representing increasing levels of agency, control, and power. (Arnstein, 1969; Callahan: 1998: 175). The theory analyses how public institutions and officials deny power to citizens and how levels of citizen agency, control and power can be increased the higher the rung of participation.

The relevance of the politically informed model of participation of Arnstein to South Africa relates to our political history which is laden with struggles for justice and inclusion in the context of the abominable, racially exclusionary system of apartheid. Since the democratic transition in 1994, citizens participation in public decision making is now a legal requirement located in the new democratic constitution based on the principle that people should be allowed control over actions which affect them (Killermen: 1997, 54). This is also a primary concern of Arnstein in the original development of her model.

In contemplating Arnstein's theory of citizen participation, it is important to engage with the intricate fabric of political praxis under which the theory was synthesised and denote the aims of each stage of the metaphorical ascending ladder rungs.

Arnstein ladder of citizen participation, developed in 1969, represents a framework for shared decision making and stakeholder engagement, presented in an eight (8) rung metaphorical ladder with each rung corresponding to the extent of citizens power in determining the participation process.

Arnstein uses examples drawn from her experience as an administrator of three federal social programs; urban renewal, anti-poverty and model cities to provide an analytical explanation that brings to light the binaries in the administration of citizen participation by US public institutions.

The theory juxtaposes the participation experiences of the impoverished in US neighbourhoods with less formal education with that of the more affluent, educationally resourced community members, to highlight the relative divisions between these two groups as administered through the US political system.

The aim of the figurative ladder is to showcase the class nature of the system of participation through a bottom-up approach demonstrating how power is distributed within the respective rungs of the participation ladder, providing insights on how citizen participation is conceptualised and structured within the US political system, and which has resonances with the South African political context of participation.

Arnstein (1969) denotes the first two bottom rungs as the non-participation stages of manipulation and therapy, a non-participation phase where undemocratic public institutions and public officials manipulate and provide therapy to impoverished communities and groups under the guise of citizen participation with no real intentions to empower or address the problems of the participants. The next three rungs include informing, consultation and placation is considered tokenism, with cosmetic power distribution to the participants in the engagement process. The agenda which informs the participation process primarily serves the administrative objectives of the public officials and institutions, in Arnstein's argument.

The last three rungs of the participation ladder namely partnerships, delegated power and citizens control resonate with Arnstein's ideal conceptualisation of citizens participation as citizens control and provide the basis of her theoretical analysis, where she observes the undemocratic manner in which US public institutions and officials conceptualise citizens participation in ways that are biased towards more affluent groups within American society. Conversely, this classist approach to citizen participation by public institutions and officials as observed by Arnstein (1969) is still prevalent in modern day South Africa.

The Gauteng Provincial Legislature by comparison with the US model that Arnstein describes has a public participation framework that characterises stakeholders into two broad categories namely public participation stakeholders as well as institutional stakeholders with the latter comprised of formal established bodies and institutions and due to their ascribed societal standing and organisational influence exercise more agency in the institutions citizens participation process compared to stakeholders, comprised of ordinary stakeholders who are mostly unemployed and rely on state social security.

As alluded above, Arnstein ladder of citizen participation is a politically informed theory and a response to the uneven power dynamics tilted in favour of affluent communities by undemocratic public institutions and officials within the US political system to the detriment and frustration of the impoverished communities.

Lastly, even though Arsntein theory have been widely critiqued it has however been credited for agitating a shared decision-making realm especially within institutions of higher learning as well as in the context of integrated development planning by municipalities involved with community development planning for housing, health and education projects that requires public participation in developing countries including South Africa. An analytic engagement with the Arnstein model which contrasts her 'ladder of participation model with the South

African experience it is anticipated will provide insights on why the South African model of participation as applied to the Gauteng GPL has failed to achieve its participatory objectives.

2.4 The South African Context of Parliamentary Participation

The vision of a democratic parliament in South Africa is to build a truly representative people's parliament that would uphold both representative and participatory democracy.

To carry out the constitutional mandate on public participation, the Gauteng Provincial Legislature public participation model is informed by the parliament's participation model.

The Parliamentary public participation model recommends that the public engagement process followed by the provincial legislatures when soliciticing the views of the public on policy, must have the goal of enriching the decision-making process to reflect the will of the people (Ben-Zeev and Waterhouse, 2012).

Within the context of South Africa, noting its history of racial exclusion, parliament's public participation model assumes that the will of the people would be achieved by a people centred parliamentary institution that prioritises engagement with the public and is both receptive and responsive to the needs of the people within a context of a constitutional democracy and which promotes both representative and participatory forms of governance (Ben- Zeev and Waterhouse, 2012).

Parliaments public participation approach is modelled on a staggered public participation process based on the principle of providing information to the public, a process that enables consultation with citizens and facilitating their involvement in the decision-making structures through various parliamentary mechanisms. This includes public hearings, committee meetings and sectoral parliaments.

To ensure meaningful and effective participation, the model recommends that essential feedback sessions be conducted after every consultative engagement.

Sectoral parliaments in particular is one of the mechanisms used by parliament to facilitate the involvement of diverse voices of different sectoral groupings residing in the Gauteng Province. This is done with the intention to provide a democratic platform where sectors are able to converge individually and propose policy and legislative recommendations to the government of Gauteng through the legislature, in line with the universal moto of "nothing about us without us" (Scholvinch:1: 2004).

The decision by the Gauteng Provincial Legislature to institute a committee focus intervention study (FIS) to determine the reasons for the non-participation of minority groups in parliaments citizen participation mechanism was informed by concerns on the need for a more effectively inclusive public participation citizenry regime, in line with the values of the South African Constitution.

2.5 Substantive Gaps in the Public Participation Process

The political economy of public participation in South Africa is driven by citizen confidence in governance. Where there is a lack thereof, trust in government institutions is bound to diminish if not ultimately collapse. Public opinion, economic conditions, technological inclinations, attempts by the private sector to lobby government on targeted issues, all form part of the invisible hand in the destiny of enhanced public participation.

Prevalence of governance failures can result in the rise in social unrest (community protests). This could also be indicative of a diminishing role of the state where public trust and confidence has significantly diminished. In the main, these are instigated by insufficient involvement of the public in determining the direction and content of policies that immediately affect them.

In the Balfour city case, Fakir and Moloi (2011:111-112) note that the residents of Siyathemba informal settlement undertook their first major direct protest action in 2009, which arose outside of any formal community or political structure or organisation. Government had initially failed to respond to a community grievance on Siyathemba being incorporated with the Dipaleseng Municipality in Mpumalanga Province rather than to leave it with the Gauteng Province.

This example demonstrates the intricacies of non-responsiveness by government as a trigger to community or social anger, furthermore Phooko and Simbo (2014:173) concludes that the increase in courts judgements compelled the South African parliament to uphold the right of public involvement in the law making, indicating that public institutions view public involvement in law making as a symbolic as opposed to a substantive exercise.

2.6 The problem of in-effective public participation: the case of the Disability Sector and Youth Parliament

Although institutionalised sector parliaments resolution tracking mechanisms within the legislative sector are a paramount resource tool in ensuring public participation, this initiative has not been effective. This is mainly due to failure by Portfolio Committees to table such resolutions in the House for adoption. The study will engage this argument in the latter chapters.

Ultimately, this view is informed by the insightful analogy by Arnstein (1969), stating that the first two bottom rungs are the non-participation stages of manipulation. Thus, gap mitigation should always be considerate of the above.

Concomitant to this, in 2023 the Gauteng Provincial Legislature cancelled the Disability Sector Parliament event on the eve of the date the event was scheduled to take place with no recourse for the invited community stakeholders to relay their concerns. Concerns had been raised 2 years earlier in 2021 by youth in Gauteng, who rejected the Youth Sector Parliament platform, citing concerns over the effectiveness of sectorial parliamentary engagements to influence decisions taken by the government of Gauteng.

Youth delegates disrupted and halted proceedings of the Youth Sector Parliament advocating that the Gauteng parliament implements the prior resolutions taken by the 2020 sector parliament. Following the cancelation of the 2021 event the Gauteng Provincial Legislature has been unable to convene a youth sector parliament to enable active and representative participation so that all community members can meaningfully influence the policy decisions that affects their lives. (Ben- Zeev and Waterhouse: 2012: 52).

The examples cited above illustrating the experiences endured by participants of the Gauteng Provincial Legislature sector parliaments are comparable to the problems of participation observed by Arnstein in her analysis five decades ago. Public participation processes continue to deny substantive power to citizens and fails to acknowledge the underlying concern that poor participation of citizens may be structural, the process often mainly aimed at symbolic participation.

For instance, the review report which investigated the reasons for the disruption of the youth parliament, characterised the youth delegates as being rowdy and hostile and downplayed their legitimate concerns related to the effectiveness and inclusiveness of the Gauteng Provincial Legislature participation process. Similarly, Arnstein observes in the contrasting US context that a US federal report characterised participants who attended consultation meetings for a proposed model cities grant as hostile and rowdy, for questioning the integrity and inclusiveness of the consultation and citizen participation process.

A classist approach to democratic citizen participation is another common thematic area extracted from the literature review analysis prevalent in both the South African and US political context. There appears to be class-related bias in the manner in which public institutions conceptualise and rationalise participation for various societal classes within citizen democratic processes. The profiles of the majority of participants engaged with the Gauteng provincial legislature public participation mechanisms are mostly unemployed and rely on state social support. Conversely, the profiles of the class of participants in which Arnstein theory of citizen participation frames as the have nots, undergo similar invidious experiences as a consequence of their social status. This points to the ineffective democratic processes of public institutions when it relates to members of marginal social groups.

The problems of participation in the Gauteng Provincial Legislature as contextualised above relates to the limitations of the model for public participation to affect a democratic and empowering citizen participation outcome. The conceptual framing of Arnstein theory offers potential insights that help to differentiate between an empowering citizen participation process from a non-participatory empty ritual, as characterised by Arnstein. A chief consideration to the limitations of the theory which will be explored, is it assumes participation as a perpetual collective exercise of power relations and benefits, but which often does not align with participants own motivations for engaging in decision making and which may include direct personal material benefits as noted by Theyyan (2019: 23). This framing will be engaged from the perspective argued that participation is a civic duty and right that must be devoid from material accumulation as the sole intention of participating.

The critical approach that this research study takes is therefore informed by Arnstein's (1969) pioneering framing of partnership as a tool to increase citizens power and control in the participation process is not devoid of challenges in the South African context. This is illustrated furthermore in the case of Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) for example, the biggest progressive trade union who have invested in formal political partnerships and alliances with the co-governing party in the interest of serving the workers they represent. However, the partnership did not prevent the government from institutionalising labour brokers, despite strong opposition by the unions against this policy decision Baskin (2019).

A further potential challenge with the model as applied to South Africa is that it assumes that powerholders do not advance a paternalistic attitude within the higher rungs of the participation process that may compel participants to act outside the interests of the organisation they represent, as in the case of in the above illustrated examples.

As regards to social policy concerns and participation, in South Africa, government has instituted a zero-vat- rated basket on basic food items including brown bread, maize meal, rice, vegetables, oil, eggs in light of the soaring cost of living Baskin (2019). While the government's intentions contribute to addressing the poverty crisis, from a participation point of view, civil society groups have voiced their displeasure in the unilateral manner which the decision was taken.

It is on that basis that this research argues against a class-based approach to public participation by democratic institutions. Furthermore, this research study proceeds from the normative position that consultation and feedback are essential principles in the participation process, as encapsulated in the parliament model for participation. The problem of participation is not a result of hostile sectorial groups but are directly interlinked with a flawed participation process that is effectively experienced as meaningless (window-dressing) and therefore does not reflect the will of the people.

Finally, in the context of the purpose of this study which is to explain the factors that influence the participation of social groups in Gauteng in the citizen participation mechanisms of the Gauteng Provincial Legislature. The above literature needs to be critically engaged with so that various insights it offers on what constitutes a meaningful discourse of participation and factors that impact participation results in an outcome of effective participation process that aligns with the will of the participants.

2.7 Learning from a Significant international experience: A Chilean Case

A study visit carried out by the Gauteng Legislature's Committee of Chairpersons in 2012 revealed that in January 2002 the Government of Chile's *Solidarity and Social Investment Fund (FOSIS)* began a pilot programme providing integral support to families living in extreme poverty. The programme began in four of the 13 regions of the country, in 57 of the 341 communes (municipalities), and included 14 000 families of the total of 225 000 families who are living in these conditions.

This study revealed that that despite the successes of Chile's Concertation government coalition in reducing the national poverty rate by half during the 1990s, the level of extreme poverty has remained slightly constant since 1998 (Gauteng Provincial Legislature, 2012). After four years of social policies implemented during sustained economic crisis, it became evident that the recuperation of an accelerated rate of economic growth alone would not ensure the reduction of extreme poverty. A realisation was that both ethical principles and technical observations called for an intervention specifically designed to support this sub-group of the population.

Interestingly, in concurrence with Arnstein, the Chilean Puente (Bridge) Program, intended to introduce a new perspective to the social interventions with the poorest communities. This group normally excluded from the social and assistance networks intended for them, often lacked the minimal necessities for survival and a dignified quality of life. The fundamental intention of this programme was (as still remains the case) to provide integral psychosocial support to the family, a crucial component in overcoming poverty with this group in particular.

Pursuant to these observations, Puente was built using a family intervention strategy developed by a multi-disciplinary work team from the Ministry of Planning and Cooperation (MIDEPLAN) that included specialists from several public organisms, among them FOSIS. The formulation of the strategy also incorporated previous experiences from programs implemented by local municipalities and FOSIS' recent work with excluded social groups.

The Chilean Experience further reveals that its system of management controls and results-based budgeting consists of the following key tools: performance indicators, programme and agency evaluations (including Comprehensive Spending Reviews), Bidding Fund for public programmes, Management Improvement Programmes linked to performance bonuses for central government employees, and Comprehensive Management Reports. These tools are

integrated into the budget process and create synergies from the conceptual elements in their design and implementation.

Furthermore, care has been taken over the past few years to maintain consistency in the methodology, and to emphasise feedback. Notably, the Ministry of Finance plays a central role in designing and managing the monitoring and evaluation (M&E) system. The Ministry has also successfully created an evaluation factory, which includes a well-developed process for planning, commissioning, managing, reporting and using a range of types of evaluations.
There are fundamental lessons here from this limited case-study of the Chilean experience.

2.8 Expectation Disconfirmation Model and GPL Performance

A study on the effectiveness of the Gauteng Provincial Legislature through the lens of the citizens finds that the people of Gauteng are dissatisfied with the performance of the Gauteng Provincial Legislature in respect of the ability of the institution to meet its public participation, law making and oversights objectives. This situation according to a study by Muzenda et al (2023) is associated to a pattern of general decline in the trust levels and decreasing citizens satisfaction with parliaments and legislatures, both at a continental and international stage.
The research from this study also confirms that GPL's current performance measurement tool focuses on inputs (the meeting of targets against the annual performance plan) yet the public measures the GPL in its ability to achieve outcomes i.e. (the number of resolutions proposed by a sectoral parliament engagement implemented as policy by the provincial government) based on the institutional public participation mandate. In this regard, the expectation disconfirmation model (the measure of people's expectations in a product in relation to its actual performance) predicts that a positive disconfirmation is derived from a situation where high performance meets high satisfaction levels and low performance with high expectations brings about a negative disconfirmation. The report noted that in the area of public participation, the institutions citizens participation mechanisms is not inclusive and the public participation mechanisms (while however meeting the international best practices) in its current form derives a negative disconfirmation for GPL. In other words, the GPL performance did not meet the expectations of the public, as found in the research study. The research study also confirms a number of hindrances related to enhanced citizens participation related to accessibility, communication, transparency and the integrity of the participation process in other words this negative disconfirmation erodes trust in the GPL and confidence in parliament public participation mechanisms.

Chapter 3

3.1. Research Methodology

The qualitative research method will be adopted to gain an understanding of the challenges facing the Legislative sector in parliament with regard to facilitation of impactful participation. This research therefore will revolve around an in-depth documentary analysis of the three formal proceedings of the Youth Sector Parliaments held in 2017,2018 and 2022 and as such this research project will not involve the interviewing of human participants. The reasons for the selection of the sample of sector parliaments formal proceedings to add value on this study will be amplified later on.

The process of GPL Sector Parliaments includes the following roles players. From the Gauteng Provincial Legislature, the list includes the Presiding Officers namely Speaker, Deputy Speaker, Chairpersons of Chairperson and Deputy Chairpersons of Committees. From the Government of Gauteng, the Premier or the delegated representative as well as the administrators both from GPL and Premiers office and lastly the youth delegates referred to as participants.

The events of the formal parliamentary proceedings were transcribed into a documentary record, marked for purposes of identification and referencing

The above organisational method aimed to retrieve empirical data, drawing meaning from the transcripts of the video evidence and contextualise the sector parliament participatory process within Arnstein theory of citizen participation which underpins this study.

Methodologically, Arnstein's approach to citizen participation was critical in providing insights for comparatively evaluating and contrasting parliaments public participation model and enabled excavation of evidence-based reasons for the poor participation of social groups in the Gauteng Provincial Legislature public participation mechanisms.

Interestingly, in concurrence with Arnstein, the Chilean Puente (Bridge) Program mentioned above, intended to introduce a new perspective to the social interventions with the poorest communities. This group normally excluded from the social and assistance networks intended for them, often lacked the minimal necessities for survival and a dignified quality of life. The fundamental intention of this programme was (as still remains the case) to provide integral psychosocial support to the family, a crucial component in overcoming poverty with this group in particular.

Pursuant to these observations, Puente was built using a family intervention strategy developed by a multi-disciplinary work team from the Ministry of Planning and Cooperation (MIDEPLAN) that included specialists from several public organisms, among them FOSIS. The formulation of the strategy also incorporated previous experiences from programs implemented by local municipalities and FOSIS' recent work with excluded social groups.

The Chilean Experience further reveals that its system of management controls and results-based budgeting consists of the following key tools: performance indicators, programme and agency evaluations (including Comprehensive Spending Reviews), Bidding Fund for public programmes, Management Improvement Programmes linked to performance bonuses for central government employees, and Comprehensive Management Reports. These tools are

integrated into the budget process and create synergies from the conceptual elements in their design and implementation.

Furthermore, care has been taken over the past few years to maintain consistency in the methodology, and to emphasise feedback. Notably, the Ministry of Finance plays a central role in designing and managing the monitoring and evaluation (M&E) system. The Ministry has also successfully created an evaluation factory, which includes a well-developed process for planning, commissioning, managing, reporting and using a range of types of evaluations.
There are fundamental lessons here from this limited case-study of the Chilean experience.

3.2 Research Approach

This research aimed to explain the factors that influence the participation of social groups in the citizens participation mechanisms of the Gauteng Provincial Legislature.

Wagner et al (2012, pg. 229) identifies observations as a qualitative research method that could be utilised by researchers to collect data about people, opportunities, and cultures. In order to achieve the objectives of the research report and respond to the research question, a qualitative research method was applied that provided opportunities for the researcher to analyse transcripts of a recorded formal participation process in order to correlate and explain the empirical data sourced from the documented evidence.

This approach will comprise the analysis of recorded documentary visuals of three formal youth sector parliament proceedings held in 2018, 2019 & 2022. The video evidence for analysis was retrieved from public archives with the identities of the participants anonymised, through an anonymous labelling system which indicates status for purposes of referencing and context but not specific named identification.

3.3 Sampling

The Gauteng Provincial Legislature has implemented a number of sector parliament events since democratic governance in 1994. This research study has selected a sample of sector parliament events that that occurred before and after measures put in place by GPL Presiding Officers of the 6th Legislature (2019-2023) to strengthen the effectiveness of the sector parliament programme by introducing a new house resolution management system to be led by GPL House committees.

The value of this approach as well as the choice of sample for analysis is to enable an assessment on the lived experiences of sector parliament participants and contextualise these experiences within the problems of democratic citizen participation as identified by Arnstien theory.

Secondary data was also utilised in order to relate existing documented evidence for a balanced research approach including documents such as a focus group intervention study report, Ipsos perception study, a GPL perception survey 2029-2020, sector parliament resolutions and relevant discussion documents.

It is acknowledged that researchers are not value neutral and are influenced by their normative positioning which shapes their worldview, order of thinking and the researchers understanding of reality. For instance, the interpretivist research paradigm rejects the notion of a single verifiable objective reality as propounded by the positivism paradigm (Rehman and Alharthi, 2007). The underlying features of the interpretivist paradigm is that there exist multiple

realities which are socially constructed by individual experiences. Within the interpretivist paradigm, truth and reality is subjective and produced through individual interpretation and perception of reality.

3.4 Research Tools and their Application to Assessing Participation Processes

Gill et al (2008) identifies three data collection tools useful for qualitative research studies that includes observations, structured or semi structured interviews administered on (individual or focussed group) and textual or visual analysis of documentaries or books.

To adequately address the questions posed by this study, there is a need thoroughly map out the entire youth parliament successive recordings for analysis.

The research study intends to analyse the youth parliament visuals primary because it also encompasses the participation of a diverse sample of participants coming from different social backgrounds for a representative sample that also reflects the demographic profiles in the province, class and geographical locations

For the research findings to be credible, this research study requires an analysis of an actual participation process in order to explain the concerns related to the quality of the participation process.

In this way, I will be able to build in controls for the areas which the research should explore and engage critically with the issues which emerge during the data collection phase. Noting that my research question intended addressing the problems in the public participation process, it was felt that the analysis of documented visuals might further serve to assist my study into uncovering issues of direct relevance to the research population as it relates to their concerns on participation in government processes.

Lastly, my research data also collected textual information sourced from unpublished and published material assembled as part of my literature review and as pertinent to my research area of study. These will include a comprehensive review of material available from scholars and other academic information networks and sources derived at via desktop research.

3.5 Process of Data Analysis

The process of data analysis is important in that it allows for contrasting data collected during the research study to be compared and contrasted with the existing body of knowledge found in the literature review stages of the research. In other words, this will facilitate the analysis of research data and help to explain, correlate and confirm arguments found in the existing body of knowledge.

Data analysis is also useful in identifying new themes identified by the research study data which did not come out during the literature review stages of the research. Once the new themes have been identified, it is then feasible to do a thematic analysis involving coding the themes in different thematic categories. This process ultimately leads to the interpretation on the reasons for the emergence of the new identified themes substantiated by the research data and give a critical analysis and explanation describing particular behaviour and the shifting of trends.

3.6 Reliability, Feasibility & Dependability

Strong validity, reliability and dependability are three pillars that influence a quality research outcome. To ensure that the research project has strong validity, it was important to ensure the application of research constructs which are verifiable and empirically measures the subjects which the research is probing and ensure thereby that the material is consistent with the area of analysis, in order to obtain valid data relevant to answering the research questions. This includes ensuring the content covered in the questionnaires is of sufficient depth and scope.

On way of ensuring that the data collected is reliable is through examining the responses given to the administered questionnaire to examine consistency of findings. If there is high similarity on the response to a specific question posed this suggests high reliability of the data extracted.

To ensure dependability of the research findings the research methodology will be adhered to dynamically. Reliability of a research study is also increased by the ability to reflect on the data gathering exercise.

To do this required a record management system of the research events, including taking along tape recorders for interviews and notepads to note important events and trends.

3.7 Limitations, Feasibility & Positionality

This research study competed with my day-to-day employment demands as well as the pressures of time. The successful completion of the objectives of this project was therefore time dependent. This required drafting a schedule with clear realistic timelines taking into cognisance any other work or personal life priorities.

The sponsorship funding received as a bursary from work is limited to covering the tuition costs therefore self-funding informed the logistics and any other financial implication that the project incurred. It was therefore necessary to draft a budget plan detailing all the budgetary items, factoring the forecasted costs that includes the exercise of transcribing video material into transcripts.

The research topic involves the Gauteng Provincial Legislature, where I am employed on a full-time basis therefore all relevant approvals to conduct the research including access to the relevant documents and information will be sorted.

3.8 Ethics

Punch (2014, p.54) highlighted the importance for researchers to solicit informed consent and permission from all research participants from the inception of the data collection stage such that participants are able to state their willingness to participate and have the opportunity to consider their consent and participation in the research study including what will be done with the information required from them.

Before embarking on this research study, the researcher solicited the written consent from the Gauteng Provincial Legislature in line with the university requirements, my research proposal was accompanied by a Wits ethics clearance application form detailed the nature of my study highlighting the levels of risks associated with my research study for the approval and consideration of the Wits human research ethics committee.

Wagner *et al.* (2012, p.68) impresses on the need to engage primary data after having obtained the informed consent of the document creators which in this context is the Gauteng Provincial

Legislature as custodian of the material contained in their utube account. This thesis therefore joins the increasing body of scholarly outputs that draw their data sets from the platform of YouTube (Arthurs et.al 2018).

Kumar (2014, p.285) indicates that informed participation means research participants are aware of the objectives of the research study, their role in the research study as data hubs and what purpose will the data required from them serve and how it will impact or affect them. This research study does not include the participation of human participants during the data gathering phase but relied on an analysis of video evidence to engage with. While this is the case it was important that I protect the identities and confidentiality and personal information of my research participants. This entail ensuring the anonymity of the research participants throughout the research process by protecting their identities and ensuring that they are not linked with the data collected. In this regard the engagement with the empirical data will be anonymous.

Chapter 4

4.1. Data Presentation

The chapter presents data collected during the documentary analysis of three (3) transcribed electronic files, the GPL public participation strategy, previous sector parliament resolutions and the recommendations of the focus intervention study. The empirical data from the research findings will be engaged through a discourse analysis that will draw insights from Arnstein model of citizen participation as the base theory underpinning this study as well as other documentary data reviewed in the literature that affects enhanced citizen participation

The transcribed video recordings of three (3) formal youth parliament process includes youth who were mobilised from various tertiary institutions in Gauteng as well as youth civil society organisation across the geographical divide of the province of Gauteng. The mobilisation strategy for the participants intention was to ensure a level of diversity in the profiles of the youth participating in the youth parliament.

The data presented in this chapter was also collected from media interviews conducted by key role players in the management and execution of the public participation function within GPL, both at a political and administrative level. This study used triangulation to confirm the credibility of the findings.

Various public speeches made by GPL Presiding Officers in various national media platforms and assorted social media was thoroughly analysed against recorded events, therefore providing a factual record of events and decisions. In this instance, the observations of the Deputy Chair of Committees were a key focus, whose constitutional role is to champion public participation in GPL and therefore entrusted with upholding the constitution through the political oversight function of sector parliaments identified in the parliaments public participation model.

The documentary data review assisted in getting an aerial view of the formal participation process and became useful in deducing various thematic patterns in relation to the research question and become a source of vital additional data that is not contained on the literature review.

The role players in the documentary data analysed included in addition the successive Speakers of the Gauteng Legislature, Deputy Speakers, Chair of Committees & Deputy Chair of Committees, Premier & Executive Council as well as the youth parliament delegates coming from diverse social backgrounds.

As alluded the choice of the sample of video copies selected for review analysis is in line with one of the questions this research study seeks to address on the substantiveness of the sector parliament programme in addressing the problem of a deficit in the participation of social groups in policy and law-making process.

The findings of this chapter were categorised into themes. At the conclusion, the chapter provides a summary of the key issues presented. The research findings reflect the proceedings of the formal parliamentary sector parliaments sessions reviewed, as well as the commitment made by various Presiding Officers in public.

Chapter 5

5.1. Research Findings

The main question of this research is: Does the Arnstein model of citizen participation provide insights on the problems of non-participation of social groups in the Gauteng Provincial Legislature citizen participation mechanisms?

The empirical data collected will be categorised into three themes namely: Accountability, Management & Governance as well as a theme explored on Deceptive Inclusion. The identified themes and sub themes will reflect on the problems that affects the diminishing role of enhanced public participation as excavated from the empirical data sourced from the analysis of the electronic evidence of the three (3) formal parliamentary proceedings of the youth sector parliament.

The empirical data findings will be interrogated relative to the ascending rungs of Arnstien (1969) figurative ladder of citizen participation as well as the other readings covered in the literature review. The thrust behind this approach is to examine how the theory of citizen participation could influence enhanced and meaningful citizen participation of the Gauteng Provincial Legislature sector parliaments.

5.2 Accountability theme (Sector Parliaments)

The accountability theme helps responds to the research sub-question that probes the successes of the legislature sector parliaments public participation model in addressing the challenges facing sectorial groups in Gauteng. The documentary analysis focussed on the effectiveness of the sector parliament resolution tracking system, following the decision to have institutional sector parliaments led by house committees as a measure of improving feedback to sector parliament resolutions.

For a close interrogation of this theme, the analysis relied on empirical data quoted from the findings of the formal parliamentary proceedings held 2022 youth sector parliament. In order to ensure the anonymity of the youth parliamentary delegates and role players in the 2022 formal session. The following anonymous labels will be employed.

The research findings therefore will label and identify all the youth parliament delegates in all the formal proceedings analysed throughout the findings section as (youth participant followed by the date), the GPL Presiding Officers will be labelled in accordance with their respective institutional role followed by the date. Representatives from the Gauteng executive will be labelled in accordance with role they occupy in the provincial government followed by the date. Lastly all officials will be referred to as (anonymised identification of official followed by the date) for ease of reference to the reviewer. This findings from this section were non-intrusive and gives an official account and viewpoint of the participants labelled above without any influences or misrepresentation.

5.2.1 Delegate powers to participants to improve the accountability of sector parliaments

The 2022 youth sector parliament brought forth the persistence challenge related to lack of accountability of the Gauteng Provincial Legislature sector parliament programme. One participant remarked

"*The problem with our elders is that once you start addressing them accordingly, they will start saying you are being disrespectful, and I quote what last year (2021) Honourable Mpapa Kanyane (Deputy Chair of Chairs) said …. This is an agreement we are entering into and agreement with you therefore we are going to make sure as the legislature that whatever activities that are there for the youth you are going to be informed and involved. (youth participant, 2022).*

The empirical data shows the abominable experiences of exclusion and manipulation of the youth sector participants by the institutions and officials. The failure to genuinely involve sectorial groups in the formative stages of any sector parliament programme is to evade accountability by official and institutions and this invariably impacts on stakeholder satisfaction and trust deficit in parliaments and legislatures programmes as observed by the analysis from Muzenda et al (2003).

There are also notable patterns of similarities which connects the GPL sector parliament programmes with the manipulative non-participation stages identified in Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation theory, these patterns are nuanced in the experiences of both the youth sector parliament and the recipients of US federal social support relating to the misuse of consultation by public institutions and officials with the aim of dividing the participants in the participation process, evading accountability and denying citizens the right to shared decision making. Arnstein's (1969) brings to light the abominable experiences and stigmatising characterisation of the grant recipients as 'rowdy' by officials and US institutions for demanding accountability in the participation process.

A provocation: if GPL sector parliaments are at the bottom rungs of Arnstein figurative ladder, how do we increase the levels of agency, control and power of the sector parliament programme to improve accountability and enhance state society relations crucial in policy making. Accordingly, the theory of citizen participation proposes that shared decision making in public institutions could be achieved if the citizen participation process is able to delegate authority to participants enabling them more control and influence during platforms aimed at influencing public policy.

The literature review section revealed that parliaments public participation model intends to use sector parliament as a key instrument to infuse participatory democracy within representative governance as a constitutional imperative. As such, sectoral parliaments were envisaged as a platform for the use of social groups in Gauteng to influence government policy. However, the findings of this report as enunciated by the youth participants of the 2022 youth parliament dispel the sector parliament programme as an effective instrument for citizens to influence government policy.

5.2.2 Window dressing participation

The findings of a study conducted by Muzenda et al (2003) reveals that the people of Gauteng consider the GPL public participation programmes as window dressing participation, meaningless and lacking accountability.

This view was based on an assessment that GPL performance measurement measures the execution of stated targets achieved without providing evidence on how the targets achieved

impacts on achieving the institutional strategic outcomes. In other words, does the implementation of the sector parliament programme with adopted resolutions translate into meaningfully influencing public policy or is the programme merely symbolical with no real intention to substantively address the plight of the social groups in Gauteng?

The above question relates to the issue of how the lack of accountability has a diminishing effect on citizen participation in policy making, to the detriment of trust and confidence in public institutions. Arnstien (1969) identified placation further as a one of the strategies used by institutions and officials to manipulate the involvement of citizens into methodologically rigorous but substantively superficial citizen participation consisting effectively of rituals devoid of future accountability. The empirical data of the formal proceedings of the 2022 youth sector parliament brings to light the problems affecting accountability of the sector parliament programme which impacts on GPL the good governance and citizen participation deficit.

There is a need for GPL public participation model to consider forging meaningful partnerships with sectorial group in Gauteng. Partnership has been identified in Arnstein model of citizen participation as an effective tool towards shared decision making.

5.3 Management & Governance Theme

This section will respond to the issues that impact the management and governance of the sector parliament citizen engagement programme. A comprehensive engagement with the empirical data that affects governance and management of the sectorial parliament programme is important to understand whether sector parliaments are symbolic or substantive platform to influence policy making as one of the sub questions. The engagement will be contextualised within the ambit of the rungs of Arnstien ladder of citizen participation theory. More insights will also be drawn from other literature with specific focus on the need for institutional reforms for enhanced citizen participation.

For a clear presentation of the findings in line with the ethical protocols binding this study. The following labels will be used to identify the role players of the 2018 youth sector parliament formal proceedings from the empirical data excavated from the transcribed electronic evidence of the 2018 formal parliamentary session.

The youth parliamentary delegates will be identified as (anonymous identification of participants followed by the date when the parliament proceedings were held). The GPL Presiding Officers will be labelled in accordance with their respective institutional role followed by the date. Representatives from the Gauteng executive will be labelled in accordance with role they occupy in the participation session.

5.3.1 Institutional reforms in the management of sectorial parliament

The need for intergovernmental coordination in the management of sectorial parliament programme to include all the spheres of government to ensure their accountability of sector parliament resolutions was raised on record during the 2018 and 2021 youth sector parliaments.

"*Honourable Deputy Speaker you must have a resolution, I plead that you have a house resolution so that it is a parliamentary decision that would compel the compulsory attendance*

and participation of all mayors of Gauteng municipalities as well as members of the provincial cabinet" (Gauteng Premier David Makhura: 2018 Youth Sector Parliament).

"the debates today are under the theme that addresses the issue of the new normal the pandemic Covid 19, which has its own complications, and we will be listening to the youth today and who will be outlining issues the legislature will have to address one way or the other one way. Again, it is our noble wish that the proceeding today goes very well"

…. And it is our hope that these objectives will be realised, and we will make sure that the outcomes should not end up as the talk shop, we have had the youth parliament in the past and based on the challenges it was hard especially last year to have a report back but today we are putting our head on the block to say the process form here is outlined and will be followed meticulously and whatever outcome we have today is going to be owned by the portfolio committee of education and the portfolio committee is going to table these issues the committee and from there they (Portfolio Committee) are going to table the resolutions in the house of the provincial legislature and when this are tabled we will invite you as a guest to be in the gallery such that you are able to listen to the chair of the education portfolio committee table your issues to the executive".

*"Again, we are going to give the executive according to the law 30days to respond to the issues and after the executive have been responded to your issues and fortunately the Hon Panyaza the MEC he is the one who is going to take care of your resolutions. Those resolutions we are going to make sure that there is a report back and we can't have a youth parliament next year if there is no report back … we are promising you and that is the process we are going to follow" (*Deputy Chair of Committees, 2021 Youth Parliament).

The failure of parliaments public participation model to facilitate an institutional intergovernmental framework to manage the affairs of the sector parliament affects the effectiveness of the sector parliament programme.

Sector parliaments events without feedback on adopted resolutions are nothing more than the empty ritual or non-empowering citizen participation process identified by Arnstien (1969), that impedes on quality and enhanced citizen participation.

Peacock (2012:253) as highlighted in the literature review section indicates that participatory democracy requires a multilayered approach that involves institutional reforms, community engagement and civic education. To enhance the effectiveness of the sector parliament, the management and governance apparatus requires institutional reforms that would affect collaborative planning, implementation and evaluation of the sector parliament programme by all spheres of government.

This calls for the need for institutional reforms that would decentralise power to the sectorial groups participating in sector parliament programme. The proposed decentralisation includes transfer of power to the citizens during the planning of the sectorial parliament events thus ensuring that the sector groups have direct input on the agenda for discussion by the sector parliament and are part of the budgeting and implementation of the programme. Lastly, to ensure accountability of the sector parliament programme, institutional reforms should facilitate joint monitoring and evaluation of the sector parliament programme, which includes the participation of all the spheres of government together with the participations to establish a cooperative ownership and decision-making model.

5.3.2 Inclusiveness of GPL Public Participation Process

To recall, the original decision of the Gauteng Provincial Legislature to institute a focus intervention study was prompted by the non-participation of minority social groups in the GPL citizen participation processes, which affects inclusive governance. Parliaments public participation model is enjoined by the constitution to ensure that parliaments citizen engagement process is inclusive of all the demographics groups

The empirical data of the youth sector parliaments have also confirmed the problem with the attendance and inclusiveness of sector parliament which does not reflect on the demographics of the social groups in the province of Gauteng.

"*Who does the sector parliament develop, because there is poor attendance in the house with the population of the youth in attendance not reflecting the diverse demographics of the youth in the Gauteng Province.* (youth participant, 2019)

"firstly, we are debating here but the people we are debating for do not even see our debates on the virtual platform, if you can check the number of viewers viewing these sector parliament on the social media platforms on YouTube, Facebook [they] are less than one thousand (1000) every year I can tell you, I'm sure of that I checked. So, who actually are we debating for here, where they can actually see what we are debating about and what is the purpose of parliament being broadcasted? What is the purpose of bringing parliament to the people? Where are the people here? There are no people here, so I reject what is contained in that report". (youth participant, 2019).

This issue related to the quality of the citizen engagement process was highlighted in the empirical data findings. The issue of the limited time allocated for the deliberations of the sector parliament programme is also an indicative of the problems in the management of sectorial parliaments.

"We have three hundred and sixty-five days in a year, yet the Gauteng Provincial Legislature grants us the youth a few hours in a day to wrap up fast with our issues and this confirms that we are not taken seriously" (youth participant, 2022 youth parliament).

The problems that relate to the inclusivity, duration, attendance and structural composition of sector parliaments relates to management problems with the sector parliament programme that affects qualitative and enhanced citizen participation.

This suggests the GPL needs to consider institutional reforms that will encourage an inclusive citizen engagement framework that considers the views of all the social groups in the province plus giving citizens more agency and control to determine the citizen engagement participation process. The absence of such an institutional reform will make sector parliaments less effective in agitating for inclusive policy making.

5.3.3 Problems with the new committee led resolution tracking mechanism of sector parliaments

The data from this section responds to the sub question that seeks to determine the extent to which sector parliaments have responded to the challenges faced by social groups in Gauteng.

To address the issue of the sector parliaments participation process being tantamount to what Arnstein's (1969) describes as talk shops and meaningless empty rituals, the GPL introduced a sector parliament resolution tracking mechanism during the 2021 youth sector parliament formal process held virtually.

"we have created a platform as the legislature for you to make engagements and but we have to make a promise that this is not a talk shop and these engagements must rise and should not be an exercise in futility and not really circumlocate we need to move forward and what we are really saying is that all the views and your resolutions .....they mean much to us ... we are going to table that and Mayors side will be tabling that in the house as resolutions. ... they are so serious and once they are tabled, they will be channelled through the proper channel to relevant departments and the municipality.... what we need is the report back ...that's very key... we now put our head in the block that there has to be a report back. We understand that last year we had challenges and those challenges we use the reverse billing it was a virtual platform, and others were locked out and couldn't participate but those who participated they know that this is the process, and they will definitely stick to that and on that note... Take the platform be charged and be encouraged, this is your platform, this is your time and exploit it purposefully. (Deputy Chair of Committees, 2022 Youth Sector Parliament).

The above commitment which comes after one year, since the GPL introduced the sector parliament resolution tracking machinery to improve accountability in the sector parliament process is an indictment of the failures of the new resolution tracking system if anything signals, the ineffectiveness of the new mechanism to improve on the management and governance of sector parliaments.

Furthermore, the empirical data findings show that the resolutions of the senior citizen parliament held in the year (2021,22,24) under the new committee led resolution tracking mechanism were tabled in the house without the knowledge of the senior citizens sector parliament participants who adopted the resolutions to observe the formal process, pointing to window dress participation as identified by Arnstien (1969).

Moreover, there is no internal consensus on the structure that should lead the implementation of sector parliament resolutions. Some chairpersons of the portfolio committees observe that the new system tasked with the role of sector parliament resolution tracking have reverted the responsibility of implementing agreed upon resolutions back to the presiding officers of GPL. Phooko and Simbo (2014:173) that the increase in courts judgements compelling the South African parliament to uphold the right of public involvement in law making suggest that public institutions view public involvement as tokenistic and symbolic as validated in empirical data from the case studies of the sector parliament indicates.

5.4 Considering the Intentions of Participation: Exclusion & Deceptive Inclusion theme

The findings from this section were drawn from the analysis of the documentary data of the four (4) reviewed sector parliaments formal process. From the literature review analysis, we note that Arnstein ladder of citizen participation theory remains influential even in the 21st century because public institutions and officials continue to deny citizens power in the democratic participation process. Therefore, this section responds to the main research question highlighting the patterns of exclusion as well as contrasting the experiences of the youth sector

parliament participants with that of the social groups cited in Arnstien ladder of citizen participation.

5.4.1 Cosmetic Participation

During the 2021 youth sector formal proceedings, the legislature as well as the provincial executive announced a firm and tangible sector parliament resolution tracking mechanism with a view of enhancing the effectiveness of sector parliament feedback process such that it does not become a talk shop but an effective platform that shapes government policy.

However, despite the bold intentions made in the 2021 youth sector parliament event, the empirical data mined from the 2022 youth sector parliament proceedings show of superficial attempts to strengthen the effectiveness of sectorial programme to be empowering.

"*The Gauteng government announced the implementation of a sector parliament accountability machinery during the 2021 youth parliament sitting that would ensure that sector parliament resolutions are adhered to and implemented, but look the chairs are empty and there is just one member from the Gauteng executive in attendance*" (youth participant, June 2022).

Arnstien (1969) metaphorical ladder of citizen participation explains that at the bottom rung of the ladder, citizens are deceived into thinking they have real influence in the policy making process by serving on an advisory committee that has no power similarly to the sector parliaments coordinated by the Gauteng Provincial Legislature.

"As the deputy chair has indicated we are also tired of this programme being just a talk shop…. We want to than the leaders of the legislature" …. " We don't want to hear our own voice we want to hear the voices of young people articulating their own frustrations articulating their own views but importantly most importantly suggesting to us the best way to deal with young people, never in the history of our country that young people have been given this platform , a platform to share their views a platform to share their frustrations, but most importantly a platform to pave their own future and guide the policy direction that government need to take'….. (Member of the Gauteng Executive: 2021)

If the genuine intentions of the Gauteng government were to facilitate participatory governance through sectorial parliaments, a starting point would be the implementation of the recommendations of the respective sector parliaments adopted within the ambit of the new portfolio committee resolution tracking mechanism.

5.4.2 Public officials' biases towards the youth parliament participants and related stigmas.

The findings from this section are drawn from the empirical data of the youth sector parliament. During the 2019 youth sector parliament sitting, a government representative tasked with delivering a feedback report from the previous year's formal parliamentary sitting remarked

"Maybe let me start here. Can we please take ourselves seriously. You cannot chew bubble-gum and talk to us. Kukusidelela lento eniyenzayo (you are mocking us) ……. If you really

value, the presence of young people and the decisions that you are going to make here, you must take yourself seriously……..

Abogogo (Senior citizens) were here yesterday, and they knew what they want. Women will be here; they know what they want. When it comes to young people, we are reckless. So, how do I take you seriously when you are chewing bubble-gum, you are wearing a hat, you are putting your bag and your food parcel on the table. Can we please just make sure hore we look the part and smell right first (Gauteng Government Official, 2018).

As noted by Arnstien (1969), the democratic system trivialises upon the human dignity of the participant during the democratic citizen participation process as noted with the comments from the official extracted from the empirical data.

Lastly, Arnstein (1969) ladder of citizens participation theory explains that the hostile characterisation of citizens during the participation process occurs when citizens feel excluded or marginalised in the decision-making process, officials ignore the inputs of the citizens, no transparency in the decision-making process and unequal distribution of benefits during the participation process.

The empirical data findings place the GPL sector parliament programme at the bottom rung of Arnstien (1969) figurative ladder of citizen participation and therefore unable to influence decision making therefore we could infer that the current GPL model for public participation is deceptive and diminishes the participation of all social groups. The case study of the Chilean Solidarity and Social investment Funds (FOSIS) is one example which illustrates how mutual partnership and cooperation between public institutions and vulnerable social groups addresses the social inequality problem through shared decision making. This programme identifies the social needs of vulnerable groups and offers various support including education, training and financial support to develop capacity and encourages economic independence.

Chapter 6

6.1 Interpretation and analysis of Research Findings

This chapter presents the interpretation and analysis of the research findings from the previous chapters. Merriam (1996, p.165) argues that interpreting and analysing research data is an interactive process throughout the journey of the research exercise in that it enables the researcher to produce credible and trustworthy findings based on careful interrogation of the data. This process includes consolidating, narrowing down and interpreting the data gathered from the analysis against what is covered by literature and what was observed by the researcher.

6.2 Accountability Theme

The youth participants who participate in the youth parliaments come from diverse social backgrounds as noted in the empirical data. It was revealed from the documentary analysis that the youth parliament was constituted by students as well as unemployed youth under the ages of thirty-five (35) years both male and females and were mobilised to participate in the event by the officials from the public participation and petitions unit. It was also revealed that the youth attend the sector parliaments to seize the democratic platform created by the GPL to debate issues affecting the youth. The youth understand the sector parliament citizen participation programme as a platform where the youth debate issues and come up with solutions and then hold government accountable on the progress in the implementation of the youth sector parliament resolutions.

"*Sector parliament creates a platform for the youth to engage on policy issues affecting the youth sector… [providing an] … excellent platform to influence policy making in Gauteng and hold government accountable*" (youth participant, 2022)

"*Sector parliament promotes participatory democracy for different sector relates to issues affecting that sector in order to debate issues and table them before the committees of the legislature. The objectives of sector parliament are therefore aimed at strengthening accountability and oversight of issues affecting the youth".* (youth participant, 2022)

The sector parliaments programme was initially considered to be an excellent participatory platform by the participants that develops young people's understanding of parliamentary democracy, impart in them leadership and communication skills.

As noted by Arnstien (1969) informing citizens of their rights and responsibilities is an important step towards legitimate citizen participation. However, the problems with the sector parliament programme relates to accountability of the participation process towards resolutions raised by the participants of the sector parliament. This speaks to the need for integrated sector parliament resolution tracking mechanism that includes all spheres of government for better coordination of the sector parliament process. The last time the Gauteng Provincial Legislature held a youth sector parliament was in the year 2022. The sector parliament citizens engagement programme is faced with an existential crisis because of accountability issues that renders the programme an "empty ritual".

The empirical data of the formal proceedings of the 2022 youth sector parliament brings to light the problems affecting accountability of the sector parliament programme which impacts on GPL good governance and citizen participation deficit. The research findings noted

obstacles with the sector parliament programme that hinders quality and enhanced public participation.

6.2.1 Structural problem with the sector parliament process

This study revealed that the weaknesses with the sector parliament programme lied in their structural composition. This was the perspective of both the Premier as well as the Speaker of the Provincial Legislature, as influential public representatives. The study revealed also revealed that the sector parliament discusses a wide range of issues some which fall with the jurisdiction of local municipalities as well as the province however, mayors of local municipalities and members of the provincial cabinet do not attend sector parliament engagements so that they are able to benefit from the debates and receive policy proposals from the youth that would shape legislation and policy.

6.2.2 Ineffective & weak institutional capacity for sector parliament resolution tracking

The study revealed that the youth participants in the 2019 youth sector parliament vehemently rejected what was purported to be a feedback session for the resolutions adopted in the 2018 youth sector parliament event. The findings were extracted from the empirical data of the documentary data of the 2019 youth parliament formal proceedings,

"*I understand the frustrations of the youth, but… I cannot answer to aspects on the 2018 resolutions that was not within my scope of work and competency, and I am unable to account for national or municipal governments projects, so I won't respond*" (Gauteng Government Official, 2019).

" I think we need to go back to the previous parliament in 2029 where Honourable Panyaza Lesufi committed to introduce a mechanism that would compel all the spheres of government to commit to the resolutions of the sector parliament……. When we voted for these people we voted for them directly not the delegates, why are they delegating officials to come and present to us. Let me just close because I have a lot to say, I just want to say young people wake these people are taking us for a ride. (youth participant, 2022).

6.2.4 Inclusiveness, attendance of the sector parliament programmes

The empirical data further revealed concerns that affects the administration, mobilisation of sector parliament participants and overall poor communication and marketing of the sector parliament events

"there is poor attendance here and the chairs are empty, do they know how many are watching and following the proceedings on utube and other platforms, for who are we debating for when the chairs are empty, the executive is not available, there are also empty chairs at the back and we are just taken for a ride" (youth participant, 2022)

6.2.5 Participants feel undermined that views are not considered by officials and institutions

The study reveals that the youth participants feel that the officials do not listen and respect the participants, and they feel as if they are viewed as dustbins with no intellect.

"Look, I think there is a serious and a direct undermine by the Office of the Premier towards young people in Gauteng because look, I thought that perhaps this meeting, the Premier would be able to be here to be able to facilitate some of the questions that arose from a long time ago in the previous sessions that we have had, and to be able to come and give feedback"(youth parliament, 2019).

"Unfortunately, he is not here, and I think all of us here, we do not even understand why the Premier is not here. He has not even highlighted to us why the Premier is not here, but rather there are representatives from the Office of the Premier who are here to tell us that they cannot answer to questions. I cannot answer to this question. so, if indeed we want to have a very progressive session whereby questions that young people are concerned about, they need to be attended to and be answered". (youth participant, 2019)

"We want serious and clear answers, also we are intellectuals. We were not taken from the dustbins. (youth participant, 2019)

It was observed that the officials rely on parliamentary jargon and become condescending to block any accountability from their political principals to the youth sector parliament participants. The biases of the officials were also noted as some said the youth could not be taken seriously. Arnstein's (1969) study suggests that officials rarely relinquish control to allow citizens to share in the decision-making process and as a consequence they deny citizens their power, agency and control in the citizen participation process.

6.3 Asseesing the Intentions of Participation II: Exclusion & Deception theme.

From observation, we are able to determine that the youth participants who halted the proceedings of the 2019 feedback session were in attendance during the 2018 youth parliament proceedings where the Premier committed changes to the youth programme such that it does not become a meaningless empty ritual.

The tensions that led to the ultimate collapse of the 2018 formal parliamentary process was because the youth perceived the entire civic participation process to be deceptive sham and expressed outrage against participating for the sake of participating within a process that doesn't guarantee feedback and accountability.

"Mine is very simple here. Like, I do not get it that from July until to this day, they have only answered three commissions and some of the questions, so it says a lot about them. They do not take us seriously, so there is a need that we collapse this sitting and reconvene on another day when the Premier is here" ……. "This is not proper, that from July 2018 until this day, you only answered few of the questions, so what was the reason on them inviting us here, then after all they answered a few of the submissions that we submitted. We must collapse this sitting. (youth participant, 2019)

"*I think collectively we can agree that we must have that session whereby questions must be answered, not the session whereby we are told that this question, I cannot answer this question on behalf of a certain person. We cannot allow that. We cannot allow that or perhaps they are not competent enough to answer the questions" (youth participant, 2019).*

Arnstein (1969) research study reveals that participating for the sake of participation is tokenistic or perfunctory participation which occurs when the citizens are engaged in a participatory process that impedes them from genuinely influencing decisions leading to a decline in future engagements due to disillusionment after realising, they've placed
their hopes into a meaningless process that is deceptive and does not consider the views of the participants.

6.3.1 Public official attitudes towards the youth parliament participants

The study revealed that the youth are not take themselves seriously as was stated by one of the officials when delivering the feedback from the 2019 youth parliament. The observation made from the proceedings was that when officials are under pressure to account to the youth on what has been agreed upon, they either become condescending, insulting and hostile towards the participants. The study revealed that the youth felt undermined, disrespected and excluded on the basis of them demanding accountability.

"therefore, we are saying in black and white, the delegation from the Gauteng government side and the delegation of the legislature must decide as well because furtherly they deprive and compromise us in terms of implementing oversight that makes sure that things that speak of young people are implemented to the latter"….. "We have equally been frustrated and compromised within the internal structures and processes of the legislature, that being for one, therefore, they must speak something which is reasonable and that makes sense" (youth parliament, 2019).

Abelson *et al*. (2003, p.248) reveals that citizens are willing to participate only if their involvement will help change their lives and are assured that their participation will help address their concerns. However, if the citizen engagement process is not empowering it is regarded as a time-consuming exercise as well as an exercise in futility because the views and opinions of citizens will not be considered during the formal participation process. From observation it became apparent that there was an attempt to mischaracterise the youth participants who demanded for accountability as hostile by a GPL official because they did not consider the feedback session to be addressing the issues, on top of this a junior official from the premier office was sent to address the parliament and not a political office bearer as was promised to be the case by the Premier.

6.3.2 Real Intentions of Participation Revealed: Placation with no real decision-making power.

The study revealed that the structure of the Presiding Officers elected by the youth parliament delegates which consists of the House Speaker, Deputy Speaker as well as the commissions chairs for the purpose of presiding over the sector parliament debates is just a symbolic structure without vested powers to compel the Premier or members of his provincial cabinet as well as the legislature to attend the sector parliament proceedings and account on the resolutions taken by the youth of the province.
"*Also, the legislature must also give us an understanding of the powers as the Youth Sector Parliament Presiding Officers so that we know if we can further host a press conference in our dissatisfaction or successes of the sector parliament programme' (youth participant, 2019).*

"You see, Honourable Speaker, let me put it bluntly. I am a speaker of my university as you are so I will put it as bluntly as possible. We are very undermined, to the fullest cost and core

of our root. I do not know what you call it, but in my books, this is undermining a person, while as you know fruitfully that when you hurt the youth of a country, you hurt the country where it hurts the most" (youth participant, 2019).

"*I do not care on how people are going to condemn or rather consolidate themselves. Comrades, we are under siege. We are under siege, honourable members, to a point in which where when we ask questions bluntly, take yourselves seriously, but when we take ourselves seriously, you are disrespecting. How do you pull a person into two different directions including our presiding officers (youth parliament, 2019).*

"the Deputy Speaker of the sector parliament said, they must have it in writing, black and white. We are not in a hurry, but we want that to be tight and signed by all officials here to tell us a date when, where and how is this going to be proceed" …. "This is not Parliament; it is just youth members of the Parliament. This is not Parliament. I repeat, this is not Parliament and we are not taken seriously' (youth participants, 2019)

During the 2019 youth sector parliament, the youth parliament presiding officer were called into a meeting with the GPL Presiding Officers and officials to make proposals that will resolve the impasse that had arisen due to inadequate feedback compounded by the non-availability of the Premier to account to the youth parliament.

From observations this meeting attempted to manipulate this structure into an agreement to adjourn the sector parliament meeting before the youth demands were addressed for an alternative day to be determined by the GPL. Noting from the analysis that the youth sector parliament mock presiding officers' structure were not aware beforehand that they held powers to adjourn a sector parliament formal process if there was consensus on the issues on the agenda.

Callahan (2007, p. 159) notes that the manipulation occurs when officials selectively choose citizen representatives to support predetermined outcomes and the process of tokensim is when citizens in the participation process are accorded symbolic representation but without real decision-making power. The 2019 youth sector parliament feedback session was duly dissolved after the meeting and referred to an alternative date which did not sit as committed.

6.4 Considering the Implications for Management and Governance

The findings revealed that because the sector parliament process is ineffective, it will continue to be poorly attended and not attract the participation of a youth citizenry that reflects the demographic profiles in the province and therefore inadequate to meaningfully address the policy concerns of the Gauteng social groups within the context of post 2024 multiparty government.

"*Honourable Speaker, firstly it is very important if we are addressing issue of young people, we are expecting to see the heads and executive not the officials. In fact, right now, the representative from government Hon Mbali Hlope has left….. It is painful because we wanted to express our problems with her related to the poor organisation of sector parliaments including their non inclusive participation that does not reflect the demographics in the province and the issue of feedback*"….. (youth participant, 2022)

"*I also think because this programme is not taken seriously by the legislature that is why some of the participants do not do thorough research in preparation for these sitting. Again, this is the reason I think the youth from other racial groups and youth in general do not attend hence the attendance is poor and chairs are empty because youth are not interested in attending these debates because they know their views will not be considered. The youth must also not turn this programme into a political debate instead the youth must hold together as one irrespective of races and political inclinations to address the challenges faced by young people in Gauteng ".* (youth participant, 2022).

The study further reveals that even though cooperative governance and stakeholder management is one of the mandates of the provincial legislature, the legislature has been unable to facilitate intergovernmental coordination in the management and execution of sectoral parliament resolutions and upon analysis, it was found that the new sector parliament resolution tracking system announced by the GPL in 2021 is an ineffective institution of participation. The study also reveals that the time allocation towards the debates of the sector is unrealistic and shows that the whole engagement process is a disingenuous compliance of institutions and officials ticking boxes for performance.

"*Speaker, the time allocation for the debates is also inadequate to satisfactorily address the concerns facing young people across the province of Gauteng*" (youth participant, 2022).

Barth (1969, pg. 167) reminds us that ethnic boundaries are social constructs and understanding ethnic boundaries can inform policies promoting inclusive representation and participation.

The study reveals that there is not only poor representation of the youth sector parliament but also the parliament are poorly attended. We note that one participant remarked there is also poor youth attendance in the house with the population of the youth in attendance not reflecting the diverse demographics of the youth in the Gauteng Province.

Furthermore, the study revealed that sector parliaments events are inadequately marketed and publicised. There is an absence of a strong communication plan to make parliaments more accessible to the youth out there in a way that would ensure that they are able to follow the proceedings in the various online platform if they are unable to attend physically.

Chapter 7

7.1 Summary

The population of the Gauteng Province in South Africa is estimated to be around 15.83 million people in 2024, that's 25,1% of the country's total population. The province is therefore placed at an advantageous position to facilitate inclusive citizen participation that reflects the participation of all the social groups in the province of Gauteng, but this study found that, despite the non-racial features in the number of inhabitants, there is a challenge to ensure the participation of all the social groups in the public participation mechanism of the Gauteng Provincial Legislature.

This study focused on an analysis of documentary data of three (3) sector parliament formal process held between the years 2018, 2019, 2022 which allows this study to access changes in the management of sector parliament resolutions pre and post the decision to strengthen the structural composition of sector parliaments with the inclusion of house committees. This chapter revealed that enhanced citizen participation is affected by accountability, management& governance and by deceptive inclusion.

However, the youth participants in the 2022 youth sector parliament did suggest valuable areas of improvement for the Gauteng Provincial Legislature and should GPL build from those suggestions, this could be a step forward in the journey towards enhanced citizen participation for the future.

The study revealed challenges with the institutional sector parliament programme, and we explored the role in which officials and institutions diminishes enhanced citizen participation. This was confirmed by Arnstein (1969) seminal ladder of citizen participation theory on how institutions and officials continue to deny power to citizens during the citizen democratic participation process and we could determine the similar patterns of exclusion in the experiences of the participants of the youth sector parliament as well the recipient of US federal welfare subsidies.

Hence Brynard (in Bekker, 1996: 41) concludes that the public participation process is not limited to sharing of information by authorities to the citizens, but it also includes sharing power with the citizens and joint decision making in this way the participation process of decision making begins before the decision is taken (meaningful consultation with the people who will be affected by the decision) and continues right after.

In conclusion, researchers (Muzenda E, Clapper VA, Alers C: 2023) findings on the effectiveness of the Gauteng Provincial Legislature through the lens of the Gauteng Citizens contradicts GPL performance results as audited by the auditor general. The study evaluated the performance of the Gauteng Provincial Legislature as outlined in the 5th & 6th legislature annual report in relation to its law making, public participation and oversight mandates and contrasted the internal performance results with responses from the people of Gauteng stating declining levels in the people's confidence towards the GPL, a phenomena that correlates the international narrative which shows citizens deteriorating confidence and satisfaction with parliaments across the continent and world also covered by this study.

Chapter 8

8.1 Conclusion.

The primary objective of this this study is to analyse the problems of participation of social groups in the Gauteng Provincial Legislature citizen participation mechanisms and this includes assessing the effects of the GPL public participation model on citizen participation to determine insights if the current model is diminishing the participation of social groups as a constitutional requirement.

The motivation to undertake a study of this nature draws on Callahan (1998) who argues that the ladder of citizen participation theory continues to be amongst the most influential theories for explaining the exclusion of citizens from participation process.

The 1994 democratic elections in South Africa ushered in constitutional democracy based on the vision of an equal and non-racial democratic society therefore the relevance of the politically informed model of citizen participation of Arnstein to South Africa relates to the need to sustain democratic rule through citizen involvement in line with the ethical principle that people should be allowed control over actions that affects them (Reddy: 2012, 23).

The Gauteng Provincial Legislature sector parliaments is one instruments in which parliament public participation model hopes to involve the participation of sectorial groups in Gauteng to influence policy. However, the GPL sectorial parliament platform as is afflicted by lack of accountability, management and governance and cosmetic citizen inclusion concerns.

The rungs of Arnstien (1969) metaphorical ladder of citizen participation representing ascending levels of influence, power and control became useful in mapping out the sectorial parliament participation process to determine the agency control and influence of the participants in the formal participation process. The empirical data shows the abominable experiences of the Gauteng Provincial Legislature youth sector parliament participants with democratic institutions and officials which was contextualised within the problems of democratic citizen participation as identified by Arnstien theory in the US context. The sector parliament programme is an excellent advocacy programme that enables the opportunity for social groups in Gauteng to interface with their elected public representatives in line with the constitution. The problem though with sector parliament is the quality of the participation process that relegates it at the bottom rung of the ladder of citizen participation which undermines state society relations, which animates this study.

Arnstien (1969) ladder of citizen participation offers delegation of authority and citizen control as tools to effect quality and meaningful citizen participation. In the context of sectorial parliaments, this could be a significant milestone of power redistribution and control to enable for a sectorial group to assume a more nuanced role in the management and governance of the sector parliament programme to improve accountability thus preventing window dress participation.

This study conceptualises citizen participation in democratic governance as a natural right which empowers citizens to participate freely without prejudice in democratic forums. Therefore, democratic citizen participation cannot be transactional to an extent that citizen participation is based on one's ability to solicit direct personal accumulation through the participation process. For instance, South Africa's nascent democratic profile requires an involved and activist state to play a leading role through democratic institutions to bridge unity

and this requires for the participation of all the citizens. It is on this basis that this study critiques Arnstien formulation of democratic citizen participation that equates the action of participation to yielding personal gain noting the view that democratic citizens participation in South Africa public decision making is a legal requirement.

Secondly, the theory of citizen participation the partnerships between citizens and powerholders. While this could be an effective way of increasing the bargaining power of citizen, the major concern with partnerships is that powerholders tend to use partnerships to manipulate and divide citizens in their quest to retain power and control and gatekeep the decision-making process.

The expectation-disconfirmation model is crucial in understanding the citizens satisfaction with government services as well as the Gauteng Provincial Legislature as highlighted in the literature review of this research.

The significance of this study therefore is on the basis that most studies on public participation in the legislature do not focus on how failed institutional accountability and the accompanying management & governance failures diminishes substantive feedback from the sector parliaments with resultant serious deficiencies in public participation. Furthermore, deception in participation excludes the participants of the youth sector parliament from the implementation of resolutions that would allow for more meaningfully addressing of the social imperatives of the sectoral groups in Gauteng.

In conclusion, the research study finds that GPL sector parliament programme is affected by issues of management and governance, accountability and deceptive inclusion that diminishes quality and enhanced participation.

The Gauteng Provincial Legislature is faced with the problem of diminishing participation of social groups in the citizens participation process of the Gauteng Provincial Legislature and this study explored the factors that influence the non-participation of social groups in the Gauteng Provincial Legislature citizen participation processes.

The researcher gathered the views of the youth sector participants who participated in the formal parliamentary proceeding. The research study relied on an interpretivist social science research paradigm which as described by Neuman (2014) as the process of interpreting in order to explain a phenomenon.

The current study also concludes that the legislative sector has been failing on the issue of feedback to stakeholders in its public participation mechanisms. Thus, the citizens feel the participation is meaningless because their views do not shape public policy. As a consequence, this has led to the deterioration of citizens trust in the legislature.

8.2 Recommendations for the Gauteng Provincial Legislature.

The Gauteng Provincial Legislature mission is to be a modern and transformative legislature that fosters public pride and confidence in democracy and enhances service delivery to the people of Gauteng. The documentary analysis of the three formal parliamentary proceedings draws attention to the challenges affected by the sectorial parliaments programme, in particular the inability of the sector parliament mechanism to provide meaningful feedback on adopted resolutions and which has led to conflict with the social groups in Gauteng who have been involved in the participatory process.

In 2019 the youth sector parliament held in Nasrec was forced to adjourn due to a mobilisation led by youth who demanded more accountability from the participation process pointing to the need to improve the quality of citizens participation.

In 2023, the Gauteng Provincial Legislature cancelled a disability sectorial parliament event on the eve of the event and till today there has been no recourse for the sector, regarded as one of the most vulnerable in society.

In a country that is highly sensitised to racism, the sectorial parliament programme is also affected by concerns of inclusivity of all social groups, undermining GPL mission of enhancing service delivery to all the people of Gauteng.

The newly established Committee led resolution tracking mechanism has been found to be cosmetic and inefficacious, pointing to concern over the lack of management and governance of sectorial parliaments.

It is experiences like this along with the exercise of their agency by marginalised groups which when left unaddressed creates a potential crucible for escalation including violent service delivery protest. This in turn can create culture of distrust between social groups and public institutions leading to lack of citizen confidence in democratic institutions such as the legislature.

This study recommends that the Gauteng Provincial Legislature enhance the effectiveness of sector parliament programme by strengthening the feedback mechanisms of the programme. To do this, the Gauteng Provincial legislature must enjoin the structure of the Gauteng Speakers Forum to play a nuanced role in the coordination and implementation of sectorial parliament resolutions as well as ensuring commitment and attendance to the programme. The Gauteng Provincial Legislature need to also encourage partnership with the social groups in the planning and conceptualisation of sector parliament activities irrespective of the social and class standing of the groups in question.

Secondly the new committee led sector parliament resolution tracking measure is ineffective and it is recommended that the institution consider empowering a standalone select committee on public participation in order to better manage feedback resolutions both within municipalities, at a provincial level and national through the NCOP.

To address the issue of inclusiveness of the GPL public participation mechanism, the study recommends innovative ways of engagement with citizens beyond the traditional ways of engagement. This may include considering virtual engagements and other forms of technological innovation.

Bibliography

Abelson, J., & Forest, P-G. (1995). Issues in the design and evaluation of public participation processes. Canadian Policy Research Networks.

Arnstein, S. R. (1969). A ladder of citizen participation. Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 35 (4), 216-224.

Baskin, J. (1991) Sticking back: A history of Cosatu. Ravan Press.

Barth, F. (1994). Ethnic groups and boundaries: The social organisation of culture difference. Scandinavian University Press.

Ben- Zeev, A., & Waterhouse, P. (2012). Parliament public participation model.

Constitution Court of South Africa. (1996). Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996. Government Printers.

Ndabeni, L., & Jonas, S. (2012) The people shall govern: Public participation beyond slogans. In Deliberations of the International Conference on Public Participation. Gauteng Provincial Legislature.

Neuman, W.L (2011). Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches. (7th ed.).

Peacock, K. (2012). Creating a culture of genuine participatory democracy. A paper prepared for the International Conference on Public Participation. Gauteng Provincial Legislature.

Phooko, M., & Simbo, C (2012, March). The people shall govern: Public participation beyond slogans. International Public Participation Conference. Gauteng Provincial Legislature

Public Participation Framework for the South African Legislative Sector. (2013). Cape Town: South African Legislative Sector (SALS)

Punch, K. F. (2014). Introduction to Social Research, Quantitative and qualitative approaches. Los Angeles: California: Sage Publications

Reddy, P. S., & Nzimakwe, T. I (2008, April). Community Participation in Ethekwini Municipality with particular reference to ward committees. SAPAAM Local Government conference held at the University of Pretoria

Wagner, W. (2017). Doing social research: A global context. Routledge