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Community participation in rural development at Ga-Maja in the Limpopo Province

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Community participation in rural development at Ga-Maja in the Limpopo Province

Mokgatla Bernice Tema

A research report submitted to the Faculty of Commerce, Law and Management, University of the Witwatersrand, in 50% fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Management (in the field of Public Policy)

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Abstract

Public participation in development, in South Africa, is embraced in the country's Constitution and various legislative and policy frameworks. Despite this, participation is not adequately institutionalised in government, including in local government. The purpose of this study is to explore how community members perceive community participation in decision-making about and implementation of rural development programmes. The research is a qualitative case study with focus on the village of Ga-Maja in the Limpopo province. The research has, among others, found that the community is not fully engaged in its development. It has also established that conflict between the ward councillors and the traditional leadership is a hindrance to community participation in development. This conflict is largely caused by the vague description of the role of traditional leadership in government's policy documents. Accordingly, government should empower the traditional leadership to play a definitive role in the development of rural communities.

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 Public Policy) in the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university.



Mokgatla Bernice Tema
24 November 2021

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Abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
COGHSTA	Cooperative Governance, Human Settlements and Traditional Affairs
DPSA	Department of Public Service and Administration
Constitution	Constitution of the republic of South Africa
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution: South African Economic Plan
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
NDP	National Development Plan
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SALGA	South African Local Government Association

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction and Background

Participation in development is primarily about including people in decision-making processes about their development, including the formulation and implementation of development policies. According to Claridge (2004), public participation was introduced in the 1960s as decision makers recognised the negative impact of the exclusion of the marginalised from discussions about their development. It was through this recognition that scholars made a direct link between development outcomes targeted at poor communities and their exclusion from decision-making processes. This followed a realisation by western governments that the top-down approach, which relies on economic growth to drive inclusive development, had largely failed the poor and marginalised population (Claridge, 2004; Ying, 2018). Instead, this approach to development was perceived to favour those with political power and the wealthy at the expense of the general public.

This perspective is shared by economics scholar, Amartya Sen, who articulates development through the lenses of freedom in his book 'Development as freedom'. Sen (1999) specifically conveys that economic growth does not automatically result in development in society, if other segments of the same society experience *unfreedoms*. The unfreedoms articulated in his book include being denied political liberty to participate in decision-making processes of governments. This is especially relevant in nations where people see a need to contribute to policy development but are intentionally denied the liberty do so. There are scholars that share the view that development is about people. Therefore, decision-making about development policies should include and be centred around people.

Public participation in development is about people informing decision-making about their lives, which in turn makes it possible for government to respond directly to their needs. While public participation was initially about the inclusion of people in decision-making about policy, it later evolved to include people in the implementation of policies (Bamberger, 1988). This enabled people to be able to monitor the implementation of

policies. Therefore, public participation is not only seen as a catalyst for the improvement of service delivery, but also the empowerment of people and the promotion of accountability. The inclusion of people in policy making and its implementation also decentralises power which is held by the elite, and distributes it equitably to the whole of society (Coelho & Favareto, 2011). This promotes good governance, particularly in developing countries where the elite and politicians tend to abuse the power that people have entrusted them with. Public participation is meant to ensure that all people in society benefit equitably and meaningfully from public policies. It is also meant to provide a platform for the voices of the people in society to be heard. Public participation in development is a global phenomenon which is practiced in democratic states, as it is based on the theory of democracy (Quick & Bryson, 2016).

1.1.1 Public participation in South Africa

The demand for public participation in South Africa forms part of the ideals that emanated from the country's history of apartheid. It was necessitated by the exclusion of the majority of black communities from economic activity and political participation in the days of apartheid. This exclusion gave rise to the ideology of '*people's power*' in townships according to Sinwell (2011), as the people protested against the oppression by the white rule. The ideology was adopted by the ANC, which embraced it through the RDP (Rural Development Programme). The RDP is an economic policy document developed by the ANC and its alliance partners. It is centred around the state and the people driving development in post-apartheid South Africa (Bek, Binns & Nel, 2004). This policy document was also adopted by the democratic government in 1994. This government envisioned a government that is informed by the wishes of its people and where leaders are accessible to the people. A people centred government is also embraced in the Constitution of South Africa, 1996, which was, among other issues, founded on the principles of openness, transparency and accountability.

To give effect to the founding values outlined in the Constitution, the Minister for Public Service and Administration introduced the Batho Pele principles. These principles were introduced through a White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery. They are aimed at transforming and promoting access to service delivery (DPSA,1997). They are also aimed to ensure that all citizens, especially those previously disadvantaged, are treated with respect and dignity. The principles include consultation, which specifically promotes

consultation with the people so that their needs can inform the priorities of government. The importance of the community and citizen participation in processes and programmes of government was also emphasised in the NDP (National Planning Commission, 2012). The NDP focuses on the idea of public participation in rural economic development and local government planning, among others. Public participation in local government planning is also emphasised in the Municipal Systems Act, 2000. This Act requires local government to establish and institutionalise the culture of community participation. Thus, its instructions should be achieved through municipalities engaging communities they serve about their developmental needs. The outcome of these engagements should be used to inform its annual budgets and planning. The legislative frameworks and policies are mainly crafted to respond to economic transformation and inclusive development, especially the development of the previously disadvantaged. Those worst affected by exclusion emanating from apartheid were black people residing in rural areas, or what used to be referred to as homelands.

1.1.2 Development in rural South Africa

South Africa is characterised by underdevelopment in the former homelands, which have the highest poverty levels amongst black South Africans. The underdevelopment in former homelands includes the lack of access to basic services such as education and health facilities, and low economic activity (Mulcahy & Kollamparambi, 2016). The poor living conditions of black South Africans is a direct result of the legacy of apartheid, an institutionalised system of racial segregation that existed in South Africa between 1948 and the early 1990s (Collinson, Stephen, Tollman & Kahn, 2007; Lovo, 2014). The apartheid government inherited its power from the colonial government, which was founded on similar values. These systems denied the so-called non-white people the quality of life that white people enjoyed. The democratic government has since 1994 adopted and implemented various rural development policies and programmes. These included land redistribution, restitution and tenure in an effort to ensure that there is equitable distribution of land, representative of the population of South Africa. These policies were also aimed at providing restitution to the black majority who were forcefully removed from their land by the apartheid government under the Group Areas Act, 1950. Government also focused on sponsoring small scale agriculture and infrastructure development in rural South Africa, according to Philander and Rogerson (2001). This was

meant to improve the living conditions of black South Africans and stimulate rural economies.

Although there has been reported progress in the implementation of these interventions, government has been criticised for having failed to achieve the envisaged outcomes for various reasons. These reasons include financial challenges in rural municipalities, poor planning, and underperformance by government departments (Philander & Rogerson, 2001; Tsheola, 2012). Government has also to a large extent acknowledged its failure to achieve its own implementation targets in relation to various social and economic transformation programmes (National Planning Commission, 2012; and the Presidency, 2014). According to the Presidency (2014), government had targeted to transfer 30 per cent of farmland from white farmers to black people between 1994 and 2014. However, it only managed to transfer 11 per cent over this period. As with other underperforming government initiatives, the reasons provided for this underachievement was poor planning, and the lack of capacity in government departments. It was also indicated that some of the beneficiaries of the programme had not been able to use the transferred land productively, as a result of the lack of financial support and capacity building initiatives. Government seems to have failed to foresee the need to provide the needed financial support during the policy design stage. The failure to recognise some of these gaps, according to the Presidency (2014), is a result of government's failure to include targeted beneficiaries in policy design. This shines light on the possible implementation failure that may occur when beneficiaries of a particular policy are not engaged during policy formulation, and eventually its implementation.

Despite the emphasis on participation in development of various government policies and legislative frameworks, evidence shows that government has failed to embrace this concept. It is indicated in Mashamaite and Madzivhandila (2014) and Aklilu, Belete and Moyo (2014) that community participation has not been adequately institutionalised and implemented in government institutions. The idea of public participation has largely been a buzzword for politicians to gain popularity. It has also been largely undertaken for the bureaucracy to tick the boxes or comply with legislation, rather than informing the formulation of policies that should benefit society and their implementation. As a result, service delivery in poor communities remains poor as some of the development interventions designed by government do not always respond to the needs of the

communities they serve. Moreover, by excluding people from informing their own development, government also disempowers the people from holding it accountable for service delivery failures. Ultimately, the exclusion of people from their development, and their lack of competence to hold government accountable for failure to deliver services have contributed to the slow pace of development in South Africa, particularly in rural areas.

The apartheid system left many black people destitute, with many in the rural areas worst affected by underdevelopment and minimum access to health facilities and education. These areas also experience high poverty and unemployment levels. According to the Presidency (2014), rural South Africa had a population of 17 million, with 75 per cent unemployment. Stats SA (2017) reported, in its poverty trends publication that poverty levels of 40 per cent were recorded in 2015 according to the lower bound poverty line. The upper bound poverty line was 55.5 per cent during the same period. This publication also reveals that the worst affected provinces were rural, namely; the Eastern Cape, Limpopo and Kwa-Zulu Natal. The Limpopo province was reported to be consistently the highest in terms of the poverty headcount in 2006, 2009, and 2011. This was until it was surpassed by the Eastern Cape in 2015. The Eastern Cape reported that 72.9 per cent of its population lived below the upper-level poverty line in 2015, while 72.4 per cent was reported in Limpopo. The fact that rural provinces are recording the highest poverty levels suggests that the rural areas remain the worst affected by poverty in democratic South Africa. This is a direct indication of the inability of rural economies to feed their population.

Sebiloane (2015) specifies that the South Africa government has mainly focused its efforts towards the building of rural economies on small scale farming. Rural areas in the context of this study refers to villages under traditional leadership. The focus on small scale agriculture was informed by the fact that villages historically relied on subsistence farming and wages of migrant labourers. Despite a significant migration of rural dwellers to urban areas at the end of apartheid, the post-apartheid period still saw small scale agriculture as a strategic intervention for rural economic development (Lovo, 2014). Rural-urban migration was an indication that rural dwellers were looking for economic opportunities that they could not find in their areas. Therefore, post-apartheid rural South Africa required government to recognise the need to diversify rural economies. The migration

of the youth to the urban areas, especially, presents its own challenges to the development of rural areas, which Sibanda (2011) also alludes to in the case of Danga Ecological Sanitation project in the Zvishavane district in Zimbabwe.

Community participation in development offers an opportunity for government to support rural communities to engage in possible economic projects that will diversify rural economies, according to Mafunzwaini and Hugo (2005). The failure of government to engage communities in their development may be one of the reasons it continues to miss the opportunity to identify economic opportunities in rural communities. This study on community participation in rural development seeks to establish the perceptions of rural communities about the manner with which government engages them in their development.

Many times, different terms such as citizen participation and community participation are used interchangeably with public participation, even though these terms do not define the same thing (DPSA, n.d). While all these concepts refer to the participation of the people in the formulation of policies that affect them, there are differences among them. Public participation includes every member of the public who wishes to participate in these processes. Citizen and community participation are used in reference to a specific section of society. For example, those who are actual citizens of a country or those who belong to a particular community. Participation enables people to be involved in their own development and government to intervene in ways that are relevant to the needs of communities. Participation also enables government to respond in ways that make the most impact in the lives of the people it serves.

1.2 Background to the case study

The village of Ga-Maja, which is approximately 40 kilometres South-East of Polokwane in Limpopo, has been developed to a certain extent. The village had a population of 8 053, with electrification of around 90.6 per cent according to Stats SA (2012). 56.8 per cent of the population was of working age, while 54.9 per cent of households were female headed. In addition, only 6.5 per cent had graduated from higher education institutions according to Statistics South Africa (2012). The village also has 10 sub-villages under the leadership of headmen who are part of a traditional council led by the Kgoshi Maja. The choice to conduct the study in Limpopo was informed by the fact that the province is one of the

poorest provinces in the country, with the highest poverty levels. The province is also mainly rural, which was the researcher's main interest.

1.3 Problem statement

Under-development in the former homelands of South Africa includes high poverty levels amongst black South Africans, and remainsone of the legacies of Apartheid. Although the democratic government has implemented policies to improve living conditions of people residing in these areas, it has not been able to achieve the desired outcomes. Poverty levels in South Africa were 40 per cent and 55.5 per cent according to the lower and upper bound poverty lines, respectively, in 2015 (Stats SA, 2017). The poverty levels were higher in rural provinces, and the unemployment rate was reported to be 32.6 per cent in the first quarter of 2021 according to Stats SA (2021).

Some of the reasons responsible for the slow progress in achieving the level of rural development that government had envisaged include poor planning (Philander & Rogerson, 2001; Tsheola, 2012). The underachievement was also due to financial challenges in municipalities, and the lack of community participation in the design and implementation of development interventions. Although community participation is seen as one of the enablers of development, it is not without its own challenges. Mashamaite and Madzivhandila (2014) and Aklilu et.al (2014) indicate that this concept has not been adequately institutionalised in and implemented by government institutions. Accordingly, researchers interested in this area of study have investigated it in an effort to get a perspective on gaps that exist in this regard. This study seeks to investigate perceptions of community members regarding the manner in which government engages communities in the decision-making process and implementation of rural development programmes.

This study followed a qualitative case study approach and focused on the village of Ga-Maja in the Limpopo province. Limpopo is one of the rural provinces with high levels of poverty. The outcomes of this research could contribute to the public discourse on community participation as a tool in informing the development of rural communities in South Africa.

1.4 Research purpose

The purpose of this study is to explore how community members perceive community participation in decision-making about and implementation of rural development programmes.

1.5 Secondary objectives

1. Establish which rural development programmes government has implemented in the village over the last ten years.
2. Establish the role that the community plays in informing these programmes, and their implementation.
3. Establish how government programmes are communicated to the community.
4. Explore the experiences of community members in relation to the role they play in decision-making about and implementation of rural development programmes.
5. Establish what impact of the development programmes has had on the community.

1.6 Research questions

The study is guided by the following research question:

How do community members perceive community participation in decision-making about and implementation of rural development programmes?

Secondary/sub-questions are:

1. What rural development programmes has government implemented in the village over the last ten years?
2. What role does the community play in informing these programmes, and their implementation?
3. How are government programmes communicated to the community?
4. What is the experience of community members in relation to the role that they play in decision-making about and implementation of rural development programmes?
5. What has been the impact of these programmes on the community?

1.7 Rationale and significance of the Study

This study investigates the perceptions of the community of Ga-Maja about their participation in the design and implementation of development programmes. The study also focuses on determining whether the community perceive their participation in these processes to have an impact on their lives. This research contributes to the discourse on

community participation in the design of rural development policies and programmes, as well as their implementation.

Mashamaite and Madzivhandila (2014) and Aklilu et.al (2014) indicate that community participation has not been adequately institutionalised and implemented in government institutions. This is despite significant literature on community participation in development, and emphasis in legislative and policy frameworks such as the Constitution and NDP. Researchers interested in this area of study are conducting research in order to get a perspective on the gaps that exist in this regard (Mamolotje, 2006). Accordingly, it was important to conduct a study that investigates the perceptions of community members about their participation in the decision-making about and implementation of rural development programmes. The findings from this study are intended to contribute to existing research and public discourse on community participation in development based on lived experiences.

Past research on community participation in development, more often than not, assumes that community participation results in development. This assumption fails to consider factors that may make community participation difficult. Authors such as Claridge (2004) and Emmet (2000) caution those interested in this area not to fall for this notion. These authors argue that public participation has its own challenges that practitioners need to be cognisant of. Some of the difficulties experienced during engagements with communities include issues of self-interest by community members or groups in communities and other external stakeholders. The competence of participants, and the political will on the side of government to meaningfully engage communities in their development are among the identified challenges. The impact of some of these factors on community participation in the development and implementation of policies has not been fully explored (Ying, 2018).

1.8 Methodological approach

This study uses a qualitative case study approach. The study intends to obtain in-depth data on the perceptions of community members on community participation in the development of rural communities. The information required to answer the research questions would have been difficult to obtain and express from numerical data. This approach assisted the researcher to tap deeply into the experiences of respondents in this

regard. Data was collected through interviews which allowed the researcher to ask follow up questions on any other matters that the researcher was not clear on. Data was also collected from documents, mainly to obtain evidence to support some of the claims that the respondents made. As this is a qualitative study, its findings cannot be generalised to all rural areas in South Africa or the province of Limpopo. However, it may be used to contribute to government's formulation of community participation frameworks intended for rural areas with similar characteristics as the village of Ga-Maja.

1.9 Conclusion

This chapter provides the historical background to public participation in development. It provides highlights of the effects of apartheid and colonialism on rural development, and the interventions that government introduced in order to achieve rural development in South Africa. The challenges that the democratic government experienced in achieving rural development are also identified. These includes poor institutionalisation and implementation of public participation in development. The knowledge gap identified from past research is discussed in this chapter. The chapter also provides the problem statements, research purpose and questions.

1.10 Chapter outline

The report consists of six chapters:

Chapter 1: Introduction: This chapter provides an overview of the entire paper. It outlines the background of the study and discusses the problem statement that informed the formulation of the research purpose and objectives, and the research questions. It also expresses the knowledge gap and summarises the methodological approach that was used to conduct the study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review: This chapter provides a theoretical background to the study and establishes a conceptual foundation. It provides an existing body of knowledge on public participation and its relationship to development both globally and in South Africa. It is used to ground the study in theory, specifically, development theory. It provides empirical review of some of the case studies in South Africa. The literature review is also used in the identification of the knowledge gap that exists in this area of study, which was used to formulate the research purpose and questions.

Chapter 3: Methodology: This chapter outlines the design and methods that were used for the study, in order to achieve the research purpose and answer the research questions. This includes the philosophy that guides the researcher's thinking, and tools used to collect data. Sampling, data analysis methods that were used to analyse the data collected, and the tools used to achieve validity and reliability are included in this chapter. The chapter also outlines the ethical considerations related to the research to protect the researcher and the research participants, and the limitations of the study.

Chapter 4: Data presentation and research findings:
This chapter presents data collected from research participants through the interviews, and information collated from secondary data. Themes that emerged from the interviews were used to inform the contents of this chapter.

Chapter 5: Data analysis and interpretation: This chapter synthesises the literature review, data collected from the research and the interpretation of the results. It reflects on the introduction section, particularly addressing the problem statement and the research purpose. It also provides meaning to the data collected, in relation to the theoretical concepts provided in the literature review.

Chapter 6: Conclusion: The chapter provides answers to the research questions. It recommends strategies that government should adopt for the implementation of community participation in development and proposes areas for future research.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to highlight both the theoretical and empirical underpinnings of community participation in the context of a developing country. A literature review assists in the identification of the knowledge gaps that exist in the selected area of study, and in establishing the significance of the study (Creswell, 2007). It involves the review of the existing body of work produced by other researchers in the area of study, which is then summarised, analysed and evaluated. The analysis and the evaluation require researchers to criticise or emphasise pieces of information included in their literature review. Onwuegbuzie & Frels (2012, p.29) define literature review as 'an interpretation of a selection of relevant published and/or unpublished information that is available on a specific topic from one of the four modes (i.e. documents, talk, observation and drawings/photographs/videos) that optimally involves the summarisation, analysis, evaluation, and synthesis of the information'.

Past research assists researchers to situate the current study within an existing body of work and lays the theoretical foundation that informs the study. It informs the research questions, which are formulated from the knowledge gap. The literature shows that community participation in rural development is not adequately institutionalised by various government institutions in South Africa (Mashamaite & Madzivhandila, 2014). This is despite it being emphasised in legislative and policy frameworks such as the Constitution, the Municipal Systems Act and the NDP. Researchers interested in this area of study are conducting research to get a perspective on the gaps that exist in this regard (Mamolotje, 2006). Accordingly, this study intends to investigate perceptions of community members regarding their participation in decision-making about and implementation of rural development programmes.

2.2 Historical context of participatory development

According to Claridge (2004), public participation gained prominence between the 1960s and 1970s. This was in order to promote the inclusion of people in decision-making processes of governments about their lives and their development. Public participation also promotes equitable and diversified representation of society in political and

government decision-making processes (Quick & Bryson, 2016). The prominence of participation during this period was necessitated by the recognition that the traditional approach to development had failed the poor and alienated their development. The traditional approach to development that gave rise to the introduction of participatory development measures development through macroeconomic indicators such as growth in the Gross Domestic Product. It is based on measuring national wealth and puts less emphasis on how the wealth benefits society and how it contributes to what society values. This approach mainly centralises decision-making about development to politicians and the markets, and excludes the majority of those impacted by decisions from participating in decision-making (Bond, 2014; Wassermann, 2001).

Wasserman (2001) articulatesthat the traditional approach to development gives the power to make decisions that affect society at large to a few. The author argues that the impact of such decisions is beneficial to those with power and political influence, at the expense of those with minimal power. Public participation is one of the ways with which governments attempt to distribute the power to make decisions. It is also one of the ways with which governments drive development that is informed by those it is meant to benefit, and directly responds to their needs.

According to Quick and Bryson (2016), participation is instilled in the political science theory, particularly linked to democracy, and development theory. Democracy provides people, with a platform to make decisions about their lives by electing a government which they perceive represents their social, political and economic interests. Participation instils itself in the empowerment of citizens, beyond just elections, to a more deliberate involvement in their development, through policy making and implementation (Fischer, 2012). Accordingly, this study on community participation in development is grounded in the theory of development.

2.3 Development theories

2.3.1 Historical development theories

According to Sibanda (2011), there is a school of thought that theorises that development as a function of evolution or a natural progression of events. This theory is known in academia as the Modernist theory. Modernist theorists believe that countries that are underdeveloped today simply have to replicate the strategies that developed countries

adopted to reach their current level of development. These theorists believe that once this is done, developing countries will eventually reach the same level of development as that of developed countries. This theory is closely aligned to the neoliberal approach to development, which relies on economic indicators, such as economic growth, to measure development in economies (Bond, 2014; Wassermann, 2001). Advocates of this approach to development believe that the state does not have much of a role to play in development, except for providing public goods such as road infrastructure, defence and safety. This school of thought believes that other aspects of development should be market-driven and be informed by the notion of demand and supply (Siddiqui, 2015). These theorists have been criticised by other scholars for their lack of consideration of the impact that market-driven development has had on many developing countries (Sibanda, 2011). This view also seems to ignore how big a role the state played in the economic development of the Western nations such as Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States of America; as well as east Asian nations such as Japan.

On the other side of the argument are dependency theorists, who according to Romaniuk (2017) are the most prominent critics of the neoliberal approach to development. According to this author, dependency theorist link most of the underdevelopment in various countries to their colonial pasts and the continued exploitation of underdeveloped economies through globalisation. These theorists are critical of the notion that development in currently underdeveloped countries will resemble development in the now developed nations if the same kind of interventions are adopted.

Modernist theory is criticised for its failure to take into consideration the historical context of most of the underdeveloped countries and their colonial history. According to Sibanda (2011), these theorists believe that underdevelopment in third world countries and development in first world countries are interlinked. Put differently, these theorists seem to view globalisation as a concept that is beneficial to first world countries at the expense of developing or underdeveloped countries. In their argument, dependency theorists emphasise the notion of an unequal balance of trade, which tends to benefit developed countries more than developing countries. Dependency theorists have, however, been criticised for neglecting to acknowledge the domestic challenges that may be contributing to underdevelopment. Its critics cite domestic causes such as poor policy development

and implementation, and corruption as some of the contributing factors to underdevelopment in former colonised governments according to Sibanda (2011).

2.3.2 People-centred development theory

The similarity between the two theories, that is modernist and dependency theories, is that each tends to assume that there is only one single approach to development. One group is advocating for a replication of a method that has worked for first world countries, with no critical analysis of the historical context of third world countries. Dependency theorists blame the underdevelopment in third world countries on external factors, but more specifically, on the unbalanced relationship between developed and underdeveloped nations. While the unbalanced relationship between the two may be a contributor to underdevelopment in third world countries; Sibanda (2011) suggests that the theory fails to allocate some of the development failures to domestic factors such as corruption and poor planning. The two theories also seem to limit the measurement of development to macro indicators such as national wealth, and fail to capture how people can contribute to development. The theories seem to centralise the power to ensure the realisation of development to politicians and the business elite. The theories also fail to reflect on what people consider to be development and how they can be used to contribute to their own development, apart from providing labour in the production value chain.

The inadequacy of the two theories toexplain hindrances in development has, according to Sibanda (2011), given rise to the introduction of people centred-development. This development theory has at its core public participation as one of the tools to inform decision-making processes of government (Claridge, 2004; Wassermann, 2001). Tapela (2008) writes that the traditional approach to development authorises those with power to influence policy development for their own benefit, at the expense of those with minimal power. Participatory development neutralises and decentralises that power, and offers communities the prospects of contributed towards and benefiting equitably from public policy.

Both dependency and modernist theorists neglect to capture the involvement of people in development, and seem to insinuate that development can only be achieved through a singular approach. The failure by these theorists to capture the involvement of people in development also suggests that these two schools of thought are more aligned to the

ideology of centralised power. Sen (1999) advocates for the freedom of people to inform decisions about their lives, whether politically, socially or economically. This author goes further to emphasise the importance of political and civil freedoms, which affords people a voice on decisions about their lives, even in economically well-performing countries. Such freedoms contribute to the ability of people to live the lives they value, in contrast to the lives that political leaders may think people value. This is what people centred development is about, instead of the kind of development where the powerful and elite set the development agenda for the people.

2.4 Public participation

Participatory governance is one of the sub-components of governance, which falls under the study of Public Administration (Sarker, 2019). Participatory governance is grounded in the theory of political science, particularly democracy and development theories. It is about extending the participation of the people in processes of governmentconcerning their lives (Babu, 2018; Streak, 2004). It is also about the promotion of accountability of public representatives to those who elect them to office.

There is extensive research that links sustainable development to the involvement of communities in the design and implementation of policies meant for their development. This approach ensures that policies and programmes are fit for purpose, and promote ownership of the policies and programmes by communities (Bourblanc et al., 2017). It also builds trust between government actors and the communities they serve (Coelho & Favareto, 2011 Tapela, 2008). Moyo (2014, p.6) specifically states that 'active participation is seen as the cornerstone that holds together all processes linked to sustainable development' in reference to the inclusion of rural women in developmental issues. Mashamaite and Madzivhandila (2014) suggest that community participation should be used as a tool to achieve sustainable delivery of public services. It is clear that participation in development is about people and their empowerment to influence decision-making in government for their own benefit. The ability of government to respond directly to the needs of the people empowers it, particularly in democracies, to build partnerships with the people it serves and create a culture of accountability. All these factors pertaining to participatory governance give expression to the notion that development is about people. Therefore, people should be afforded a platform to participate in processes about their development.

It is argued in the literature that participatory approach to development promotes inclusivity and representation of different interests (Quick & Bryson, 2016; Sinwell, 2011). It gives all stakeholders affected by the policy an opportunity to participate in decision making processes about their lives. Although there is a general endorsement of community participation in policy development in modern governments, its effectiveness is contested. Advocates of participatory development are criticised for not fully appreciating the challenges that may arise through this approach to development (Claridge, 2004; Ohmer, 2010). These scholarshave argued that community participation is perceived by others as a tool that can derail development and service delivery for various reasons. These reasons include the competence of communities to engage on certain issues, and power politics which may affect legitimacy of participatory processes. Public participation initiatives are also expensive according to the DPSA (n.d). Moreover, there are scholars who argue that participation is only achievable in environments where the culture of participation and its value is instilled in communities, and where there is trust between governments and communities (Aklilu, et al., 2014). Despite these many debates, all sides seem to acknowledge that if implemented meaningfully, participation can assist in contributing to better development outcomes in society.

2.4.1 Forms of participation

According to Bamberger (1988), there are different levels of participation. These may involve merely informing people of government programmes and consultative participation processes. The former suggests a passive involvement of communities, where people are merely informed of government programmes or decisions with no expectation for community stakeholders to pursue any action. The latter suggests an active role of community stakeholders, but without going into detail about the extent of such involvement. Sibanda (2011) concurs with this perspective, but goes further to indicate that participation is also interactive. To further explain this notion, the author points out that active participation refers to an open process where community members are engaged in all stages of development. Passive participation, on the other hand, refers to a process where community members are informed of projects for awareness purposes. Lastly, interactive participation refers to a more active role by community members where they initiate and take charge of projects.

There are also debates about what should be viewed as real participation, as government institutions usually conduct these engagements just to tick boxes (Claridge, 2004). At times, government is pressured to have these engagements to comply with legislative requirements or to seek legitimacy for its policies. Ballard, Bonnin, Robinson and Xaba, (2007), Maphazi et al., (2013), and Mashamaite and Madzivhandila (2014) concur with this view in their various analysis of the implementation of the IDP in the local government sector. The consistent view shared by these authors is that the IDP consultative processes in municipalities do not necessarily inform the eventual local government planning documents. Ballard et al., (2007) go further to indicate that, even when communities are engaged, inputs from communities are sometimes disregarded by those responsible for coordination. This brings into question the existence of function coordination within institutions of government; particularly as different workstreams are responsible for obtaining inputs and the integration of this work into official documents. It also brings into question the willingness of the bureaucracy to allow the institutionalisation and implementation of participatory development to inform their work. In addition, it exposes the culture of a development agenda that has less to do with the people that government serves, and more about the bureaucracy or politicians.

Government has acknowledged that its failure to implement community participation is caused by a misalignment between forms of participation and their intended objectives (DPSA, n.d). This suggests that practitioners do not always have a full understanding of the type of participation that they should undertake for specific purposes. This is despite the direct linkages between form and purpose, which are discussed extensively in academic literature and government documents. Bamberger (1998) and DPSA (n.d) emphasise the importance of institutions first answering the question about the purpose for which the engagement is conducted, in order to identify the form of engagement to use. The answer to this question will also assist in identifying whom to engage in the development of government programmes and implementation.

The following figure depicts the alignment between the forms of participation and the purpose:

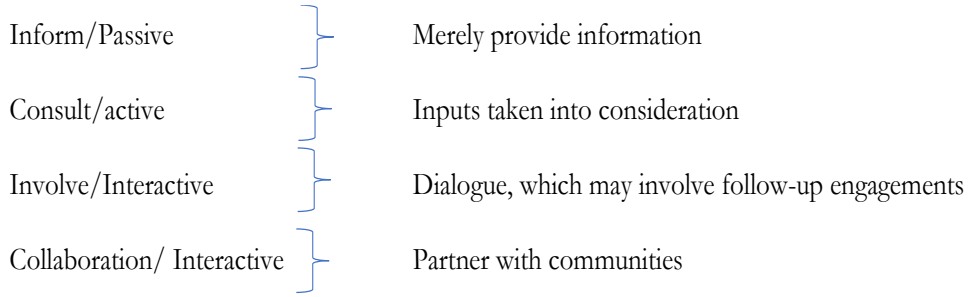


Figure 1: Form and purpose of participation

Based on the figure above, government institutions should undertake or conduct passive participation if the intent is merely to provide information to the public. For example, government may simply make radio and television announcements, or publish information in the papers to inform the public about a particular endeavour. The consultative or active form of participation is appropriate for scenarios where government intends to obtain inputs from the public, without having to provide feedback. Collaboration and involvement are both interactive. The former involves a dialogue, with possible follow-up meetings which offer an opportunity for feedback to the public. The latter is about instances where governments have the opportunity to partner with communities, sometimes on programmes that are initiated by communities themselves. Making a distinction between these forms of participation will assist governments and communities to evaluate whether they are engaging or being engaged appropriately.

2.4.2 Key features of participation

2.4.2.1 Representation and inclusion

Inclusion and representation are considered, in the literature on participation, to be key features of meaningful participation and contribute to legitimising participation processes (Iortyom, Mazinyo & Nel, 2018). Moyo, Francis and Ndlovu (2012) emphasise that policies that are not inclusive tend to fail to respond directly to the needs of other groups in society. This often results in protests by those whose developmental needs are excluded, not captured or captured insufficiently in the policies and programmes of government. Inclusivity and representation, in the most simplistic definition, involve the inclusion of all those who are affected by the policy or an equitable representation of stakeholders in engagements about such policy. It ensures that the views of all those that the policy is meant for are considered, or are at least known in the development of government policies and programmes (Ballard et al., 2007). It also enables communities

to demand answers when these views are not reflected in the execution of such policies and programmes.

Despite this, it is said in much of the scholarship on participatory development that participation processes tend to be exclusive and only conducted for popularity, and for compliance reasons (Ballard et al., 2007; Zonke & Matsiliza, 2015). It has also been said that these processes are sometimes designed to exclude others from participation in order to drive a particular political agenda. As a result, such exclusion alienates some key stakeholders from participating in their own development. Consequently, the needs of those excluded are either not captured at all in the policy or are not captured adequately. Power politics is one of the known causes of the exclusion of eligible parties from participating in the development of policies. This is because politicians or those who hold power may not want to include those they know will oppose them. Patriarchy and customs in many nations, particularly in African nations, are also considered to be major contributors to exclusion (Moyo, 2014).

This is even more relevant in rural South Africa, which is mainly led by traditional authorities. It is also governed by practices that do not always embrace some of values enshrined in the Constitution, including gender equality. This often results in the views of women, youth and any other category of the community that is deemed to be subordinate to men to be ignored, despite the fact that women account for a large percentage of those affected by poverty across the globe. Sebiloane (2015) specifically speaks about the use of ageism to intentionally exclude young people from participating in decision-making processes. This is likely to happen in the rural areas. Young people are generally the worst affected by the lack of economic opportunities (Sebiloane, 2015). With the lack of opportunities in the rural areas, the youth tend to migrate to the urban areas for better economic opportunities.

Claridge (2004) states that other theorists also believe that inclusivity results in empowerment and self-development. This is because people gain knowledge, that they may not have had, by being included in engagements with government and fellow community members. Inclusion also gives community members the confidence and drive to participate in future participation initiatives, and may also build better social relations in communities (Fischer, 2012). This enables people to live lives that they value, as a direct

result of being afforded the opportunity to influence decision-making processes for their own benefit. Although inclusion is primarily about ensuring that policies are reflective of the needs of the people they are intended for, it also contributes to their empowerment.

2.4.2.2 Empowerment and education

Fischer (2012) emphasises the need for the empowerment of those that participate in the development and implementation of policies. The author also outlines ways in which participants may be empowered to participate meaningfully in processes of government. One of the ways with which people may be empowered is education and training. This has been recognised as one of the vital tools to ensure that the best possible inputs are derived from community members. The two also ensure that communities are empowered to monitor and evaluate implementation and to hold governments accountable for non-delivery in instances where government drops the ball (Ying, 2018). Such engagements also allow governments or practitioners to obtain knowledge about the intellectual capital, abilities and skills that exist in communities. This knowledge presents an advantage to government in the design of programmes, and presents opportunities for interactive or collaborative participation.

It has been emphasised that participation builds confidence and skills that community members may not have had had they not had the opportunity to partake in community engagements. Consequently, community members may learn to recognise opportunities as they arise outside of the specific community programmes they had initially taken part in. The self-development aspect of participatory development may also lead to communities initiating their own development initiatives and seeking support from government departments. All this gives rise to a more collaborative and interactive form of participation, as demonstrated in the DPSA (n.d).

The literature recognises institutional design and the capacity of technocrats to facilitate community engagements effectively as enablers of empowerment in the engagements with communities (Claridge, 2004; Coelho & Favareto, 2011). This is because participation is highly dependent on the design of government as an institution, which in turn enables bureaucrats to engage communities effectively (Fischer, 2012). If the institutions are not designed in a way that supports participatory development, such

weakness will be reflected in the manner in which bureaucrats engage communities or processes inputs from communities.

Therefore, the importance of community participation in government processes should be evident in the design of government institutions. One way of doing this is to ensure that there are frameworks to guide participation initiatives, and personnel who have capabilities to conduct engagements with communities. This means that bureaucrats should also be empowered to manage community engagements, and the dynamics that are brought about by human interactions. This is relevant, as individual interests rather than community interests are bound to take centre stage in engagements of this nature (Claridge, 2004). Bureaucrats should, therefore, possess the skills to motivate and encourage communities to see the bigger picture in prioritising community interests instead. The importance of an empowered bureaucracy is also highlighted in the DPSA (n.d) in its guide on public participation in the public service. The guide provides that officials in government departments do not have the capability to manage public participation initiatives. As a result, government has failed to engage effectively with the public it serves. Government has also failed to promote the culture of participation in the country, despite this being emphasised in its legislative and policy frameworks.

2.4.2.3 Conflict and social relations

Wasserman (2001) and Emmet (2000) identify the most common mistake made by advocates of participatory development as the assumption that communities are a homogenous group. Such an assumption often does not consider the fact that people are generally not interested in the same things. It ignores the fact that people usually pursue individual interests and are more inclined to invest time in initiatives that are beneficial to them, versus an entire community. It is this self-interest that a number of researchers have found often causes conflict and creates factions in communities (Ballard et al., 2007). Conflict may result in disgruntled members of the community withdrawing from participation initiatives, which can negatively affect social relations in communities and derail development (Fischer, 2012; Sinwell, 2011).

While self-interest may cause conflict in communities, and result in poor development outcomes, it may also result in better social relations among community members. According to Ohmer (2010) the participation of community members in development

may give community members a sense of belonging. This directly speaks to an individual member's sense of community or their sense of responsibility towards the community in which they belong. Ying (2018) indicates that when community participation is based on a promise of improvement in the lives of the people, people tend to work together. Therefore, participation in development should also be seen as one of the contributors to social cohesion. This is why bureaucrats should have the capacity to develop strategies to manage conflict that may arise in engagements and exploit opportunities to achieve social cohesion. Community leadership, may also play a role in influencing community members to recognise their collective interests. In rural South Africa, community leadership is largely made up of traditional leaders, which can be viewed as aninstitution by its own right. Therefore, the bureaucracy and traditional leadership can work together to respond adequately to the challenges associated with community participation.

Institutions are defined in the literature as a set of collective rules that govern the behaviour of actors, and their choices and actions (Klijn & Koppejan, 2006). These authors emphasise that because institutions are a set of collective rules that gover actors, their design should be informed by the relevance of the said rules at a particular point in time. In other words, institutions should be able to respond to a change in the set of rules that characterise them when the rules change over time. This may require that changes in institutional design in order for institutions to be able to respond to a new environment. This is more relevant to the concept of participatory development as participation is characterised by interactions between different actors. These actors, according to the literature, are influenced by various ideologies and beliefs, and have different interests (Claridge, 2004). Therefore, participatory governance requires government institutions to be designed in a manner that is able to recognise these different actors, identify their interests and their level of influence in communities. This will assist government to meet the challenges that the various actors present in its engagement with communities.

2.5 Empirical literature on participation

2.5.1 Macroeconomic approach and community participation

Past studies on participation link community participation to macroeconomic approaches that governments elect to adopt to realise economic development for their people (Khumalo, 2013; Sinwell, 2011). According to this perspective, community participation in development is likely to be carried out meaningfully by governments whose

development is more people centred than market-driven. This refers to countries where government has more control on its developmental journey through regulation, and monetary investments. The South African government seems to have shared this perspective post-1994, as it is evident in its adoption of the RDP. However, the government of post-1994 changed course not long into democracy and adopted a new macroeconomic policy approach, termed *GEAR*. This approach, amongst others, focused on achieving development through cutting back the state and increasing the role of the private sector to drive economic growth (Streak, 2004). This was to be achieved by reducing government spending to manage the budget deficit, which was proving to be unaffordable to the state, as well as the relaxation of trade and other regulations to attract private investment (Sinwell, 2011; Wassermann, 2001).

This approach is more aligned to the modernist theory, which delegates development to the markets, and depends on economic growth to create jobs and reduce poverty levels. It should, however, also be said that the democratic government in South Africa also adopted policies that could be aligned to the interventionist state theories. These interventions included the provision of social security through government sponsored social grants. The grants are benefiting mainly the elderly, people living with disabilities, foster children and children of unemployed parents. Nevertheless, government's macroeconomic approach was largely market driven. Streak (2004) further indicates that the government's ability to afford the provision of these social grants was dependent on growing the economy through market-driven economic policies. This was despite the country being in its early stages of development, and vulnerable to possible exploitation by capital.

A number of government driven and funded programmes were also introduced by government to drive development. However, with an open economy, many industries were unable to compete with cheap imported raw material. This led to less domestic production and the closure of many businesses, negatively impacting the economy's ability to create employment and boost economic development (Wasserman, 2001). Streak (2004) demonstrates, in her paper on the GEAR legacy, that the policy was intended to grow the economy by an average of 4.2 percent per annum between 1996 and 2000. Employment was intended to grow by an average of 2.9 percent over the same period, which according to Sinwell (2011) would in turn reduce poverty. Although

economic growth was to some extent achieved, Streak (2004) shows that it failed to reach the initial target as it grew by 2.5 percent over this period. Employment declined by an average of 2 percent per year over the same period, which was also the opposite of what was envisaged.

Because of job losses, inequalities also increased during this period (Khumalo, 2013). Sinwell (2011) argues that the adoption of neoliberal policies by developing economies often means the loss of bargaining power by states. This loss of bargaining power often leads to the exploitation of the poor with little intervention from government. It also creates barriers of entry to aspiring entrepreneurs and the stifling of existing small and medium enterprises, as well as unregulated big business which continues to use these weaknesses to its advantage (Bourblanc et al., 2017; Tapela, 2008). This approach is also considered not favourable for community participation in policy development, as the focus tends to be on capital accumulation. This focus on capital accumulation usually exacerbates the exploitation of the poor and the working class. It also comes with unequal power in favour of business.

On the other side of the argument, those who favour an interventionist state view the kind of economic approaches adopted by these type of states as being more favourable to people centred development (Crowe, 2006). This is because the state regulates markets more strictly to balance people's interests and those of business. Such states also invest significantly in their development, for the benefit of the entire society. The capacity of governments to drive economies through own-sponsored investments allows them more bargaining power in policy making. It is for this reason that people centred governments, which put emphasis on community participation in decision making, are closely associated with interventionist states.

Siddiqui (2015), and Bek et al., (2004) indicate that the capitalist system tends to focus on reducing factors that negatively impact on the intent to maximise profits by capital. This includes the cutting of jobs and the contamination of the ecological system, which may often lead to the exclusion of many in development, and increase levels of unemployment and poverty. By implication this system is seen by these scholars not to favour the inclusion of people in decision-making processes about their own development. Tapela (2008) shows that governments need to strike a balance between their macroeconomic

approach and the founding values of the state. In order to build public trust, government cannot be seen, on the one hand to pursue the ideology of putting people and their views first, while in practice allowing the interests of business to overtake those of the entire society. This causes conflict in society and doubts about whom development is for. Is it for business, which by implication needs people to operate it, but whose main focus is capital accumulation? Or is it about the society as a whole? And if it is about society, is this focus evident in the macroeconomic policies and practices of government? These are the questions that each government should ask itself and provide answers to.

2.5.2 Business driven development versus government and community driven development

Crowe (2006), confers success on communities in rural Washington, particularly in instances where communities are involved in their own development. According to the author, the opposite was achieved in instances where big business was allowed to invest in these rural communities, with inadequate participation by communities. In the latter, big business was given free land and tax incentives to stimulate rural economies through employment creation. However, in many instances big business abandoned the communities ten years or more later, leaving them with high unemployment and a contaminated environment. Tapela (2008) and Bourblanc et al.,(2017) show how Venture Partnerships in the irrigation scheme programmes in Limpopo failed because of the lack of community involvement in decision-making. More specifically, the private partners in these schemes, which were in the Sekhukhune and Makhado areas in the Limpopo province, are said to have ignored any contribution by community members. Instead, the venture introduced new systems which local partners were not trained on, after having destroyed the systems that the community had established itself. The project was abandoned when it proved to be unprofitable, leaving the community disgruntled and worse off than before the project was implemented.

Sebiloane (2015) highlights the tendency to ignore local people, especially in the rural areas, specifically based on the perceptions that outsiders know better. Such an attitude may be one of the factors that have been detrimental to development efforts in rural areas. In the case of the irrigation schemes in the Sekhukhune District in Limpopo, Tapela (2008) indicates that the failure of the irrigation schemes left many with no working irrigation system to continue with their agricultural activities. Government could also not

provide answers, as it had little bargaining power in the programme. This demonstrates the failure of government in striking a balance between business interests and societal interests. Its failure to provide answers to the community shows that it sometimes fails to use the power that it has to regulate how business behaves. The fact that this occurred in a rural area where the population is largely old and uneducated is more disconcerting.

The opposite occurred in the Makuleke area, which Steenkamp and Uhr (2000) describe in their article as a success story in South Africa's land restitution policy. The land around the Kruger National Park was forcefully taken from the community during the apartheid era in 1968. The success of the land transfer was not without pressure, as both government, particularly at bureaucracy level, and business made the process challenging. However, because of support from non-profit organisations and the scrutiny on politicians to achieve the transformation agenda of South Africa at the time, the claim was eventually successful. The land was transferred to the community under the traditional leadership of the Maluleke clan with stringent conditions. These conditions include the stipulation that business will operate in the park as tenants, and that the land can only be used for conservation.

The Maluleke clan established Makuleke Communal Property Association as a legal person, and have delegated representatives of the association in the Kruger National Park Management Board (Steenkamp and Uhr, 2000). As part of the agreement between the community and the park, employment is biased in favour of the local community. 10 per cent of the profits made by the park are paid into the community's trust account. While there are still challenges, where community representatives feel undermined in engagements among the board directlors, the relationship between the community and businesses operating in the area seems to be balanced and of benefit to the community.

It can be concluded from this case study that when both communities and government have bargaining power, people are able to contribute to their own development. The opposite is true when this bargaining power is compromised. What seems to have worked for the people of Makuleke was not just their ability to bargain with both government and business, as that bargaining power was at one stage weakened. The political landscape presented an opportunity for the success of the land claim, as this was one of the first cases of the land restitution programme which politicians were equally desperate to see

working. While the political landscape worked for the community of Makuleke, the same kind of attention is lacking across rural South Africa. This is mainly because of the lack of political will and failure to recognise that rural development will not happen unless there are intended efforts through policy, monetary investment and action. There needs to be political will or perhaps the same level of political desperation that was witnessed in relation to the land claim of Makuleke.

2.5.3 Political influence

Sinwell (2011) suggests that community leaders are sometimes influenced to betray fellow community members by those in power by enticing them with positions, money or business. Such influence weakens the ability of communities to participate in policy development and the ability to hold government accountable. This raises the problem of the tendency of people to place a lot of value and trust in their so called leaders. It also shows how reliance on leaders affects the consciousness of communities. Collective leadership is, therefore, vital in communities as it means any member will have the potential to lead, instead of their reliance on a few community leaders to represent their interests. In the case of Alexandra, in the Gauteng province, Sinwell (2011) emphasises that the activism of pre-1994 and the demand for people to participate in their own development declined when the ANC came into government. This was, according to the author, largely because people put their trust in the government that they elected to drive their development. The ANC itself abandoned its commitment to include people in driving their own development and used its struggle credentials to set the agenda on behalf of the people.

There are also party and power politics associated with community participation which are highlighted by Ballard et al., (2007). This includes ward councillors, particularly from opposition parties, influencing the views of their constituency to oppose policy proposals even when programmes respond directly to the development needs of communities. Ballard et al., (2007) also indicate that in certain instances elected councillors fight with government officials about who should facilitate community engagements. When they are given the space to do so, they use the platform to promote the political parties they are affiliated to, which discourages community members that do not belong to the said parties. The tendency of ward councillors or politicians to use government platforms to

promote their own parties is also articulated in Sibanda (2011) in the case study of the Danga Ecological Sanitation project in the Zvishavane district in Zimbabwe.

Traditional leaders are also said to be presenting an interesting dynamic in community participation initiatives. Some are conflicted about whether to participate in community engagements of government or not, owing to the power politics between the traditional leadership, elected ward councillors and government itself (Ballard et.al., (2007). This is mainly the case in rural provinces such as Kwa-Zulu Natal. Another dynamic that presents itself within this phenomenon is the affiliation of traditional leaders to political parties or subscription to specific political ideologies. These dynamics can influence their decisions to either participate and encourage their subjects to participate in government programmes. Institutions that facilitate and organise these participation initiatives should be designed in a way that enables them to manage these dynamics.

2.5.4 Competence of participants

For community participation to be meaningful, the competence of members of communities to participate in discussions on development or government policies or programmes is essential (Ohmer, 2010). Fischer (2012) suggests that stakeholders who are included in participation should be empowered to do so. This will assist government to derive maximum benefit from their knowledge, values and their developmental needs. The point about deriving the best knowledge about developmental needs from the affected communities themselves is also affirmed in Moyo (2014). Specifically addressing challenges around the exclusion of women in participation initiatives in rural areas, the author advocates for women to have a voice in their own development. Rural areas are said to rely, instead, on patriarchal systems and traditions, where men are given the authority to speak on behalf of women. Such practices automatically undermine and alienate the unique needs of the different sectors of society and their right to be heard. It denies people the political liberty to participate in informing development as articulated by Sen (1999), on the basis of gender.

Inclusion of all stakeholders, regardless of gender and age, is also one of the ways in which people can be empowerment. As the more people are given the platform to express themselves, the more their confidence is built and their knowledge broadened from their participation in such platforms. This speaks to the theory of self-efficacy, which among,

others addresses self-empowerment and confidence building according to Ohmer (2010). Public participation does not only empower the public or communities for whom policies are meant to benefit, but also it enlightens government and policy makers about the needs of communities. The developmental gaps identified through engagement with the community serve to empower government to develop policies that are fit for purpose according to Sibanda (2011). When the community is not empowered to participate adequately in its development, government also fails to achieve its intended development outcomes.

The irrigation scheme projects in Limpopo is one of the examples where government failed to empower both itself and affected communities in policy implementation. The irrigation scheme projects failed to empower the community on business and financial management (Bourblanc et al., 2017; Tapela, 2008). However, government seems to have expected the community to navigate the business environment despite the participants' lack of business skill. The failure by government to engage with the community resulted in its failure to acknowledge some of the gaps that needed to be attended to during the designing of the policy. The community was eventually left in a state of despair and worse off that it was before the project was implemented in the areas of Sekhukhune and Makhado in Limpopo. All these shows that participatory development will not be realised unless those that participate in it, be it the affected communities or government, have the competence to take part in it.

2.5.5 Legislation and policy frameworks on participation in South Africa

Transparency, accountability and openness are enshrined in the Constitution of South Africa, 1996, as some of the South Africa's founding values. To give effect to these founding values, different levels of government introduced laws and policy frameworks, including the Municipal Systems Act, 2000. This act requires local governments to establish and institutionalise the culture of community participation. The act also requires local governments or municipalities to engage the communities they serve on different matters, including the integrated development plan and the drafting of budgets.

Despite this clear legal requirement, research shows a significant lack of consideration for and compliance with this legislation across the South African municipalities (Mashamaite & Madzivhandila, 2014). This view is also shared by Aklilu et al., (2014) in their analysis

of participation at local level in the Limpopo province. These authors suggest that the inadequate capacity in municipalities to carry out these engagements, coupled with the trust deficit between government and communities results in poor engagements with communities. Inadequate funding is also regarded as a contributor to the non-compliance with legislative requirements when it comes to community engagements in local governments.

The Minister for Public Service and Administration introduced the *Batho Pele* principles, through a *White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery*. This aimed to transform and promote access to service delivery, and ensure that all citizens, especially those previously disadvantaged, are treated with respect and dignity (DPSA, 1997). The Batho Pele principles, which were intended to become a mantra for putting people first in the delivery of services by national and provincial governments, include consultation. The main aim of this principle was to promote consultation with the people so their needs would inform the priorities of government. DPSA (1997, p. 16) specifically states the following with regard to consultation '(…) consultation will give citizens the opportunity of influencing decisions about the public services, by providing objective evidence which will determine service delivery priorities. Consultation can also help foster a more participative and co-operative between the providers and users of public services'. The Batho Pele principles also include openness and transparency and accountability, which are all enshrined in the Constitution. These principles were seen as a cornerstone for ensuring that the public and communities are able to monitor and evaluate the implementation, and ensure accountability.

Furthermore, the importance of community and citizen participation in processes and programmes of government was also emphasised in NDP. Participation in the NDP, was emphasised with regard to issues of rural economic development, local government planning and programme implementation and community safety. Despite the legislative and policy frameworks, government has not been able to fully institutionalise participatory governance as one of the ways with which government can earn public trust, improve service delivery, planning and promote accountability. DPSA (n.d) provides that government departments generally do not have public participation guidelines or frameworks. It also states that even with those that do have the frameworks, implementation is non-existent or poor. The document also specifies that although a

significant number of departments have public participation units within their organisational structures, personnel is not empowered to implement the framework. As a result, legislation and policy framework may exist, but they remain a paper exercise if participation is not actioned by government institutions.

2.5.6 Rural Communities in South Africa, their development and governance

Rural communities in South Africa are characterised by underdevelopment, poverty and high unemployment rates resulting from low economic activity. These are direct results of the history of apartheid in this country and the democratic government's failure to implement rural development policies. To stimulate development in rural South Africa, the government of post-apartheid South Africa focused its interventions on land reform, which included restitution, redistribution and tenure. These interventions were, according to the Presidency (2014) aimed at creating rural jobs and food security. The literature reviewed indicates that government focused its rural development strategy, in relation to sustainable job creation and poverty eradication, on agricultural activities (Mafunzwaini & Hugo, 2005; Sebiloane, 2015). The focus had little consideration for other potential areas that can stimulate and diversify rural economies and achieve sustainable development in these areas.

The failure of the post-apartheid government in South Africa to recognise that the rural areas may have more economic opportunities can be linked to its failure to engage rural communities. Sebiloane (2015) associates the failure of government to adequately intervene in the development of rural areas in South Africa with the general perception that outsiders know better; therefore, designing policies and programmes that governments or the so called experts think are good for the development of these communities. Such an approach negligently ignores that, although experts on rural development may understand its theory, there's distinct knowledge that can only come from the community. Hence, the exclusion of communities in their own development is detrimental to these communities. The exclusion is also detrimental to government itself, as it will fail to respond to the direct needs of the people.

Rural areas are largely governed by traditional leadership and the local government, but are also affected by policy decisions at national and provincial levels of government. Traditional leaders are the custodians of land supported by traditional councils. The

traditional councils consist of traditional leaders within the community, including headmen and other members elected by the community according to the Limpopo Traditional Leaders and Institutions Act, (2005). According to COGHSTA (2020), the Limpopo Department of Cooperative Governance, Human Settlements and Traditional Affairs spent over R500 million per year in 2018/19 and 2019/20 on traditional councils. About R400 million of this amount was spent on the compensation to traditional leaders and their support staff. Traditional authorities are acknowledged in the structures of government, as reflected in various legislative and policy frameworks. As demonstrated in COGHSTA (2000), their existence is also supported financially by government. However, their authority and role in local government is not defined sufficiently. As a result, this presents a challenge in the local government space, particularly for rural municipalities and rural communities.

The relationship between local government and traditional leaders in rural areas is complex, according to Sebiloane (2015). It is, in some instances, characterised by power politics, mainly driven by conflicts between elected ward councillors and the traditional leadership. Both parties have limited power when it comes to the governance of processes in these areas. Ward councillors are elected representatives of the wards they lead in the local government structures. Traditional leaders act as entry points for government to access rural communities. Traditional leaders are also custodians of land in the rural areas, and appear to enjoy the support of those that reside in these rural areas according to George and Binza (2011).

Therefore, conflict between these two parties can only be seen as a potential bottleneck to policy implementation, and can derail development in rural communities. Both parties may use the support that they enjoy from these communities or different sectors of these communities to push their individual agendas. The conflicts between these two actors in the local government sphere have, therefore, given rise to questions around the role of traditional leadership in the development of the communities they lead. George and Binza (2011), in their article on the role of traditional authority in development and governance, found that the Mgwalwana Traditional Authority does not play any significant role in the development of the community it leads. The local municipality claims the role of governance and development is their sole responsibility. Meanwhile the traditional authority is also of the view that it has a role to play in the development of the community

that it presides over. These conflicting views from these actors has the potential to cause conflict in rural communities and derail decision-making processes intended for the development of these communities.

Section 11(1)(a) of the National House of Traditional Leaders Act, 2009, indicates that traditional leaders should cooperate with the provincial houses of traditional leaders to promote socio-economic development. The legislation, however, does not explain how traditional leaders should go about promoting development in rural communities. What is clear is that they may have a role to play beside the ceremonial role they seem to be currently playing. This situation presents an opportunity for government to clearly define the role of traditional leadership in South Africa in the development of rural communities. The government should clearly distinguish between the role of these traditional authorities and those of ward councillors, to reduce the power struggles structures between the two.

The conflict that exists between ward councillors and traditional leaders is a direct reflection of government's failure to respond to the dynamics that make up rural communities in South Africa. As Klijn and Koppejan (2006) argue, institutions should be able to respond to the changing policy development environment, and by extension its implementation. This change in the policy development environment is inevitable, and requires institutions to respond adequately. The change is sometimes necessitated by a change in the rules that characterise interactions between the actors, which at times is influenced by power relations. The conflict that exists between ward councillors and traditional leaders is to a large extent influenced by the authority that each of these actors possess. It is only through institutional design that this conflict can be managed in a manner which will regulate behaviour of these actors towards each other for the good of the communities they serve. What is also important to acknowledge is that the stalemate that seems to exist between traditional leadership and local government has the potential to derail the implementation of government programmes in rural communities.

Makuleke is a clear case of a traditional leadership that is active in driving development. But the case itself is unique, as it is based on the backdrop of a lot of support from non-profit institutions. It was also influenced by the political pressure that the national government was under to demonstrates its effort in transforming land ownership.

According to Maluleke (n.d), the community has its own unique challenges with its ward councillor. However, as the community does not rely financially on local government to provide services, it has so far managed to survive and manage its developmental needs without significant interventions from local government. Despite the uniqueness of Makuleke, when compared to other rural areas, the Makuleke case study shows that participatory development is possible if the community and government alike are intentional in its application.

2.6 Conceptualisation of participatory development

A conceptual framework provides a structure that best describes how the research is going to be carried out by the researcher (Creswell, 2007; Wotela, 2016). According to Wotela (2016), a conceptual framework summarises the background of the study, the problem statement, knowledge gap, and key concepts relevant to the study. It also summarises theories which inform the study to provide a logical explanation for the progression of the study, including drawing relationships between key factors in the study. The conceptual framework for this research is driven by the theory of development, and its relationship with participatory governance. The study also examines some of the key features of public participation in development in relation the theory of people-centred development.

The term public participation is in many instances used interchangeably with the terms, citizen participation and community participation, even though these terms are not synonymous. While these concepts generally refer to the participation of people in discussions about their lives, public participation includes every member of the public (DPSA, n.d). Citizen and community participation are used in reference to participation by specific sections of society. This can be citizens of a country or a specific community within society. What is important is that participation enables people to take part in processes that affect their own lives and development. All these concepts are characterised under the umbrella of participatory governance, or for the purpose of this study, participatory development.

Public participation is defined from various perspectives and contestations depending on its impact on development (Quick & Bryson, 2016). A lose definition agreed to by scholarship emphasises the involvement of people in the design and implementation of

policies meant for their development (Babu, 2018; Claridge, 2004; Quick & Bryson, 2016; Ying, 2018). Claridge (2004) goes further to define community participation in development as more of a localised bottom-up approach to development. Zonke and Matsiliza (2015) describe it as a democratic platform for people to take part in the development and implementation of programmes that affect them. These sentiments are echoed by Maphazi, Raga, Taylor and Mayekiso (2013), who view public participation as an opportunity afforded to those interested in particular matters to influence decisions. All in all, participatory development is about people on the ground having a say on issues that affect them.

According to Quick & Bryson (2016) and Gaber (2019), one of the most cited academic writings on community participation in development is the 1969 article by Sherry Arnstein titled "A Ladder of Citizen Participation". This article reflects on decentralised political power in decision-making and the empowerment of citizens, particularly the excluded, to be part of government decision-making processes. Academic work on community participation and its influence on development has since progressed. Advocates and critics alike, are critically analysing whether it has actual influence on the development of the people (Emmet, 2000).

The description of participatory development, for the purposes of this study, echoes the general consensus that it is about the involvement of the people in the design and implementation of policies and programmes. This research is based on the investigation of how community members perceive community participation in the development and implementation of rural development programmes. This study will contribute to the body of knowledge on participatory development, from the perspective of communities for whom the development is meant. The study is also guided by the following concepts, which, according to the literature reviewed, relate to participatory development:

- **Development** refers to an improvement in the social and economic welfare of the people or a community. These improvements may include access to clean water, electricity, housing and safe road infrastructure, as well as the creation of employment and poverty reduction.
- **Competence** refers to the capacity and capabilities of individuals to engage on the developmental issues they are expected to engage in.

- **Inclusion** refers to the involvement of all those affected by a particular phenomenon in engagements about the phenomenon. Arguments about inclusion, in literature, also speak of fair and representative inclusion. This refers to the proportional representation of those included in interactions about a phenomenon, regardless of race, gender or creed.

Under-development in former homelands, which includes high poverty levels amongst black South Africans, is one of the legacies of apartheid and colonialism. Since 1994 the democratic government has adopted and implemented various rural development policies in an effort to improve the living conditions in rural areas; however, the envisaged outcomes have not been achieved (Collinson et al., 2007; Lovo, 2014). Poverty levels remain high in these areas, according to Stats SA (2017), and economic activity low (Sebiloane, 2015). Rural South Africa is also still characterised by poor road infrastructure and access to water, sanitation, health facilities and educational infrastructure.

Some of the reasons suggested for the slow progress in achieving the envisaged rural development outcomes include poor planning, and financial challenges in rural municipalities (Jacobs and Makaudze, 2012; Lovo, 2014; Philander and Rogerson, 2001; Tsheola, 2012). Inadequate public participation in decision-making processes of government has also been cited as one of the reasons for poor performance in rural development, according to the Presidency (2014).

Although a lot of research has been produced on community participation in development, this concept has not been adequately institutionalised in and implemented by government institutions across all spheres of government (Mashamaite and Madzivhandila, 2014; Aklilu et.al, 2014). Accordingly, researchers interested in this area of study are conducting research to get a perspective of the gaps that exist in this regard (Mamolotje, 2006). This study is intended to contribute to this body of work, as it is focused on obtaining the perspective of community members on community participation in rural development.

2.7 Conclusion

The literature review assisted this study by providing some insights into community participation in development, and the extent to which it has been explored and implemented in South Africa. The literature review also provided insights into existing

development theories, which assisted the researcher to get a perspective on the evolution of development. The development theories include people-centred development, which is centred around people informing their own development through their participation in the decision-making processes of government. Participation as a concept in development is discussed in detail in this chapter, including its key features and the advantages and the challenges associated with it. The chapter provides a perspective into rural development in South Africa, and reflects on the complexities that define the make-up of rural communities and their development. Lastly, the chapter lays the foundation for the themes included in the subsequent chapters, especially the chapter on the findings of the study and the interpretation of these findings.

CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research methodology which was used by the researcher for this study. It outlines the design and methods employed by the researcher in order to achieve the research purpose and answer the research questions. This includes the philosophy that was used to guide the researcher's thinking, and tools used to collect data. The chapter provides details on the sampling, and analysis methods that were used to analyse the data collected, as well as the challenges that the researcher experienced in conducting the study and how the challenges were addressed. It addresses ethical considerations that the researcher made in conducting this research in order to protect the researcher and the research participants

3.2 Research Approach

Chilisa and Kawulich (2012) indicate that every individual has a particular view on what is reality and what constitutes knowledge. This view is what informs their thinking, assumptions, beliefs and their value system, or what is in social science referred to as a paradigm. According to these authors, a paradigm is informed by an individual's assumptions about what is reality, also referred to as ontology. A paradigm is also informed by assumption around how knowledge is generated, referred to as epistemology; and the value systems, referred to as axiology. It is these assumptions that inform the methodology, referred to as the 'science of finding out' (Babbie, 2010, p. 4).

This study adopted a qualitative approach to research. According to Nieuwenhuis and Smit (2012), a qualitative study is about creating knowledge through the lived experiences of those that are part of that story. It requires engagements with those affected by a phenomenon in order to understand their perspective. The choice of a qualitative research approach for this study was informed by the researcher's intention to conduct an in-depth investigation into the lived experiences of community members. This is because these experiences inform their perceptions of community participation in the decision-making about and implementation of government's rural development programmes. Accordingly, the knowledge that the study seeks to generate can only be achieved through a qualitative

approach. This approach allowed the researcher to actively interact with the research participants.

The researcher recognises that realities are socially constructed and are informed by experiences, beliefs and values (Creswell, 2007; Chilisa & Kawulich, 2012). Accordingly, the researcher is aware of the subjectivity of the findings that may be drawn from this research as they will be informed by individual experiences of participants based on their own lived realities. This study has adopted the constructivism or interpretive approach, which embraces the existence of the many realities. The lived experiences of participants and their understanding of the world were used to analyse and interprete their perceptions regarding the manner with which government engages rural communities on development issues. The reviewed studies on community participation in development in South Africa mainly adopted the mixed methods approach. According to Babbie (2010), this approach is gaining prominence in the social sciences and is viewed as a way of using the qualitative and quantitative research approaches to complement one another. The former uses non-numerical data to understand human behaviour, while the latter uses numerical data to quantify the qualitative assessments. However due to time and resource constraints, and in order to still achieve an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon, this study followed a qualitative case study approach.

3.3 Research design

The study collected data through interviews and documents, and used both document analysis, in particular analysis of public documents, and thematic analysis to analyse the data collected. To ensure that the data collected from interviews and documents are aligned, it was important for the researcher to indentify participants that were involved in community development in the village of Ga-Maja over a ten year period from 2011 to 2020. The identification of the documents was largely informed by data collected from the respondents or in accordance with their relevance to what was being said by the participants. The documents were sampled according to the relevant time period, from 2011/12 to 2020/21.

3.4 Target population

This target population for the study was any person the age of 18 living in the community of Ga-Maja. The sampled population was informed by this understanding and intent. The Census 2011 indicates that the community of Ga-Maja had a population of 8 053, 56.8 per cent or 4 574 of which was of working age.

3.5 .Sampling technique and size

As provided by Laher and Botha (2012), sampling in qualitative research is not characterised by too many rules. The samples tend to be small as qualitative studies are mainly based on context and are intended for deep and in-depth investigations. For this qualitative research, a non-probability sampling, specifically purposive also known as judgemental sampling, was used. This choice of sampling was based on the need to collect in-depth data needed for a deeper understanding of the situation regarding the phenomenon. The researcher used both face-to-face interviews, and telephonic interviews owing to the corona virus pandemic. The pandemic presented difficulties and discomfort for some of the participants to meet face-to-face with the researcher.

The sample included members of the community who occupy various leadership positions within the different sectors of the community. The participants were grouped as follows: two respondents from the tribal authority, three respondents from political movements, and two respondents who worked in projects that were implemented in the community. Each of the categories provided a different perspective and added to the depth of the study. The researcher intended to also interview members of the local business forum. However, these members were not available to meet with the researcher. Despite this set back, the researcher found that one of the political actors interviewed also participates in the business forum. Therefore, this respondent was able to provide some insight in terms of the work that the business forum does in the community.

3.6 Data collection technique

Qualitative research, which generally uses three data collection methods was used in this study. The three data collection techniques used in qualitative research are interviews, document analysis and observations. Interviews are the most prominent data collection technique for a qualitative study (Nieuwenhuis & Smit 2012). Interviews allow the researcher to have an interactive engagement with the participants and obtain rich data.

This helps the researchers to explain human behaviour or why participants view the world the way they do. According to Silva (2012), documents are used to mainly support claims made by research participants. Collecting data through observation is used as a guiding tool for the researcher in building relations with participants (Kawulich, 2012).

For purposes of this research, the researcher used individual interviews and document analysis as data collection techniques. The level of in-depth investigation intended for this study required one-on-one interactions with the research participants. This allowed for follow-up questions to be asked when the need arose. Documents were used to collect more data in order to get a broader perspective on the interventions that the government implemented in order to achieve development in the community. Documents also provided evidence for the claims that the participants made in the interviews. To this end, seven participants from the community were interviewed. Public documents published by the Polokwane Municipality, the National Treasury and a newspaper article about the community of Ga-Maja were used to collect secondary data.

The interviews were recorded and field notes taken in order to serve as a reminder of the responses from participants and applicable contexts. The interviews were open ended. because the participants are affected by the phenomenon on a personal level. These enabled participants to freely share their experiences. The open-ended questions also enabled the researcher to get a full perspective on the lived experiences of the participants and their perceptions about the phenomenon being investigated. The interviews were also semi-structured, and ran for approximately 25 minutes to an hour at a time. The researcher used an interview schedule, which contained a list of basic questions and allowed for further probing and follow-up questions to be asked. All the semi-structured and unstructured questions are contained in the appendices. The semi-structured questions were shared with the respondents, and the process explained a few days before the interview in order to ensure that the respondents were prepared for the interview. The documents were shared with the participants by email, cell phone messaging, and delivered by hand.

3.7 Data analyses

There study used document analyses and thematic analyses to analyse the data collected. With regards to document analyses, the researcher was mainly interested in the inputs of

the community of Ga-Maja published in the IDP of the Polokwane municipality over a 10-year period from 2011/12 to 2020/21. The researcher was also interested in the analysis of the performance of the municipality relative to the targets published in the IDP in relation to the community of Ga-Maja over the same period. Therefore, document analyses was largely informed by this perspective. The researcher was also interested in any media reports about the community, and their interactions with government and service delivery.

Thematic analysis was used to analyse data collected from the interviews. The researcher made use of the interview transcripts to identify key phrases, words and topics that occurred in the responses of participants. Step 1 of this analysis involved going through all interview transcripts noting phrases and words that appeared important for the study. Step 2 involved going through the transcripts again one by one, and identifying the relevance of the phrases and words that were identified in the first step. Step 3 involved categorising some of the words and phrases into themes by grouping those that appeared frequently in the transcripts, as well as those that were notable. These phrases, words or topics were coded accordingly, and used to create themes. The themes were analysed in accordance with some of the themes that emerged in the literature review.

3.8 Validity and Reliability

Validity and reliability are mainly associated with the quantitative approach to research. According to Mentz and Botha (2012), this is concerned with measuring whether the data collection methods used collected data relevant to the study. It also measures whether a different researcher would arrive at similar conclusions at a different time if they were to follow the same approach. The qualitative research equivalent of validity and reliability is creditability and trustworthiness (Mentz & Botha, 2012; Creswell, 2007; Morse et al., 2002). Credibility and trustworthiness is intended to ensure that there is objectivity in the manner with which data was collected and the study was carried out. To achieve credibility and trustworthiness, the researcher used multiple data collection techniques, namely; interviews and documents. Documents were used to provide evidence that supports claims made by the respondents. The researcher also used unobtrusive measures, by conducting the interviews in a setting where the respondents felt safe and were relaxed enough to speak freely. Four of the interviews were conducted in the homes of the respondents, one at the respondents' place of work, while two were conducted telephonically. All recordings and transcripts are kept safe. The respondents were also

assured that the information they shared with the researcher would not be shared with anyone, and would be used solely for the purpose of this study.

3.9 Research Limitations

The researcher initially planned to include some ordinary community members and community leaders in the sample. However, the researcher had to change the sample to include only community leaders, mainly because of time and resource constraints. Finding the relevant respondents was made more challenging by restricted movements and physical contact resulting from the corona virus pandemic. The restrictions prevented the researcher from being in contact with too many people at a time. Telephonic interviews also proved to be a challenge for some of the potential respondents as the researcher is not known to the community, and the respondents had never been subjects of a research project before. However, as the leaders interviewed are also part of the community and are personally affected by the phenomenon, the researcher believes that the respondents have provided sufficient and in-depth information. This information can be used to draw conclusions around community perceptions regarding manner with which government engages the community in its rural development initiatives. Furthermore, the respondents were not able to provide signed consent forms as they were uncomfortable exchanging physical documents because of the pandemic. Accordingly, consent was obtained verbally and was recorded.

3.10 Positionality

Ethical considerations require researchers to disclose any personal interests that may have a bearing on the research. Furthermore, constructivism encourages researchers to be aware of their own social beliefs and ideologies about a phenomenon they are investigating, and disclose their relationship with the participants (Chilisa & Kawulich, 2012). As an individual who grew up in a village in the Limpopo province, the researcher has an interest in the area of rural development, and hopes to learn more about the area of rural development and the role that communities play in their own development. The researcher has no personal attachment to the chosen research site. Therefore, the position of the researcher in relation to the chosen community should minimise any possible biasness, if any.

3.11 Ethical consideration

Ethical considerations occur mainly during data collection, particularly in qualitative research as it involves human subjects (Creswell, 2007). Ensuring the protection of these subjects is one of ethical considerations that a qualitative researcher has to abide by (Ogletree & Kawulich, 2012). The researcher followed the University of Witwatersrand ethical guidelines in this regard. The researcher obtained approval to conduct the research from the relevant structures in the University before commencing with the study.

In order for participants to fully understand the intentions of the researcher and the study, the researcher spoke to participants beforehand, explained who she was and gave a brief background of the study. The consent form, interview schedule and the information sheet were sent by phone and email to the participants. These documents were also delivered by hand to those that did not have email accounts and cell phone function to receive documents. These documents were translated to Sepedi, as the participants are Sepedi first language speakers. In the letter, the researcher disclosed her identity to participants, informed the participants of the research topic, the intention of the research and how the information collected will be used. The researcher also made a declaration, in the letter of consent, to keep the identification of the participants anonymous. This information was verbally communicated, and verbal consent obtained before the start of every interview. The interviewees were also informed that they could withdraw their participation at any time should they not feel comfortable, and that the interview was being recorded.

CHAPTER 4
DATA PRESENTATION AND RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the data collected from the interviews and documents, as well as the findings drawn from the data. The research was aimed to investigate the perceptions of community members on community participation in decision-making about and implementation of rural development programmes. Accordingly, the interview questions were structured in a way that attempts to achieve the main aim of the study. The interview questions were also crafted in a manner that attempts to get a perspective from community members on how challenges experienced in participation could be addressed. Lastly, the chapter also presents data collected from public documents, which was mainly used to provide evidence for claims made by respondents.

The respondents were grouped in three categories, namely; traditional leadership, political actors and community representatives in projects. The presentation of the data and findings is descriptive and analytical, as the researcher generated and demonstrated trends and themes from the data collected from the respondents and documents. This chapter largely presents the viewpoints of respondents on how they perceive community participation in development, informed by their own lived experiences. For the purpose of this study, programmes and projects are used interchangeably.

4.2 Respondents

The purposive sampling method was used for this study. Participants were selected by the researcher with the understanding that they would enable her to obtain information required to answer the research questions. The researcher interviewed a total of seven respondents; two from the traditional authority, three political actors and two community representatives in projects. Time and resource constraints limited the size of the sample size selected from a population of those affected by the phenomenon. This could have been any person above the age of 18 living in the community of Ga-Maja. The views from the sampled population are considered to be representative of the whole community.

4.2.1 Respondents profile

Category	Gender	Age	Level of education
Traditional authority	Male	50-60	Secondary schooling
Traditional authority	Male	35-40	Post-Secondary schooling
Political actor	Male	40-45	Post-Secondary schooling
Political actor	Female	45-50	Post-Secondary schooling
Political actor	Male	50-60	Post-Secondary schooling
Community represetative	Male	60-70	Secondary schooling
Community representative	Female	40-45	Post-Secondary schooling

Table 1: Respondents profile

4.3 Overview of Ga-Maja village, Capricon district in Limpopo

The village of Ga-Maja is situated approximately 40 kilometres Southeast of the city of Polokwane, in the Capricorn district of the Limpopo province in South Africa. The village is still largely underdeveloped as it does not have running water, and the roads are largely gravel. According to Statistics South Africa (2012), the village of Ga-Maja covers a land area of approximately 13.73 squared kilometers, with 2 020 households. The village had a population of 8 053, 56.8 per cent of which was of working age in 2011. 6.5 per cent of the population in the village had post-secondary education, while 54.9 per cent of households were female headed according to the 2011 Census data.

The village of Ga-Maja, as with many of the villages or rural areas in the country, is under traditional leadership. More specifically, the village is under the leadership of Kgoshi Maja. The village is divided into approximately 10 sub-villages, which are headed by headmen. It also has minimal economic activity. Employment opportunities in the village mainly come in the form of public employment programmes and community work programmes.

Temporary employment opportunities created from the implementation of development programmes by the municipality are other forms of employment. Teaching and nursing constitute stable forms of employment. Community members are also involved in small scale farming, which is largely for subsistence. A new shopping complex, which locates a Shoprite Usave supermarket, was recently built in the village. The Usave supermarket has created employment for people residing in the village, and other neighbouring villages.

4.4 Data presentation and findings

As indicated in the preceding chapter, the researcher had telephone conversations with all respondents before the questions were administered. This enabled the researcher to give respondents a brief background about herself and the purpose of the study. Questions were administered in Sepedi as the respondents are Sepedi first language speakers. The questions were also open-ended to allow for in-depth engagements between the respondents and the researcher. In order to confirm some of the claims made by the respondents, the researcher also used document analysis as a data collection method. The documents reviewed were largely published government documents from the Polokwane Municipality, as well as a newspaper article written about development and service delivery in the village. The data collected from the both the interviews and document analysis and findings are presented below.

4.4.1 Examples of rural development programmes in the village and related opportunities

The question on examples of programmes the respondents were involved with in the village helped the researcher to establish how familiar and how involved the respondents were in decision-making about and implementation of development programmes. The responses provided by the respondents showed that they were familiar with the implementation of various government programmes which were implemented between 2010 and 2020. The programmes in which the respondents have been involved include the upgrading of the Chuene/Maja Water Treatment Works and the construction of a reservoir in Ga-Maja. The intention of water treatment works upgrade was to increase the capacity of the existing plant to extract more water from the Chuene dam and distribute it to the entire Chuene/Molepo/Maja cluster under the Polokwane Municipality. Other significant developmental programmes that some of the respondents were involved in include the electrification of households, the construction of a tarred access road to Ga-

Maja Moshate. A bridge in the sub-village of Ga-Phiri to improve access to schools was also built, and a sports complex in the village was constructed.

According to the data collected from the interviews, six of the respondents were directly involved in one or two of these projects at one stage or another in various roles. Besides providing a service or closing a particular developmental gap in the community, the projects also provided employment and business opportunities to the villagers.

4.4.2 Platforms used to alert the community of the developmental issues and engagements about development

A question in relation to platforms used to alert the community of government programmes and engagements was posed to respondents to establish whether all community members were given the same opportunity to engage on issues of development. According to five of the respondents, the IDP consultative processes are the primary platform that they use to engage local government about their development. These respondents generally appeared to understand what an IDP is, and what is expected of the community's participation in these processes. According to one of the respondents, the consultation process is divided into two parts. The first part is a meeting of community leaders, wherethe mayor meets with community leaders to discuss what the leaders' view as priorities. These consultations normally include the whole cluster, which includes 3 areas under the custody of three different traditional leaderships. The first part of consultations also allows leaders from the different areas to identify and determine whether they have any common priorities that they can collaborate on.

The first meeting is also intended to be a strategic way in which later engagements with the bigger group can be made more structured and manageable. The leaders are expected to lobby for the support of the communities they lead before the second part of the meeting, based on their discussions in the first part of the meeting. The second part of the IDP consultative process is also open to all community members of the targeted areas. The approach to have a two-part meeting makes the IDP consultative process manageable, according to one respondent

The annual reports published by Polokwane Municipality for the financial years 2012/13, 2013/14 and 2017/18 indicate that 487, 464 and 584 community members attended the

IDP consultative meetings the for Chuene/Maja/Molepo cluster, respectively. According to the respondents, all programmes and projects that are eventually implemented in the community are informed by the priorities discussed in the IDP process. Six respondents said that the ability of the municipality to adopt the proposed interventions is dependent on the availability of funds. The IDP documents published by the Polokwane municipality for the other financial years did not publish the number of IDP consultative process attendees. However, the respondents confirmed that the IDP processes are held on an annual basis and are well attended. The respondents also indicated that the processes are also inclusive of all in the community.

Three respondents said that the municipality does not engage enough with the community. This is because the municipality rarely provides feedback to the whole community about the programmes that government has decided to implement following the consultative processes. The respondents also provided that government rarely engages the community on the reasons for non-implementation of some of the programmes proposed in the IDP consultative processes. Those who are close to the councillor through their roles as ward committee members normally find out about the decisions of the municipality from the councillor. The respondents who are part of the traditional authority have also indicated that the information about programmes to be implemented in the village is communicated by the councillor. However, this normally happens after contractors are appointed. Therefore, there are no engagements in between the IDP processes on which programmes the municipality may have a budget for. With regards to the community at large, communication on the programmes that are to be implemented in the village is communicated through pamphlets. The pamphlets are distributed at public facilities such as schools and shops by members of the ward committee. The headmen for each sub-village are also responsible for sharing information with the sub-villages allocated to them.

4.4.3 Stakeholders and their involvement in the implementation of programmes

The community has developed a system that it uses to facilitate the flow of information about the rural development programmes that government implements in the village. This system mainly applies to communication about the employment opportunities that come with these programmes. Once the municipality has decided on the programmes to be implemented, it informs the traditional leadership through the ward councillor. A position

for a chief liaison officer is then advertised by the municipality, and a successful candidate is appointed. According to one respondent, the post of a chief liaison officer is advertised through social media and pamphlets distributed at public facilities such as schools and shops by members of the ward committee.

The main responsibilities of a chief liaison officer are to facilitate engagements between the contractor appointed by the municipality for a specific project and the community, according to two respondents. The chief liaison officer engages the community through a project steering committee made up of members of the community, with each sub-village represented. Each project has its own project steering committee. Once these structures are established, the chief liaison officer then distributes pamphlets to let the community know of the work opportunities from the projects. The notice also contains information about how many people are needed for the entire project. Once hired, labourers are given training that empowers them to know what the contractor expects of them. Three respondents, that have also been members of the ward committee, also indicate that they are trained by the municipality, once they are elected. The training is about their roles and responsibilities in the community as members of the ward committee. One respondent, who was once appointed as a chief liaison officer indicated that they were not given any formal training. But that they understood what their responsibilities were from the requirements in the post advertisement.

While the community has a full understanding of who gets involved in what discussion and when, there is also a dominant view that the ward councillor side-lines the traditional leadership in some processes. Four respondents have specifically raised concerns about the chief and traditional leadership and their role in the community. These respondents believe that side-lining the chief and the traditional leadership in development processes leads to the community being exploited or short-changed in some instances. One of the respondents gave an example of an instance where rocks, that were dug up during one of the projects, were allegedly sold to the contractor without the involvement of and benefit to the community and traditional leadership.

4.4.4 Economic opportunities associated with government programmes or projects

Rural development programmes that the municipality brings into the village create temporary employment for members of the community. For the unskilled labourers, the

general understanding is that contractors largely recruit locally. With skilled workers, it is mainly in instances where the skill does not exist locally that the contractor recruits from outside the community. The number of people to be employed when projects are being rolled out is communicated and known upfront, according to the respondents. However, in certain instances the people that are employed in projects start working at different times. This dynamic seems to be accepted and understood by at least three of the respondents. However, one respondent claims that some of the people that hold leadership positions in the community take advantage of fact that people are desperate for employment. This makes people agreeable to any glimpse of opportunity without question even when things are not explained properly, the respondent explained. This respondent also indicated that in some instances people are requested to pay a portion of their earnings to other people, so that their employment in the projects can be secured. This happens despite the community having established a system for recruiting labourers. According to the respondents, this system involves a proportional distribution of opportunities to all sub-villages.

Furthermore, three respondents indicated that projects also present opportunities for small and medium local businesses. These respondents mentioned that according to their understanding, 30 per cent of the value of contracts for projects implemented in the village must be subcontracted to local businesses. One respondent, who is also a member of the local business forum, says that the forum was established to ensure that this provision is implemented, amongst others. While this seems to be the understanding in some segments of the community, the pre-qualification criteria for preferential procurement in National Treasury (2017) seems to have been misunderstood. Although there is a provision in law for a 30 per cent of the value of a contract to be subcontracted to designated groups, the law does not make direct reference to the specific geographical area where the service provider should reside. This provision in National Treasury (2017) seems to have been misunderstood equally by municipalities and departments alike, as the National Treasury issued a media statement in 2018 to dispel the misunderstanding (National Treasury, 2018). Among other issues raised in the media statement was the negative impact that this false interpretation of the law has had on service delivery. This is because business people are said to have derailed service delivery in some areas demanding that they should be sub-contracted by the main contractors. The community itself experienced instances where this perception had derailed progress in the

implementation of programmes, according to two respondents. The rolling out of some of the projects was disturbed as members of the local business forum were demanding that business belonging to members of the community should be subcontracted.

4.4.5 Inclusivity of the participation processes

The question on inclusivity was posed in order to obtain an understanding regarding how inclusive the community engagements with government are. This was because rural set-ups are normally patriarchal in nature, where men tend to have more authority than women. The study found that the IDP platform is open to all who wish to attend. The respondents also indicated that the turnout at these hearings is large and people are given the opportunity to engage with officials from the municipality about issues that they wishto raise. However, one of the respondents indicated that the IDP platform can also be partisan, as some of the community members associate the platform with the ANC. The ANC has been dominant in the area since the first local government elections in 1995. This respondent believes that this is why people who attend the IDP consultative processes are normally members of the ANC or those who are close to and have the ANC sympathies. Five of the respondents generally agreed that the IDP platform is inclusive, and that women and the youth participate in their numbers.

The challenge that was commonly shared by some of the respondents is that there is little to no engagements with communities after the IDP consultative processes. According to one respondent this was mainly attributed to the failure of the councillor and ward committees to do their work. This respondent also said that ward committees are failing the community as they do not hold as many meetings with the community as expected. These meetings, according to one respondent, are for members of the community to raise whichever issues they would like to raise concerning service delivery. Because these meetings are not held, community members are denied a platform through which they can engage the municipality about service delivery. Two more respondents called for similar engagements between the community and the councillor. These respondents held the view that people would be less dissatisfied and more understanding if their leaders, specifically the councillor engaged more with the community. The councillor is seen to only engage with a selected group of people in the community. These are largely people who either agree with her or are sympathetic to her.

In addition, three respondents indicated that there is a specific focus on employing women, the youth and people living with disabilities in projects. Despite the community being under traditional leadership, which in many instances is considered to be patriarchal and ageist, the respondents seem to understand the need for processes to be inclusive of all affected. One of the respondents prided himself on his involvement in the drive to achieve gender equality in the employment of community members in projects. The respondent indicated that they are trained by government on issues of gender equality and the inclusion of people living with disabilities. According to another respondent, women and the youth are actively involved on issues that affect their development in the community. The IDP consultative processes and recruitment processes undertaken to hire local labourers in projects implemented in the community seem to be inclusive of everyone in the community. However, the ward councillor's seeming intend to only engage those that support or are sympathetic to her is exclusionary. It also hinders people from contributing to discussions that the municipality conducts about their development.

4.4.6 Efficacy of the participation processes

Questions in relation to the efficacy of participation processes were asked to establish the contentment of community members in relation to the manner in which government engages them. These questions were also asked to establish whether the views of the community are considered in engagements with the municipality or its representatives. The general view is that government does not respond or consider the views of the community satisfactorily. However, there were dissenting views from two of the respondents, who noted that the community is satisfied with the manner in which government engages them. These respondents also mentioned that the community is satisfied with how government addresses developmental gaps in the community. However, one of these two respondents did acknowledge that, sometimes, government is not quick to respond to the developmental needs of the community. This respondent also acknowledged that one's view on whether government engages with them and delivers services effectively is largely dependent on how one sees things as an individual.

Four of the respondents maintained that government is not doing enough for the community's development. These respondents agreed that the community is largely not satisfied with the manner in which government engages the community. The community is also not satisfied with the manner in which the municipality responds to some of the

community's complaints. These complaints are normally suspected irregularities in the recruitment processes of temporary workers on projects. They also normally involve service delivery complaints.

Two of the respondents, who for the purpose of this research, are categorised as political actors, have taken issue with the lack of feedback from the municipality. The community would like the municipality to provide feedback on priority programmes that are proposed during the IDP consultative processes but are never implemented. These respondents indicate that in most cases areas of intervention are suggested, and according to their understanding, are included in the IDP. However, some of the projects are either never implemented or only get implemented years later, without the municipality offering any explanation for the delays.

A comparison of IDPs for a 10-year period from 2011/12 to 2020/21 and the annual performance reports of the municipality from 2011/12 to 2018/19 was conducted by the researcher. These documents support claims that some of the priority projects which were included in planning documents were not implemented. Some of these projects were identified as priorities for the community in the IDP but were never implemented include the establishment of a library. The list also includes the rehabilitation of dongas and the establishment of heritage sites with the intention of creating an opportunity for rural tourism, which was intended to stimulate rural economies. These interventions are included in numerous IDP publications, but do not seem to have been actualised. This is because none of these projects are included in the reviewed annual performance reports of the Polokwane Municipality.

Another respondent who was once elected to the position of a ward councillor concurred with the view that the lack of communication by local government causes dissatisfaction in the community. This respondent was adamant that people want to be engaged whether things are going well or not. People tend to be understanding when their elected officials engage with them regularly. The respondent also highlighted the importance of social mobilisation and public participation as a way in which elected officials gain the support of community members. The lack of engagement by elected officials, particularly the ward councillor, has on a few occasions led to protests by community members.

Another respondent spoke about how ward councillors are failing the community. According to this respondent, ward councillors are required to hold meetings regularly with the community. This is intended to give the community an opportunity to raise any issues that they need in order for the councillor to be aware of or address. However, these meetings are not held as expected. This respondent also said that members of the ward committee do not appreciate the position that they are elected to. The respondent claims that the members of the ward committee are only interested in the monthly stipends paid by the municipality.

The general view, on whether government appreciates the contribution of the community decision making is that government does consider proposals made in the IDP consultative processes. Delivery has been largely poor as government takes time to respond and at times never responds to the community's contributions in these processes. Two respondents noted that there are a number of instances where the municipality would engage the community during the consultative IDP process, only to disappear with no feedback until the local government elections draw near. These respondents also raised the failure of political parties to actively support the plight of the community as one of the factors that contribute to the slow delivery and action from government. One of the respondents, who is also a member of the ANC, spoke about the failure of the party to provide leadership in the community. This respondent went further to say that community members have complained about the lack of visibility of the ANC in the community. The community is said to be unhappy with their tendency to reappear only before the elections when they want votes.

The respondents, who are also part of the traditional authority, spoke specifically to the tendency of the ward councillor to side-line the traditional leadership in some of the decision making processes. These respondents are supported by the interviewed political actors. The respondents mentioned that the side-lining and undermining of the traditional leadership by the ward councillor is one of the issues that the community is unhappy about. One of the political actors also indicated that for one to be an effective representative of the community in the municipality, it is important to understand the community that you serve. The respondent also said that it is important to understand the customs of the people you lead. This insinuates that at times, elected ward councillors

do not make an effort to understand the communities they serve and the values of the communities.

According to some respondents, the community has engaged with the municipality about their satisfaction with the manner in which elected officials communicate with them. These concerns were in some instances met with silence from the municipal officials. One respondent from the traditional authority said that is such instances, matters are then escalated to the mayor who usually responds adequately. Another respondent indicated that the only way government truly listens to the people is when they launch protests. This respondent gave an example of a time when the community complained about the shortage of water, despite the upgrades that were made at the Chuene/Maja Water Treatment Works. Because of the lack of response from the municipality, the community decided to protest and burned tires to get the attention of the municipal officials and the mayor. The protest achieved what was intended as the municipal officials and the mayor eventually came to the gathering of the community. However, despite these protests and the response from the municipality, the Water Treatment Works is said to still not be operational.

4.4.7 Impact of the development programmes

Five respondents indicated that there have been notable developments in the community in the last ten years. These respondents listed programmes such as gravelling of access roads, tarring of the road to Moshate and the sports complex as some of the projects that government implemented in the community to better their lives. The water reticulation projects, which included the building of a reservoir, the upgrading of the Chuene/Maja Water Treatment Works, and the building and electrification of RDP houses are included in this list as well. There were also employment opportunities created through the public employment and community work programmes in relation to waste management. A number of respondents have, in this regard, indicated that beside the challenges of water shortage, these programmes have had an impact in improving the lives of those that reside in the community.

There were, however, conflicting responses on the construction of the sports complex. One of the respondents indicated that the building of the sports complex had been smooth, as the municipality had been clear about its plans in this regard from the start.

The respondent remarked that the project was implemented in phases, and the municipality made this clear to the community. The municipality, as indicated by the respondent, was open about what these phases entailed and when they would take place. The plans have been implemented as was initially communicated and the last phase is currently in progress. A tender of this section of the work has been advertised.

Another respondent indicated that government has been slow in implementing the project, and that it is not in touch with some of the needs of the community. This respondent argued that although the sports complex was one of the priorities of the community, the decision by government to start with the installation of tennis courts was ill informed. This decision does not directly respond to the needs of the community, as the community's main recreational activity is soccer. Accordingly, the half-done sports complex is left idle as a large section of the community cannot use what has been provided by government in this regard. The construction of the sports complex was included in the IDPs of the Polokwane Municipality every year since 2013/14. The municipality's annual performance report over the same period reported delays in the implementation of the project. These delays were, amongst others, caused by the termination of the contract with the service provider and the subsequent abandonment of the project by the service provider.

The respondents also seem to agree on the water challenges that the community is facing, which are also experienced by the whole cluster. While two respondents, who are classified under the category of community representatives on projects, acknowledge the water shortage in the community as a problem; they seem to be satisfied with the efforts that government is making to address this problem in the community. However, three respondents, made up of political actors and those that are close to the traditional authority, are not satisfied with the progress that they have seen so far on the water shortage issue. These respondents are unhappy with the fact that work was done in the Chuene/Maja Water Treatment Works, but the impact of that work is still not felt in the communities. Although it is claimed that work on the plant is complete, the plant is still not operational. The respondents were uncertain on the reasons why the upgraded Chuene/Maja water treatment works is still not working years after its completion.

One can conclude from this that, while the community acknowledges progress in government's efforts to develop the area, there seems to be implementation challenges in the municipality. One respondent indicated that the developments seen in the last ten years, which aligned to the term of the current councillor, are unprecedented. He also indicated that, unlike other ward councillors, this councillor resides in the village. Perhaps this is one of the reasons for the unprecedented developments that the village has seen in the last ten years. The IDPs and annual performance reports show that the municipality experienced a lot of delays in implementation caused by challenges in the procurement processes. The delays are also caused by poor performance by service providers and protests by community members. These delays have in a number of instances caused underspending of budgets allocated towards the individual projects. The municipality's ability to spend funding allocated to projects is problematic in an environment where there are evident developmental gaps, which the municipality itself acknowledges in its IDP every year.

4.4.8 What should improve?

When asked to provide any other comments that they wanted to add on or emphasise, the respondents commented mainly on areas they would like to see improve. These are discussed in detail below.

4.4.8.1 Communication

Communication within the community and the manner in which government or its representatives engage the community is one of the key challenges that a number of the respondents raised. Respondents contend that the ward councillor, whom they view as their representative in the municipality of Polokwane, does not communicate adequately with the community. This is despite the requirement that ward councillors should meet communities quarterly according to SALGA (2011). Two respondents went as far saying that the reason the ward councillor does not engage with the community adequately is self-interest. This was based on the rumours that some of the developments in the community, especially employment and business opportunities, benefit the councillor's family members and those that are close to the councillor. It is for these reasons that the respondents think the councillor is limiting engagements with the community, and side-lining the community and the traditional authority. To show their dissatisfaction with the councillor, about 90 to 100 members of the community from the community of Ga-Maja

marched to the Limpopo Office of the Premier in 2018. The protesters included ordinary members of the community and representatives of the traditional leadership. The marchers, accused the ward councillor of corrupt activities (*Polokwane Review*, 2018, March 15). The councillor was also accused of failure to consult the traditional leadership on matters involving the community and of refusal to attend meetings with the community. The community also indicated in a memorandum that it submitted to the spokesperson of the Limpopo Office of the Premier that the Public Participation unit in the municipality and the mayor were aware of all these issues, but had failed to attend to their concerns. The respondents indicated that the community would like to be engaged frequently on issues of development. A number of respondents also emphasised the importance of including the traditional leadership in decision-making processes or keeping the leadership informed on matters concerning the community.

4.4.8.2 Quality of leadership

The issue of the quality of leadership elected by community members was also raised as a concern by some of the respondents. One respondent indicated that the community itself has to take some responsibility for the quality of leadership, and their inability to hold the leaders accountable. Another respondent blamed the community for not being interested in politics. This respondent indicated that some members in the community do not seem to embrace the connection between politics and their actual lives. This respondent was also concerned with the ANC branch in the village and their inability to hold leaders that they deploy accountable. These sentiments were supported by two other respondents who alluded to the fact that leaders, once elected to office, should not view themselves as leaders of certain groupings in the community. They should rather view themselves as leaders of all the people that reside in the community. These three respondents also agreed that political awareness and political education is needed in rural communities. This will help people understand that the election of councillors should be informed by their ability to lead. Currently people seem to vote for an individual because they consider them a friend or relative.

There is a perception among some of the respondents that the latter usually informs the kind of leadership that eventually gets elected into these positions in the community. This approach also makes it difficult for the same voters to hold the elected officials accountable for their failure to deliver. One of the respondents also indicated that political

parties, at regional and national level themselves have a role to play in this space. Their role should be to ensure that the leaders they send out to communities are trained and capacitated to serve communities. This respondent largely blamed the ANC for failing to empower its candidates to understand that the job of councillors is not about careerism, but about serving the people that elect them to office.

4.4.8.3 Community-led development

The community tends to over-rely on government for their development, rather than to actively participate in and initiate their own development journey. One of the respondents argued that the community is not proactive, particularly in initiatives that would contribute to their development. Another respondent indicated that even when there are clear economic opportunities in the community, those opportunities are not explored by the community. The respondent indicated that there are about three rivers running through the community from which businesses owned by people outside of the community extract sand at no cost. In this respondent's view, such businesses should be charged a fee which should be paid to the traditional authority, and eventually benefit the community. He also suggested that security guards could also be employed to guard who comes in and goes out of the area where the rivers are. The respondent considers this to be part of job creation and emancipation of the villagers.

Another example involves the premises that have been built on the plot next to a Shoprite Usave in a newly built complex. These premises are rented out to small businesses at a high cost, according to one respondent. As a result, some of the small business owners from the community have in recent years attempted to lease the space, but the rent was unaffordable. The business owners were, therefore, forced to eventually vacate the premises. According to the respondent, the traditional leadership should have some form of control or influence when it comes to such issues. The traditional leadership is a custodian of the land on which these businesses operate. However, the leadership appears to be powerless with regards to some of the opportunities that the community should be benefiting from. The respondent is uncertain about why the traditional leadership appears to be powerless on issues of development in the community. However, these are just a few of the initiatives that the community itself, with the support of the traditional authority, can pursue to economically emancipate itself.

4.4.8.4 Demarcation

Lastly, one of the respondents also raised an issue of the demarcation of the municipal wards by the Municipal Demarcation Board as another challenge that the community and its traditional leadership grapple with. This respondent observed that, although the village has 10 sub-villages under the traditional leadership of Kgoshi Maja, one of these sub-villages is located under a different ward within the Polokwane municipality. As a result, development issues in this sub-village are not treated in the same way that issues in other sub-villages are. When the needs of the community are ignored, the headman brings complaints to the traditional council or the traditional authority. The traditional council is not able to deal with these matters adequately, because of the manner with which the sub-village is demarcated. The respondent indicates that he believes all sub-villages under the traditional leadership of Ga-Maja should be allocated to the same ward in order to avoid such complications.

4.5 Conclusion

Six respondents in this study were actively involved in the identification and implementation of the development programmes in the village. These respondents were able to provide substantial information around how the Polokwane municipality engages the community in the design and implementation of development programmes. The community uses the IDP consultative process as the primary platform for engagements with the municipality regarding their development needs, which they are largely satisfied with. However, communication in the community between the IDP consultative processes is almost non-existent. This is mainly the result of what seems to be a relationship breakdown within the community, among ordinary members of the community and the traditional leadership, and the ward councillor. Based on the data collected, it is clear that there is a lot of acquisition of knowledge that the traditional leadership, community members and ward councillors have to undertake for there to be improvement in the way these parties engage. This will in turn contribute to notable development in rural communities. The government as an institution needs to be restructured and pass laws that will resolve some of the conflicts between traditional leadership and councillors in rural areas.

CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is used to present an analysis of the research findings presented in the preceding chapter. The discussion of the analyses and interpretation of data will discuss successes and challenges associated with participatory development in rural communities. The discussion links the literature reviewed to the experiences of the community of Ga-Maja.

5.2 People-centered development programmes

Community participation is one of the ways with which government can ensure that the intervensions it designs and implements in communities are centered around the beneficiaries. In the case of Ga-Maja, the community understands the value of their participation in informing their development. However, they are seemingly dissatisfied with the manner in which government engages the community and delivers programmes that are meant for their development. Based on the findings of this study, participation in engagements with local government could be either passive or active. The literature provides that participation can be passive, active or interactive. Passive participation refers to merely informing people of something, while active participation refers to a process which considers inputs of participants. Interactive participation refers to getting communities engaged in all stages of development or getting communities to initiate and collaborate with government in development.

This study has found that the community is consulted annually on their developmental priorities through the IDP consultative process as prescribed in Chapter 5 of the Municipal Systems Act, 2000. These discussions are open to all members of the community who wish to participate, and have their inputs included in the IDP documents of Polokwane Municipality. This document is produced annually and is published on the website of the Polokwane Municipality. Subsequent to this process, any engagements with local government are passive. The passive engagements involve informing the community about projects that are to be implemented and how many job opportunities are to be created. The community is not afforded an opportunity to engage with government on

specific individual projects during and after the implementation of the projects. Therefore, there is no community monitoring of the implementation of projects. The engagements that largely take place during project implementation are with the contractors. The engagements are specifically about employment issues rather than about monitoring whether the implementation is on track.

When participation is largely passive and consultative, it prevents communities from being involved in the implementation processes. This also fails to promote community ownership of the projects. It also denies the community an opportunity to hold both government and service providers accountable for how services are delivered or projects are implemented). In Ga-Maja, the community still experiences water shortages, despite investment by the municipality in the upgrading of the Chuene/Maja Water Treatment Works. The community was not made aware of why the water treatment plan is not working until now, approximately eight years since the upgrading of the plant started. This has clearly limited their participation to merely informing government of their needs, but not being meaningfully included in the execution of projects and their monitoring. As a result, when implementation fails they are in the dark about the reasons for the failure. They are also disempowered and lose trust in the ability of government to attend to their needs.

5.3 Successes and challenges

5.3.1 Inclusion

Inclusion is regarded as one of the key features of participatory development and goes a long way in legitimising participatory processes. The IDP consultative processes in the Chuene/Maja/Molepo cluster are perceived to be inclusive. This is because the invitation is open to every member of the community, and they are attended by a large number of community members. Efforts are made by elected ward committees to make sure that those that wish to attend are made aware of the meetings by the distributing and placing of pamphlets in public facilities such as schools and local shops.

Despite the partriachal nature of rural communities in many African nations, where men are given authority to speak on behalf of women(Claridge, 2004; Khumalo, 2013; Moyo, 2013, 2014; Moyo et al., 2012)(Claridge, 2004; Khumalo, 2013; Moyo, 2013, 2014; Moyo et al., 2012)(Claridge, 2004; Khumalo, 2013; Moyo, 2013, 2014; Moyo et al.,

2012)(Claridge, 2004; Khumalo, 2013; Moyo, 2013, 2014; Moyo et al., 2012), the participation processes in Ga-Maja are well attended by women and the youth. The recruitment processes for job opportunities created from government projects in the village are used to promote gender equality. These processes also have specific targets focused on persons living with disabilities. The focus on gender equality and the inclusion of persons living with disabilities in programmes is a result of government educating the community on the importance of inclusion. This shows how progressive rural communities can be if efforts are made in educating them about societal and developmental issues. It presents an opportunity for government to initiate programmes that will empower rural communities to participate in their own development.

5.3.2 Empowerment

The empowerment of those that participate in the development of policies is key for community participation to be meaningful. An empowered community will assist government and the community to enjoy maximum benefits from the concept of participatory governance. Inclusion of all people in development processses is also considered to drive self-development by providing knowledge. Another way of empowering people to adequately participate meaningfully in development is through education and training.

Education and training on development issues, in the community of Ga-Maja, was provided to ward committees to make them understand their role in supporting the ward councillors to execute their responsibities. Those who work on projects are also workshopped to help them to do the work they are hired to do. However, because people are not engaged as often as they would want, many are not active in the politics of the community. Public participation processes of government, in their current form, are not structured in a way that enables communities to play a monitoring role during the implementation of programmes. The current structure of participatory processes in local government only empowers community members to participate in processes that are intended to inform them of development programmes. This may also be one of the factors that discourages community members from actively participating in local politics.

The passive and active forms of participation that seems to define participation in the community limits it from deriving the full benefit of participatory development.

According to the literature, participation also encompasses interactive forms of participation (DPSA, n.d). Interactive participation enables communities to have further dialogue with government about their development beyond the consultative processes. Because the community of Ga-Maja's involvement in its development is mainly passive and active, it seems to not be empowered to initiate its own development. The community seems to lack the knowledge and the confidence to proactively engage government about its development. The traditional leadership also seems to lack the capacity and capability to engage government on issues of development.

This inability to be proactive has a negative impact on the community's development, as the community does not always recognise opportunities for development. The community is also not provided the platform and capability to monitor the implementation of programmes. Their involvement in monitoring the implementation of programmes would not only assist the community's development. However, such involvement would by default translate to government having another arm that helps in driving policy delivery. Programmes that are implemented in rural communities are a direct result of government policy. The failure of government to implement these programmes in communities can result in policy implementation failure. Therefore, when communities are not empowered to interact with its development, the implementation of government policy may also be disadvantaged.

5.3.3 Community driven development

Once empowered, communities will not only gain the confidence to monitor the implementation of programmes. Such empowerment will open up an opportunity for collaborative participation. The current structure of the participatory processeses of government may be interpreted as a hinderance to a collaborative kind of participation, where communities can initiate developmental programmes. Collaborative participation allows people to drive development themselves, and provides a platform for them to approach government for assistance. For communities to reach this level of participatory development, they would need to interact more with their developmental journey. With regards to the village of Ga-Maja, an opportunity for interative participation exists. However, a large part of the community seeminly does not recognise these opportunities when they arise. In instances that they do recognise such opportunities, they are not empowered to exploit them in a manner that can benefit them. One such opportunity,

according to the data collected, involves the extraction of sand from the three rivers located in the community. The sand is extracted at no cost to business owners, who do not reside in the community, and with no benefit accruing to the community.

Considering that rural land is known to be under the custodianship of traditional authorities, it is unclear why these outside businesses are not charged for extracting sand from these rivers. There is also a general practice when business people conduct businesses in rural areas, which involves them paying a fee to the traditional authority. In addition, businesses that operate in the community use unskilled labour from the village, creating employment for the villagers, which according to the findings is not the case with sand extraction. It remains unclear why the same approach is not used for those that extract sand from these rivers. Perhaps this is because these activities are not charecterised as business activities by the traditional authority. Therefore, their potential to benefit the community economically is not fully recognised.

A new shopping complex in the community, presented an opportunity for small businesses to trade within this complex. However, the rental for this space is said to be expensive for small businesses in the village. Local businesses have attempted to rent these spaces, but have had to vacate the premises because of the expensive rental. As a result the space remains unoccupied. The two opportunities are not fully taken advantage of by the community. The lack of action by the traditional leadership in this regard creates the perception that the traditional authority may not have the capacity to explore potential avenues that may contribute to development. This is disconcerting as they are viewed to have the power to intervene in some of these instances by some community members.

This brings into question the role of traditional authorities in the development of communities under their custodianship. What capabilities and powers do traditional leaderships have in driving development? It also brings into question the adequacy of the institutional design of local governments in driving and enabling development in rural communities; and how the municipalities as actors in local government interact with traditional authorities for the interest of the communities that reside in these rural areas.The community of Ga-Maja and its traditional leadership seem to have mutual respect for each other despite occassional disagreements. The community also respects the authority of its traditional leaders. Government, through its laws and policies

recognises the existence of these authorities. Government also to a certain extent, crafts a role that they should play in rural communities, albeit a vague one. The support that the traditional leadership enjoys and their recognition as a leadership structure in local government, is the source of conflict between these leaders and ward councillors. This is mainly because the role of the traditional leadership is not clearly defined, as also found by Binza and George (2011) in their article about the role of traditional leadership in the development of rural communities in Ngamlwana in the Eastern Cape. This article found that although the traditional leadership believes it has a role to play in the development of the rural community, it is not provided the platform to do so by the local municipality. It also brings into question the adequacy of the institutional design; particularly the interactions between traditional leaders and actors of local government in driving and enabling development in rural communities.

The failure of rural communities to exploit development opportunities for their benefit may be influenced by the country's macroeconomic trajectory. For example, the land which the complex was built on was probably sold at a much lower price than what the owners are charging for rental. The cost of land in the rural areas is generally low when compared to what the markets charges. As big businesses are now moving into rural areas at the time government want to intensify efforts towards rural development, an appropriate response for the development of rural communities is required. It may be important to evaluate how big business should conduct itself in the rural areas and contribute to development. This should be done without robbing rural enterpreneurs of opportunities meant for their development. Perhaps there is an opportunity for government to use public policy to protect rural economies and rural businesses from exploitation by big business.

In addition, by not fully exploring all forms of participatory development government is missing out on exploiting opportunities to stimulate and diversify rural economies. This is happening despite the diversification of rural communities being advocated as one of the ways in which government can achieve sustainable rural economies and create sustainable jobs for people that live in rural communities. This is even more important as many of the jobs currently created from the implementation of projects that have taken place in the community are mainly temporary.

5.3.4 Misconceptions and learning gaps

Local enterpreneurs and aspiring enterpreneurs established a local business forum which is supposed to be looking after the interest of local business people. The business forum seems to be driven by the understanding that 30 per cent of the value of the awarded tenders for any work in the village must be subcontracted to local business. This is despite what is stated in the pre-qualification criteria for preferential procurement in National Treasury (2017). The pre-qualification criteria makes it clear that it does not make any specific stipulations regarding the specific geographical area where the service providers should reside. This provision from the National Treasury (2017) seems to have been misunderstood equally by municipalities and departments alike, as the National Treasury issued a media statement in 2018 to clarify the misunderstanding. This was mainly because such misconceptions were derailing the implementation of some projects.

Furthemore, although the community participates in IDP consultative processes, community members do not seem to engage government documents which capture their development priorities. These include published Polokwane municipality's IDPs. The documents also include annual performance reports in which the municipality reports on the implementation of projects that it targets in the IDPs. This shows that there are learning gaps in rural communities which government should consider filling. People cannot contribute meaningfully to development if they are not empowered to do so. However, the lack of knowledge and misconceptions about certain issues or processes may be a result of people not knowing where to find information. Perhaps traditional authorities can be used to fill part of the gap. Traditional structures are already recognised by government as formal structures, but currently seem to be underutilised.

5.3.5 Conflict

According to the literature, advocates of participatory development make the mistake of assuming that communities are a homogenous group, and that their interests are the same (Wassermann, 2001). Such an assumption often does not take into consideration the fact that people are generally not interested in the same things. People usually pursue their own individual interests, and are inclined to act in a manner that first and foremosts benefits them. The study found that the ward councillor is perceived not to always act in the interest of the community. The councillor is accussed of making sure that people sympathetic to her are elected to ward committees, and that her relatives are awarded

tenders in projects. Accordingly, these actions of self-interest have caused conflict in the community. Members of the traditional leadership and community marched to theLimpopo office of the Premier to complain about the conduct of the ward councillor, and the lack of action against the councilor by the municipality.

Government institutions should expect instances of self-interest to occur either in consultative processes or during the implementation of programmes. Therefore, institutions should develop strategies or intervension mechanisms to deal with such occurences. In the case of Ga-Maja, it seems the municipality failed to address adequately the issues that the community had with the councilor . The perceptions about the councillor persist up until today, three years after the protest to the Office of the Premier. This brings into question whether there is any recourse for communities when they are not happy with their elected officials. This is more so in instances where serious allegations are made against a councillor.

Furthermore, the make-up of structures that are given the authority to investigate allegations against a councilor is also important in this regard. SALGA (2011) is clear on the roles and resposibilities of ward councillors, particularly concerning the manner in which councillors should serve communities. It also suggests that where there are complaints by communities, the speaker of the municipal council should intervene. The community indicates it has complained to the municipality on numerous occassions, but there has been no action. It appears that the only recourse that communities have is if political parties that the accused councillors belong to takes action to either suspend or expel their membership. Even though voters directly vote for ward councilors, the authority to act against any miscoduct, is located elsewhere. This arrangement does not support the ideal of local communities being given a voice on decisions that affect them.

5.3.6 Accountability

Participation is, intended to ensure that elected leaders are accountable to the people that elect them into office. Therefore, any participation process that does not enable people to hold government or its elected leaders accountable should not be regarded as meaningful participation. One of the community's complaints about the ward councillor is her lack of engagement with communities. The elected ward committees also do not engage with the community that they are responsible for. This means that the community

is being denied an opportunity to use the councillors efffectively as their messenger or representative in the municipal council.

This also raises an alarm about the quality of leadership that communities elect into office and the level of political education in communities. The role of political participation at localised or branch level in holding delegated officials accountable is also another layer that needs to be examined. Are branches empowered to hold deployed officials acountable? Do political parties at national and provincial levels adequately empower candidates that they wish to deploy to public office? These are the questions that need to be asked as the role of political parties in holding their representative accountable and preparing them for the work they deploy them to is questioned. In Ga-Maja, the ANC branch is perceived to not be as active as it should be on issues affecting the community, despite winning the local government elections in the area since 1995.

The community is politically illiterate. People tend to elect candidates based on other factors, beside the leadership quality they possess. The question is who should be responsible for educating communities to ensure that they hold leaders accountable? The role of the traditional leadership as actors in local government presents an opportunity for improving governance in this sphere of government. However, for that to happen their role in governance and in development needs to be clarified through government policy. Participation processes that are interactive will contribute to the capabilities of rural communities in holding their leaders accountable. What this indicates to is that community participation in rural development may not be achieved until the role of the traditional leadership is clarified, and rural communities are engaged in a meaningful manner.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter was intended to analyse the research results and findings presented in the preceding chapter. The chapter also attempted to answer the research questions and address the research purpose and objectives. The main theme that emerged from the research results and findings is that developmnent should be people centred. A people centered development cannot be achieved without the people being involved in the formulation of policies or programmes intended for their development. Therefore, participatory development is accordingly important for ensuring that a people centered

development is achieved. Other themes that emerged from the results relate to attributes that define participatory development, which practitioners and participants should be cognisant of. These include inclusion, empowerment, and conflict. These themes are also interconnected, in that, inclusion enables empowerment. Inclusion can also contribute to conflict, as generally people are guided by different ideologies. One other feature that also emerged from the data collected and literature is the role of traditional leadership in development.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will revisit the purpose of the study, provide answers to the research questions, express challenges that the researcher experienced in conducting the study, and make recommendations based on the findings of the study. The aim of this qualitative case study was to explore how community members perceive community participation initiatives of government in decision-making about and implementation of rural development programmes. Seven respondents who were actively involved in informing development priorities in the community and have been involved in one or more projects that were implemented in the village were interviewed. Although this sample is not comprehensive, the researcher believes it was sufficient and representative of the different sectors that exist in the community. Therefore, the findings from this study will attempt to answer the research questions. The findings will also contribute to the public discourse about how best community participation can be used as a tool in the decision-making about and implementation of rural development policies and programmes.

6.2 Context of the study

Participatory development is about empowering people to be meaningfully involved in decision-making processes that seek to improve their standard of living. Participatory development occurs in an environment where there is deliberate involvement of people in the design and implementation of policies and programmes that affect them. Practitioners in participatory development should consider several factors when carrying out participation initiatives in order to ensure that maximum benefit is derived. These factors include inclusion, empowerment, political power and self-interest. Inclusion is about the involvement of those that are affected by policy in the formulation of such policies, or in informing their own development. Empowerment is about ensuring that people are empowered on the subject they are engaging in. Empowerment, in the context of this research, also refers to the confidence and knowledge that people gain from being included in engagements about their development. Lastly, empowerment was also discussed in the context of government and bureaucracy being empowered to manage participatory development. Self-interest brings attention to the notion that people are

usually driven by self-interest, rather than collective interests. This research specifically draws the relationship between issues of self-interest and conflict in participatory processes. These features of participatory development were used to guide this study and to develop themes which were used to analyse and interpret the results of the study.

The study adopted a qualitative approach as it sought to obtain an in-depth understanding of how the community perceived their participation in development. Interviews and documents were used as data collection techniques. Purposive sampling was used in order to ensure that the researcher obtained information that was relevant to the study. The interview questions were open ended to enable the researcher to get a full perspective of the lived experiences of the participants. The researcher also employed document analysis to collect secondary data. The information collected from documents was used to support the claims that participants made in the interviews.

6.3 Research questions

The main research question was intended to investigate how community members perceive community participation initiatives of government in the design and implementation of rural development programmes. The study found that the community generally perceives community participation to be important to the realisation of its development outcomes. The community is satisfied with the manner in which the Polokwane municipality engages them during IDP consultative processes. However, the community has misgivings regarding the manner in which local government, through its officials and the ward councilor, engages it during the implementation of the development programmes. The community is also unhappy with the manner in which government responds to its complaints during the course of the year in between the IDP consultative processes.

There are three specific issues that the community takes issue with in relation to government's engagements with them. Firstly, government is seen to be slow in implemening priorities identified through the IDP consultative processes, without offering any explanations. Secondly, projects drag on. In instances where they are completed, some are found to have been executed poorly to the extent that the community derives little or no benefit from them. Lastly, the municipality and the ward councillor are disengaged from the community and the traditional leadership. This

prevents community engagements with the councilor who is supposed to speak on their behalf in the municipal council.

This study discussed specific areas that need to be improved in order to address the manner in which the members of the community engages with government and with each other. These are further discussed in the summary of findings and conclusions below, and to specifically answer the research subquestions. It is only when improvements occur in the conduct of engagements that development programmes can have the desired impact in the lives of community members.

6.4 Summary of responses to the research subquestions

The below discussion attempts to summarise the findings, in relation to the research subquestions and draws conclusions from the data collected from interviews and the documents analysed.

6.4.1 Subquestion 1: What rural development programmes has government implemented in the village over the last ten years?

The first subquestion is intended to establish the type of development programmes that were implemented in the community in the last ten years. Answers to this question sought to also understand how involved the respondents were in the implementation of the programmes. Accordingly, the following development programmes took place during this period: the upgrading of the Chuene/Maja water treatment works and the construction of a reservoir in Ga-Maja, the electrification of households, and the construction of a tarred access road to Ga-Maja Moshate. A bridge in the sub-village of Ga-Phiri to improve access to schools was installed, and a sports complex in the village constructed. Six of the respondents were directly involved in one or two of these projects at one stage or another, and in various roles. The responses to this question were used to set the tone for the discussion that followed between the researcher and the respondents.

6.4.2 Subquestion 2: What role does the community play in informing decision making about these programmes, and their implementation?

The second subquestion was intended to establish the direct role that the community plays in informing the decision making about the priority programmes and their implementation. The community's role in informing development is limited to their

participation in the IDP consultative processes. It is through this process, which is conducted annually with the Polokwane Municipality, that the community is given the platform to inform decision-makers of their developmental needs. The needs are then included in the IDP of the municipality, published and their implementation reported on annually. The community is not directly involved in any discussions or decisions during and after implementation. Their involvement during implementation is minimal, and includes the community being informed of the programmes that are to be implemented and the recruitment of labourers from the community in the project. There is an attempt by the community, particularly aspiring business people, to be more involved in the community's development programmes.

6.4.3 Subquestion 3: How are government programmes communicated to the community?

This question was intended to establish the manner with which the community gets to know about the programmes and government's consultative processes. This enabled the researcher to establish whether government's development processes in rural communities are inclusive. The question also assisted in establishing whether certain sections of the community are not intentionally excluded from participating in government programmes. The community uses the IDP consultative processes to inform the government's of its developmental needs. Once decisions are made about the programmes to be implemented in the community, the municipality communicates implementation with the community through the traditional authority. This normally happens after the contractor is appointed to deliver on the programme. It is through this engagements with the traditional authority that the contractor also informs the authority of job opportunities. The ward committee, which is elected by the community, is also informed of these programmes by the ward councillor.

The rest of the community is informed of the programmes and the job opportunities the various programmes present by the ward committee and headmen. The ward committee uses social media platforms and also places pamphlets in public facilities such as schools and shops to inform the community about the programmes. The headmen largely use word of mouth to communicate with the sub-villages they lead. Once the community is informed, a community liason officer and project steering committees are appointed. The

people appointed into these positions are used to be the point of communication between the contractor and the community during the implementation of the programmes.

6.4.4 Subquestion 4: What is the experience of community members in relation to the role that they play in decision making about and implementation of rural development programmes?

The community is mainly satisfied with the manner with which government conducts the IDP consultative processes. There is satisfaction that the processes are inclusive of all those that wish to take part in them, and that everyone is afforded a chance to share their views. The community is also of the view that the programmes proposed in the IDP processes have been used to inform those that are eventually implemented in the community. However, there is also unsatisfaction in relation the lack of community engagements with the municipality about when programmes are to be implemented after the IDP processes. The respondents indicated that the municipality normally takes long to implement priority programmes, and that they are normally only informed of the programmes after contractors are appointed.

The community seems to want to play a bigger role in informing the decisions about and implementation of rural development programmes. However, there has been bottlenecks that prevent members of the community from being involved in the manner they wish to be involved. These includes the poor relationship between the community and the traditional leadership, and the ward councilor. The community and the traditional leadership are unhappy with the conduct of the ward councillor. The community accused the ward councillor of rarely holding meetings with the community, even when the community initiates engagements. This makes the community feel like they do not have a voice in the municipal council. Therefore their ability to inform decisions about their development and the implementation of such programmes is negatively affected.

It is also indicated that the municipality is failing in holding ward councillors accountable for their failings, despite the community reporting the councillors' conduct. The community is of the view that the municipality, at times, only attends to its complains if they protest or destroy property. There is also a view that there is lack of political education in the village. As a result people are unaware of actions to take when they are unsatisfied with the implementation of development programmes.

6.4.5 Subquestion 5: What has been the impact of these programmes on the community?

The development programmes that have been implemented in the village over a 10 year period from 2010 to 2020 have improved the livelihoods of people who reside in the community. Government has provided access roads in the community, and installed a bridge which has ensured that school children from the sub-village of Ga-Phiri are safer when walking to school. Government has also built RDP houses and electrified these houses and other new houses in the village. At the same time the implementation of these programmes has also provided temporary job opportunities to the villagers. However, there is a view that a greater impact would be achieved if government did not take long to implement the needed interventions. There is also a view that government would achieve greater impact if the councillor worked well with the community. There are programmes that have not been implemented effectively according to the respondents. This includes the sports complex, which currently has tennis courts installed despite tennis not being a prefered sport in the community. The Maja/Chuene water treatment works was also upgraded a number of years ago, but remains unoperational today. As a result, the community still experiences challenges in relation to the provision of water by government.

6.5 Inclusion in participatory processes and accountability of ward councillors

Government consults the community annually through the IDP consultative processes, which are used to inform the developmental needs of the community. These IDP processes are well communicated and the meetings open for everyone to attend, regardless of gender or political affiliation. However, because of political illiteracy, people sympathetic to the ruling ANC dominate attendance. While the community is largely satisfied with the manner in which the IDP consultative processes are undertaken, it has misgivings about how it is engaged outside these processes. The community is particularly unhappy with the conduct of the ward councilor who rarely has meetings with the community, even when the it initiates engagements. This makes the community feel like they do not have a voice in the municipal council. The municipality also fails to respond adequately when the community escalates their complaints, whether it is through formal channels or protest actions.

This brings into question the municipality's policies for assessing the performance of councillors. It also raises questions around whether it has the capacity, capability and willingness to properly investigate allegations that communities lodge about their ward councillors. Ward councillors represent communities in council. Perhaps there is a case for government processes to consider integrating community stakeholders in some of its governance processes. This would apply in instances where local government is dealing with matters involving the performance of ward councillors. As traditional leadership is considered to be part of local government by the government of today and laws have been passed to support this, they could play this role. The traditional council consists of the chief, headmen and other ordinary members of the community, some of whom are elected by the communities.

6.6 Forms of participation and institutional design

The study also found that communities' involvement in their development is mainly passive, where they are merely informed of development. Participation processes in the community are also active, where inputs about their developmental priorities are sought by the municipality through the IDP consultative processes. The community is not empowered to engage in interactive participation processes. This creates a gap in the role that the community can play in participatory governance and participatory development. Interactive participation would require the community to be adequately empowered to monitor implementation and initiate projects which they can collaborate with government on. This would enable communities to hold government and elected councilors accountable and improve service delivery. Because of this gap, the community is usually unaware of why projects fail and is disconnected from their own development. This defeats the purpose of participatory development. It prompts a discussion of institutional arrangement, and whether government institutions are arranged in a way thatempowers rural communities to meaningfully engage in participatory development.

The issue of institutional arrangement in this context is linked to the role the traditional leadership can play in the development of rural areas. This is because participation is also dependent on the design of government as an institution. Instutions are defined in literatire as a set of rules that govern the choices and behaviour of actors. To regulate the behaviour of actors and respond adequately, one would first and foremost need to identify such actors and the source of their power. Traditional leadership is recognised by

government as one of the actors in local government. In the case of the community of Ga-Maja, the traditional leadership seems to enjoy the support of the community. The existence of traditional authorities is also recognised in the South African laws, and funded through provincial budgets. However, their role in communities that they lead is yet to be clarified by government. Perhaps one way in ensuring that they are used optimally is to empower these authorities to actively be involved in the monitoring and evaluation of service delivery in rural areas. The traditional authorities may also represent rural communities in the evaluation of the performance of ward councillors in local government.

Lastly, the role of the community itself and its traditional leadership in stimulating its own development through economic opportunities that exists within community was discussed. The main question that arises from this theme is whether communities and traditional authorities are empowered to recognise such opportunities when they arise. Do they have knowledge of the actions that they need to pursue to ensure that the community benefits from such opportunities?. What is the role of national, provincial and local government's in empowering and supporting rural communities in reaching this level of participatory development? This question is even more relevant today, as these levels of governments are campaigning for the diversification of rural economies beyond small-scale agriculture. The diversification of rural economies may be just another talk shop, unless government is committed to driving this endeavour. It is important that government empowers itself to be able to do this. Communities will also have to be empowered to collaborate with government on this endeavour.

6.7 Empowerment

Communities, particularly leaders of different sectors in rural communities, should also be empowered to engage with and understand legislative frameworks that guide governance processes in the country. These leaders should also be empowered to use public documents instead of hearsay to inform their engagement on developmental issues. Misconceptions about certain pre-conditions in preferential public procurement have misled local business forums to make demands that are not aligned to the provisions of the law. This specifically speaks to the demand for 30 per cent of the value of contracts for any tender awarded to do work in the community to be subcontracted to local businesses. Such misconceptions about the procurement processes of government have

in some instances caused conflict in the community. The misconceptions also disempower business people from having well informed engagements with government about development.

By not being conversant with government processes, the community also misses an opportunity to monitor the performace of government on the implementation of programmes. Progress in terms of implementation of programmes is published annually in documents of the municipality and accessible to the public. However, it seems the community is not aware of the existence of such documents or how to use them to obtain information. This is another gap that exists in the rural development system and governance. It also brings into question the institutional capability of traditional authorities, and the role that they play in development. The responsibilities of the support staff that the Limpopo Office of the Premier deploys to these traditional authorities may also need to be looked at. Traditional leadership as an institution in Limpopo, spent about R500 million per year in 2018/19 and 2019/20, but seems to play an insignificant role in uplifting communities. This may be because its role in development is mainly vague, and perhaps because it is not used optimally by government.

6.8 Recommendations

Participatory development is not adequately instutionalised in processes of government to enable the government and citizens alike to draw maximum benefit from this concept. This is despite it being emphasised as a strategy to inform development in government's policy and legislative frameworks of government. This challenge is not unique to South Africa. Researchers across the world have found that the concept is used as a 'buzzword' for politicians to gain popularity and for compliance with legislation. In the case of community participation in rural South Africa and to ensure that rural communities are fully engaged in their development, there is a need for the following:

1. Government should empower communities to engage in interactive participation which allows them to monitor the delivery of projects. Traditional councils made up of chiefs, headmen and members of the community should be empowered to monitor the implementation of programmes. This will require traditional councils and government to be structured in such a way that interactive participation is enabled. It should not be a

costly exercise for government, as traditional authories are included in provincial expenditures annually.

2. Traditional authorities should be educated in development in order for these institutions to be able to recognise economic opportunities within the areas they have custodianship over. Traditional leadership should also be empowered to develop policies that will govern development processes. For this to happen, traditional authorities would need to be professionalised in a way that enables them to be transparent in their processes. This is particularly important as traditional authorities have a history of abusing power, and collecting taxes from members of the community without accounting for how the money is used. Their design as an institution or an important actor in local government would need to change. These authorities would need to adopt a culture of openness, transparency and accountability if their role in development is to be elevated. The historical practice of non-accountability and lack of opennes would not work for this proposed role in rural development.

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3. Local government processes should include communities or their representatives to evaluate the performance of their ward councilors. This will ensure that ward councillors are directly accountable to communities for their performance, thereby matching the current electoral system which allows communities to directly elect councilors. For this to happen, local government will need to introduce new policy reforms that make room for community involvement.

6.9 Recommended areas for future research

Participatory development has the potential to fast-track development in rural communities. It also presents an opportunity for traditional leadership to be used more optimally as another structure to assist government in driving development in these areas. An interesting area of research in this regard would be a comparative analysis of the manner in which rural municipalities engage with rural communities in their development. This comparative analysis should not only look into how government engages communities, but also how the community itself interacts with its own development. This will assist government to indentify a balanced policy approach regarding participatory governance in the development of rural communities. The main aim should be to optimally use traditional authorities to drive development in rural communities, without exacarbating the conflict that exist between these authorities and ward councillors.

6.10 Conclusion

This chapter presented a number of challenges that were found to have contributed to the community being largely unhappy with the manner in which government engages with it. This requires government to revisit its internal processes, and assess whether they are adequate for the type of participatory development that is envisaged in government's legislative frameworks and policy documents. The challenges identified through this study also require the whole of government to assess whether the traditional leadership, which government has recognised as part of the local government sphere, is being utilised optimally. There are several recommendations for government at all levels, to make participatory development work for rural communities. Empowerment of rural communities, especially the traditional leadership was found in this study to be one of the potential areas that government should look into in its pursuit of rural development in South Africa.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview schedule

A. My name is Mokgatla Tema. I am a Masters student at the University of Witwatersrand, and conducting a study on community participation in rural development with a focus on the village of Ga-Maja. I would like to interview various stakeholders involved in community engagements regarding the rural development programmes of government in the village.

B. I would like to ask you some questions as a leader in the community to obtain your views and opinions on the engagements that you have been involved in in the community regarding the development programmes of government.

C. I hope to use this information to better understand your perceptions and experiences on the topic.

D. The interview should take about 30 minutes to an hour.

Unstructured questions

1. What are the responsibilities of community liaison officers?
2. How do people that do not closely work with the ward councillor know about development programmes in the community?
3. Are other government departments, national and provincial, involved in the projects or is it always the municipality that is leading the implementation of programmes?
4. How does the municipality usually respond to your complaints about your issues in the community?
5. Except for the upgrading of the water treatment works, which you had already indicated your dissatisfaction on, how did government fair in other projects that you were involved in?
6. What was the difference between the manner with which the municipality engaged with the community on the construction of the sports complex, when compared to the other projects you were involved in?
7. You mentioned earlier that the municipality leads the implementation of all development programmes in community. Are there other government

departments that are also involved, even if they are not leading the implementation of programmes?

8. In your view, does the municipality usually provide feedback on the failures to implement programme?
9. Are the IDP consultative process well-attended, according to you?
10. What is the attendance of women and youth in these processes?
11. What do you think are the reasons for the ANC in failing to hold its councillors accountable for failure to deliver or engage the community adequately?

Appendix B: Interview schedule

A. My name is Mokgatla Tema. I am a Masters student at the University of Witwatersrand, and conducting a study on community participation in rural development with a focus on the village of Ga-Maja. I would like to interview various stakeholders involved in community engagements regarding the rural development programmes of government in the village.

B. I would like to ask you some questions as a leader in the community to obtain your views and opinions on the engagements that you have been involved in in the community regarding the development programmes of government.

C. I hope to use this information to better understand your perceptions and experiences on the topic.

D. The interview should take about 30 minutes to an hour.

<u>Unstructured questions</u>

1. What are interests of the local business forum in the community?
2. In your view, what is the role of the traditional authority in the development of the community and engagements with local government?
3. When there is conflict in the community, do you think people are prone to pay attention if they are addressed by a neutral person, or does the community trust its leaders to assist in resolving the issues?
4. Does the municipality listen to your complaints and respond adequately?
5. Is the traditional leadership inclusive of women and the youth?
6. In your view, what do you think needs to be done to help to capacitate people to understand process of government and political processes?
7. You think the community does influence the inclusion of development programmes in the IDP, the main challenge is implementation?
8. Do women and the youth participate in engagements?

Appendix C: Interview schedule

A. My name is Mokgatla Tema. I am a Masters student at the University of Witwatersrand, and am conducting a study on community participation in rural development with a focus on the village of Ga-Maja. I would like to interview various stakeholders involved in community engagements regarding the rural development programmes of government in the village.

B. I would like to ask you some questions as a leader in the community to obtain your views and opinions on the engagements that you have been involved in in the community regarding the development programmes of government.

C. I hope to use this information to better understand your perceptions and experiences on the topic.

D. The interview should take about 30 minutes to an hour.

Unstructured questions

1. Who is responsible fror putting the notices about development programmes in the community at local shops and schools?
2. What is a community liaison officer responsible for?
3. What is the role of the traditional leadership in development programmes?
4. As a community liaison officer, is there any communication with the municipality during the implementation of programme?
5. Who supervises the work of the community liaison officer?
6. How many sub-villages make up the village of Ga-Maja?
7. Do people have an understanding of the internal system about who gets involved in what discussion?
8. Is there also a system that rural communities use for programmes that benefit different communities that are under different traditional leaderships at a time?
9. Do engagements and project include women and the youth?

Appendix D: Interview schedule

A. My name is Mokgatla Tema. I am a Masters student at the University of Witwatersrand, and am conducting a study on community participation in rural development with a focus on the village of Ga-Maja. I would like to interview various stakeholders involved in community engagements regarding the rural development programmes of government in the village.

B. I would like to ask you some questions as a leader in the community to obtain your views and opinions on the engagements that you have been involved in in the community regarding the development programmes of government.

C. I hope to use this information to better understand your perceptions and experiences on the topic.

D. The interview should take about 30 minutes to an hour.

Unstructured questions

1. What are the main responsibilities of the ward committee according to your experience?
2. What motivated you to be involved in some of the programmes that you volunteered to take part in?
3. Do the contractors usually recruit the number of people that they indicated from the start that they will appoint?
4. What recruitment mechanism does the community use to hire people into projects?
5. Does the municipality listen to complaints when the community is not satisfied with developments?
6. Which stakeholder do you as a member of the ward committee engage with the most?
7. Do these engagements and programmes include women and the youth?

Appendix E: Interview schedule

A. My name is Mokgatla Tema. I am a Masters student at the University of Witwatersrand, and am conducting a study on community participation in rural development with a focus on the village of Ga-Maja. I would like to interview various stakeholders involved in community engagements regarding the rural development programmes of government in the village.

B. I would like to ask you some questions as a leader in the community to obtain your views and opinions on the engagements that you have been involved in in the community regarding the development programmes of government.

C. I hope to use this information to better understand your perceptions and experiences on the topic.

D. The interview should take about 30 minutes to an hour.

Unstructured questions

1. Does the traditional authority have to provide permission before programmes are implemented in the village?
2. How many sub-villages make up the entire villages?
3. What role do political parties play in the informing development in the village?
4. Does the information flow from government to the community flow through the system that the community has established?
5. In your view, are issues that you escalate to government about the issues that you are not satisfied with attended to by government?
6. In your view, who should educate the community about the processes of government and how it engages with communities?
7. In your view, is it the same group or groups of people that protest against projects that are implemented in the village?
8. In your view, what are the reasons behind action by the group or groups in the community that usually protest against the implementation of projects in the village?
9. Is everyone given a platform to voice their opinions regardless of their gender, age and educational background?

Appendix F: Interview schedule

A. My name is Mokgatla Tema. I am a Masters student at the University of Witwatersrand, and am conducting a study on community participation in rural development with a focus on the village of Ga-Maja. I would like to interview various stakeholders involved in community engagements regarding the rural development programmes of government in the village.

B. I would like to ask you some questions as a leader in the community to obtain your views and opinions on the engagements that you have been involved in in the community regarding the development programmes of government.

C. I hope to use this information to better understand your perceptions and experiences on the topic.

D. The interview should take about 30 minutes to an hour.

<u>Unstructured questions</u>

1. In your view, does government respond adequately to the issues that the community raise with them about the development projects that are implemented in the village?
2. Do you think there is a relationship between how active the community is in their development and the quality of leadership they may have?
3. In your view, what role should political parties play in the development of leaders that eventually become ward councillors?

Appendix G: Interview schedule

A. My name is Mokgatla Tema. I am a Masters student at the University of Witwatersrand, and conducting a study on community participation in rural development with a focus on the village of Ga-Maja. I would like to interview various stakeholders involved in community engagements regarding the rural development programmes of government in the village.

B. I would like to ask you some questions as a leader in the community to obtain your views and opinions on the engagements that you have been involved in in the community regarding the development programmes of government.

C. I hope to use this information to better understand your perceptions and experiences on the topic.

D. The interview should take about 30 minutes to an hour.

<u>Unstructured questions</u>

1. How is the local business forum responsible for in the village?
2. Do contractors that deliver government programmes or projects in government sub-contract local business as per the understanding of the local business forum?
3. Do you attribute the complicated relationship between the community and the ward councillor to a difference in personalities?
4. Are there any engagements between the community, the municipality, and the contractor after the project is completed?
5. Is there a way with which the community monitors the projects after completion?
6. Is the traditional leadership also involved in the Integrated Development plan engagements hosted by the municipality?
7. Are there women in the traditional leadership?

Appendix H: Interview questions

Semi-Structured questions

Questions:	**Methodology: research approach and design**	**Analytical framework**
What is your role in the community? In answering the question may you please elaborate which economic development programmes you have been involved in?	**Qualitative research: Semi structured interviews**	Establish the role of participants in the community, and their involvement in programmes that had been implemented in the community, and their part in engagements with government.
Can you share how you came to know about the programmes that you were involved in?	**Qualitative research: Semi structured interviews Triangulating themes in line with research questions**	Searching for similar codes on how information flows from government to the community Triangulating what the participants are saying in the interview, and what is contained in the Integrated development plan of Polokwane Municipality **Develop findings on how information flows from government to the community.**
Can you share how much you knew about the programme prior to your involvement?	**Qualitative research: Semi structured interviews**	Searching for similar codes on how much knowledge participants had about the programmes that they were involved in and matters they

What kind of engagements did you have with the government about the programme, before and during the implementation of the programme	**Triangulating themes in line with research questions**	were engaging on prior to and during their involvement. Linking what is being said to literature. **Develop findings on whether the community is adequately empowered to engage with government on matters they engaged government on, and development programmes that were implemented in the community.**
In your view, did these engagements achieve what you envisaged they should achieve?	**Qualitative research: Semi structured interviews** **Triangulating themes in line with research questions**	Searching for similar codes on whether the engagements with government are seen by participants to be achieving what they were envisaged to achieve. Linking what's being said by participants to literature. Triangulating what was being said to available newspaper articles about the community **Develop findings on whether the community views its engagements with government to achieving what it would want these engagements to achieve.**

In your view, were the engagements inclusive of those affected by policy? Please elaborate how, in your view, these engagements were inclusive?	**Qualitative research: Semi structured interviews Triangulating themes in line with research purpose and questions**	Search for similar codes, and create themes on how inclusive the engagements between the community and government are. Linking what's being said by participants to literature. Triangulating what was being said to available newspaper articles about the community. **Develop findings on inclusion in relation to government's engagements with the community.**
Based on your experience, what was the impact of community participation in the development and implementation of the programmes?	**Qualitative research: Semi structured interviews Triangulating themes in line with research purpose and questions**	Search for similar codes, and create themes on how the impact that the community's participation has on the development and implementation of government programmes. Triangulating what is being said in the interview to the what appears in the integrated development plans and the annual performance reports of the Polokwane Municipality, as well as in literature.

		Develop findings on whether the community participation impacts an impact on the development and implementation has an impact

Appendix I: Participant Information Sheet

Dear participant,

My name is Mokgatla Tema. I am enrolled for a Master's programme at the University of Witwatersrand. As part of my studies, I am required to carry out a research project. The title of my research is, "Community participation in rural economic development policies: A case study of Ga-Maja in the Limpopo province". The purpose of the research is to explore how the community members of Ga-Maja perceive community participation initiatives of government in the development and implementation of rural economic development programmes.

I would like to invite you to take part in a one-on-one interview that will take a maximum one hour 30 minutes of your time. There is no compensation for participating in the research, the research is purely for academic purposes. The research will not disadvantage you in any way as it only aims to understand what your perceptions in relation to the community participation initiatives of the government in the development and implementation of rural economic development programmes in your community. As a participant, you can withdraw your consent at any time of the interview. You can choose not to answer questions that you feel are uncomfortable. Pseudonyms will be used for the research result, therefore, the participant's participation will be kept confidential. The research will be submitted for obtaining a Master's Degree in Management at the University of Witwatersrand. The finding may also be used for reflection if desired. My contact as included below, should you need to contact me about this research.

Yours sincerely,

Mokgatla Tema

Mokgatla1010@gmail.com and 063 292 9605

Appendix J: Consent Form

Title of project: Community participation in rural economic development policies: A case study of Ga-Maja in the Limpopo province

Name of researcher: Mokgatla Bernice Tema

I, …….., agree to participate in this research project. The research has been explained to me and I understand what my participation will involve. I agree to the following:

(Please circle the relevant options below).

I agree that my participation will remain anonymous	YES	NO
I agree that the researcher may use anonymous quotes in his / her research report	YES	NO
I agree that the interview may be audio recorded	YES	NO
I agree that the information I provide may be used anonymously after this project has ended, for academic purposes by other researchers, subject to their own ethics clearance being obtained.	YES	NO

…… (signature)
…… (name of participant)
…… (date)

…… (signature)
…… (name of person seeking consent)
…… (date)