

EVIDENCE-BASED MANAGEMENT USE IN IMPLEMENTING INDIGENT
PROGRAMME EXIT STRATEGY IN THE CITY OF TSHWANE MUNICIPALITY

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ABSTRACT

It is often said that South Africa has many good policies but often suffers from implementation, the City of Tshwane Metro Municipality (CTMM) indigent programme seems to be one such intervention. The purpose of this research was to explore the use of evaluation evidence compared to other sources of evidence in managing the implementation of the indigent exit strategy of the CTMM. Interviews were conducted with twenty (20) participants and document analysis was also conducted to assess trends in the management of the indigent programme exit strategy. The study revealed that despite the legislative mandate for the CTMM Indigent programme, it is not aligned with the National Indigent Framework, leading to improper implementation of its exit strategy. Beneficiaries perceived the programme as primarily targeting pensioners and had a limited understanding of other services offered through partnerships. The study established that there are no proper guidelines for exiting households, indicating inadequate implementation procedures. Household empowerment through skills development was not prioritised and the mismanagement of partnerships exacerbates the problem. It was also discovered that CTMM relies heavily on performance reporting information, and no evaluations are done, leading to superficial analysis and reliance on administrative data for decision-making and accountability efforts.

DECLARATION

I, Diniko Piet Setwaba, Student No 701927, hereby make the declaration that the report on evidence-based management use in implementing indigent programme exit strategy in the City of Tshwane Metro Municipality is my work submitted to the Faculty of Management, University of the Witwatersrand, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Management in the field of Governance, specialising in Public Development Monitoring and Evaluations. The study acknowledges all sources that have been used in the body with references provided in the bibliography. I declare that this work has never been submitted to another institution of higher learning for the fulfilment of another degree.

SIGNATURE:



Diniko Piet Setwaba

28 February 2023

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to all the women in my life who have contributed to my life journey, my late Mother Selina Ouma Setwaba, my grandmother Aletta Mnisi, my late aunt who became my mother after she passed Fuduka Ema Kgwetiane, my Other late Grandmother who is my uncle's mother-in-law Tamari Hlongwa, Sister Manere Juliet Setwaba, my two daughters Mokgethwa and Kgodisho Setwaba, lastly my Wife Violet Malebo Setwaba La-Mavulula. These women have all, in their different ways, contributed to the lessons I have learnt about life as a journey, worthy to be acknowledged in my achievements in life.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

EBM	Evidence-Based Management
CTMM	City of Tshwane Metro Municipality
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
SDA	Social Dimensions of Adjustment
IP	Indigent Programme
NFMIP	National Framework for Municipal Indigent Policies
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
MPAC	Municipal Public Accounts Committee
DPME	Department of Planning, Monitoring and valuation
NSG	National School of Government
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WHO	World Health Organisation
WASH	Water, Sanitation, and Hygiene
CoT	City of Tshwane

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

In this chapter, a background is provided to set the scene for the chapters that are to follow by providing a discussion on how the need to study the use of evidence in managing the indigent programme exit strategy as a service delivery intervention for the City of Tshwane Metropolitan came about. This chapter also provides an abridged discussion of the problem statement which assisted in providing a focus of the study, followed by the research objectives. Overall, this chapter lays the foundation on how the study was undertaken and operationalised.

1.2. Background

Several studies document findings on the insufficient use of evaluative evidence in the management of free basic services in South Africa, including those conducted by Turban et al.,(2011), Goldman & Pabari (2021), Rousseau et al (2008), Peter & Michael (2010) as well as Stewart et al (2019). The studies suggest that the implementation of the indigent programme has not benefited from the use of the Evidence-Based Management (EBM) approach across the country, specifically the use of evaluation evidence to inform the exit strategy for households that have benefited through the intervention.

There have been reported implementation challenges with the intervention in the city of Tshwane, similar to other municipalities. It has been found that the problem with many free basic service interventions is implementation rather than the design, an example is the Social Dimensions of Adjustment in Zimbabwe (Munro,1994). Furthermore, Heinrich (2007) argues that most social welfare interventions in developing countries use short-term metrics to assess performance, contrary to countries such as Greece (Stewart et al., 2019; Athanassopoulos & Triantis, 1998). Furthermore, the use of scientific evidence is often limited (Gemma & Sadan, 2015; Thornhill, 2012; Oliver, 2012), suggesting that there might be limited use of rigorous evidence to assess the impact of social welfare interventions in developing countries.

In South Africa the evidence ecosystem is rooted in the national spheres to a lesser extent at provincial levels and not institutionalised at the local government level where

it is needed the most, thus “operating in silos and having little impact on meeting developmental objectives” (Stewart et al., 2019). However, according to Goldman & Pabari (2021), evaluation evidence addresses concerns of efficiency, effectiveness, and impact of service delivery interventions, as well as bolstering the hand of programme managers in monitoring and improving policy implementation suggesting that indigent programmes may benefit from evaluation evidence for learning and improved accountability.

1.2.1. Statement of the Problem

The South African indigent programme faces significant challenges in its implementation and governance. Some of the issues include inaccurate identification and exclusion of households, with some remaining in the program due to insufficient re-registration processes and others being excluded from essential services (Pillay, 2010; Ruiters, 2018). Additionally, municipalities such as the City of Tshwane struggle with financial sustainability and rising service costs (City of Tshwane, 2015), while under-representative indigent registers further hinder access to services for poor households (Tissington, 2013). Ineffective management, outdated databases, poor planning, and political interference obstruct exit strategies, fostering dependency instead of promoting self-sufficiency (Ruiters, 2018; Berman, 2016).

The National Framework for Municipal Indigent Policies emphasizes the importance of robust monitoring systems to measure performance, however, evidence suggests that municipalities, including the City of Tshwane Metro Municipality (CTMM), rely heavily on anecdotal feedback rather than rigorous evaluation (Department of Provincial Local Government, 2005; City of Tshwane, 2012; Leburu, 2017). This reliance on informal data raises concerns about the efficiency and effectiveness of these free basic service programmes. Furthermore, the indigent programme is highly politicized, and often influenced by members of the council, underscoring the need for evidence-based management and oversight of free basic services.

Governance frameworks, such as South Africa's constitution, stress the need for transparency, accountability, and evidence-based oversight, which could enhance the effectiveness of service delivery programmes like the indigent programme (Khumalo et al., 2021). While politicians play a key role in policymaking, they may selectively use evidence to support their agendas. According to schedule 4 of the Local Government:

Municipal Structures Act, 1998 (Act 117 of 1998) the oversight committees are expected to use M&E evidence to ensure that they hold the administration accountable for their performance and to improve service delivery. Although evidence-based policies are crucial for public trust, their application is frequently undermined by inadequate or inaccessible rigorous data (Weiss, 1979; Cairney, 2016). The lack of rigorous evidence to assist in the management of the Indigent Programme exit strategy presents a significant gap in the oversight work of the council and decision-making in the City of Tshwane Metro Municipality (CTMM). Therefore, the problem statement adopted for this study was:

In the implementation of the indigent programme of the City of Tshwane Metro Municipality (CTMM), there appears to be an ineffective and incomplete application of evidence-based management, in particular, the use of evaluation evidence to inform decision-making in the governance and implementation of the exit strategy of the programme.

1.3. Research Purpose, Objectives and Questions

1.3.1. Research Purpose

The purpose of the research was to explore how and why evaluation evidence is used in comparison to other sources of evidence in managing the implementation of the exit strategy for the indigent programme in the City of Tshwane Metro Municipality, and what factors influence the reliance on different types of evidence during the process.

1.3.2. Research Objectives

- To identify the types of evidence used to inform the implementation of the exit strategy of the indigent programme.
- To explore the extent to which evidence is used to inform measures to exit households from the programme.
- To assess the influence of political role players in the use of evidence to manage the exit strategy of the indigent programme.
- To explore the use of evaluation evidence recommendations, if evaluations are undertaken by the city of Tshwane, in the management of the exit strategy.

1.3.3. Research Question

The main research question that guided the study was: To what extent is evaluation evidence used to influence the management of the exit strategy of the indigent programme compared to other sources of evidence in the city of Tshwane Municipality?

The Sub-questions included the following:

1. What type of evidence is currently being used and why that evidence is used compared to others to inform the implementation of the exit strategy of the indigent programme?
2. To what extent is evidence used and how is it used to inform exit procedures for households?
3. What influence do political role players have in the use of evidence in managing the exit strategy of the indigent programme?
4. If evaluations are undertaken, what is the uptake of recommendation implementation to improve the management of the exit strategy?

1.4. Overview of the Report Structure

This part provides an overview of the chapters in this report, outlining a summary of the main points, goals, and contributions to the body of research. Chapter Two provides a literature review on EBM in South Africa and internationally. The focus is on free basic services strategies and constructing a theoretical framework for the study. Chapter Three provides the research methodology which outlines a comprehensive approach to the study, covering design, validity, sampling, data analysis, challenges, and ethics to ensure the authenticity of the collected work. Chapter Four presents study results, background information, key questions, and themes for the Indigent programme.

Chapter Five analyses the findings on the Indigent program in the City of Tshwane Metro Municipality (CTMM) using primary and secondary data. It provides an overview of the study, discusses participants' understanding of the programme, and explores themes and sub-themes related to key research questions. Chapter six concludes the research by reflecting on the achievements of objectives, summarising findings, providing recommendations for improving exit strategy implementation, and documenting lessons learned for future studies on similar topics.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This literature review provides discussions on evidence-based management (EBM) with a focus on what counts as evidence, the use of evidence and the type of evidence to inform strategies related to free basic services in the different spheres of government in South Africa and internationally. Attention is at the local government level, focusing on the Indigent programme as a free basic services strategy. The literature also provides historical and conceptual background on the EBM to contribute toward constructing the study's theoretical and explanatory framework. The literature concludes by providing a conceptual framework that will inform the study.

2.2. What counts as evidence

There are contestations over what counts as evidence amongst practitioners of management and policymakers (Tourish, 2013). According to Boaz et al (2003), the suitability of evidence depends on its ability to address the question at hand. However, knowledge produced through research is usually thought of as knowledge that depicts a factual situation (Browne et al., 2017). Moreover, it is often thought that producing trustworthy, causal evidence through rigorous techniques should be a top priority for both researchers and decision-makers (Heinrich, 2007), suggesting a need to develop a better understanding of the types and sources of evidence in EBM.

Debates about what counts as evidence seem to call for the inclusion of human experiences rather than focusing on one source of evidence. Scholars suggest that evidence ought to be scientific and ensure that the impacts of interventions can draw reference to its policy objectives, in such instances scientific evidence should serve as the key source of information (Cairney, 2017; Nutley et al., 2009). Moreover, Goldman & Pabari (2021) argue that evidence is an argument that is supported by data. However, in an era of post-truth demonstrated by the Trump administration, conspiracy theories promoted distrust toward facts and conspiracies, such evidence assists in making a distinction between scientific facts and irrational ideologies (Harambam et al., 2022).

There are different types of evidence namely, legal evidence; scientific evidence; anecdotal evidence; statistics and other types of evidence, even though evidence that is often identified as rigorous is quantitative scientific research (Tourish, 2013; Goldman & Pabari, 2021). However, scientific evidence such as research articles is not the only rigorous evidence to inform policies, an approach to evidence that relies on monitoring and evaluation (M&E) has emerged, where evidence encompasses political counsel; case studies and community consultation (Tourish, 2013; Stewart et al., 2019; Browne et al., 2017). This type of evidence is produced in a context where the processes are influenced by many factors (Shaw et al., 2006). This suggests that the process of producing evidence is not neutral but subjective to a certain extent.

2.3. Evidence uses

Decisions based on evidence are often made in the face of clarity, ambiguity, and risk. As such, modelling and simulations are instruments for providing data to decision-makers. There are multiple consequences for each option and the decision-maker frequently lacks knowledge. The decision-making process requires the decision-maker to assess numerous possible outcomes for each alternative (Turban et al., 2011). This suggests that regardless of the condition decision-makers require evidence to inform their decision-making to choose the best alternative.

Evidence is used to inform different types of decision-making processes. For instance, Goldman & Pabari, (2021) argue that evidence use can be categorised into three uses, “the conceptual use, symbolic use and instrumental use”. Conceptual use implies using evidence to stimulate debate and clarify issues in policy formulation forums. Symbolic use involves using evidence to support a pre-determined position of policymakers, to undertake a certain course of action (Peter & Michael, 2010). On the other hand, instrumental use promotes the direct application of evidence in policy formulation to select alternatives or implementation methods (Goldman & Pabari, 2021). These uses of evidence could help inform the implementation of service delivery interventions such as indigent programmes.

The role that legislators, local councils, and parliaments perform is the finest example of the conceptual, symbolic and instrumental use of evidence. Policymakers can fulfil

their constitutional duties by using evidence, and there must be adequate, timely, and pertinent evidence available to policymakers for them to fulfil their duty and make informed decisions (Khumalo et al., 2021). However, according to Weiss, (1979) policy judgments are often made based on inadequate or questionable evidence that is based on limited and inaccessible facts. This is a mockery of constitutional ideals, as a majority of democratic governments demand evidence-based policies to enable the public to examine and assess the data that is used. Evidence-based policies assist in ensuring that interventions obtain substantial public support (Cairney, 2016).

Politicians must represent a variety of interests in their job as policymakers, but they are also motivated by political interests and frequently need proof to support their positions (Boswell, 2009; Cairney, 2017). Furthermore, political principles, negotiation, and persuasion serve as the foundation for policymaking, as such politicians find it simple to disregard reliable evidence because of this. Nonetheless, they must adhere to the principles of openness and transparency because of the work that the institutions they oversee demand of them. To achieve good governance, the South African Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) mandates that law-making institutions have an oversight function and must exhibit openness, accountability, effectiveness, and efficiency (Khumalo et al., 2021).

Furthermore, Stewart et al (2019) suggest that in resource-constrained situations, where the opportunity cost of wasting money is significant, the role of evidence utilisation is particularly vital to minimise any waste of resources on ineffective programmes. However, measuring the effectiveness of interventions becomes a challenge if there is selective use of evidence. For example, Gemma & Sadan, (2015) argue that the use of evidence in South Africa's public service focuses more on monitoring evidence over evaluations, resulting in devastating policy results.

2.4. Free basic services strategies

Service delivery refers to the supply of essential services such as bulk infrastructure, housing, land, energy, and infrastructure (Reddy, 2016). In countries such as Cuba, every citizen is entitled to free services, such as educational and medical services,

and women are granted up to a year of paid leave upon childbirth along with six weeks of paid prenatal leave (Herman et al., 2011). On the other hand, in all the Nordic countries (Denmark, Faroe Islands, Finland, Iceland, Norway & and Sweden) services such as social security, social services, health, education and training, housing, and employment are only a few of the many areas covered by welfare policy. Regardless of where they are in the labour market, citizens are entitled to the most basic form of social protection and services. Welfare policy has widespread popular support partially because of its universalism (Nordic Social Statistical Committee, 2017).

In a South African context, basic services are assured in the Bill of Rights and all citizens are entitled to them (Fuo, 2020). The government makes provision for free basic services through many strategies that are targeted at the poor including the indigent social packages (Ruiters, 2018). However, such services are often not provided as expected due to incompetency and capacity challenges, as well as a lack of regular maintenance of the infrastructure (Managa, 2012; Reddy, 2016), suggesting a misalignment between the policy provisions and effective implementation.

According to a global report by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the World Health Organisation (WHO), basic human rights that impact people's quality of life, dignity, and health include access to waste management, power; water, sanitation, and hygiene (WASH) services. However, the provision of these basic services is low in the least-developed countries (LDCs) like South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa compared to other nations. For example, 15% and 12% of healthcare facilities, respectively, lack access to electricity at all (World Health Organisation (WHO) & United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 2023).

Many sub-Saharan nations concentrated on offering social protection services, which include livelihood and empowerment, social security, protection, and social aid. For example, the Zambian government runs the Social Cash Transfer (SCT) programme, which is comparable to the Social Relief of Distress Grant (SRD) in South Africa. It gives a small monthly income to the 10% of households in each of the 116 districts in the nation. Similarly, the government of nations like Zimbabwe established the Social Dimensions of Adjustment (SDA) programme to provide aid to the underprivileged. It has been determined that insufficient data creation caused the SDA to fall short (Arthur

et al., 2023). However, in countries such as Greece, rigorous measures such as cost efficiency analysis are conducted as control measures to foster accountability and improve service delivery (Athanasopoulos & Triantis, 1998). This suggests that the challenge with most free basic services is often not the design but the implementation and control measures to redirect it towards goal attainment.

2.4.1. Indigent policy as a free basic service strategy

The Republic of South Africa's Constitution (1996), states that those who are poor, have the right to basic services. As such, the Municipal Systems Act, 2000 (Act 32 of 2000) obliges the municipality's credit control and debt collection strategy to include provisions for impoverished customers. The act stipulates that clauses must align with national economic prescripts, tariff policies, and rates. Moreover, in 2005, the previous Department of Provincial Local Government (DPLG) produced the National Framework for Municipal Indigent Policies as part of South Africa's broader social agenda and anti-poverty campaign "aimed at including individuals currently excluded from access to basic services, through the provision of a social safety net" (Department of Provincial Local Government, 2005).

Free basic service interventions in South Africa are more aligned with targeted and transformative policies such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) towards equal distribution of resources. According to Visser (2005), the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) was seen as a conservative macroeconomic framework that constrained growth, employment and redistribution, hindering the achievements of RDP objectives. GEAR was argued to be "Thatcherite" against the promise of 'A Better Life for All' due to its dependence on the responses of the private sector to grow the economy, thus failing to transform the patterns of inequality. The RDP turned out to be more in line with the aspirations of the movement for post-apartheid South Africa (Adelzadeh, 1996).

For the city of Tshwane municipality, the indigent programme is aimed at helping its recipients climb the economic ladder and become self-sufficient. Its objectives are aligned with the city's vision 2055, which aims to create a city that is "liveable, resilient, and inclusive, whose residents enjoy a good quality of life and have access to social

and economic freedoms". However, there is no sufficient evidence to suggest that the municipality can measure the achievement of the stated objectives.

2.4.1.1. Indigent entry criteria and targeting

Municipal indigents, according to Ruiters (2018), are a category of poor residents eligible for free municipal services. Targeting entails trying to identify none-qualifying recipients in ways that have a significant impact on public perceptions of welfare through the use of means tests (Ruiters, 2018). Furthermore, Mkandawire (2005), argue that the choices between targeting and universalism are couched in the language of efficient allocation of resources subject to budget constraints. However, what becomes important is value judgments in terms of the costs and benefits of approaches chosen while still satisfying adopted ideologies.

The choice between targeting and universalism is an issue of contention in social policy. It is often argued that measures towards addressing social ills need to focus on the principles of equity, justice, and dignity. For example, Mkandawire (2005), argue that the adoption of targeting has to do with adopting socioeconomic policies that seek to achieve redress for the marginalised and excluded. The drivers of targeting include fiscal crisis, where demographic shifts, diversity, and unemployment place fiscal limits on the universal provision. However, targeting comes with demands for creating capable institutions, political will, and sophisticated administration which is often lacking in developing countries.

In a South African context, guideline on the qualifying requirements outlines various techniques for targeting beneficiaries and include lack of necessities such as "sufficient water, basic sanitation, refuse removal in denser settlements, environmental health, basic energy, health care, housing, food and clothing" (Department of Provincial Local Government, 2005). However, there are variations in how the beneficiaries are being targeted. For instance, in larger municipalities poor households automatically become indigents but in medium and small municipalities beneficiaries have to apply. Furthermore, in cities like Cape Town, all poor households regardless become beneficiaries. As a result, the surveillance system and micro-control measures become a cause of contention (Ruiters, 2018).

In most municipalities, the programme was found to be communicated through ward councillors and media campaigns (Centre for Development Support UFS, 2001). Furthermore, the targeting criteria are said to be discriminatory and imposed outside of the constitution. For example, Fuo (2020) discovered that the metropolitan indigent programme excludes immigrants by focusing on persons of South African ancestry. It also excludes residents from informal settlements and those under traditional tenure where gender inequality has been a problem (Fuo, 2020). This suggests that the role of policymakers and the objectivity of the targeting criteria are often not clear.

2.4.1.2. Indigent Implementation

It has been highlighted that to maintain a financially sustainable institution appropriate regulation of the distribution of free basic services in a manner that targets those most in need is key (Department of Provincial Local Government, 2005). The application process requires the applicant's indigent status to be verified physically by social workers who must visit the Indigent household. However, reports indicate that most of the indicators are not properly verified due to verification incapacity. Furthermore, there are challenges of ownership of the properties, water leaks, and biased poverty mapping (Centre for Development Support UFS, 2001).

In the city of Tshwane municipality, an indigent programme is implemented by the Health and Social Development Department whose main goal is to ensure that residents have access to an integrated and comprehensive system of social services and programmes (Centre for Development Support UFS, 2001). However, it has been discovered that a lack of decisive leadership and agreement among the stakeholders results in gaps in the execution of both the indigent policy and the indigent exit strategy (Leburu, 2017), raising concerns about how much evidence is used in the programme's administration under such circumstances.

2.4.1.3. Indigent Exit Strategy

It is envisaged that households whose circumstances have improved should be removed from the list. As a result, municipalities are expected to develop a realistic exit strategy. However, municipalities have been found to set pre-conditions on

households, such as regular re-registration, effectively keeping a substantial proportion of impoverished households off the list (Ruiters, 2018). Different municipalities, for example, employ various exit strategies linked to poverty alleviation initiatives, and the city of Tshwane's exit strategy employs a tracking technique.

Tshwane, like other municipalities, is concerned about projected increases in the cost of free basic services (Pillay, 2010), suggesting that the municipality's indigent programme can benefit from effective evidence-based management to ensure informed decisions are made. However, a review of the indigent programme in the city found that services were not frequently targeted, although it was envisaged that funds would be set aside from the annual budget to subsidise registered indigents with free services, which threatened the city's financial sustainability (City of Tshwane, 2015).

The exit strategy of the indigent programme across the country has been experiencing several implementation challenges. For example, Tissington (2013) argue that in most municipalities Indigent registers are often extremely under-representative of those that are poor and of the benefiting households are not registered with municipalities. The vastly under-representative indigent registers suggest they are ineffective means of allocating essential services. Furthermore, Ruiters (2018) found that the major challenge is a database that is not updated annually, resulting in the programme becoming a regime due to poor surveillance as is the case for the Lesedi and Ratanda municipalities.

The majority of municipalities' exit strategies were discovered to be poorly planned and articulated (Seri, 2013). Furthermore, it is alleged that the state welfare system is a type of patronage utilised by the ANC to secure the black poor's electoral loyalty which exacerbates the problem (Berman, 2016). However, in an implied comparison to whites, who are seen as the model of civic-mindedness, local leaders have publicly stigmatised the black poor as dependent on a "culture of non-payment" (Ruiters, 2018). The discussion then shifts to the extent to which the intervention helps its beneficiaries become self-sufficient and make valuable contributions to the system. It seems the system currently perpetuates a self-centred and reliant society that does not recognize the necessity for long-term contributions to the infrastructure and sustainability of the services.

2.4.1.4. The role of evidence in assessing the indigent exit strategy

Administrative data, citizen monitoring data, citizen science, process and impact evaluations, large longitudinal data sets from birth to twenty to the National Income Dynamics Study, evidence maps, and systematic reviews make up the majority of the South African evidence ecosystem at the national level (Stewart et al., 2019). However, most social welfare programmes, rely on short-term metrics to infrequently evaluate effects without measuring the counterfactual and using comparable rigorous procedures (Heinrich, 2007), suggesting that service delivery initiatives do not fully benefit from evidence-based management approaches.

According to the National Framework for Municipal Indigent Policies, it is necessary to have a monitoring system in place to determine how well the impoverished policies are working. Monitoring requires reporting on "actual performance against what was intended or expected, according to pre-determined standards (Department of Provincial Local Government, 2005). According to the CTMM Indigent Exit Strategy of 2010 monitoring "entails gathering and analysing data on implementation procedures, tactics, and outcomes, as well as advising corrective actions"(City of Tshwane, 2012). The feedback received from ward committees, payments, and community complaints are the most typical measures used by municipalities to determine success (Leburu, 2017). The model for implementing the intervention's M&E strategy seems to depend more on monitoring evidence with little emphasis to none on the use of evaluation evidence.

2.5. Evidence-based management in the field of Management studies

2.5.1. EBM in the field of organisational behaviour

Evidence-based management (EBM) is an approach studied within organisational behavioural studies influenced by classical social science streams such as "psychology, sociology, political science, and cultural anthropology" (Ivancevich, et al., 2014), through the works of Fredric W. Taylor, Elton Mayo and his colleagues (Bright et al., 2019). It is a discipline influenced by scholars such as Jeffrey Pfeffer (Bright et al., 2019). In the same era perspective on management theory called classical

organisation theory was concerned with effective organisational structuring through the works of Henri Fayol, Lyndall Urwick, and “Max Weber’s model of bureaucracy embraced logic, rationality, and efficiency” (Le et al., 2006).

According to Bright et al (2019), EBM is an approach to decision-making that requires managers to systematically collect quality and scientific evidence to inform effective decision-making (Tourish, 2013). Furthermore, Rousseau et al (2008) argues, that the decision-making process should be informed by four main sources of evidence: “practitioner expertise and judgment; evidence from the local context; a critical evaluation of the best available research evidence; and the perspectives of those people who might be affected by the decision”. Moreover, Bright et al (2019) argue that EBM requires managers to practice based on evidence rather than relying on intuitions. Moreover, Wright et al (2018) argues that EBM is an idealistic management approach, a useful practice for management and a preferred way of being a manager.

The use of EBM stems from the lack of government’s regard for evidence in the implementation of programmes, costing billions without delivering societal needs (Heinrich, 2007). Furthermore, Tourish (2013) argue that most management practices are guided by the spread of popular text often informed by little evidence without rigour. Moreover, according to Stewart (2018) when evidence is used, it is often weak. For example, researchers in management studies may focus on statistical validity instead of outcome measures (Krämer, 2012), overstating the generalisation ability of their findings. However, Tourish (2013) argue that because of its interest in employing diverse kinds of evidence, EBM’s use of diverse scientific evidence offers a pluralistic approach to what counts as evidence.

2.5.2. EBM Components

Before opting to create or re-model, managers frequently consider four contingency elements. The “external environment, the organisation’s strategy, its technological procedure, and its scale”. Design decisions may be influenced by a single element or a combination of influences that drive for and restrict them (Champoux, 2011). On the other hand, Ivancevich et al (2014) found that what shapes the management practice

is “the power of human resources, globalism, diversity, the speed of change, employer psychological contract, and technology” as indicated in the figure below.

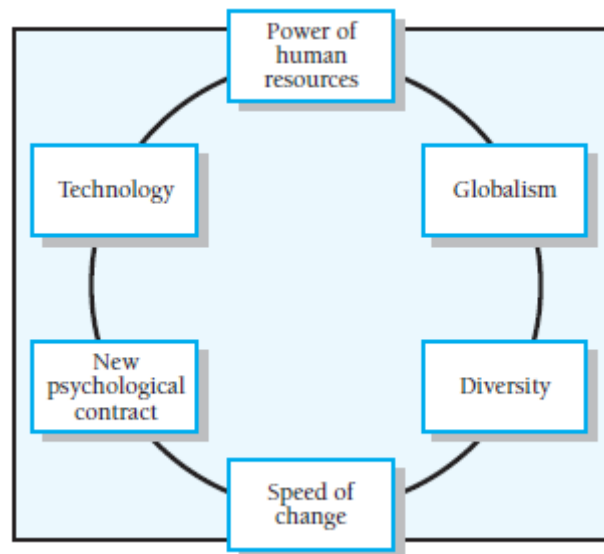


Figure 1: Components of the scientific management

According to Champoux (2011), the most important factor for evidence management is the technical processes which include converting an organisation’s inputs into outputs, accounting for outcomes and impact or lack thereof. According to Goldman & Pabari (2021), policy-making decision-making happens during the technical process, a stage which includes problem identification and analysis, intervention options analysis, intervention selection, implementation, and Monitoring & Evaluation (M&E).

M&E is seen as a crucial component in transforming organisations to become successful, efficient, and responsive to their stakeholders. Monitoring focuses on how you are performing on your plans, what is being generated, and what evaluation questions to use. When a programme or policy is evaluated, it determines the impact made, why a certain level of performance is being attained, what lessons can be learnt from the activities, and whether and how to improve its implementation (Porter & Goldman, 2013).

2.5.3. Variables and attributes (processes in EBM)

According to Briner et al (2009), there are four processes namely "preferences or values; Context, organisation actors, circumstances; practitioner experience and

judgements" that come together in the EBM. Moreover, the EBM process has five phases, the first one calls for the practitioner's identification of the problem to be discussed; Secondly, make sure that any existing data about the problem is obtained, reviewed, and evaluated before being assessed for reformulation; Thirdly, undertake a quick evaluation of the evidence to evaluate the problem in light of the outside evidence; Fourthly, assemble the opinions of those likely to be affected by the decision as well as stakeholders; Lastly, take into account the sources of evidence used and ensure they are integrated into the decision taken (Briner et al., 2009).

Furthermore, according to Briner et al (2009), for a practitioner to belong to the family of the EBM and to answer the "what if" question, they must employ logical analysis and restrained imagination as sources of evidence in their process. They must also be open and honest about how they arrived at their judgment, making it possible to identify which evidence was used and the assumptions held; what might constitute relevant evidence to respond to problems considers the use of systematic review to understand the problem and highlight possible consequences of different alternatives, and the methodologies employed.

2.6. Theoretical framework

The field of scientific management is influenced by "Max Weber's model of bureaucracy embraced logic, rationality, and efficiency". Weber argues that "the bureaucratic structure would always be the most efficient approach" (Le et al., 2006). Champoux (2011) further argues that the process of decision-making includes six phases as indicated in the figure below. Moreover, in each phase, decision-makers are informed by a specific model that they adopt to assist them in deciding.

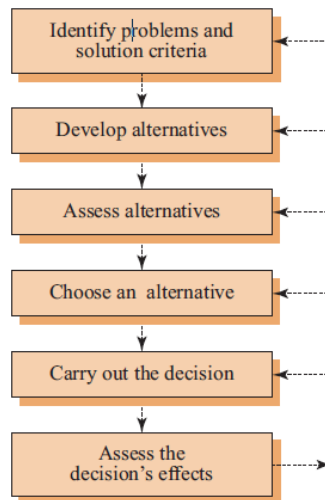


Figure 2: Decision-making process

Five types of models can be used in the decision-making process, the rational model; the bounded rationality model; the unstructured decision-making model; the garbage can model and the Political decision-making model (Champoux, 2011). The rational model is based on the idea that every decision-maker has a goal she wants to maximise or minimise and knows all alternatives available. It suggests that the decision-maker uses a function to give a preference order to each considered alternative to choose the one that maximises the goal (Champoux, 2011). Similarly, Bright et al., (2019) speak of these tactics of decision-making, specifically, the ability to analyse alternatives to ensure that informed decisions are made (Bright et al., 2019).

The bounded rationality model believes decision-makers have limits that limit their ability to make reasonable decisions. These restrictions include the inability to cope with complex problems, money limitations, time constraints, and incomplete information about choices and their results. Because of these constraints, decision-makers may fail to explore all viable options and hence fail to select the option that best achieves a goal (Champoux, 2011). On the other hand, unstructured decision-making models contain choices that involve substantial, complicated occurrences that defy programme-like decision-making procedures. The organisation often starts with little grasp of the choice dilemma it faces or the approach to solving it (Champoux, 2011).

The garbage can model explains how to make decisions in ambiguous circumstances. Ambiguous situations arise when organisation goals are unclear, organisation players continually change, and the organisation's technology is either poorly understood or fast evolving. In ambiguous circumstances, a decision-maker might not be fully aware of all the alternatives available or the results of each option. The convergence of the streams that pass through an organisation leads to a decision being taken (Champoux, 2011). On the other hand, political decision-making models assume that individuals and groups within organisations act following their self-interests and make decisions that reflect those interests. In political decision-making models, power plays a critical role in the decision-making process (Champoux, 2011). The use of rigorous evidence may help to ensure that the decisions made by public service managers are frequently tasked with making decisions on the provision of services, particularly in hostile settings due to regulations and budgetary constraints.

According to Briner et al., (2009) the shape of evidence is determined by its beliefs about reality, suggesting that attention should be on what we define as evidence to adopt an approach that can best generate the information required. EBM provides "A commitment to a realist ontology," of the idea that there are causal processes present in the universe, whose interactions result in the events and occurrences we observe (Tourish, 2013). Furthermore, according to Barends et al (2014), "using the fundamental notions of systems theory," the EBM process may be simpler. Systems theory suggests that organisations are just one of many components that interact with one another. The graphic below indicates, "The flow of inputs and outputs is the essential beginning point in describing the organisation". The initial measurements of effectiveness, according to systems thinking, must consider the entire cycle of input, processing, and output, rather than simply the final product, and they must also consider how the organisation interacts with its external environment (Barends et al., 2014).

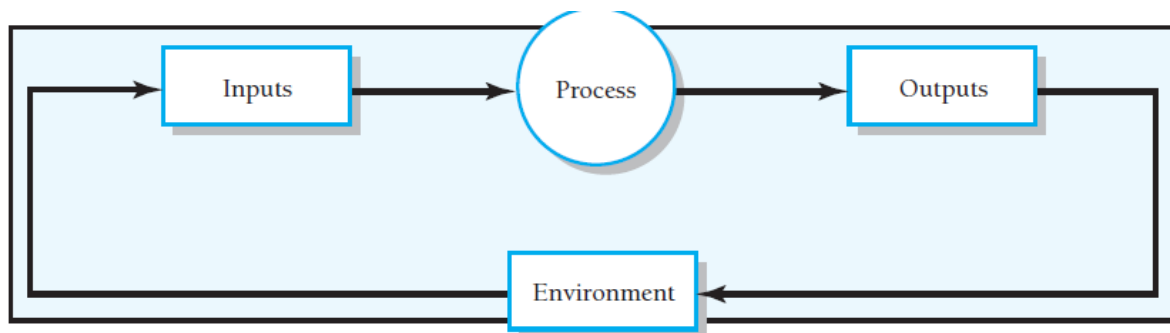


Figure 3: Systems thinking in scientific management

Systems thinking enables managers to describe the “internal and external behaviour” of businesses. As managers, you may look at how and why people behave in an organisation. Externally managers can link the transactions of organisations with the transactions of other organisations and stakeholders from the outside (Ivancevich et al., 2014). Furthermore, Wallington, (2003) argues that systems theory acknowledges that, key structural challenges must be addressed to implement change within businesses and that organisations that can adjust to change are more likely to survive and develop.

The interpretive framework adopted was systems theory and the bounded rationality model. The adopted theoretical frameworks enabled the study to explore how the different elements interacted as a limitation to the ideal use of evidence in managing a service delivery intervention such as the Indigent programme as experienced by the different stakeholders and also to validate what the literature review has revealed.

2.7. The research conceptual framework

2.7.1. Summary of research problem/opportunities/ questions

EBM is an area of management where policies and actions are supported by robust scientific evidence (Goldman & Pabari, 2021). In a South African context, evidence use appears to be limited to the national government (Stewart et al., 2019). The variety of evidence used to administer free basic services like the indigent programme presents a challenge to the extent to which evidence is employed in local government, suggesting that policy decisions made at the local government level frequently rely on anecdotal information and that there is limited use of scientific data. Also, no rigorous,

high-quality evidence is used to quantify the genuine impact of social welfare interventions.

Interventions such as the indigent programme could benefit from an evidence-based approach to inform their implementation cycle due to its reliance on diverse evidence sources because of the funding models of local governments (Ruiters, 2018). Local government could benefit from an evidence-based management approach to inform its implementation cycle to ensure that the system is relieved from the high number of people depending on it due to the high unemployment rate and reliance on social grant systems. According to the literature, there is a growing awareness of the value of utilising evidence to hold people in positions of power accountable and to learn from what works and what does not.

It is difficult to determine whether failures are attributable to poor policy formulation, design, or implementation (Stewart et al., 2019). The literature revealed that the indigent strategy has encountered several challenges that call into question the extent to which managers fully utilise an evidence-based management approach in the recruitment, implementation, and review processes. Furthermore, the several types of evidence outlined clearly show that the indigent programme has not benefited from an evidence-based approach in its implementation across the country without evaluation evidence.

Evidence use, to inform decision-making related to interventions such as the indigent programme, is argued to be based on anecdotal evidence because of the lack of diversity in the evidence employed (Gemma & Sadan, 2015). The city of Tshwane like other municipalities relies on anecdotal evidence and monitoring data to implement its free basic programmes, thus, not measuring efficiency, effectiveness, and impact. There is no evidence to indicate that evaluations are used especially in the implementation of the exit strategy, as suggested by Gemma & Sadan (2015) who argue that evaluation evidence is non-existent at the local government and that there is limited enthusiasm for transparent and effective review, evident to how the exit strategy is currently implemented.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION

3.1. Introduction

The research methodology chapter outlines the research design, providing a high-level approach to operationalising the research action plan. Amongst other important aspects to be addressed is the validity of the information collected which plays a critical role in authenticating the work collected and produced. The methodology will cover sampling including the population to be studied, the type of sampling, the data-collection instrument and interviews. The chapter also covers data analysis that will be followed to make sense of the raw data collected. The research project had anticipated challenges that might arise especially when data is collected, this aspect has been addressed in this chapter as well. Finally, the chapter will explain how the issue of ethics was addressed.

3.2. Research Paradigm

An inductive qualitative methodology was employed to guide the study. A qualitative technique was used because it attempts to understand or interpret occurrences based on participants' lived experiences (Wagner et al., 2012). Qualitative research frequently uses an inductive method of generating knowledge (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The adopted methodology was deemed most appropriate because it assisted in developing an accurate image based on the perspectives and experiences of the identified participants on the use of evidence in the administration of the indigent policy.

Interpretivist was used as a paradigm to guide knowledge generation for this study. Interpretivist paradigms are more concerned with developing an understanding of the world based on how others perceive it, it takes into context people's experience of reality (Wagner et al., 2012). The Interpretivist assisted in examining the context and the extent to which evidence is used compared to other sources of evidence in managing the implementation of the exit strategy of the indigent programme in the City of Tshwane Metro Municipality.

3.3. Research Approach

According to Tourish (2013), Positivism claims that evidence is what can be seen. Evidence in positivism is defined as the repeated observation of cause-and-effect interactions in the absence of universal reality. Relativism, on the other hand, is sceptical of the existence of a reality that is not socially produced. Its purpose is to increase awareness of the actors' points of view. On the other hand, critical realism allows us to at least attempt to narrow the scope of the unknown and make wild guesses about the underlying causal mechanisms of social events (Tourish, 2013). As a result, a critical realist ontological and epistemological approach seems to be most relevant for this study. critical realism is primarily interested in causal explanations, thus, moving from the what to the why (Cassell et al., 2018).

This inquiry adopted critical realism ontology to guide the inductive qualitative knowledge generation process. Critical realism enables the researcher to develop a better and more causally accurate, and reliable explanation for observed patterns of events through the development of more adequate accounts of the powers, entities, mechanisms, and relations that caused them (Cassell et al., 2018). It offers "a commitment to a realist ontology" (Tourish, 2013). Critical realism makes the case that all qualitative (and many quantitative) research methods should be embraced (Cassell et al., 2018). The study employed specific data collection methods including document reviews and primary data collected through semi-structured interviews to analyse the effects that the use of EBM and lack thereof can contribute to the exit strategy of the indigent programme.

3.4. Research design

A case study design was used, where the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality's indigent programme was identified as the case study. A case study research design comprises of a thorough investigation of a particular case, which might be a group of people, an organisation, or a community. Because it permits the use of participant observation and unstructured interviews, which will assist in producing an exhaustive, thorough evaluation of a case (Bryman, 2012).

The city of Tshwane was deemed as an appropriate case because the state of service delivery in the city of Tshwane cannot afford to reach a crisis level because of its strategic location in the country. The City of Tshwane is a metropolitan municipality in Gauteng, where the administrative arm of government is sitting. In a highly populated province (12 272 263) with the highest number of economic immigrants (7,1 million), the second biggest province with a high rate of informal dwelling (Statistics South Africa, 2011; Statistics South Africa, 2016). Moreover, Statistics South Africa (2023) found that the city has the lowest piped water (91,5%) compared to other metros in Gauteng such as the City of Johannesburg (95,4%) and the City of Ekurhuleni (94,1). Grant recipients were also high compared with other metros in Gauteng.

Interpretation and discussions were based on a combination of theoretical models as informed by the literature reviewed the systems theory as well as the bounded rationality model was employed to interpret the data.

3.5. Source of data

The data collection method was employed consisting of primary and secondary data. However, the study consisted mainly of primary data collection involving semi-structured interviews with key informants, politicians and the benefiting households whereby six households were visited through referrals. The Secondary data collection consisted of a document review of different existing information related to EBM and the service delivery Intervention such as the Indigent programme.

3.5.1. Semi-structured interviews

The study employed semi-structured interviews administered in person for all the Indigent households including one councillor, ward committee members and one official. The tool was also administered through the Microsoft teams for two officials and the three councillors. Semi-structured interviews are conducted according to a schedule defining the area of sociological inquiry (Wagner et al., 2012). Semi-structured interviews allow the interviewers to discover the answers and the justifications by asking clarity-seeking questions (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The

interviewer often has considerable leeway to follow up on responses that are perceived as noteworthy (Bryman, 2012).

An interview schedule was employed to organise the data collection process based on the availability of the participants, see attached the interview schedule for the 3 different interviews as Appendix 1A,1B and 1C, respectively. Individual interviews were conducted with officials from the Health and Social Development Department of the City of Tshwane Metro Municipality, overseeing the implementation of the indigent programme inclusive of two (2) social workers as well as six (6) members of political oversight bodies in the city of Tshwane caucus, as well as eight sampled households three (3) Indigent locked-in beneficiaries and three (3) exited beneficiaries.

3.5.2. Document review

Document review was the secondary data collection method used for the study which was based on a desktop review of books, journals, official publications, legislation and regulations, newspaper stories, websites, and dissertations to assess trends and advances in the local government about the management of the exit strategy of the Indigent programme. Articles and reports on the implementation of the exit strategy of the indigent programme in the city of Tshwane were reviewed. Secondary data collection according to Wagner et al (2012), consists of reviewing existing material about phenomena that the researcher did not collect directly.

3.6. Sampling strategy

The inquiry employed a non-probability sampling, known as “non-random sampling” where participants based on their availability and willingness become participants (Wagner et al., 2012). Purposive sampling, a type of non-probability sampling, was employed due to the proximity and interaction of the participants to the phenomenon being investigated in the study.

3.6.1. Purposive sampling

According to Wagner et al (2012), purposive sampling is a method where participants are chosen based on predetermined criteria that would assist in identifying appropriate

respondents; this strategy is based on the researcher's expertise and experience concerning the enquiry and the purpose of the study. Furthermore, Wagner et al (2012) argue that in qualitative research there are no specific rules on the appropriate sample size, the sample should be directed by the purpose of the study and ensure that participants meet the set criteria. This inquiry consisted of semi-structured interviews with six (6) councillors inclusive of members of the oversight committees in their capacity as policymakers responsible for service delivery oversight; a focus Group with six (6) ward committee members representing one of the townships in the City of Tshwane; in-depth Interviews with two (2) Officials (one who is a practising social worker); Face to face interviews with three (3) Indigent beneficiaries locked in the programme and three (3) Indigent beneficiaries who have exited the programme. The table below indicates the interview schedules, the types of interviews and the dates conducted according to the appointments.

Table 1: Interview types and the dates conducted

Respondents	Type of interviews	Interview dates
Municipal Councillors A	Individual interviews	12 December 2022
Municipal Councillors B	Individual interviews	09 January 2023
Municipal Councillors C	Individual interviews	28 January 2023
Municipal Councillors D	Individual interviews	28 January 2023
Municipal Councillors E	Individual interviews	28 January 2028
Municipal Councillors F	Individual interviews	28 January 2028
Ward Committee A	Focus Group	10 February 2023
Ward Committee B	Focus Group	10 February 2023
Ward Committee C	Focus Group	10 February 2023
Ward Committee D	Focus Group	10 February 2023
Ward Committee E	Focus Group	10 February 2023
Ward Committee F	Focus Group	10 February 2023
Official A	In-depth Interviews	20 December 2022
Official B	In-depth Interviews	31 January 2023
Indigent beneficiaries locked in the programme A	face face-to-face interviews	04 February 2023

Indigent beneficiaries locked in programme B	face face-to-face interviews	04 February 2023
Indigent beneficiaries locked in the programme C	face face-to-face interviews	04 February 2023
Indigent beneficiaries who have exited the programme A	face face-to-face interviews	18 February 2023
Indigent beneficiaries who have exited programme B	face face-to-face interviews	18 February 2023
Indigent beneficiaries who have exited the programme C	Face-to-face interviews	18 February 2023

Amongst the interviewed participants there were employees of the City of Tshwane, involved with the implementation of the indigent programme directly and indirectly, responsible for implementing and providing support as well as performing oversight functions over the programme. A list of beneficiaries from the City of Tshwane Indigent database could not be obtained due to the POPI Act, 2013. The participants were recruited and selected through referrals, whereby snowballing was applied. Snowballing is a method of sampling in which the participants direct the researcher to potential participants by identifying others who might be interested (Wagner et al., 2012). As part of data collection, the researcher visited six (6) indigent households through referrals. The referred households adhered to the requirements. The households included beneficiaries who have exited and are retained/locked in the programme, and they were all from within the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality.

3.7. Data analysis

The inductive qualitative data analysis approach informed the data analysis for this inquiry where the recorded responses were transcribed and analysed. Thematic analysis was then conducted to make sense of the participants' responses. Thematic analysis is an approach to qualitative data analysis where themes and patterns are identified in the collected information. To develop a comprehensive understanding of the collected information data analysis is conducted after all the data has been gathered (Wagner et al., 2012). The collected information resulted in twenty-four

themes, which touched on the understanding that the IP is a relief for poor clients of the City of Tshwane Municipality, there was mention of the types of support provided and the selection criteria.

3.8. Validity and reliability

Validity and reliability for the study considered questions of whether the techniques were reliable and whether the outcomes were deserving of measurement of the research's overall quality. Reliability can be ensured by addressing trustworthiness in qualitative research (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). For this study, the reliability of the measures was ensured by ensuring their trustworthiness which included indicators such as “credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability” (Wagner et al., 2012).

The validity of the results was ensured by triangulating the responses through data collected from primary and secondary data sources. Triangulation is the use of different theoretical models, relying on various sources of data and using multiple data analysis techniques to get different perspectives on the issue under investigation (Wagner et al., 2012).

3.9. Limitations, Feasibility, and positionality

The limitations encountered in this study included the following:

3.9.1. Scope of coverage

The scope of coverage was a challenge because it focused on the Tshwane metro making it difficult to generalise the findings to other municipalities within Gauteng. However, document review was used to paint a picture of other Municipalities in the country and Gauteng. The study further recommended that a similar study be undertaken in municipalities around Gauteng.

3.9.2. Access to Indigent Register

There were methodological challenges experienced with the sampling technique initially adopted, warranting a bit of troubleshooting. The indigent register was not

provided due to the POPI Act. To address this challenge referrals had to be employed to access the beneficiaries, especially those who have exited the programme. Due to the challenge of not having access to the City of Tshwane Municipality's Indigent database, there was a challenge in sampling beneficiaries based on a specific ward of the Municipality, however, through referrals one of the locked-in beneficiaries arranged for the research to be focused within a ward of the City of Tshwane where the interviewed participants resided. Through persistence, the researcher managed to secure interviews with the targeted participants.

3.9.3. Access to the MMC responsible for the IP

The researcher could not secure an appointment with the MMC responsible for overseeing the implementation of the Indigent programme. However, a senior official who worked with the Indigent programme was provided.

3.9.4. Access to oversight committee members

The researcher experienced challenges securing appointments with members of the oversight committee. To address the challenge, the chairperson of the Municipal Public Accounts Committees (MPACs) provided the contacts of the oversight committee chairperson responsible for the Indigent programme. The chairperson invited other members who ultimately agreed to participate in the interview.

3.9.5. Positionality

The researcher experienced a challenge of positionality during the data collection process, as the researcher was working at the Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation (DPME) within the evaluation unit, and there was work done with the City of Tshwane. To address this issue, the researcher requested to be excused from any project directly linked with the City of Tshwane. However, the researcher transferred to the National School of Government (NSG). The principle of reflexivity was applied which also assists in ensuring that issues of positionality do not affect the study.

3.10. Ethical considerations

Ethical clearance was obtained from the Wits Ethics Committee, see attached WITS ethics certificate as appendix 2.A. Permission to undertake the study at the City of Tshwane was also granted, see permission letter attached as appendix 2. B.

3.10.1. Confidentiality and anonymity

For the sake of privacy and secrecy, research participants' identities, responses and the study's location are kept secret, and any information that may put participants in danger will be kept a secret as well (Wagner et al., 2012). The participants were notified that the information they supplied would not incriminate them in any manner to guarantee that ethical issues were handled in the study. The next chapter provides details on how the responses were labelled and presented

3.10.2. Informed consent

Participants were requested to sign a consent form to engage in the study voluntarily and without being under any constraint, and they were fully informed of its objectives, methodology, and possible applications (Wagner et al., 2012). The purpose of the study was explained to them to decide to participate through a participant's information sheet. The study's objective was outlined, and the participants were offered an opportunity to ask questions. They were also informed that the information submitted would only be used for academic research. Signed copies of the consent form have been obtained and will be provided for ethical clearance.

CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH DATA

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the research results based on participants' reflections on the questions posed to the various respondents. It outlines the background information related to the Indigent programme. Presents the information according to the key questions and the themes that emerged in preparation for data analysis and interpretation.

4.2. Presentation of participants

The interviews were scheduled based on participants' availability, due to challenges experienced in accessing the indigent register. As a result, snowballing was employed where referrals were used. The table below presents the number of respondents involved in the data collection according to their link to the Indigent programme.

Table 2: Number of respondents who participated in the data collection process

<i>Respondents</i>	<i>No of participants</i>	<i>Type of interviews</i>
Municipal Councillors	6	Individual interviews
Ward Committee Officials	6	Focus Group
Indigent beneficiaries locked in the programme	2	In-depth Interviews
Indigent beneficiaries who have exited the programme	3	Face-to-face interviews
	3	Face-to-face interviews

The identity of participants was protected, and respondents were anonymised and given alphabetic labels.

Six Municipal councillors were interviewed, and their responses labelled Councillor A, B, C, D, E and F inclusive of the chairpersons of the oversight committee. Six ward committee members including one ward councillor from one of the wards around the

City of Tshwane were interviewed. For confidentiality and to protect ward committee members' identity their ward will not be outlined. A focus group was held with the six members and their responses are reflected as ward committee members A, B, C, D, E, and F.

In-depth interviews were held with two officials whose profession was social workers, a social worker in a middle management role while the other was a practising social worker. For anonymity and to protect their identity the social workers are identified as Official A and B. Face-to-face interviews including observation were held with four beneficiaries who are locked in the programme and four who have exited the programme. The indigent programme beneficiaries are labelled as Indigent beneficiaries locked in A, B, and C Indigent beneficiaries exited A, B and C.

The first participants to be interviewed were the members of the council followed by officials responsible for the implementation of the indigent programme, later on, three of the beneficiaries who were still in the programme were interviewed and those who had exited the programme were interviewed later on. Lastly, a focus group was then held with Six ward committee members including one ward councillor.

4.3. Major themes

Twenty-four major themes emerged from the participant's responses, namely: relief for poor clients of the City of Tshwane Municipality; Constitutional mandate; Different Types of support provided; Selection criteria; No exit guidelines exist; Application processes; Various exit modalities; Exit through empowerment; Voluntary exit; The role of social workers in exiting; The generation of M&E evidence; The use of evidence to inform decision making; The use of information for accountability; No assessments or evaluations undertaken; The role of Section 79 oversight committee; The role of the section 79 oversight committee research unit; The role of ward committees; Collaborations on the implementation of the; Collaborations on the implementation of the IP; could assist in measuring social impact; Could assist in improving accountability; Could assist in improving performance; Could assist in Knowledge generation for learning; and Could assist to Inform decision making.

4.4. Background on the indigent programme

4.4.1. Implementation of the CTMM IP

The City of Tshwane Metro Municipality (CTMM) implement the City of Tshwane Indigent Programme as part of the reasonable measures, within available resources in pursuit of constitutional obligations. The primary objective of the Indigent Programme is to alleviate poverty among Tshwane residents, who cannot afford basic municipal services. This is done by availing such services to them free of charge (City of Tshwane, 2012).

The provision of free basic services by local government is part of the broader social agenda and the South African government's anti-poverty strategy. Governments at all levels have a constitutional obligation to take measures to deliver on the social and economic rights as contained in the Bill of Rights. These rights include *inter-alia* health care, water, education, housing, food, social security, and the environment. Section 27 of the South African Constitution, 1996 (Act 108 of 1996) stipulates that:

1) Everyone has the right to have access to:

- Sufficient food and water, and
- Social security, including, those unable to support themselves and their dependents, appropriate social assistance.

2) The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of these rights (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996).

Moreover, in terms of the provision in the Municipal Systems Act, 2000 (Act 32 of 2000) the Municipality must exercise its legislative or executive authority to provide municipal services and to act in the best interest of the local community within its available resources (Municipal Systems Act, 2000 (Act 32 of 2000)). The abovementioned should therefore not be viewed in isolation from other measures, such as social grants, free primary health care, housing, promotion of small, micro, and medium enterprises, etc. taken by all spheres of government as part of an integrated national poverty alleviation strategy (City of Tshwane, 2012).

The CTMM IP Policy states that to finance the CTMM IP Programme the Municipality must make provision in its annual operating budget to subsidise the tariffs of registered indigent. The Municipality must make provision on its annual operating budget to assist applying households with change of ownership and the attainment of Letters of Authority (City of Tshwane, 2012).

The City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (CTMM) Indigent Policy (IP) has undergone several reviews since it was adopted by the council in 2010. The initial review was conducted in 2012, following public participation processes held on 08-24 August 2012. The review led to additional requirements and others were unaltered. The new additions to the policy were the section on the financing of the programme as well as the Monitoring and Evaluation section (City of Tshwane, 2012).

Given the implementation challenges experienced with the CTMM Indigent Policy, the policy has been subjected to another review process in 2023. In her media briefing the then MMC for Social Community and Social Development Services, stated “I have taken note of calls and messages of concern from residents regarding the City of Tshwane Indigent Programme. As such, the Policy is currently under review to ensure that the City continues to provide better services to Indigent families, while also ensuring that City finances are managed efficiently to carry out our mandate of providing comprehensive services to all Tshwane residents” (Mostert, 2023).

4.4.1.1. The CTMM IP Basket of Services

According to the CTMM IP policy document Basic Municipal Services means a municipal service necessary to ensure an acceptable and reasonable quality of life that if not provided would endanger public health or safety or the environment. The CTMM IP policy refers to a basket of services supplied and subsidised by the CTMM to indigent households categorised as Social Package, Basic Services, and Indigent Burial/Cremation Assistance (City of Tshwane, 2012).

a) Social Package

Free rebate: 100% rebate on the value of the property

Free basic service: Registered Indigent households will receive a pre-determined quantity of electricity, water, and sanitation free of charge every month. These quantities and the concomitant cost, as well as any other free basic services, will be determined annually by the Council.

Arrears of indigent households: The credit control and debt collections will be suspended upon approval of a household as indigent, but current monthly accounts must be paid every month. Arrears of registered indigents will, upon recommendations by the Social Development Department be written off. Applications must be processed and finalised within six (6) months from the date of application (City of Tshwane, 2012).

The indigent burial/cremation benefits:

- Transfer of the body from where the person died (within the borders of Tshwane), to the premises of the contractor for storage.
- All relevant services provided by the Medical referee, including the official registration of the death.
- Transfer of the body from the contractor's premises to the deceased's home and the cemetery.
- To supply the lowering device.
- A Gazebo and 10 chairs
- Date of the burial (during the week)
- Supply of a coffin
- Supply of a hearse
- Supply of a grave

All registered indigent households (child-headed households and households headed by pensioners) that have challenges with change of ownership will be assisted through the Department of Housing with conveyancing costs for follow-up transfers. All the applying households will be assisted with Change of Ownership and Letter of Authority Including residents occupying houses owned by the former North West Housing Corporation and houses registered as Owner, Occupier, CTMM), that comply with all other registration criteria except ownership (City of Tshwane, 2012).

Rental arrears of Registered Indigent Households: When a tenant with a valid lease agreement with the City of Tshwane (CoT) is registered on the indigent register,

his/her rental arrears will be suspended. The monthly rent should then be calculated at 25% of the family income or the full cost recovery of rental of that specific Housing Scheme depending on which one is the lowest. The minimum rental that will be considered is 25% of one government pension. Where service accounts and assessment rates form part of rental accounts and assessment rates form part of rental accounts these tenants are also allowed to register on the indigent Register to receive the above benefit (City of Tshwane, 2012).

b) Basic Services

The Indigent programme attempts to make services more affordable to indigent households by providing a certain amount of subsidised kWh of electricity, kl of Water, refuse removal and certain credit control measures (City of Tshwane, 2012).

Electricity benefits: The Council will assist indigent households to change from conventional meters to re-paid meters by providing the meter for free (i.e., meter connection, labour, and equipment). Beneficiaries will receive 100 kWh per month.

Water benefits: Metered water services will be reduced to 12kl's per 12-per-month flow rate for poor households to address the affordability of their current monthly account.

Refuse removal benefits: A free dustbin will be provided per registered indigent household

Finance benefits: No debt collection or credit control measures will be instituted against the indigent household for as long as consumption over and above the free use is paid in full

c) Indigent Burial/Cremation Assistance

The IP Policy of the CTMM stipulates that all requests for indigent burial/cremation will be referred to and considered by the Agriculture and Environmental Management Department. Burial will be conducted as and when required. Burial and cremation arrangements will be concluded according to specifications determined by the council. The contracted funeral undertaker will bury the deceased closest to the area of residence of the deceased but within the boundaries of the CoT (City of Tshwane, 2012).

The CTMM IP Policy state that the process and procedures for requesting indigent burial/cremation assistance can be done by any member or family of a registered indigent who applies for indigent burial/ cremation assistance and the applicant will be required to submit the following documents as proof:

- Applicant's Identity document SA green barcoded ID
- Deceased's Identity document SA green barcoded ID
- Death certificate of the deceased
- Affidavit by South African Police Services (SAPS) as proof by the family member or relative declaring that they cannot afford to bury/ cremate the deceased due to a lack of income.
- Confirmation letter from Ward Councillor or PR Councillor (City of Tshwane, 2012).

4.4.1.2. The CTMM IP Registration Criteria

According to the CTMM IP policy, a household can only be registered as indigent if it meets all of the following criteria:

- The gross monthly income of all the members of the household does not exceed the joint amount of two state old age pensions, excluding child support grant and foster care grant.
- The applicant as well as any other members of the household does not own other fixed property than the one in which they reside
- The person/applicant applying on behalf of a household must be eighteen (18) years or older, except if the child is appointed executorship by a court of law.
- The person/applicant applying on behalf of a household must reside at that property except when applying on behalf of a child-headed household.
- The person/applicant applying should be the registered owner or municipal tenant or an occupant of the North West Housing Corporation or CTMM property as defined in the CTMM IP policy except when applying on behalf of a child-headed household.
- The person/applicant must be a South African Citizen.
- A child from a child-headed household who is eighteen (18) years and older may apply to have the household registered as indigent.

- The person/applicant applying must have a services account with the City of Tshwane (City of Tshwane, 2012).

4.4.1.3. Application process of the CTMM IP

According to the CTMM IP policy document, the process for application and registration for indigent services excluding burial must follow the following:

- Households who apply to be registered as indigent must complete an indigent application form at any designated CoT facility. Documentary proof as required in the application form will have to be submitted with the application form.
- A database shall be kept by the CoT Health and Social Development Department which will be reviewed annually.
- The Health and Social Development Department must explain the policy to applicants and ensure that they understand the content of the policy.

The CTMM IP policy document stipulates that upon registration the registered indigent must be willing to accept the limited level of service and must stay in the program for at least 24 months unless assessed and approved for voluntary exit on application. The registered indigent must always ensure that her/his monthly consumption does not exceed the limited level of services. Should the situation of the registered indigent household change the onus is on the household to come and apply for de-registration at the Social Development Department. Participation in economic development activities initiatives by CoT is compulsory for registered indigents. The Department must submit the proposed programme to the Council for cognisance. Refusal of a device to control consumption will result in the re-installment of the suspended debt and the household will be deregistered. The registered household will be expected to take reasonable care of the device. The registered household must report any tempering/vandalism to the device/meter to the CoT customer care centres. If the tempering/vandalism are not reported the beneficiary will be held responsible. The registered indigent household is responsible for the current account (City of Tshwane, 2012).

4.4.1.4. Exiting the Indigent Register

The CTMM IP policy document stipulated that the registered indigent household will be terminated from the programme under the following circumstances:

- Upon the death of the account holder
- Upon the sale of the property within 24 months of registration
- If the registered indigent is no longer residing at the property and upon termination of the rental agreement
- When criteria for qualifying as indigent changes to the extent that approval no longer applies
- If it is discovered, after approval, that the person/applicant applying on behalf of a household has supplied false information. This will also result in the household's municipal account being debited with all monies previously credited. The CTMM has the right to claim back all benefits granted, and this will still apply even after the indigent's status has been terminated.
- The re-evaluation of indigent status will be performed after 24 months, and registration will be terminated if it is found that the financial status of the registered indigent household or family has changed to such an extent that it warrants such termination.
- If indigent status changes, the registered indigent may apply to be de-registered. The application for de-registration will be administered by the Social Development Department which will advise the Finance Department accordingly, where the Public Works and Infrastructure Department will be requested to restore the full Service at the property. This is subject to the condition that the applicant is not already subjected to the Credit control process due to excess consumption of services and has either been cut or limited for that reason.
- When the registered indigent moves out of the property on which she/he is residing to another property within the boundary of the Tshwane Municipality (City of Tshwane, 2012).

The CTMM IP policy document also makes provision for the following modalities to exit households from the indigent programme:

- **Ad-hoc Household Evaluation:** The CTMM IP policy states that ad-hoc evaluation will be undertaken on all registered indigent households exceeding the consumption levels (City of Tshwane, 2012).
- **Integrated Exit Programme:** According to the CTMM IP policy documents the Social Development Department must develop and implement an Integrated Exit Programme for registered indigent (City of Tshwane, 2012).

4.4.1.5. Re-registration of Indigent Households

Households may apply for re-registration provided they meet the indigent registration criteria except where households were de-registered because they did not honour their responsibilities as stipulated in the CTMM IP policy (City of Tshwane, 2012).

4.4.1.6. Monitoring and evaluation

The CTMM IP Policy states that the Municipality will take reasonable precautions within its means to ensure the minimisation of loss or wastage of services at indigent households by installing a prepayment type electricity meter free of charge and installing a programmable monthly flow volume limiting device for water. The Chief Financial Officer of the Municipality will initiate a programme, whereby consumers whose monthly consumption of services increases above the average of the pre-determined quantity, will be notified of this fact in writing to enable the consumer to take the required steps to reduce the consumption either by repairing faulty internal systems or reducing wastage. This information will be forwarded to the Social Development Department for re-assessment.

All Indigent households will be de-registered after 24 months. The households must then contact the Health and Social Development Department and proof that the household is still Indigent. The service delivery department will monitor the consumption of registered indigent households. Ad-hoc evaluations will be undertaken on all registered indigent households exceeding the consumption levels. Social workers from the Health and Social Development Department will conduct monitoring and impact assessment of the registered indigent households to ensure that the households are receiving the benefits (City of Tshwane, 2012).

4.5. Presentation of findings Per Key Research questions

The research sought to respond to the following questions: *What type of evidence is currently being used and why certain types of evidence are used compared to others to inform the implementation of the exit strategy of the indigent programme? To what extent is evidence used and how is it used to exit households? What influence do political role players have in using evidence to manage the exit strategy of the indigent programme? If evaluations are undertaken, what is the uptake of recommendation implementation to improve the management of the exit strategy?* The research findings in response to these questions are presented below based on the emerging themes.

4.5.1. Understanding of the Indigent Programme

Several questions were asked to assess the participants' understanding of the indigent programme, such questions included: *What is your understanding of the Indigent programme? What informed/guided its development, in terms of its legislative framework and other guiding prescript? What are the services offered by the Indigent programme of the CTMM? What is your understanding of the Selection Criteria for Entry into the Indigent Programme? What is your understanding of the exit strategy of the CTMM indigent policy?*

I. What is your understanding of the Indigent programme?

The responses from the interviewed participants (Councillors, Officials, and all beneficiaries) resulted in the theme of relief for poor clients of CTMM. The sub-theme that emerged was relief for the poor of the poorest, as indicated by councillors. The second sub-theme was a relief for the unemployed, and the last sub-theme was a relief for state grant beneficiaries.

The results indicate that all participants (councillors, officials and locked-in and exited beneficiaries), except for the ward committee identified the programme as a relief for state grant beneficiaries. Only councillors described the programme as a relief for unemployed households. Furthermore, all the participants (municipal councillors, officials, locked-in beneficiaries, and ward committees) except for exited beneficiaries

described it as relief for the poor of the poorest as will be discussed later in the study when the perceptions are presented.

Theme 1: Relief for poor clients of the City of Tshwane Municipality

Sub-theme 1.1: Relief for the poor of the poorest

The interviewed officials, councillors and ward committee indicated that they understood that the programme is meant to assist poor clients from disadvantaged backgrounds to have access to basic municipal services, which they would otherwise not be able to afford. For example, Official A cited:

“It is meant to meet the needs of people that come from disadvantaged backgrounds who can’t pay for basic services offered by the municipality”.

Moreover, another respondent stated:

“The programme is looking at poor households from the City of Tshwane Municipality (Ward committee member A)”.

On the other hand, Councillor C cited:

“an intervention that is meant to assist the poor and needy in the city of Tshwane”.

Another participant cited:

“The intervention is meant to help people who are in bad circumstances (Councillor D)”.

However, Councillor B responded by saying that:

“The Indigent Programme was not supposed to keep people in the cycle of poverty but was supposed to steppingstone tone to get people out of poverty”.

Most of the interviewed participants cited that at the centre of the indigent programme is ensuring that households that are classified as poor or the poorest can afford basic municipal services. However, there is also a view that the programme was not designed to sustain poor households in the cycle of poverty.

Sub-theme 1.2: Relief for Unemployed Households

There are ward councillors and locked-in beneficiaries who commonly understood the programme to be aimed at assisting unemployed households, for instance, Councillor A responded by saying:

“an intervention for families that cannot afford due to unemployment”.

Beneficiary A also responded by saying:

“...as well as those who are unemployed and can’t afford to pay for municipal basic services”.

Similarly, another response said:

“Is a programme for the unemployed or those who earn little money (Beneficiary C)”.

Unemployment was cited as one of the criteria for accessing free municipal services. Affordability is also cited to be dependent on either unemployment or lower household income.

Sub-theme 1.3: Relief for State Grant Beneficiaries

There are those participants (Councillors, exited beneficiaries and Locked-in beneficiaries) who understood the programme to be an intervention aimed at assisting state grant beneficiaries whose total household income might not be sufficient for them to afford to pay for municipal services, for example, Councillor B responded by saying:

“It also provides relief to pensioners who also find themselves having to use their grants to provide for their households through reduced basic service provided by the municipalities”.

Similarly, another participant said:

“It aligned with the government social relief intervention provided through the social grants implemented by the department of social development (SASSA) (councillor D)”.

However, Locked-in beneficiary A states that:

“It is meant for old age people who receive state grants”.

Similarly, another participant responded by saying:

“I understand it to be a programme that assists the elders with free water and electricity, the rental statement from the municipality is also lower (Locked-in beneficiary B)”.

Furthermore, exited beneficiary A responded by saying:

“We were told that it is a programme for pensioners who needed to be relieved from paying high electricity and water”

Beneficiary C also stated the same thing:

“the elderly who can’t afford to pay municipal bills”

The beneficiaries who have exited the programme understood the programme to be an intervention that was mainly targeted at providing relief for state grant beneficiaries. However, there is an understanding that the programme is meant for households with the elderly or pensioners or beneficiaries of old age state grants, this was more prevalent amongst beneficiaries who have exited the programme.

II. What informed/guided its development, in terms of its legislative framework and other guiding prescript?

The participants were requested to reflect on their understanding of the legislative frameworks linked to the Indigent programme. Only councillors, officials and ward committee members responded. The responses from the officials, ward committee members and councillors indicate that the theme of constitutional mandate emerged from the responses of the interviewed participants. The sub-theme legislated mandated also emerged, all the participants linked the implementation of the indigent programme as a legislated mandate as required by the constitution. The sub-theme CTMM indigent programme also emerged from the responses, where only the officials and the ward committee indicated that the indigent programme was in response to the national indigent framework.

Theme 2: Constitutional mandate

Sub-theme 2.1: legislated mandate

The sub-theme legislated mandate captures the views of councillors, ward committee and officials who responded by indicating that the indigent programme was created in response to the requirements of the constitution. The participants are of the view that

the indigent programme aims to fight poverty and ensure that the basic rights of all citizens of the country are met by government. For instance, Municipal councillor B stated:

"...It is part of the white paper on poverty in south Africa which seeks to uproot poverty by 2030".

Another participant responded by saying:

"The white paper on eradicating poverty, the local government in some of the legislations recognises areas of differences (ward committee member D)".

Ward committee B also stated that:

"it is a constitutional mandate specifically section 152 and 27 1998 Act 108 of the institutions where the government is obligated to support those who can support themselves (Ward councillor B)".

Moreover, official A stated:

"It is a national mandate for municipalities to give free basic service for needy families".

On the other hand, Official B cited:

"the indigent programme is mandated by the constitution which indicates that all citizens have the right to basic rights of food, shelter and so on".

The participants linked the implementation of the programme to the constitution by highlighting that the programme seeks to ensure that households that cannot afford basic services are provided with such as indicated in the Bill of Rights.

Sub-theme 2.2: CTMM IP adapted from the national Indigent programme

The participant's responses highlighted that the indigent programme was adapted for implementation in the city of Tshwane in the early 2000 and is currently under review to ensure that it respond to current legislative reforms within the municipality. For instance, ward committee member E cited:

"started in 2000 in the city of Tshwane because the municipality was not collecting enough revenue and there were a lot of none-payments".

The responses from the participants indicated that the programme was subjected to different process of review from the first draft that was developed in 2000 and the most recent review in 2012 where clause 4B was included to address the property value as suggested by Official A who cited:

“the policy has been reviewed in 2020 and only put clause 4B which include deemed indigents which looks at the property value of the applicant”.

One official indicated that there is currently a process of reviewing the indigent programme and that the municipality is currently implementing the exit strategy of the programme without an approved indigent policy. For instance, Official A suggested that:

“currently the strategy is not based on any policy since the policy has been reviewed meaning that the exit strategy has no foundation to support it in its current form. The document is actually outdated”.

Furthermore, Official B stated:

“the indigent policy is currently under review and as soon as it has been reviewed, the exit strategy has to be revisited to assess whether it is working to foster commitment on its implementation”.

The responses indicate that the city of Tshwane has an indigent programme policy in place and that the exit strategy currently does not have a strong foundation to support its full implementation. Overall, the results seem to suggest that there is no understanding that the indigent programme is linked to a National Framework for Municipal Indigent Policies which requires municipalities to develop their exit strategy. The city of Tshwane seems to have not adequately followed the requirements of the national framework in that the exit strategy has not been approved as required.

III. What are the services offered by the indigent programme of the CTMM?

The participants were requested to respond to a question on the services that are offered by the city of Tshwane municipality for beneficiaries of the indigent programme. All participants responded to the question and the themes that emerged included the theme of different types of services offered whereby all the participants (councillors, officials and locked-in and exited beneficiaries) indicated that there are different types of services offered through the indigent programme. The sub-theme that emerged was that there are programmes linked to the Indigent Programme as indicated by officials and council. The second sub-theme that emerged was a mechanism to monitor usage as indicated by the beneficiaries that have exited and those locked in the programme.

Theme .3: Different Types of support provided

Sub-theme .3.1: Types of support provided

All the interviewed participants (councillors, officials and locked-in and exited beneficiaries) indicated that the indigent programme provided various services such as municipal debt reduction, free access to 12 litter of water, free 100kw of electricity, free refuse removal, indigent burial, reduced property rates. Key to the officials is that beneficiaries received services designed to provide relief to those who could otherwise not afford them. The programme is also said to create a conducive environment for households to start afresh by cancelling their debts and by linking households to different government services to give them a fresh start. The types of services offered by the Indigent programme within the city of Tshwane are said to be covering a household holistically. The responses included the following:

Official A responded by saying:

“the type of service includes cancellation of past debts, exemption from property rates, free kilo litres of water, 100kw of electricity, and free waste removal.

Similarly, Official B cited:

“beneficiaries are provided with free water and electricity”.

Another participant also stated that:

“there are a number of baskets that are covered by the IP of Tshwane, such as the indigent burial, free basic services, utility services, property rebates, rental areas of registered household (Municipal Councillor C)”.

Councillor D also responded by saying:

“there are accesses that households get through the indigent such as the home affairs, SASSA grant, NSFAS, EPWP (Municipal councillor D)”.

There was a view that the programme was meant to:

“assist beneficiaries to start on a new page because if they are not assisted their accounts accumulate debts and it might be difficult to pay off with time due to the limited income (Ward Councillor E)”.

Moreover, another view suggests that the programme is meant to:

“. provide them with a stepping stone in terms of basic services such as water and electricity to try and get them out of poverty (Municipal Councillor B)”.

Ward committee member A cited:

"They also receive rebates for waste collection as well as free electricity 100 Kw and water 12-kilo litres that is provided for free".

Similarly, Ward committee member E cited:

"They are charged after they consume 12 kilos, and sanitation they are charged after they used a certain percentage, the last item is VAT which depends on the total of used services, so the billing for them is different".

Ward committee member D also cited:

"All this makes life for them affordable, and they are subsidised for their accounts to be up to date. Once they are registered their debts are written off".

Ward committee member F indicated that the municipality has an element called burial indigent the participant responded by saying:

"There is also a funeral indigent benefit for those who cannot afford to bury their loved ones". The participant further said: "The municipality provides support through the services of funeral undertakers".

On the other hand, although the interviewed beneficiaries both locked-in and exited confirmed that they received a package of services as outlined by the officials and councillors. However, none of the beneficiaries confirmed that they are linked to any other services except for free water, electricity, tax rebates and debt reduction. For example, Locked-in beneficiary A stated:

"the services that are provided include rates and tax rebates".

Similarly, beneficiary B cited:

"they assist with rates and tax rebates as well as free electricity, we are plying little water and get a free unit of electricity for".

Furthermore, beneficiary C indicated that:

"I am getting free units whenever I buy electricity every first day of the month and my water bill is lower compared to before".

Similarly, exited beneficiary B indicated that:

"We were receiving free water and electricity, and the rent was lower, we just saw one day when the municipal bill was high then we realised that the municipal bill was high".

The responses from the participants indicate that there is a package of services that is offered through the programme. The participants hold different views on the services offered, all participants indicated that beneficiaries of the programme were offered basic services such as free water, electricity, tax rebates and debt reduction. However, the beneficiaries both locked-in and exited indicated that they were not linked to any other services. Furthermore, one of the ward committee members indicated that there are challenges in implementing the burial of indigent citing:

“There are also funeral indigent benefits for those who do not afford to bury their loved ones. The municipality provides support through the services of funeral undertakers” (Committee Member F).

Sub-theme 3.2: Programmes linked to IP

The interviewed Councillors and Officials indicated that several programmes are linked with the indigent programme but different from the Indigent programme. The participants emphasised that such services have to be viewed independently of each other although they are linked in how the indigent programme should be implemented. For instance, the implementation of the social housing scheme, the Extended Public Works Programme (EPWP), and the food bank programme should prioritise indigent households. For example, councillor F response said:

“the food bank is not linked with the indigent it is a stand-alone programme but relates to the indigents and disasters and a temporary relief”.

Councillor D also responded by saying:

“the housing services of the municipality are also supposed to be linked to this initiative, but the indigent doesn’t benefit because of the list that is long and doesn’t prioritise the indigent”.

Furthermore, councillor E stated that:

“The EPWP is supposed to play a safety net for Indigents, if you are an indigent you are encouraged to also apply for the EPWP programme, but because there is no coordination between national department and municipalities”.

Furthermore, Official A and B cited:

“Even internal programmes such as the EPWP programme of the municipality are not responding to the empowerment element, a list of the people from the

indigent register has been provided to the EPWP people. However, it has not been considered since May of 2022”.

The responses as indicated by both councillors and officials highlight a number of implementation challenges from the different programmes linked to the indigent programme. The participants highlighted challenges of misalignment and coordination between the different programmes and lack of synergies especially the housing services and the EPWP where beneficiaries of the indigent programme are often not prioritised.

Sub-theme 3.3: Mechanism for monitoring usage

The participants also reflected on the monitoring mechanism provided to monitor the free services provided to beneficiaries. Only the officials and beneficiaries locked in and exited indicated that there are built-in monitoring mechanisms to ensure that beneficiaries adhere to the allocated limits. The participants also indicated that there were instances where follow-ups on the use of the services were conducted. For instance, Official A stated that:

“if they use above the allocated services, they will have to pay for the extra water used. But with electricity is easy because the electricity is metered, with electricity is easy to monitor because the unit is finished and they are forced to buy, but with water, they are found to be billed for the additional water used”.

Moreover, Official B responded by saying:

“Social workers are also expected to monitor how households consume the water. Most of the time what we pick is that indigent households are unable to adhere to the allocated water usage”.

Beneficiaries who are still locked in also indicated there was a monitoring mechanism and follow-up undertaken and that there were instances where social workers came to visit them although visits were not consistent. However, interviewed beneficiaries who have exited the programme indicated that there was no follow-up undertaken they never had visits from social workers after they were receiving the support social workers only came before they were included in the indigent register. For instance, locked-in beneficiary B cited:

“Yes, they came after to assess the situation in the households”.

Locked-in beneficiary C also cited:

“they promised to come visit me from next month to assist me with food parcel but to date no one has come to visit me”.

However, exited beneficiary A's responses indicated:

“They came to install a prepaid meter”

While exited beneficiary B indicated that:

“there were no social workers who came to do follow-up while Mama was still alive even after she passed on”.

Similarly, exited beneficiary C:

“Social workers never came after my father passed on, my father applied, and they came to set up the meter two weeks after he had passed on, they never came to follow-up or to do observations thereafter”. The participant further said: *“We have been benefiting until of recent when they removed us from the indigent register”*

The responses indicate that there is a monitoring mechanism in place to ensure that beneficiaries use the allocated benefits. The existing monitoring mechanisms is substituted by social workers who are expected to visit the household to monitor usage of the free basic services

IV. What is your understanding of the Selection Criteria for Entry into the Indigent Programme?

The participants were requested to reflect on their understanding of the process of selecting participants for the programme. The themes that emerged were the IP selection criteria as reflected by the councillors, officials, locked-in beneficiaries and ward committees. The sub-theme area designated as indigent also emerged as reflected by all the participants except for beneficiaries who exited the programme indicating that there are areas that automatically receive indigent status.

Theme 4: Selection criteria

The theme reflects on the criteria that were used to select beneficiaries for the indigent programme from inception and considering the amendments to the policy. The participants indicated that the criteria included the following:

- Child-headed families

- Pensioners
- Household's total income must not be above two SASSA social grants
- Occupying their property, and must be below R130,000 or less
- Must not be running a business on the property.
- Households where no one is employed
- Must also be a South African citizen
- SARS form that must be completed

All the responses indicated that these criteria were used, except that only the officials indicated that they would require a SARS form to check whether the applicants are not receiving any salary. The officials would then go to the house of the applicants to verify if the information provided is accurate. The responses cited by the beneficiaries included that:

"Not all those that are unemployed automatically get in the programme you must meet the set criteria (Councillor A)".

Councillor F also stated that:

"They assist child-headed families who cannot work (Councillor F)".

On the other hand, Councillor D said:

"Pensioners taking care of the households with their grants (councillor D)".

Another participant stated that:

"Must be people who must be occupying their property, which is evaluated and must be below R130,000 or less (Councillor E)".

Similarly, to what the councillors have said, official A states:

"Anyone who survives within a two-state grant is deemed as indigent".

On the other hand, Official B stated:

"A SARS form that must be completed. After the application has been completed the social worker will go to the household to verify the information collected where they would interview other members of the households to verify the information provided".

Furthermore, one member of the ward committee indicated that:

"when they get to the household and find that there are back rooms, they disqualify the households without ascertaining who uses the rooms they automatically assume that there are tenants (Committee Member A)".

Responses from beneficiaries emphasised that beneficiaries of the indigent programme depend on whether there is a pensioner, or the property belonged to a pensioner as the programme targeted the elderly when it was first introduced. For instance, locked-in beneficiary A states:

Another participant responded by saying:

"I am a pensioner, and I have been registered in the programme since that day it is many years ago, I don't remember when it was, but it states If there is no pensioner in the household you can't qualify for it (Locked-in beneficiary C)".

On the other hand, exited beneficiary A states:

"They check whether you have any means of providing extra income if there is a taxi or rooms, they disqualify you".

Beneficiary B also stated:

"They don't want you to have tenants in the house, they look at the number of children"

Sub-theme 4.1: Area designated as indigent

There are participants (Councillor and ward committees) who indicated that there are areas that are automatically designated as indigent areas. However, there were concerns that there is an area that has not been declared as an indigent area given that they are new RDPs. Their responses referred to three clauses that the policy makes designating certain areas as indigent and those are old townships with houses below R150 000, New RDP and informal settlement. For instance, Councillor A responded by saying:

"the registration criteria are divided into three clauses; clause A is for those who leave in a residential area that doesn't automatically take in people as indigents". The participant further said: *"Clause B is for those who are deemed indigents automatically because of the environments that they are located below 150, these are the old township areas and new RDP and the informal settlements (councillor A)".*

Similarly, councillor C states:

"There is a clue for people who are deemed that they don't qualify but may need to go to the review committee to plead their case". The participant further said: *"The billing structure of the municipality included property rates rebates which*

differ based on the area that the clients come from as per the zoning (Ward Committee Member B)".

However, Ward Committee C stated that:

"requirements have been outlined but RDP houses do not automatically qualify to be on the indigent list". The participant also said: "Such areas based on the quality of the infrastructure is assumed to be poor as such they are provided with specific benefits, they get a special arrangement of benefits such as property rates, and waste removal (Ward Committee C)".

Overall, the responses indicate that there is an understanding of the selection criteria from the participants. However, there seems to be limited understanding from beneficiaries, especially on the need to not be involved in any business activities within the property that is registered as an indigent programme. Moreover, there is also inconsistent application of the monitoring mechanism and follow-up to verify the applications.

V. What is your understanding of the exit strategy of the CTMM indigent policy?

The participants were requested to reflect on their understanding of the exit strategy of the city of Tshwane's indigent programme. The theme No clear guidance on how to exit household, out of which a number of sub-themes emerged from each category of the participants. For instance, out of the first theme, the sub-theme that emerged was no exit guidelines exist. All the participants except for the officials indicated that there is no exit strategy which resulted in the sub-theme CTMM exit strategy.

Theme 5: No exit guidelines exist

The interviewed councillors revealed that there are legislation gaps to guide the exit of the beneficiaries from the Indigent programme. The participants indicated that the national policy does not provide clear guidance on how beneficiaries should be exited from the programme, even at the municipal level there are no clear guidelines on how to exit beneficiaries. For example, councillor B while responding to the question cited:

"There are no specific national guidelines that are provided from the national frameworks, the question is how is the exit element assessed as a baseline, the baseline is based on the number of documentation or reference, which are not in place".

The responses from councillors also indicated that the city of Tshwane does not have the capacity to implement an exit strategy. Capacity in this regard refers to technical expertise and human resources to implement exit as stipulated in the CTMM indigent programme. For instance, it was cited:

“the municipality cannot implement social relief interventions it is only capacitated to provide basic services (Councillor C)”.

Similarly, councillor E stated that:

“the NGO sometimes have the capacity can work with people to provide them with the support to grow out of circumstances”.

Furthermore, councillor B stated:

“the municipality cannot have the capacity to do they often provide basic service”.

Sub-theme 5.1: The CTMM exit strategy

Responses varied from officials and the beneficiaries locked in and those who exited on how the CTMM exit strategy is implemented. The officials indicated that there is a legislated mandate for the CTMM to develop an exit strategy and a service provider was appointed to develop a strategy. For instance, Official A indicated:

“the policy gave the social development a mandate to come up with a strategy to exit benefiting households. They appointed one of the universities to come up with the strategy. The strategy was not reviewed in 2012, there was no strategy before the initial strategy”.

Similarly, Official B stated:

“the indigent register is currently used as an exit strategy”.

However, the interviewed ward committee indicated that the evaluation element of the programme to ensure that beneficiaries are exited seems not to be implemented as required. Moreover, beneficiaries who are locked-in as well as the ward committee interviewed indicated that there is no clarity with the process of exiting beneficiaries from the programme especially if their socio-economic situation improves. For instance, beneficiary A responded by saying:

“I am not sure what happens when a person gets employment”.

Similarly, beneficiary D responded by saying:

“I am not clear as to how much must one earn to be retained in the programme if they find a job”.

Another participant responded by saying:

“According to my understanding, after five years it is expected that they should come to do evaluations on some of the properties because some of the houses are declared indigent but as time goes there are owners whose quality of life improves, and others get government work but that is often not the case” (Committee member C).

Moreover, beneficiaries who have exited indicated that they understood that the beneficiaries are exited from the programme upon the death of the property owner. For instance, beneficiary C stated:

“as soon as the pensioner passes on, it is assumed that we the children are of age and should be working so they remove us from the indigent register”.

Similarly, beneficiary A stated:

“We were removed from the programme because the property owner passed on and we could not go to renew because the property is not yet in our names”.

4.5.2. Evidence use in informing the implementation of the indigent programme exit strategy

The first key question that the research sought to explore was, ***What type of evidence is currently being used and why that evidence is used compared to others to inform the implementation of the exit strategy of the indigent programme?***

Several probing questions were posed to participants to explore the use of evidence in the implementation of the Indigent strategy, the sub-question included the following: What type of information is used to guide entry into the programme? Describe your understanding of the exit strategy of the indigent programme? How are participants exited/ How were you exited? Does the municipality come to do follow-up assessments to inform readiness to exit households?

I. What type of information is used to guide entry into the programme?

The study sought to explore the evidence that was used in the implementation of the indigent programme starting with the use of evidence to guide entry into the programme. The theme that emerged from the participant’s responses to the question

What type of information is used to guide entry into the programme? Included, application processes and the sub-theme that emerged was an information dissemination mechanism about the indigent programme as well as the period of benefiting from the programme. All the participants indicated that various Information dissemination mechanisms are used to inform beneficiaries about the IP. Moreover, all the participants except the ward committee members reflected on the period of participation in the programme.

Theme 6: Application processes

Sub-theme 6.1: IP Information Dissemination Mechanisms

The interviewed Councillors indicated that information is disseminated through the use of ward councillors, as well as media statements which are published through the municipal website. For instance, Councillor A responded by saying:

“Media statements are used to update communities”. Similarly, Councillor C said: “The information is also publicised on the website of the municipality, but relevant people often don’t get access to that information due to lack of data or internet can get into the information”. Municipal Councillor B responded by saying “Sometimes issues would be presented to the municipality by people in the community who would take the information to social workers who would then visit such families to assess the situation”.

On the other hand, both beneficiaries who exited and locked in indicated that they got to know about the programme through various means, such as home visits by social workers, ward councillors, Word of mouth, other beneficiaries and through enquiry at the municipal offices. For instance, beneficiary A who is locked in responded by saying:

“We were requested to do affidavits for the other members of the family and based on that she qualified”.

Similarly, beneficiary B also stated: *“The social workers came years back I just don’t remember when it was to tell me that I should come to the office”.* Beneficiary E also stated: *“What happened is that Mama heard about the indigent programme then went to the municipal offices to enquire about it because at the time she was not working”.*

Moreover, what the responses revealed is that councillors are often key in disseminating information related to the IP. This is a view that was also shared by participants who have exited the programme and cited that the IP is often used for electioneering. For instance, beneficiary A responded by saying:

“Often, the indigent programme is used as a canvassing tool when political parties do door to door where the party currently in charge would refer households to the social work offices for them to get it as a tool to motivate them to vote for them, in a way the information gets selective in the manner with which it is disseminated”.

Furthermore, beneficiary B stated: *“Politicians turn to politicise the programme and information sharing not impactful”*. Similarly, councillor F responded by saying: *“information is received through the use of councillors in the different wards and the municipal social workers”*. The response further indicated: *“Councillors are the ones who are used to disseminate the information on people that would like to apply for the intervention”*.

The interviewed ward committee further indicated that the municipality also engaged in information dissemination roadshows. For instance, ward committee member A stated:

“road shows were undertaken to call communities to a meeting and announce the programme”.

According to the participants, the road shows are an information dissemination mechanism to empower communities about the application process as well as the criteria for qualifying into the indigent. For instance, Ward Committee B cited:

“There is a designated criterion for inclusion and exiting, so it depends on their status on income and as well as their property”.

However, there seem to be discrepancies in how the criteria are applied for instance, beneficiary B responded by saying:

“I didn’t apply for the indigent programme; I suspect that the person who was assisting me at the time saw my situation and included me on the system for people who were supposed to register”.

Sub-theme 6.2: Period of participation

This theme describes the participants' understanding of the period in which beneficiaries are expected to benefit from the programme. The participants provided different views, including improved household income, six, twelve or twenty-four months of benefiting. Participants who are locked-in indicated that they have been in the programme from 2005 and 2007 while one elderly indicated that she does not remember the year. For instance, beneficiary A stated:

"It has been many years I don't remember the year it might be the early 2000s".

Beneficiary B also stated: *"I have been receiving the benefits since 2005".*

Beneficiary C stated *"Since 2007, mama went to enquire, and she was told to bring proof of resident or the municipality"*

However, those participants who have exited indicated that there were times were they would renew the benefits again and again and ultimately, they were removed. For instance, Beneficiary A cited:

"They renewed the programme for us because at the time my father had passed on, we were left with my mother who was a pensioner, the first application was in 1998 and she passed on in 2000, after she passed on, we continued to benefit until they cut it in 2020, so we benefited from 1998 to 2015 or 16".

The ward councillors and the officials' responses indicated that there is a process through which the benefits are reviewed after a certain period which could either be 6 months or 12 months. For instance, councillor A indicated that:

"There is no period it is based on the review that is conducted then it will determine whether you are ready to have existed"

Similarly, Councillor B states:

"it can be after six months, three, 12 months or 24 months based on the review outcomes".

However, in responses beneficiary B indicated:

"I was exited because the municipality picked that the owner of the property had passed on".

Furthermore, councillor D stated:

"it depends on the situation, if the situation has not changed you will continue to be assisted based on your status at the time of the review".

Moreover, councillor F stated: *“They are supposed to be exited when their financial situation improves for example if they get a job”*.

II. Describe your understanding of the exit strategy of the indigent programme?

The study sought to explore the evidence that was used in the implementation of the indigent programme, specifically the use of evidence to guide exit from the programme. Several questions that sought to measure the same variable were posed to the respondents including ***the question How are participants exited/ How were you exited? Does the municipality come to do follow-up assessments to inform readiness to exit households?*** The themes that emerged from the participants' responses confirmed that there are various exit modalities, namely: evaluation of households, automatic exit without evaluation, exit through road shows, exit through empowerment where partnerships are used to empower beneficiaries to exit, and voluntary exit. Lastly, the theme of the role of social workers in exiting emerged and all the interviewed participants reflected on the role of social workers in the process of exiting beneficiaries from the programme.

Theme 7: Various exit modalities

Sub-theme 7.1: Exit through evaluation of households

All the interviewed participants indicated that households are supposed to be evaluated to assess whether they are ready to exit. The interviewed officials indicated that a matrix for evaluating the indigent household is used whereby the information provided during the application is compared with what is observed during home visits using a checklist. The responses included:

“At the households, we require the account holder if they are still alive and then ask them questions, there are questions that look at whether their financial status has changed and explain how if they are members of the family who are working, we look at whether are there tenants and look at the general income level whether it is still within the requirements (Official A)”.

Similarly, Official B stated: *“After the checklist has been complete, we look at all the criteria and there will be an outcome statement provided then the indigent would then be required to reapply”*.

Responses from the interviewed officials further revealed that the municipality is unable to implement the evaluation of households as required by the indigent policy due to capacity challenges within the municipality. Most of the time beneficiaries are only exited after the death of the property owner. Responses from the participants included the following:

“the indigent policy, clause 10 requirement for exiting indigent benefiting households. What is currently actively implemented under clause 10 is the requirement to exit an indigent household in a case where the account holder passes on (Official A)”.

Another participant said:

“in a case where the indigent beneficiary passes on, there are cases where their children take over the property, but the property is still registered as indigent and some of their children are working earning above the stipulated amount for indigent qualification but still benefit (Councillor B)”.

Official B responded by saying:

“If someone moves and the property has to be sold the indigent account holder is also exited, the other requirements of the exit strategy are not working” (Official B).

The findings by the officials were confirmed by the interviewed councillors who also responded by saying:

“There is no exit happening in the indigent programme only more and more people apply for the programme (councillor A)”.

Similarly, Councillor C responded by saying:

“Clause 10.1 is the only one that is working”.

Furthermore, councillor B stated:

“there have not been any real evaluations of households that took place except for those that are removed from the system due to death notices and these questions the monitoring mechanism of the exit strategy”.

On the other hand, some participants indicated that they are not sure how the exit strategy works. Some indicated that they took over the property after their parents passed on and they are still benefiting from the programme, while others exited as

soon as the owner passed, as such they are not sure how the exit works. For instance, Beneficiary C who is locked-in stated that:

"I am still in the programme, but I am not the property owner, my mother passed on and the property is still in my mother's name, and she passed in 2013".

While Beneficiary B who has exited responded by saying:

"We were exited after my father passed on because the property is under his name"

Sub-theme 7.2: Automatic exit

The interviewed participants highlighted that some households are automatically removed from the indigent register within a prescribed period and households who believe that they still qualify are expected to reapply. For instance, one participant responded by saying:

"The systems also automatically exit beneficiaries every 24 months, the current system also alerts households after 21 months that they will be exited and that they should renew" (Official B).

This finding is contrary to what beneficiaries stated, for instance, beneficiary C who exited responded by saying:

"The programme has an expiry date, but the officials don't inform us well in advance when the programme will expire". The beneficiary further stated: *They didn't come, they just removed us from the indigent register".*

Some beneficiaries have exited the programme and indicated that the indigent programme exit strategy is not implemented according to design, beneficiaries are just removed without undertaking an evaluation and their benefits were automatically seized as soon as the owner of the property passed. For instance, beneficiary A responded by saying:

"I was removed because I think the municipality discovered that the property owner who is my father has passed on". The beneficiary further stated: *"we were in the programme for a long time after the main account holder passed on and then, I applied in 2020 we benefited for six months only and after they removed us from the indigent programme, we struggled to an extent where the water was cut off because I was not working at the time, I then when back to renew it in 2020 (Exited Beneficiary B)."*

Similarly, beneficiary C responded by saying:

"most of the people around the area were exited because the properties belonged to their parents who have passed on, they don't come they just remove you from the register and they expect you to come and query your status".

Sub-theme 7.3: Exit through roadshows

The interviewed participants also indicated that the municipality undertakes roadshows where beneficiaries of the indigent programme are expected to present themselves for assessment. As such, the registers and information gathered through the road shows are used to evaluate households and generate evidence to report on the indigent programme. The responses to this effect included:

"Others are exit through the list from social workers who indicted the number of households that didn't turn up for road shows, such registers are used as evidence (Councillor B)".

Another participant responded by indicating that:

"the list would be sent to finance so that such people can be removed from the list (Councillor C)".

Moreover, Official A responded by saying:

"We also used to have roadshows over the weekend, and we would invite 500 households to come to a certain point where they would be evaluated, and if they didn't come after 21 days they would be removed"

similarly, Official B stated:

"evaluation roadshows are supposed to be undertaken where all benefiting households are requested to come to a common venue to be evaluated those who don't come are given 21 days and thereafter are removed from the indigent programme".

Sub-theme 7.4: Exit through register maintenance

Participants indicated that there are inconsistencies with how the register is maintained, while you have households who are removed from the register as soon as the property owner passes on, there are those who are kept in the register even though their socio-economic circumstances have changed. The responses included:

“There are people who are in the indigent register who were not supposed to be there, for example, there is a case of officials and business people who are benefiting from free services offered through the indigent programme (councillor B)”.

Another participant indicated that:

“There are people who are registered in the system and such people are far from being indigent or qualifying for the free service (councillor C)”.

One of the councillors also stated that:

“As such it is expected that the list of beneficiaries should be revisited and monitored by the city of Tshwane now and again to assess the indigent status of beneficiaries” (councillor F).

The same thing was also said by Councillor E:

“The indigent households are supposed to be reviewed, and a decision made whether the household still qualifies to be kept in the programme (Councillor E)”.

The beneficiaries who have been exited responded by saying that there was a campaign to remove all those who are benefiting from the indigent programme, but they are not the owners of the property and people were removed from the register without notifying them. The responses are:

“the municipality initiated a campaign to remove beneficiaries from the indigent programme especially those who were not pensioners and informed those who believe still need it to come and apply. The municipality indicated that they are in debt and can no longer afford to provide free benefits to many people some of which are not real indigent (Beneficiary C)”.

Another participant also said:

“they told us that there were a lot of people who still benefited from the indigent programme, but the account holders had passed on (Beneficiary A)”.

Beneficiary B responded by saying:

“I went to the municipality to query why the rent was up as I was benefiting from the Indigent programme. The administrators informed me that they had removed us from the indigent register we should go to see the social workers (Beneficiary B)”.

Sub-theme 7.5: Reapplication to renew the benefits:

The responses from the interviewed participants indicated that once beneficiaries have been removed from the register, there is an expectation that they should reapply to renew the benefits if their status has not changed. One official responded by saying:

“The systems automatically exit beneficiaries every 24 months, the current system also alerts households after 21 months that they will be exited and that they should renew (Official B)”.

Another participant responded by saying:

“they renewed the programme for us because at the time my father had passed on, we were left with my mother who was a pensioner” (Beneficiary B who is locked in).

Similarly, another participant stated:

“the property belonged to my mother who passed on in 2000. I then reapplied in 2020 since I am unemployed and a pensioner, we were told to wait for three months I am waiting for the reference number for my application (Beneficiary B who has exited)”.

Beneficiary C who has exited said:

“in 2020 I applied and in July it was approved and stopped in 2021 early (Beneficiary C who has exited)”.

Theme 8: Exit through empowerment

Sub-theme 8.1: No Exit Through Empowerment

The response from the participants indicates that beneficiaries are not exited through the empowerment element as envisaged. The empowerment element of the programme is non-existent. The responses included:

“One of empowering the indigent beneficiaries by linking the households with opportunities but this is not implemented, there is just nothing happening with that element, there are no skills that are provided to the household that can enable them to maybe start a business and exit the programme (Official B)”.

Another official responded by saying:

“to date the potential impact of the indigent programme’s empowerment element has been demonstrated through the partnership with the Department

of Infrastructure and Development, other than that, the city of Tshwane has nothing to put on the table or to pride itself that we have contributed positively through the empowerment element". The officials also stated that "The empowerment element of the strategy is none-existence hence it was indicated the exit strategy of the city of Tshwane is not implementable because the programme is supposed to empower this people to exit to an improve state from an indigent status and that will say the indigent household were empowered (Official A)".

Similarly, the interviewed councillors are of the view that the empowerment element of the exit strategy is non-existent and if it exists it is not implementable. There are no skills that are provided to the household to enable them to move out of poverty. The responses included:

"the question is, is there an implementable exit strategy, if there is one how it is implemented seems to be the challenge (Councillor B)".

Another councillor responded by saying:

"as to whether empowerment mechanisms are implemented it is currently not clear to us (Councillor C)".

Similarly, another councillor stated that:

"Households were expected to be empowered so that at last one or two of them will be able to get a job (Councillor D)".

Similarly, councillor F stated that:

"the only way can empower a household is when you at least link one or two to a training programme to enable them to find a job and you can't give them a job because jobs require a specific qualification or skills (Councillor F)".

The participants indicated that they can only associate the empowerment element through the EPWP for instance beneficiary A stated that:

"citizens are only supported through the EPWP programme as a form of temporary work".

Beneficiary C also responded by saying:

"The municipality is not creative instate of providing empowerment opportunities for the poor of the poor to be able to find employment opportunities".

The participants are of the view that implementation of the empowerment element is ideal to lift households out of poverty and to some extent there were efforts by social workers to profile such households. Official A further responded by suggesting:

“the measure that can be used to assess whether the indigent is ready to exit other than the evaluation is to link them to empowerment initiatives where they can improve their skills to increase their chance to get employment”.

Moreover, Official B responded by saying:

“early on there was a data form (profiling) spreadsheet that was used to capture the skills gap of the indigent households so that training for such households could be organised, but that practice has since been stopped”.

Sub-them 8.2: The use of partnership to empower beneficiaries to exit

The interviewed participants reflected on the role of partnership in implementing the empowerment element of the exit strategy. Partnerships are reflected as key in addressing issues of capacity implementing the Indigent exit strategy by using partnerships in skills development through trainings initiatives with institutions readily available to the municipality. Responses from the officials interviewed indicated that the indigent programme's exit strategy was initially based on partnerships both external and internal to the municipality. One official cited:

“when the intervention was initiated, there were several stakeholders both from government and private who requested a list of beneficiaries from the indigent register to put them on various programmes to improve their lives, there hasn't been much that can be accounted for in terms of the role of partners assisting with the empowerment element of the intervention (Official A)”.

Similarly, Official B state:

“The municipality is working with internal and external stakeholders including private and the local economic development (LED) agency. OUTsurance has requested a list of the indigent beneficiaries and their CVs through the LED intending to empower them, by assisting them to get driver's licenses for motorbikes so that they can be involved in economic activities in the city such as Uber Eats”

The responses to this effect included the following:

“the city at the local level is not capacitated to deal with families or assist families in a certain way it is just not in a position to do that. It should be the role of National and provincial government to do that with the help of NGOs who are capacitated to do that (Councillor C)”.

Another participant stated that:

“It is not the city’s responsibility to empower households, SITAs are there and offer services for free and the households should be exposed to those programmes (Councillor E)”.

Similarly, councillor F stated that:

“There are enough entities out there that should play their part better and should have a working relationship to ensure that the indigent households are assisted (Councillor F)”.

The use of partnership was also highlighted by the interviewed ward committees who indicated that the department should leverage existing and new partnerships to augment the capacity challenges already experienced with the implementation of the indigent programme’s exit strategy. In response, Ward Committee Member B stated:

“To exit households, there is a serious need to bring in the NGO that can work with the families to check whether such families are empowered”.

Furthermore, ward committee member C indicated that:

“It should be the role of National and provincial government to do that with the help of NGOs who are capacitated to do that. Some of the situations require the national competencies”.

Sub-theme 8.3: Inappropriate use of the register by partners

What emerged from the responses is that the indigent register is misused for inferior motives. here participants indicated that the indigent register was often not properly used by partners to empower beneficiaries. For instance, Official A stated:

“What we have picked is that most of these stakeholders use the indigent register that they have requested to report that they have empowered x number of indigent beneficiaries but in its true sense no empowerment has occurred”.

Theme 9: Voluntary exit

Sub-theme 9.1: Voluntary exit when circumstances improve

The participants indicated that the programme is designed such that there is volunteering exit. The participants indicated that there are instances where beneficiaries are expected to voluntarily request to be removed from the indigent register due to changes in their circumstances. The responses are reflected as:

“The idea is that beneficiaries will disclose if their socioeconomic background has changed, it rarely happens (Councillor B)”.

Councillor D also indicated:

“most of the people are not honest about disclosing if their financial status has improved (Councillor D)”.

Councillor E responded by saying:

“Implementation of this strategy needs follow-up and monitoring to ensure that it is implemented as envisaged (Councillor E)”.

Similarly, the same views were echoed by officials:

“Clients come to the intake offices volunteering to request to be removed because their socio-economic condition has improved and as a social worker the evaluation form would be used to exit the beneficiaries (Official A)”.

Moreover, the interviews with the ward committee highlighted the same views, for instance, Ward committee member F stated:

“households are often the ones who have to voluntarily go to the municipality and apply for the programme and after the social workers must come to assess the application (Ward committee member F)”.

Sub-theme 9.2: No capacity to implement the exit strategy

The participants indicated that there is insufficient capacity within the city of Tshwane to implement the intervention as per design, especially the task of following up on the number of households that are in the indigent register. The responses from the participants included the following:

“Staff doesn’t have time can carry out such exercises, this would require a survey of some sort to determine but there is just no capacity to do so (Councillor C)”.

Similarly, another councillor stated:

“the social workers that are supposed to follow up to check whether the families are ready to exit are unable to do so because there is no sufficient capacity (Councillor E)”.

Councillor F also responded by saying:

“There is no capacity to can follow-up and do the review on each of the indigent beneficiaries on the list/ the department two years ago did not have sufficient capacity can do the inspections as required (Councillor F)”.

The same sentiments were echoed by the officials themselves, one responded by saying:

“Currently, for those who have entered into the indigent programme recently, the system can remove them after two years but for those who have been in the system since 2005 it is a challenge to remove them due to capacity to be able to go into the households to evaluate them (Official A)”.

Theme 10: The role of social workers in exiting

Sub-theme 10.1: The role of follow-up visits played by social workers

The participants indicate that the role of social workers is key at the beginning and the end of the programme. At the beginning, the social workers are expected to go to the applicant's households to verify the application and at the end, they are expected to follow up on whether their circumstances have improved based on the benefits received through the programme. In response, the participants indicated the following:

“It is expected that the list of beneficiaries should be revisited and monitored by the city of Tshwane now and again to assess the indigent status of beneficiaries (Councillor A)”. The participant further stated that: *“The people that are best equipped to do the monitoring are the social workers (Councillor A)”.*

Another participant also responded by saying:

“Social Workers are often the point of entry for most indigent beneficiaries who start the process with them, so there should be a follow-up from their end to monitor whether their situation has actually improved (Councillor B)”.

The role of social workers was confirmed by the interviewed participants who are locked in the programme who indicated that there are instances where officials from the municipality came to their households to assess the status of the household. The participant said:

“some time ago the people from the municipality came to my house, took pictures, and left but I continued to receive the indigent benefits, even though I renovated my house (Beneficiary B)”.

Similarly, beneficiary A stated that:

“the social workers came once after I had been registered in the indigent programme and they found a shack outside they asked if I didn’t have tenants, and I told them that it was a room for one of my sons”.

Sub-theme 10.2: The process of verification

The responses from participants also indicated that there is a process of verification that takes place after applications whereby the social workers are expected to follow up to either verify or check if the situation has changed. The responses to this effect included the following:

“When you apply, social workers are sent to the household to verify your application and the extent of the situation, so if your situation has changed after benefiting for a certain period and someone gets a job during the period, the social workers will also come to verify whether your situation has changed (Councillor D)”.

Similarly, councillor F said:

“When people apply, they provide documents, so social workers go to the homes to verify the correctness of the information provided. They don’t rely on word of mouth (Councillor F)”.

These responses were confirmed by beneficiaries who have exited the programme whose responses indicated that while they were still in the programme the social workers came to do verifications and follow up although the participants indicated that they were not happy with how the processes unfolded. For instance, beneficiary A responded by saying:

“they believe that if they find nice food like cheese in the fridge then you can afford it, it is like they want to see us eating nothing to prove to them that we can’t afford”.

Similarly, Beneficiary B stated that:

“the social workers came to verify, they made observations, and they found a taxi parked outside and they took notes, so what happens is that when they come to verify and find that there are things that according to them may contribute towards income generation, they decline you (Beneficiary B)”.

Beneficiary C also stated:

“After I had applied, the social workers did come to the house to do verifications to observe. However, after they never came to do follow up, they just removed us from the register (Beneficiary C)”.

Responses from the ward committee suggest that how assessments are undertaken to exit households from the indigent programme is problematic because social workers do not do assessments to determine whether households are ready to exit as expected. For instance, ward committee member A stated that:

“They need to communicate and six months before they cancel the benefit, they should come to assess so that they can determine whether the household still qualifies to receive the benefit rather than just cancelling the benefits”

Furthermore, ward committee member C responded by saying:

“while information is gathered during the application process, the respondents also indicated that there are challenges in gathering the required information to inform the assessment of exit. The participant further stated: “The social workers that are supposed to follow-up to check whether the families are ready to exit are unable to do so because there is no sufficient capacity (ward committee member C)”.

4.5.3. The extent to which evidence is used to inform exit procedures for households

The second key question that the research sought to explore was, ***To what extent is evidence used and how is it used to inform exit procedures for households?*** A probing question was posed to participants to explore the use of evidence in the exit procedures of the Indigent strategy with an interest in the use of M&E evidence, the

sub-question included *Does the municipality conduct follow-up visits to check up on you? How frequently do they visit you?*

I. Does the municipality conduct follow-up visits to check up on you? How frequently do they visit you?

Participants were requested to reflect on their knowledge of the extent to which evidence, specifically M&E evidence, is used to inform the process of exiting households through follow-up visits and for oversight purposes by the section 79 committee responsible for the Health and Social Development Department. Three issues emerged from the responses. All the participants' responses indicated that there is generation of M&E evidence in the form of Performance monitoring. All the participants except for the officials' responses indicated that there is a monitoring mechanism for the free services. On the other hand, only the councillors and the officials' responses indicated that there is periodic reporting that takes place on the indigent programme. The responses from councillors indicated that there is Quality of reported information. The officials' and ward committee's responses further indicated that there is the generation of audit information by the Internal audit. On the second issues that emerged as a result of the councillors' reflection on the topic Use of evidence to inform budget allocation and Evidence to inform budget adjustments. The last issue focuses on the use of evidence for accountability purposes as used by oversight committees of the municipality.

Theme 11: The generation of M&E evidence

Sub-themes 11.1: Performance monitoring

The participants indicated that there is performance reporting that is undertaken by the M&E unit of the municipality. The performance monitoring is undertaken as part of institutional performance monitoring and the indigent programme is subjected to such a process where information is generated and verified to check whether the programme is performing against set targets. The responses to this effect included the following:

"the evaluation forms that are submitted are signed off by the client and that is proof enough that the social worker has been at the property to do side monitoring." The official further indicated that: *"The spreadsheet and forms are*

first verified by the admin officers and then sent to the deputy director for consolidation". The official continued to highlight that: "The forms are then kept at 306B for audit purposes and the consolidated spreadsheet of verified household is then sent to finance to request that indigent household be removed from the indigent register (Official B)".

Another respondent indicated:

"There are admin officers who check the submitted information, for verification processes, they would check the evaluation forms against the report on the spreadsheet". The official further indicated that: "The performance monitoring department usually undertakes verification of the reported performance reporting of the municipality every quarter Other than that, there is no other form of verification mechanism on the reported information that I am aware of (Official A)".

However, the participants' responses reveal that M&E for the programme is limited to the generation of performance information. There are no evaluations that are undertaken to measure where the intervention is making the change that is envisaged. The responsibility of reviewing the programme is placed solely on the Health and Social Development Department of the municipality for instance, The participants responded as follows:

"I doubt that M&E is done on this intervention except for the monitoring that is expected to be done as a build its mechanism in the implementation of the intervention conducted by social workers who are expected to do follow-ups (Councillor A)".

Ward Committee C also responded by saying:

"the social development unit is the one that is responsible for ensuring that reviews are undertaken on the implementation". The participant further indicated that: They have their KPI that they track how they are doing in terms of meeting their targets (Ward committee C)"

When probed further on the importance of evaluations, some participants indicated that evaluations would allow the municipality to know who the beneficiaries are and the impact that the services provided are making the responses included the following:

“evidence is used, it allows the municipality to be able to know the number of people that can afford basic services in terms of their socio-economic status and employment status (Councillor A)”.

Another participant indicated that:

“This also enable the municipality to get relevant information to measure the status of the municipality in terms of improvement or impact of the intervention to inform future planning (Councillor B)”.

It is worth noting that the responses revealed that there are no evaluations undertaken for the Indigent programme. Detailed responses on the evaluation element of the CTMM M&E system are presented in detail under subsection 4.5.5. roman figure I.

Sub-themes 6.2: Internal audit

There is a view among the interviewed officials that highlights that the programme is subjected to an internal audit process. Moreover, the participants indicated that the information gathered through internal audit is used for decision-making related to the intervention, for instance, the participants responded by saying:

“internal audit also plays an oversight in the spending that happens” (Ward committee member C).

Similarly, another response stated:

“internal audit that uses random sampling quarterly and would require a list of the indigent households (Official B)”.

Sub-theme 11.3: Quality of reported information

The participants were further probed on the reported performance monitoring information and indicated that the quality of the reported performance cannot be ascertained as the information reported is sometimes inconsistent with what is found on the ground. As a result, users of the information rely on the honesty of the department to report correct information. For instance, Councillor E stated that:

“the section 79 committee relies on the honesty of the department of social development reports to correctly report on the status of the indigent register whether people are exited as soon as their indigent status has improved”.

Another participant responded by saying:

“the information provided is sometimes not accurate or updated which questions whether the department is actually up to date with the status of each indigent beneficiary, which might not be the case in the current state of affairs (Councillor C)”. The participant further indicated that: *“This is largely due to capacity challenges based on the work that needs to go into ensuring that the indigent register is maintained (Councillor C)”*.

Sub-theme 11.4: Calling of reports by Section 79 committees

The participants also indicated that the only time they would get information related to the Indigent programme is when the responsible committee call a report to be presented to the oversight committee otherwise information related to the programme is not readily available, the following are their responses:

“Reports can be called by the relevant committee specifying exactly the information required (Councillor A)”.

Sub-theme 11.5: Free Services Monitoring Mechanisms

The interviewed participants also reflected on how the monitoring and evaluation mechanism is implemented as a strategy to ensure that allocated services are used as required. The participants further reflected on the challenges that are experienced with the process of ensuring that monitoring of the provided services is undertaken as envisaged. key to the challenges is the installation of a technology to monitor water usage as indicated by the interviewed officials, the responses included the following:

“It is often a challenge to monitor whether the beneficiaries are using the allocated free basic services (Official A)”.

Another participant also responded by saying:

“In 2016 the municipality attempted to install meters to monitor and force households to consume the allocated 12kl, but the project failed. Most of the time what we pick is that indigent households are unable to adhere to the allocated water usage (Official B)”.

However, an interview with the ward committee refuted the statements made by the officials suggesting that no special meters were installed to monitor water use, one of the participants suggested that:

“There are no specific meters that are installed (Ward Committee A)”.

Similarly, Committee Member E in support of Member C stated:

“what is required is that the meter must be prepared if not before”

Moreover, the interviewed beneficiaries provided a different perspective on how monitoring is undertaken based on how they experienced the programme. A beneficiary who has exited the programme indicated that services are not necessarily monitored as required, the participant responded by saying:

“my father passed on in 1998, and we continued to benefit from the programme after, and during the process in 2015 we were removed because they required us to be the owners of the property, the city of Tshwane recognised that most of us are not the owners of the property, so they removed most of us from the indigent property (Exited beneficiary A)”.

On the other hand, some participants indicated that they never applied, and they continue to get the benefits, and their economic circumstances have changed but the services were not seized, the participant responded by saying:

“I never applied nor filled the application form, and they informed me that no they came to change the meter so that you can be registered on the indigent register (Locked in Beneficiary B)”. The participant further indicated that: *I was shocked one day when I received the municipal bill it was low, and I am getting additional units when I buy electricity on the 1st. After I had discovered this, I asked someone to check for me and they indicated that I am on the indigent list (Locked in Beneficiary B)”.*

Sub-theme 11.6: Periodic reporting

The interviewed participants are of the view that information on the performance of the programme is generated through a monthly reporting mechanism. The responses from the interviewed officials indicated that reporting on the performance of the indigent programme is undertaken monthly, quarterly, and annually based on the targets that are set. The responses from the participants included the following:

“There is monthly reporting on the number of households that are assisted through the indigent programme. The evidence is then sent to finance, and they are the ones that would remove the people from the register” (Councillor A).

Another participant stated that:

"We are supposed to get quarterly reports on the processes of implementing the IP through performance monitoring reports. However, due to capacity challenges, the process of gathering the information is not happening as it should" (Councillor D).

Similarly, Official A responded by saying:

"There is quarterly reporting on service delivery implementation plan where we report whether we have reached targets or not and what interventions will be made to ensure that we reach the targets (Official A)".

Official B also said the same thing:

"reporting takes place every month, quarterly and annually, there are meetings that take place where we report on performance against set targets". The official also said: "Quarterly performance reviews are also undertaken by middle and senior managers whereby reporting on target happen and if targets are not met, interventions are set to improve on performance". The official further indicated that: There are spreadsheets that are compiled monthly on the number of households that are evaluated and they would be used for reporting on targets (Official B)".

Theme 12: The use of evidence to inform decision making

Sub-theme 12.1: Use of evidence to inform budget allocation

The interviewed participants indicated that evidence generated is sometimes used to inform budget allocation. The participants indicated that the executive require information on the number of people that would require the free basic services for them to allocate the appropriate budget for the financial year. that are made due to the decision processes that are followed by the municipality. The following are some of their responses:

"Finance determines the budget required based on the number of applications and that is why this information is important for the office of the mayor or the section 79 bodies to be able to know how many people applied (Councillor D)".

Similarly, one of the councillors stated:

“budget determinations are made by the city managers, the MMC’s office provides inputs into the budget, IDP manager provides inputs, Section 79 committees have little inputs (Councillor C)”.

Sub-theme 12.2: Evidence to inform budget adjustments

The participants indicated that in retrospect evidence is important in the process of informing budget adjustments so that the allocated budget is based on the demand as informed by evidence. For instance, councillor E stated that:

“There might be additional indigent families that were not budgeted for, so such adjustment should be based on the overall review of the status of the programme”.

Similarly, councillor E stated that:

“the review should have been based on what is currently used and looking at the remaining months before the end of the municipal financial year so that they can cater for the demand”.

Theme 13: The use of information for accountability

Sub-theme 13.1: The use of evidence to inform oversight

The interviewed participants indicated that the evidence generated is also important for oversight purposes, especially in enabling oversight committees to determine whether the IDP achieves its objectives and members of the section 79 committee often go to the ground to do observations. For instance, councillor F stated that:

“information from the department, score card on the IDP and going to the ground to validate what the department has reported”.

Similarly, counsellor D stated that:

“The service delivery implementation (IDP) is used to hold the executive/department to account based on what they have committed they will deliver as per the IDP”.

This is also demonstrated by Councillor B response who responded by saying:

“the community and the need in the community informs the need the budget needs to motivate that the budget needs to be of a certain amount based on the

needs that they captured. This would be based on the evidence that they have gathered”.

However, the participants in response to the question of how beneficiaries are exited indicated that they are not provided with sufficient evidence to enable them to conduct oversight in how the intervention is implemented. For instance, councillor F responded by saying:

“the oversight committee also has limited information related to the programme because they depend on the executives to provide the information”.

Councillor A also indicated that:

“the M&E information is provided when requested, however, the use of M&E information is the weakest element of oversight, the M&E is not used compared to other types of information used”.

4.5.4. Role of politicians in the use of evidence in managing the exit strategy of the indigent programme

The third key question that the research sought to explore was, ***What influence do political role players have in the use of evidence in managing the exit strategy of the indigent programme?*** A probing question was posed to participants to explore the extent to which participants engage with politicians about the Indigent Programme. The sub-question was, *For the period that you have been in the programme, to what extent were members of the council involved in the implementation of the programme during your entry or exit from the programme?*

I. For the period that you have been in the programme, to what extent were members of the council involved in the implementation of the programme during your entry or exit from the programme?

The participants were requested to reflect on the role of members of the council in the use of evidence in the implementation of the indigent programme exit strategy. The responses resulted in five themes, wherein the first theme was the role of the Section 79 oversight committee and the sub-themes oversight over service delivery, oversight over the implementation of the IDP, Oversight on allocated budgets for IDP emerged from the councillors and officials’ responses. Responses from the councillors and ward committee members resulted in the theme of the role of the section 79 oversight committee research unit. The third theme that emerged from the responses of the

councillors only was the role of ward committees. The officials' responses also resulted in the theme of reliance on academic research. Lastly, the theme of collaboration on the implementation of the IP emerged which looked at the relationship between Social Workers & Councillors and the relationship between councillors and citizens.

Theme 15: The role of the Section 79 oversight committee

Sub-theme 15.1: Oversight over service delivery

The participants reflected on the role of the section 79 oversight committee in the process of implementing the indigent programme exit strategy. The common understanding is that the role of councillors in the implementation of the indigent programme exit strategy should be seen in line with the legislated role of councillors concerning their oversight function including implementation of the IDP, IDP budget, and service delivery oversight. Their responses are reflected as follows:

“According to the municipality Act, the role of the councillors does not tap into that area of ensuring that households are empowered (Councillor C)”.

Another respondent indicated that:

“Oversight committees are not responsible for checking whether there is any exit happening only the extent to which the implementation of the programme is happening as expected and people received the services, they are supposed to receive based on the budget allocated (Councillor D)”.

The responses also indicate that oversight committees play a critical role in safeguarding the investment of the municipality. For instance, councillor B indicated that *“the oversight turns to look at the cost benefits in terms of value for money looking at what is provided versus the value of what is reported of said to be provided”.*

Sub-theme 15.2: Oversight over the implementation of the IDP

The participants indicate that although politicians such as PR and ward councillors are expected to perform their role of oversight, they often influence where services should go. This was said to be the case in instances where councillors who often work with the communities want the social workers to prioritise their clients due to political affiliation. The expectation is for councillors to check whether citizens are receiving what is expected from the municipality as planned in the IDP and to also follow up on

any queries that community members have related to the benefits that are expected. The responses from the participants included the following:

“Can only facilitate the process of getting members of the communities that need the intervention in the system the outcome is solely based on the executives that are tasked with the role of implementing and producing the outcomes of the interventions (Councillor A)”.

Another response stated that:

“There are inconsistencies on how politicians, as people who are expected to play an oversight role perform their task, is supporting the implementation of the exit strategy, they often facilitate who should get benefits (Official B)”.

Sub-theme 10.3: Oversight on allocated budgets for IDP

There is a view that the role of politicians in the implementation of the indigent programme exit strategy is that of oversight over how the municipal revenue is used for free basic service including how grants are administered. For instance, there is a view that they are expected to monitor the use of the city's finances for example councillor A responded by saying:

“how the budget is allocated so that we can determine whether the budget allocated is fit for the purpose based on the grant received”

Theme 16: The role of the Section 79 Oversight Committee Research unit

The participants indicated that the research unit only assists the committee with the interpretation of reports presented to the committee, undertakes benchmarking exercises to support the work of the committee and has recently undertaken an exercise of making members of the council aware of their roles in service delivery interventions such as the indigent programme. For instance, councillor C stated that:

“the office of the section 79 committee Chair has also started a training on what the policy entails to get them to be aware of the what the programme is about”.

Councillor D also stated that:

“the research unit sometimes undertakes benchmarking of what other cities are doing around the world”. The respondent further said: “There are other municipalities that are implementing it differently (Councillor D)”.

Furthermore, councillor E stated that:

“the office of the research provides intellectual support based on the report that is provided, the researcher assists to interpret the reports that are provided by the department to ensure that the members of the council can deal with the facts that are verified”

Theme 17: The role of ward committees:

The participants indicated that political structures such as ward committees assist with the identification of families that might need the programme because they know their community. Councillor F responded by saying:

“they know families who are in the indigent register and those who are not. They often work with the social workers to identify those families that might benefit from the indigent programme”.

Theme 18: Collaborations on the implementation of the IP

Sub-theme 18.1: Relationship between Social Workers & Councillors

The participants are of the view that politicians are not directly involved with the implementation of the programme as stated by Official A who responded by saying:

“municipality try to avoid the use of councillors in the implementation of the indigent programme”.

However, some indicated that ward councillors are working with social workers, they would call them for information-sharing purposes on service delivery programmes such as the indigent programme. On the other hand, social workers are said to rely on ward councillors because they are members of the community and are community leaders, this is reflected in the participants' responses for example:

“Ward councillors usually use social workers to attend community meetings to share the information (Official B)”.

Another response indicated:

They are the ones who know the community better than the social workers (Official B)”.

“they can refer families with urgent cases to social workers, as such councillors depend on them to make a difference in their communities (Official B)”.

Theme 19: Collaborations on the implementation of the IP

Sub-theme 19.1: Relationship between councillors and citizens

The interviewed participants were asked to highlight their relationship with the councillors and the role they played during the process of entering into the programme. Some indicated that they do not know who the councillor is and often the councillor is not accessible to them when they need them. For instance, one beneficiary cited:

“I once went looking for a permit to go sell as a vendor but could not get the councillor (Beneficiary B)”.

The councillors are said to often become visible during electioneering other than they are nowhere to be seen, for instance, another beneficiary indicated:

“...they don’t have meetings with us as the community to inform us about service delivery programmes (Beneficiary A)”.

4.5.5. The uptake of evaluation recommendation implementations

The fourth key question that the research sought to explore was, ***If evaluations are undertaken, what is the uptake of recommendation implementation to improve the management of the exit strategy?*** Several probing questions were posed to the participants and the sub-questions included, *How do the results from evaluations of the intervention influence decision-making processes? What is the potential role of evidence in implementing the IP?*

I. How do the results from evaluations of the intervention influence decision-making processes?

The participants were requested to reflect on their knowledge of evaluation uptake at the CTMM and on how the results from evaluations of the indigent programme influence the decision-making process. The responses led to the theme *No assessments or evaluations were undertaken*. All the interviewed participants shared the same views on the lack of evaluations as a management tool within the City of Tshwane Municipality.

Theme 14: No assessments or evaluations were undertaken

The participants are of the view there is no in-depth independent assessment such as evaluations that are undertaken by the City of Tshwane that they are aware of, there is rather a reliance on performance reporting which focuses on the numbers to the detriment of measuring real change and effect in the lives of beneficiaries. The participants' responses are captured as follows:

"Currently, the city relies on numbers to measure success and whether people are exiting or registered in the system (Official A)".

Another respondent said:

"It has been over 11 years since working at the municipality there has not been any independent evaluation undertaken either internally or externally. there is no period when the strategy is subjected to any review process, we can't tell currently that the strategy is working or not based on any review or assessment process as it has been there for more than 10 years now (Official B)".

The same views were expressed by councillors A who said:

"There has not been any review report of any, be it performance, statistics, only the financial reports can be presented".

Similarly, another respondent said:

"The question is whether a survey was even undertaken to check whether the intervention has resulted in some form of improvement in the lives of the people or is it making some people even lazy not to try to make efforts to take themselves out of the indigent status, emphasis is on performance reporting against set targets (Councillor C)".

When probed further on how the evidence is used one responded that the department depends on research projects undertaken by research institutions, citing *"except for research studies that are undertaken for academic purposes by university researchers and students"* (Official B).

II. What is the potential role of evidence in implementing the IP?

The research participants were requested to share their knowledge and experience on the potential role that evidence, specifically evaluation evidence could play in influencing decision-making processes related to the Indigent programme. Political

representatives and officials responded to these questions and were all of the view that the indigent programme as a whole has never been subjected to an evaluative process. However, when probed further on the importance of evaluations as a management tool for interventions such as the indigent programme exit strategy their responses led to five themes. All the participants (councillors and officials) indicated that the role of evidence could assist in measuring social impact and improving performance, respectively. The councillors further indicated that the evidence could assist in improving accountability and knowledge generation for learning what works and what does not work in implementing the indigent intervention.

Theme 20: could assist in measuring social impact

The participants indicated that evaluations could assist in measuring the social impact of programmatic interventions such as the indigent programme. According to the officials, there is a reluctance to measure the social impact of the intervention, however, there is generally a high emphasis on measuring whether targets are met. The responses from the beneficiaries included the following:

“the theory of the broken window in New York indicates how the situation was quantified to account for why there were improvements with a certain intervention (Councillor C)”.

Officials A also responded by saying:

“The focus is on the numbers not really on the social impact that can be measured and be said to have been factored by the programme (Official A)”.

Similarly, Councillor B stated:

“for the city of Tshwane's indigent exit strategy, it would be difficult to measure the impact of the intervention given that the current exit strategy has not been formally approved, there is no standard against which you can evaluate the implementation (Councillor B)”.

Theme 21: Could assist in improving accountability

The participants indicated that evaluations could also assist in accounting for how the municipality deploys its revenue to assist those who cannot afford it. For instance, municipal councillors B responded by saying:

“the indigent programme takes a big chunk of the budgets”.

There is an understanding that evaluations could be useful in assisting councillors in undertaking their oversight functions, for instances there was councillor E responded by saying:

“generating evidence because it provides a platform for objectives recommendations to be generated to assist the work of the oversight”.

The participants are of the view that not undertaking evaluations is said to have a negative effect as the municipality does not have a mechanism to account for the revenue spent on the programme, councillor B responded by saying:

“The impact of not undertaking evaluation is that we are losing revenue because the indigent programme doesn’t allow the municipality to generate any form of revenue”.

Theme 22: Could assist in improving performance

The participants in response suggested that evaluations would help improve the performance of the indigent programme. Their views are that if evaluations were undertaken, they would assist in improving performance by ensuring that they can make changes in interventions where necessary with the aim of achieving programme objectives. In response, councillor F indicated that:

“evaluations would reaffirm whether we are articulating the goals of the intervention very well”. Similarly, councillor E stated that: *“It will better inform the policy progress in terms of implementation”.*

On the other hand, official B cited:

“There would be direction in terms of the things that can be done to deal with things that are not working”.

Theme 23: Could assist in Knowledge generation for learning

The participants believed that evaluations are useful for knowledge generation to learn from what works and what does not work with the implementation of interventions. For instance, councillor C responded by saying:

“It doesn’t help to do the same thing again and again and expect to see the results, so evaluation evidence will help us to relook at the situation and see how we can better understand the situation”.

The understanding is that evaluations would assist in informing the design of interventions that would meet the needs of the people as suggested by councillor B who responded by saying:

“it will assist in terms of the type of support beneficiaries need”.

Theme 24: Could assist in informing decision-making

Evaluations are also viewed by the municipal councillors can assist in informing decision-making because evaluations often triangulate different sources of evidence and produce recommendations, for instance councillor D responded by saying:

“the recommendations that are made by so many studies often feedback into process of change and decision making which ultimately results in growth and progress”.

4.6. Challenges of the Indigent Programme

4.9.1. Challenges experienced with the initial phases of the IP

The table below provides a summary of the challenges identified with the IP.

Table 3: Challenges experienced with the initial phases of the IP

Participants	Themes	Challenges		
Municipal Councillors	Legislated Mandate	There are inconsistencies in application across the country	There is a lack of synergies	There is a lack of standardisation
	Programmes linked to IP	No collaborations between the different departments internally		
Officials	Adapted national Indigent programme	Property valuation ambiguities	Exit strategy not implemented as required	

	Mechanism for monitoring usage	Inappropriate monitoring mechanisms		
	The CTMM exit strategy	Interdependencies on the exit strategy	Inappropriate use of indigent register by partners	
Ward Committees	Types of support provided	Inappropriate implementation of the indigent burial	Delayed communication of application outcome	

The table below indicates the challenges that emerged from the four themes discussed in the subsequent sections above. The table also highlight that there are a number of challenges noted from the participants responses across the different themes.

Theme: Legislated Mandate

There are inconsistencies in application across the country: Councillor C cited:

“the way that the policy is applied in one province is not the same in another provinces”.

There is lack of synergies: This can be noted by the responses of the participants as follow:

“there are no collaborations between the different departments within the municipality (Councillor D)”.

Similarly, councillor F said:

“the conversations as well between the provincial government and the local government is not taking place. This makes the circle of poverty to continue, and people get locked in the programmes (Councillor F)”.

Another participant stated:

“...there is no coordination between national department and municipalities most of the indigent beneficiaries are not able to be lifted out of indigent status

because they don't get linked to opportunities provided through the EPWP (Councillor B)".

There is a lack of standardisation: Councillor B cited:

"Providing support because it is difficult, there are no proper guidelines on how support should be provided".

Sub-theme: Programmes linked to IP

No collaborations between the different departments internally: The participants' responses to this effect can be noted as follows:

"There are no collaborations between the different departments within the municipality to link indigents to several services within the municipality (Councillor B)".

Another participant stated:

"the food bank is not linked with the indigent it relates to the indigents and disasters as a temporary relief". The participant further said: *"There is no link or commitment from the food bank to these programmes (Councillor F)".*

Councillor C also stated:

"The food bank policy has the same mandate as the indigent programme, but it is separate it is not in the indigent programme". The participant further stated: *"The food banks prioritise NPOs who work with homeless shelters, disasters and NPOs" (Councillor C)".*

Another councillor stated:

"there is also the EPWP which is supposed to play a safety net for indigents, but beneficiaries don't get linked to opportunities provided through the EPWP due to lack of coordination between national department and municipalities (Councillor E)".

Theme: Adapted national Indigent programme

Property valuation ambiguities: Official A stated that there are challenges with the implementation of the policy which was reviewed in 2020 by saying:

"clause 4B which includes deemed indigents looks at the property value of the applicant. This element of the policy has been challenging because the assessment committee often look at the property of the applicant and doesn't

consider the socio-economic status of the applicant in terms of employment status or your income is above the stated pension fund”.

Exit strategy not implemented as required: Official B stated

“the indigent policy is currently under review and as soon as it has been reviewed, the exit strategy has to be revisited to assess whether it is working or not so that a decision can be made on it to foster commitment on its implementation.

Furthermore, Official A stated:

“the exit strategy is a city of Tshwane’s strategy not a department of social development strategy, so if the municipality departments do not support the exit strategy it becomes an ineffective strategy that doesn’t support the municipality’s empowerment initiatives”.

Sub-theme: Mechanism for monitoring usage

Inappropriate monitoring mechanisms: Official B stated that:

“It is often a challenge to monitor whether the beneficiaries are using the allocated free basic services”.

Furthermore, Official A states:

“In 2016 the municipality attempted to install meters to monitor and force households to consume the allocated 12 kilos, but the project failed”. The participant further stated: *“Social workers are also expected to monitor how households are consuming the water, field workers were utilised at some point to assist with the process of monitoring the usage of the free basic services but due to budget issues the support is no longer provided (Official A)”.*

Sub-theme: The CTMM exit strategy

Interdependencies on the exit strategy: Official A indicated that:

“When something has interdependencies, it is difficult to implement, to implement the exit strategy we depend on internal and external stakeholders”. The participant further stated: *“For example, the custodians of the indigent policy are the national department of social development, as such we depend on such stakeholders to open opportunities to empower such people to be able to exit”.*

Similarly, Official B state:

“the dependency element part of the intervention does not allow the implementation of the empowerment element; we are at the mercy of the partners whether they give the beneficiaries an opportunity or not”.

Inappropriate use of indigent register by partners: Official A stated that:

“some stakeholders would make beneficiaries send CVs and applications with no opportunities provided for them, which often makes one think that maybe the empowerment element of the strategy is not working and may need to be reviewed in its current form, for example, OUTsurance has requested a list of the indigent beneficiaries and their CVs through the LED to empower them, by assisting them to get driver’s licenses for motorbike so that they can be involved in economic activities in the city such as uber eats”. The official further stated: “However, to date there has not been anything happening, we are still waiting for OUTsurance to provide the assistant that they promised. What often happens is that such stakeholders use the indigent register to report that they have support beneficiaries which is incorrect reporting (Official A)”.

Theme: Types of support provided

Inappropriate implementation of the indigent burial: Ward committee member A state:

“families are not provided with basic rights such as getting an opportunity to view the body at the house, sometimes the body is not taken to the house families are told to meet at the cemetery”.

Ward committee member C stated:

“at the beginning, households were provided with a coffin, redemption from paying for the grave, groceries red meat checked and vegetables, however, lately they don’t provide groceries anymore, they only provide a coffin and a car, and you don’t pay for the grave”. The participant further stated: “They also no longer bury on a weekend they only bury during the week”.

Delayed communication of application outcome: Ward community member B stated:

“The time frame for communicating outcomes is a challenge, people are provided with a reference and put on the waiting list waiting for social workers to

evaluate the application while families are still unable to access the basic services as they would have blocked them due to none-payment”.

Furthermore, Ward Committee Member A stated:

“there is also a challenge of many applicants whose applications have been declined due to the assessments made by social workers to applications because often when they get to the household and find that there are back rooms, they disqualify the households without ascertaining who uses the rooms they automatically assume that there are tenants”.

4.9.2. Challenges with dissemination methods

The table below provides a summary of the challenges based on the themes that emerged on the type of evidence used to guide entry into the programme.

Table 4: Challenges experienced with information dissemination

Participants	Themes	Challenges		
Municipal Councillors	Application processes	Inefficient Information dissemination strategy:		

The table above indicates the challenges that emerged from the theme application processes as highlighted by the interviewed participants and only the municipal councillors reflected on the identified challenges.

Theme: Application processes

Inefficient Information dissemination strategy: The participants indicated that the channels used to disseminate information are sufficient to reach the targeted beneficiaries, for instance, councillor A stated:

“Information is provided but does not reach the relevant people who need the relief the most, so the manner with which it is disseminated is not enough”. The participant further indicated: “There are clients who don’t have access to the internet and others don’t listen to radios”.

Similarly, councillor B stated:

“the community are not properly informed on how the indigent programme works, there is no proper information dissemination strategy employed on the programme”.

Furthermore, the councillor indicates:

“People that are meant to receive the service don’t get the information and the only way they can receive the information is through the councillors and if the councillor is not in touch with the people on the ground people who need the services the most don’t get the information”.

4.9.3. Challenges experienced with the exit strategy

The table below provides a summary of the challenges based on the themes that emerged in participants’ understanding of the exit strategy of the IP.

Table 5: Challenges experienced with the exit strategy

Participants	Themes	Challenges		
Municipal Councillors	Various exit modalities	Programme objectives not clearly understood	Ineffective dissemination methods	Politicising the programme through the use of ward councillors
	Exit through register maintenance	Ineffective maintenance of the indigent register maintenance	Implementation does not support exit	Lack of synergies in implementing the exit strategy
		Indigent programme perpetuates a cycle of dependency	Capacity constraints to implement	
Officials	Various exit modalities	Budgetary constrained in implementing exiting strategies	Indigent programme perpetuates a cycle of dependency	Changing political environment on the exit strategy

	Exit through register maintenance	Lack of capacity to implement roadshows		
Beneficiaries	Various exit modalities	Ineffective maintenance of the indigent register maintenance	No notification whenever exiting beneficiaries	
Ward Committees	Various exit modalities	No notification whenever exiting beneficiaries:	Poor control mechanisms to inform exit:	

The table above indicates the challenges that emerged from six of the themes that were identified from the responses of councillors, Officials, beneficiaries who are locked in and ward committee members.

Theme: Various exit modalities

Programme objectives not clearly understood: There is a view that there is lack of understanding of the key objectives of the indigent programme as a national policy and this is said to be due to the approach that is adopted in its implementation councillor B went further to highlight that:

" there is either lack of understanding or interest on how the programme should be implemented or there is just no sufficient interest hence there is no exit strategy that is implemented is just a continuation".

Councillor A also suggested that:

"the intervention is implemented as a social grant; it has been adopted as a culture or a norm that the government has created which just teaches people to just receive without an expected outcome"

Ineffective dissemination methods: Councillor A stated:

"People that are meant to receive the service don't get the information and the only way they can receive the information is through the councillors and if the councillor is not in touch with the people on the ground or if they are not active people who need the services the most don't get the information".

Politicising the programme through the use of ward councillors: It was noted that the programme is often politicised and that making use of ward and PR councillors is not effective because not all people receive the information. Councillor A stated:

“the relevant people who need the relief, they don’t get the information”. The participant further stated: “There are councillors who work with community leaders on the ground to collect the information from the communities, however, this approach is often not effective because sometimes only those people who are closer to the people mandated to get the information get in the programme resulting in the programme not reaching the right people”

Budgetary constraints in implementing exiting strategies: The participants indicated that due to budgetary constrained, this method is not employed. For instance, official B stated:

“There are field workers that were contracted to do regular home visits where the evaluation forms are completed and signed by the indigent, those who are not responding are automatically removed”.

Indigent programme perpetuates a cycle of dependency: The interviewed officials also viewed the indigent programme as perpetuating a cycle of dependency, for instance, Official B stated:

“the current method of exiting the beneficiaries is not exited instead is a cycle because you have a situation where an account holder dies, they are removed from the register and after a few months their children who occupy the property reapply and take over the municipal account as indigent because they are unemployed”

Moreover, official A stated that:

“the process of reapplication perpetuates a cycle of stagnation because there is no real intervention or form of empowerment that happens to lift them out of the cycle of poverty and dependents on the state”.

Lack of capacity to implement roadshows: Official A stated that:

“There used to be road shows where households in a particular area would be called in a common place to be evaluated at once. However, due to budgetary constraints such are no longer undertaken”.

Changing political environment on exit strategy: Some participants are of the view that changes in municipal mayors as recently observed result in difficulties when implementing programmes due to changes in the executives who do not understand the programme. For instance, Official A stated:

“current challenges faced with the exit strategy are due to changing and unstable political environment at the municipality as laws are constantly changed with every political party that comes in”.

Official B responded by saying:

“the empowerment element has to be intentional and start with internal stakeholders within the municipality before it can be taken outside”.

No notification whenever exiting beneficiaries: The beneficiaries who were exited indicated that they were not notified that they would be exited, they just saw that their municipal bill was up, for instance, beneficiary B stated:

“The challenging part is that we are not informed like before when they cut you off you just see when the municipal bill is high that you have been removed from the indigent programme”.

Similarly, the interviewed ward councillors indicated that there is a member of the community members who complained that they were removed from the indigent register without notice, for instance, ward committee member A stated:

“What we have picked is that after 24 months households often do not get notifications that their benefit will be ending and that they must reapply, they just see that their benefits have ceased”.

Poor control mechanisms to inform exit: There is an operational gap in terms of providing feedback information from entities to inform the city on whether the indigent beneficiaries are now ready to exit, for instance, a ward committee member indicated that:

“entities such as SARS, EPWP, etc don’t report that the beneficiary that was assisted through the indigent programme has been assisted now they worked at a bank etc”.

Sub-theme: Exit through register maintenance

Ineffective maintenance of the indigent register maintenance: The indigent register has not been maintained for many years making it difficult to remove a certain group of beneficiaries based on the current legislation, for instance, municipal councillor B stated:

“Because the register has inherited several households from 2001. It becomes difficult to go and review each household in the register based on the required policy”.

Municipal councillor E also responded by saying:

“the process of cleaning the register is underway to avoid maintaining the status quo, those that would have been removed will be requested to reapply if they feel that they still qualify as indigent”.

Furthermore, councillor F stated that:

“Indigent beneficiaries are supposed to be in the register for 24 months but due to the workload some of the beneficiaries overstay in the programme, it is also difficult to ensure that the real indigent gets the exemptions from paying for some of the free services”.

Moreover, some participants indicated that they took over the properties after the owner passed on and their economic status has changed but they are still benefiting from the Indigent programme. This was the case for most of the beneficiaries who were locked in the programme, their responses included the following:

“my mother has since passed on and as a result, I took over the property, although I have not gone to the master of the high court to change the ownership. As a result, the property is still under Mama, and we are still benefiting from the indigent programme (Locked in beneficiary A)”.

Another participant stated that:

“At the time I did qualify to be an indigent because I was not working, I was just amazed that they did not make me fill in an application like it should” (Locked in beneficiary B).

Implementation does not support exit: It was also indicated that implementation of the indigent programme exit strategy does not support the exit of beneficiaries. For instance, councillor E indicated that:

"programme is not implemented to assist households such that they are empowered to an exit after a said period".

There is a view that the exiting empowerment strategies such as the EPWP programmes are not well targeted to support or empower indigent beneficiaries, for instance, councillor B indicated that:

"no programmes that target such families, targeting young people who are unemployed so that they can assist to relief the municipality as such can be empowered to exit the programme to make space for others and for an impact to be seen".

Capacity constraints to implement: There is a view that the programme is not well capacitated to support successful implementation, Official A responded by saying:

"There are no adequate resources to address the challenges that beneficiaries are facing".

Lack of synergies in implementing the exit strategy: The Participants are of the view that there is a lack of synergies between the different internal and external partners that are supposed to contribute towards the empowerment element of the exit strategy, for instance, councillor C cited:

"There are quite many silos between finance and the community and social development services which makes it difficult to implement the exit strategy".

Councillor E cited that:

"There is no synergy between departments, this seems to be the problem across municipalities in the country".

Councillor D also responded by saying:

"the indigent programme exit strategy initially adopted the exit strategy of the EPWP programme which suggested that once there is someone in the EPWP programme for 6 months they would be provided with training and empowered to obtain a permanent job".

The lack of synergies between programmes such as the EPWP, food bank and the indigent programme and how such programmes are designed and implemented are contributing factor to the failure of successful implementation of the exit strategy, for instance, councillor F cited that:

“exiting beneficiaries depends on the impact that is observed in other programmes such as the EPWP that are supposed to first elevate or provide an empowerment for the beneficiaries to exit, but programmes like that are implemented for a short space of time you can’t expect them to lift people out of the state of poverty, so if such empowerment efforts don’t yield any impact you don’t expect that there will be any impact”.

Indigent programme perpetuates a cycle of dependency: There is a view that the indigent programme does the opposite of what it is expected to do in that it perpetuates a culture of dependence and disempowering beneficiaries to continue the cycle of poverty. This is more prevalent with the view that the indigent exit through empowerment is not implemented. Councillor C indicated that:

“...people look at themselves as subjected to a state of dis-welfare. They often blame their circumstances which makes it difficult for them to do something to get out of their circumstances”.

Councillor A suggested that:

“the department responsible for the indigent programme needs to empower them to want to change their circumstances and empower them to come out instead of blaming their circumstance or the apartheid government, most beneficiaries are locked into the indigent status because they are not empowered to can stand up and improve their circumstances”.

4.9.4. Challenges with the use of evidence to inform exit

The table below provides a summary of the challenges based on the themes that emerged on the topic of whether the IP has been subjected to any form of M&E assessment.

Table 6: Challenges experienced with the use of evidence to inform exit

Participants	Themes	Challenges		
Municipal Councillors	Theme 19: The generation of M&E evidence	Inaccurate reporting of performance	M&E information rarely gets presented unless requested	Poor M&E for impact

		Poor control mechanisms		
Officials	Theme 19: The generation of M&E evidence	Inaccurate reporting of performance		

The table above highlights the challenges that emerged from theme 19: The generation of M&E evidence as discussed above by the responses of the councillors and officials.

Theme: The generation of M&E evidence

M&E information rarely gets presented unless requested: The councillors' responses also revealed that there are challenges in how M&E information is made available for them to undertake oversight and to intervene as part of oversight. For instance, councillor E stated that:

"M&E information doesn't get to reach the oversight committee that often, if it doesn't get requested it doesn't get presented at all to the oversight committee".

Similarly, councillor D stated:

"There is no voluntary presentation of M&E information to assist the oversight committee in doing its job. This is an area that the committee is still lacking, and we will have to look at it".

Furthermore, councillor F stated that:

"the process of gathering the information is extremely slow due to the capacity of social workers who are unable to visit the households to conduct evaluations to determine whether households should be exited from the intervention".

Poor M&E for impact: As such if there was consistent monitoring of the indigent register there would be a baseline against which oversight committees would measure the success of the programme, for instance councillor A responded by saying:

"to know in terms of statistics at the beginning, how many indigents we have in the database would assist to measure whether we are making an impact or not".

Furthermore, the participants indicate that because there is no exit strategy instead of existing beneficiaries there is often a request to add more budget, for instance, C responded by saying:

“We consistently receive requests for additions instead of people exiting to relieve the municipality because there is no exit programme”

Poor control mechanisms: There is a view that there is generally poor control mechanism in the management of the indigent programme to ensure that it achieves its objectives. Councillor A responded by saying:

“There is just a lot of consistent and continuous dishonesty in the whole system including the people who are benefiting but are not supposed to and because of the poor control mechanism on it, a lot of revenue is often lost by the municipality”.

Inaccurate reporting of performance: Councillors revealed that often when they do oversight visits, they find that when they often find that what is reported is inaccurate. For instance, councillor C stated:

“Often, we find that what is reported is contrary to what is reported”.

Similarly, councillor B stated that:

“there are a lot of challenges in undertaking the oversight due to capacity and other challenges within the programme management”.

Official A responded by saying:

“the monitoring doesn’t happen as it should, making it difficult to evaluate what is working and what is not working”.

Official B responded by saying indicated that:

“There is a high reliance on the numbers in terms of reaching on set targets, there is a lot of reporting. If the numbers are achieved then they are happy and if not, you are asked what you can do better”.

4.9.5. Challenges Experienced with politicians over the exit strategy

The table below provides a summary of the challenges based on the themes that emerged on the topic of the role of members of the council in the use of evidence in the implementation of the indigent programme exit strategy.

Table 7: Challenges experienced by politicians over the exit strategy

Participants	Themes	Challenges		
Municipal Councillors	The role of Section 79 Oversight Committee	Corruption	Patronage	Gatekeeping
Officials	The role of Section 79 Oversight Committee	Political influence		

The table above indicates the challenges that emerged from the theme of *the role of Section 79 oversight committee* as highlighted by the interviewed councillors and the officials.

Theme: The role of Section 79 oversight committee

Corruption: Corruption in implementing existing empowerment strategies has been highlighted to be a challenge due to connections with politicians. Councillor A indicated that:

“There is corruption at the community level where projects are supposed to be prioritised for people who are indigent but often such projects benefit people that are not supposed to benefit”.

The councillor also pointed that:

“...this is often the case with projects that would offer short term jobs such as EPWP and construction project”.

Patronage: The participants indicated that the indigent programme is provided to those who are linked to politicians through patronage networks, for instance, councillor A responded by saying:

“There is a lot of patronage amongst those people who are supposed to champion the programme and make it work in order to uplift their constituencies”.

Councillor B further indicated that:

“some of the people that are in the programme and are not supposed to be in the programme”.

Gatekeeping: There is also a lack of leadership on the ground to champion the programme to achieve its set objectives instead politicians act as gatekeepers. Councillor A responded by saying that:

“There are people on the ground who are opportunistic when they see opportunities like this, they mess up the programmes and there are people who act as gatekeepers, they keep the information for themselves, and only share it with those around them”.

Councillor E also responded by saying:

“people with political connections act as gatekeepers, they keep the information for themselves, and only share it with those around them”.

Theme: The role of Section 79 oversight committee

Political influence: There is also a challenge of a councillor influencing clients to manipulate the system to favour households who do not qualify to be in the programme. For instance, Official B responded by saying:

“There are councillors who encourage clients to not include their children who are working and when asked the applicants indicate that the councillor told them not to include such citing that because they are the owners of the property why must they include other people that are staying in the property”. The official further highlighted that: “in some cases, it is uncovered that there are backrooms there and there is a tenant who contributes to the water bill and income generation for the households, there are situations where the households rent a room or garages to Pakistan to open businesses in their yards. And the policy doesn’t take in any business activities”.

CHAPTER FIVE: ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH

5.1. Introduction

This chapter provides an analysis of the findings based on the responses from the participants as outlined in chapter four, to make sense of the findings concerning the key question. The chapter first provides an overview of the study, and a summary of the findings, as presented in chapter four. It then provides a discussion on the participants' general understanding of the Indigent programme to provide context. Secondly, the findings are discussed based on the themes and sub-themes that emerged aligned with the key research questions. In this chapter, findings from the primary and secondary data were used for triangulation purposes to validate the responses on the use of evidence in the implantation of the exit strategy of the Indigent programme of the City of Tshwane Metro Municipality (CTMM).

5.2. Summary of the results

5.2.1. General understanding of the Indigent programme

The result of the study revealed that there is a general understanding of the indigent programme, the targeted beneficiaries, its legislative mandate, and the type of support and oversight mechanisms on the use of the free basic service provided. However, the results suggest that there is a lack of clarity from the beneficiaries on the criteria for qualifying for the Indigent programme because those who have exited thought that their removal was due to their property owner's death, similarly those who have been retained believed that they were registered in the database because the property owner is a pensioner. The results also reveal that there are challenges in linking beneficiaries with other services such as the burial Indigent, EPWP, and housing due to silos within the municipality.

Moreover, the results indicated that built-in mechanisms to monitor the usage of free services such as free electricity are working, however, there is no mechanism to monitor the use of the free 12 kilo litters. Furthermore, the study revealed a lack of understanding of how beneficiaries should be exited and that there are challenges in implementing the exit strategy in its current form due to capacity challenges within the

unit responsible for implementing the programme. Instead of individually reviewing each household's status based on evidence, an umbrella approach is used to exit beneficiaries through database maintenance after a prescribed period, between 6-24 months of benefiting.

5.2.2. Evidence use in informing the implementation of the indigent programme exit strategy

The study revealed that at the entry point, multiple platforms are used to disseminate information about the programme. However, some of the platforms used were found to be ineffective, for instance, the councillors questioned the use of media statements to announce registrations for the programme alleging that it does not reach the relevant target group. On the other hand, word of mouth was found to be useful, however, when politicians are used to sharing the information, they turn to use it for politicking. Furthermore, the study revealed that once beneficiaries have been registered in the programme there are inconsistencies with the period of benefiting from the programme, ranging from six to twelve months or twenty-four months depending on the circumstances of the households. However, it was found that there were beneficiaries who have been in the programme from between 2000-2007 respectively to date, they were never assessed since they joined.

The study found that there is no consistent generation of information during implementation to inform the exit of households from the programme. Moreover, although there is an understanding of the various exit modalities employed to exit beneficiaries, there is no evaluation of the households to inform decisions on whether to exit or retain them. The results reveal that the exit strategy of the municipality is not implementable due to capacity challenges required to support its full implementation instead beneficiaries are automatically exited upon the death of the property owner. Moreover, the study found that the exit strategy challenges are exacerbated by the inability to implement the empowerment element of the programme because there are no skills provided to households to enable them to move out of poverty. The study found that empowerment can only be associated with the Extended Public Works Programme (EPWP), although indigent beneficiaries are not prioritised whenever there are intakes for EPWP.

5.2.3. Using M&E Evidence to inform Exit procedures for Households

The result of the study reveals that only performance monitoring and audit evidence are generated on the Indigent programme. Furthermore, the results indicated that information reporting on the performance of the Indigent programme is generated monthly, quarterly, and annually based on the set targets. However, the information was found to be occasionally used to inform budget allocation, budget adjustments and oversight of service delivery by the oversight committees, especially in determining whether the IDP achieved its objectives. However, the study found little confidence in the information provided because often when members of the Section 79 Oversight Committee go to the ground to do observations find that the reported information is inconsistent with what is found on the ground.

Moreover, the study found that there is little monitoring of the free basic services provided to households, and it was found that there are several challenges in implementing the monitoring strategy. Key to some of the challenges is the installation of a technology to monitor water usage. Moreover, the results revealed that the programme has never been subjected to an evaluation to measure whether the intervention is making the change that is envisaged instead there is an emphasis on meeting targets.

5.2.4. Role of politicians in the use of evidence in managing the exit strategy of the indigent programme

The study revealed that although there is a clear understanding of the role of section 79 committee members whose responsibility is oversight over the implementation of the service delivery programme, it was found that there is a disconnect between the beneficiaries and the councillors on the ground. It was found that councillors often become visible during electioneering and turn to use service delivery programmes such as the Indigent to canvas, and to some extent try to influence who should be prioritised for the programme. The study revealed that councillors sometimes influence social workers to prioritise who should get free basic services based on political affiliation.

The study also found that political structures such as ward committees are also to some extent involved with the recruitment of beneficiaries for the Indigent programme

by assisting social workers with the identification of families that might need the programme. The results reveal that there is an existing link between social workers and councillors. It was found that social workers are sometimes called by councillors to attend information-sharing community meetings, where they are requested to share information on service delivery programmes. Similarly, sometimes social workers use councillors to assist in identifying beneficiaries.

5.2.5. The uptake of evaluation recommendation implementations

The study revealed that the municipality does not generate any evaluation evidence related to the Indigent programme's exit strategy to inform reviews and for learning. Households are expected to be evaluated to assess whether they are ready to exit the programme. However, due to capacity challenges, officials are unable to carry out the evaluations instead households are removed from the register automatically and they are expected to renew the benefits if they feel they still qualify.

It is worth noting that there is a clear understating of the role that evaluation evidence could play in the implementation of service delivery intervention. The results of the study revealed that evaluation evidence could be used to assist in measuring the social impact of service delivery intervention, improve performance contribute towards generating information to inform accountability, inform decision-making processes and knowledge generation to learn from what works and what does not work with the implementation of interventions.

5.3. Discussion of findings

5.3.1. General understanding of the Indigent programme

The findings about the participant's understanding of the IP indicated that the IP is mainly understood as a programme that is meant to provide *relief for poor clients of CTMM*. It was understood to be providing *relief for the poor of the poorest, relief for the unemployed and relief for state grant beneficiaries*. Furthermore, the results indicate that all of the participants, except for the ward committee identified the programme as a relief for state grant beneficiaries, suggesting that there is a fair understanding of the CTMM Indigent programme.

Constitutional Mandate

The results presented by the theme of constitutional mandate revealed that there is an understanding amongst the participants that the Indigent programme is a response to the constitution of South Africa by ensuring that the government uphold the requirements of the Bill of Rights, by addressing issues of inequalities. This finding is consistent with Fuo (2020), who stated that in a South African context, basic services are assured in the Bill of Rights and all citizens are entitled to them. According to Tidmus (2001), the state's provision of social welfare represents measures of compensation for harm done by society.

The study revealed little understanding of the linkages of the CTMM Indigent programme with the existing National Framework for Municipal Indigent Policies (NFMIP), as there was little articulation on the requirements of the framework. This might be the reason why there are a lot of existing misalignments given the requirement for municipalities to develop an exit strategy (Department of Provincial Local Government, 2005). Having knowledge and understanding of the policy mandate is critical in ensuring its successful implementation as it assists with advocacy and partnership formation (Bhuyan et al., 2010). According to systems thinking, this finding is in line with the requirement of ensuring that there is a free flow of information between organisations engaged in transactions (Barends et al., 2014). These findings suggest that the misalignments are one of the causes of the inadequate implementation of the Indigent Programme's exit strategy.

The selection criteria for targeted beneficiaries

The theme selection criteria also revealed that there is a common understanding amongst the participants on the criteria that are applied to select beneficiaries into the programme, the participant's responses suggest that the programme is meant to "provide relief for poor clients of the City of Tshwane Municipality, a relief for state grant beneficiaries, and unemployed households, to provide relief to clients of the CTMM". The participants indicated that one of the key requirements is that the household income must not exceed two state old age grants. These findings are consistent with the registration criteria as outlined in clause 4 of the CTMM Amended Indigent Policy of 2012.

The study, however, found that those beneficiaries who were kept in the database felt that they were retained because the property owner was an elderly person, while those who were kicked out assumed that their removal was because of the property owner's passing. This suggests that beneficiaries understood the indigent programme to be focused on pensioners and that there is a lack of clarity on how participants are targeted. According to Ruiters (2018), targeting is useful in such instances, as it uses means tests to identify non-qualifying beneficiaries in a way that significantly affects how the general public views welfare. Systems thinking argues that organisations are in charge of obtaining resources as inputs from the environment and the wider system, processing and transforming them as outputs, (Barends et al., 2014). In this case, the output would be services to the underprivileged.

There are different types of services offered.

The participants had a fair understanding of the social packages offered through the programme as they highlighted that *"there are different types of support provided through the programme"*. However, the study also revealed that beneficiaries had a limited understanding of other services linked to the Indigent programme. This is mainly because it was found that there are challenges implementing other elements of the programme such as the burial indigent programme, EPWP, housing and empowerment through skills development as per the requirements in clause 7 of the CTMM Indigent Policy 2012 due to lack of synergy amongst the different internal stakeholders. According Wallington, (2003) systems thinking holds that, key structural challenges must be addressed and that organisations must adjust to environmental challenges to effectively implement change within businesses. These findings suggest that there are underlying structural challenges in the implementation of the CTMM's indigent strategy which ought to be addressed for it to succeed.

The study also found that built-in mechanisms to monitor usage of the free services are working for other free services offered, such as free electricity and tax rebates. This suggests that there are inconsistencies in implementing the existing monitoring mechanisms, as it was found that there are failures in implementing the mechanisms as designed, to monitor other services such as usage on the free 12 kilo liters of water key to the challenges is installation of a technology to monitor water usage. Consistent with these findings is a study by the Centre for Development Support UFS, (2001),

which found that implementation of the Indigent programme experiences challenges of ownership of the properties, water leaks, and biased poverty mapping.

No clear guidance on how to exit the household

The results indicate that the programme sustains households in a state of poverty by continuously providing them free services without assisting them out of the state of indigent due to an unimplementable exit strategy resulting from capacity challenges. It was also found that there is no clarity on the process of exiting beneficiaries, instead households are randomly exited after a prescribed period of between 6-24 months. These findings suggest that there are procedural and structural barriers to the effective implementation of the indigent programme exit strategy, resulting in beneficiaries not graduating out of a state of indigent as envisaged. Leburu (2017), also found that the exit strategy for indigents is not well thought out or planned, contrary to clause 10 of the CTMM Indigent Policy 2012. Consistent with these findings Barends et al (2014), argued that the concept of organisation effectiveness is broad and requires different elements within the organisation to work together.

5.3.2. Evidence use in informing the implementation of the indigent programme exit strategy

The results on the use of evidence in the implementation of the indigent programme revealed that participants understood “the application process” because all of them outlined the processes as described by the CTMM Indigent Policy in the main. Their responses further reflected on the *information dissemination mechanism about the indigent programme* and the *period of benefiting from the programme* as processes where evidence is used to guide entry into the programme. Moreover, the study found that all the participants indicated that various Information dissemination mechanisms are used to inform beneficiaries about the IP. However, it was found that most of the participants except the ward committee members reflected on the period of participation in the programme, suggesting that the ward committee members lacked understanding of the period of benefiting.

Application processes for indigent programme

The results revealed that the programme uses limited mechanisms to disseminate information to recruit beneficiaries, including the use of media statements posted on online platforms and the use of ward councillors. The interviewed participants argued that announcements placed on the municipal website do not reach the targeted beneficiaries, for instance, one responded: “The information is also publicised on the website of the municipality, but relevant people often don’t get access to that information due to lack of data or internet”. On the other hand, the interviewed officials revealed that when community meetings and information-sharing roadshows were used, they were more effective compared to the use of websites. Moreover, the use of ward councillors has been found to politicise the programme. For instance, one exited beneficiary responded by saying *“Often, the indigent programme is used as a canvassing tool when political parties go door to door and in instances where the party currently in charge, households would be referred to the social work offices...”*. These findings are contrary to the requirements of the National Framework for Municipal Indigent Policies which outlines that to ensure that the relevant beneficiaries are recruited and those who can afford to pay do not get subsidised, careful targeting will have to be employed (Department of Provincial Local Government, 2005).

According to Mkandawire (2005), the debate between targeting and universalism is couched in terms of effective resource allocation that is subject to financial limitations and when adopted beliefs continue to be satisfied, value judgements on the advantages and disadvantages of selected tactics start to become crucial. In this instance process of identifying the correct beneficiaries to be subjected to the indigent intervention can be seen as a starting point towards effective implementation. Organisations obtain resources from the external environment and use those resources to supply the commodities and services needed by the environment as a whole and this is the foundation for any organisation as inputs flow externally (Barends et al., 2014; Ivancevich et al., 2014). These findings suggest that mechanisms used to recruit beneficiaries are ineffective not tailored to ensure that those who need the free basic services the most are recruited. It further suggests that the CTMM does not know who the poor clients of the municipality are because the programme currently

seems to facilitate the recruitment of households who do not deserve to be in the register.

Various exit modalities used to gather information

The participants indicated that there are various exit modalities employed to exit beneficiaries from the programme as required by clause 10 of the indigent policy such modalities include the evaluation of households and road shows, exit through register maintenance and voluntary exit. The results revealed that there are modalities that have been stopped due to capacity challenges and, instead, beneficiaries are exited automatically after a specific period of benefiting and after the death of the property owner. These findings are consistent with what Leburu (2017) found, that “the exit strategy is being implemented, but it is being done on an *ad-hoc* basis”. For instance, the responses from the exited beneficiaries indicated that they were not alerted they were just removed. These findings are consistent with the view that the city of Tshwane's exit strategy employs a tracking technique (Ruiters, 2018).

The research found that beneficiaries of the programme who have been automatically removed either through database maintenance or roadshows are allowed to reapply so that their benefits can be renewed, one of the officials in response cited “*The requirement from exited beneficiaries is that they should re-apply should they feel that they still qualify*”. This is consistent with what Ruiters, (2018) argued that pre-conditions have been set on households, such as regular re-registration, effectively keeping a substantial proportion of impoverished households off the list. However, the process of renewing the benefits for households who have been exited was indicated to be taking forever, often coursed by the lack of capacity to verify re-applications by social workers who are expected to visit the households to verify the provided information.

As part of the voluntary exit, beneficiaries are expected to present themselves to the municipality and to request to be removed from the indigent register if their circumstances change, the study found that this rarely happens. These can also be observed by the high number of people who are still in the register while not deserving to be there. This finding suggests that there is no clear mechanism to manage the indigent register to facilitate the process of exiting households, causing a financial

burden for the municipality. Leburu, (2017) found that the council's finances suffer when households are not removed from the register. The sustainability of the programme and the resources will continue to run out until a sizable part of families leave the programme so that those arriving, or enrolling can take advantage of the services offered. According to Meadows (2002), systems are not within our control. The dynamic interconnectedness and system-to-system effect are lost when subsystems are isolated.

The results reveal inconsistencies with how the exit modalities are implemented because it keeps those who do not deserve to be in the programme, locked in longer without assessing their affordability. Ruiters (2018) also made a similar observation in another municipality, noting that the database was not updated yearly, causing the program to turn into a regime owing to lax supervision in the municipalities of Lesedi and Ratanda. These findings and the one on the ineffective and limited information dissemination mechanisms suggest that there is no use of evidence when making decisions on the relevant households who need the programme the most and to assess those benefiting households who have graduated from a state of Indigent and due to be exited from the programme.

Exit through empowerment

The results revealed no exit through empowerment as envisaged by the policy. The empowerment element of the programme is said to be non-existent, in response one councillor cited *"If there is such a strategy it is not implementable because there are no skills provided to enable households out of poverty"*. Currently, empowerment can only be associated with the EPWP, although indigent households are not prioritised whenever there are intakes for EPWP. The results further revealed that the indigent programme's exit strategy was initially based on partnerships both external and internal that are currently not used due to lack of synergies. Furthermore, partnerships were found to be key in addressing issues of capacity in implementing the Indigent exit strategy whereby they were used in skills development initiatives. According to Bhuyan et al., (2010), successful implementation of programmes depends on strong partnerships to enable better access to resources that support implementation and ensure that there is broad involvement and inclusion of varied viewpoints. These findings suggest that the empowerment element is not implemented and can only be

effective to assist lifting households out of poverty if they can be linked with partners and currently little is done to empower households out of poverty.

The results of the study also found that the relationship with some of the partners had broken down because the partners were using the indigent register inappropriately. Instead of empowering the beneficiaries, partners would only request the list to report that they have assisted x number of indigent beneficiaries and attach the indigent list as evidence to their report. These findings suggest that there is a lack of capacity to manage and use partnerships for the benefit of the programme. According to Leburu (2017), a lack of decisive leadership and agreement among the stakeholders results in gaps in the execution of both the indigent policy and the indigent exit strategy. One of the criteria for effectiveness in systems thinking is that an organisation must reflect interrelationships between the organisation and its environment (Barends, 2016).

The role of social workers in generating information to inform exit

Social workers are expected to play a fundamental role in the assessment processes before, during and post-implementation but the study found that their role is often underplayed. These findings are consistent with what a study by Mashego (2015), who found that social workers are key at the centre of the registration phase. However, the results indicated that there are inconsistencies in how verification is conducted before and during, also there is no internal capacity for social workers to conduct individual evaluations of households. At the beginning, the social workers are expected to go to the applicant's households to verify the application and at the end, they are expected to follow up on whether their circumstances have improved based on the benefits received through the programme. During implementation, social workers are expected to follow up with beneficiaries to check if the situation has changed.

These findings suggest that there might be structural challenges that prevent the CTMM from adequately generating evidence to inform decisions on the status of beneficiaries as they benefit from the programme, resulting in high reliance on anecdotal evidence to inform decision-making. According to Champoux (2011), these restrictions may include the inability to cope with complex problems, money limitations,

time constraints, and incomplete information about choices and their results, and these are all the challenges experienced by social workers in doing what is expected of them.

5.3.3. Using M&E evidence to inform exit procedures for households

The results, on whether *M&E evidence is used* to inform exiting of households and oversight by the section 79 committee responsible for the Health and Social Development Department, revealed that there is *generation of M&E evidence* in the form of *Performance monitoring*. Moreover, most of the participants except for the officials indicated that there is a monitoring mechanism for the free services, and only the councillors and the officials indicated that there is *periodic reporting* that takes place on the indigent programme and *no rigorous assessments or evaluations undertaken*. Furthermore, the officials and ward committees indicated that there is a generation of audit information by the *Internal audit*.

The results also indicated that the *evidence generated is used to inform budget allocation, budget adjustments and accountability purposes by oversight committees of the municipality*. Moreover, the participants reflected on the *quality of the reported information* and the results suggest that the reported information is often not reliable to hold the administration accountable. This is also evidence of how the Monitoring and Evaluation of the programme is outlined in the CTMM policy document.

The generation of M&E evidence for performance monitoring and auditing

The results of the study found that there is M&E evidence generated in the implementation of the indigent programme. According to the CTMM Indigent Exit Strategy of 2010 monitoring “entails gathering and analysing data on implementation procedures, tactics, and outcomes, as well as advising corrective actions”(City of Tshwane, 2012). However, the results reveal that there is a high reliance on performance reporting information as a tick box exercise and there are no evaluations undertaken to measure the results on the ground, instead, there is emphasis on meeting targets suggesting that incomplete information is generated to measure the real impact of the programme. One official cited:

“There is a high reliance on the numbers to reach set targets, and there is a lot of reporting. If the numbers are achieved then they are happy and if not, you are asked what you can do better”.

According to Leburu (2017) feedback received from ward committees, payments received, and community complaints are the most typical measures used by municipalities to determine success.

The study found that such performance information gets presented to the oversight committee upon request to assist in holding the executive and the administration accountable and to determine whether the IDP achieve its objectives. The information was said to be occasionally used to also inform budget allocation where the finance unit in the office of the city manager would request stats on the number of Indigent beneficiaries for them to allocate the appropriate budget for the financial year. According to Peter & Michael, (2010) these findings speak to the symbolic use of evidence which involves using evidence to support a pre-determined position of policymakers, to undertake a certain course of action. It is worth noting that the study could not gather sufficient data to validate these views.

The interviewed councillors revealed that they have little confidence in the information provided one councillor cited “users of the information rely on the honesty of the department to report correct information, because whenever oversight committees went to the ground found that what was reported by the M&E was incorrect”. These results are consistent with research that found that most of the indicators in municipalities are often not properly verified due to verification incapacity in most municipalities (Centre for Development Support UFS, 2001). These findings suggested that the available M&E information is not reliable to assist the oversight committee in determining whether the municipality is making a difference in the lives of beneficiaries. This finding speaks to the conceptual use of evidence, which implies using evidence to stimulate debate and clarify issues, in policy formulation forums (Peter & Michael, 2010).

These findings highlight the disadvantages of relying on performance information to inform programme decision-making. Using monitoring data only has its setbacks as it makes conclusions based on process information likely to result in errors of not

accounting for efficacy (Gemma & Sadan, 2015). According to Goldman et al., (2013), monitoring is only useful during implementation and that it only provides explanations for what is occurring, without answering the why question, while evaluation evidence provides comprehensive evidence-based recommendations for enhancing treatments and provides deep analysis to respond to the why questions. This view is supported by Patton (2002), who argues that focusing on evaluation evidence is more advantageous since it aims to create utilisation-focused solutions.

The study established that there is internal auditing that is conducted on the indigent programme and the information gathered through internal audit is used for decision-making related to the indigent programme. However, it is not clear to what extent the information is used for decision-making related to the intervention due to the limited information provided by participants. A rational decision-making model would suggest that the decision-makers should be well-informed about all of the options available. Additionally, the decision-maker is completely aware of the level of risk and uncertainty connected to each option (Bright et al., 2019). These findings suggest that the decision-makers may not know the true status of the Indigent programme given the high reliance on secondary information whose quality is not assured.

The general understanding was that the evidence generated is important in the process of informing budget adjustments so that the allocated budget is based on the demand, informed by evidence. According to Stewart (2018) in most instances when evidence is used, it is often weak because the focus is on statistical validity instead of outcome measures (Krämer, 2012), overstating the generalization ability of their findings. It is worth noting that the information provided by participants could not establish the extent to which this information was used.

The findings suggest that the evidence used to inform decision-making might be incomplete and limited. Decisions based on selected and partial information lead to superficial analysis, with exclusive and easily accessible information being utilised, as argued by a bounded rationality model (Selten, 1990). These findings suggest that there is limited use of rigorous evidence to inform the implementation of the Indigent programme because there are no mechanisms to ensure that the people who need the services the most have access to it, instead the indigent register is alleged to be full of people who do not deserve.

The results further suggest that there is limited generation of rigorous evidence to inform decision-making, it seems management turned to rely more on administrative data whose quality cannot be assured. These findings suggest that there is no capability to analyse alternatives to support informed decision-making based on rigorous evidence. According to Bright et al., (2019), these tactics of decision-making, specifically the ability to analyse alternatives to ensure that informed decisions are made resonate more with a rationality model of decision-making.

5.3.4. Role of politicians in the use of evidence in managing the exit strategy of the indigent programme

The results of the study on *the role of members of the council in the use of evidence in the implementation of the indigent programme exit strategy*, reveal that there is an understanding of *the role of the Section 79 oversight committee on the use of evidence*. The participants' responses (councillors and officials) indicate that evidence is required to undertake *Oversight over service delivery, Oversight over the implementation of the IDP, and Oversight on allocated budgets for IDP*. The results further indicate that evidence is required by *the section 79 oversight committee research unit* and ward committees and undertaking performing their support role on the IP. However, the results indicated that because of the lack of evaluations undertaken by the CTMM the is often *Reliance on academic research*. The study also established that although there is no rigorous evidence generated there are *Collaborations on the implementation of the IP* which focused on the *Relationship between Social Workers & Councillors* and the *Relationship between councillors and citizens*.

The role of Section 79 Oversight Committee

The study suggests that the role of the Section 79 oversight committee is limited to performing oversight on the implementation of the IDP, IDP budget and overall service delivery. The interviewed councillors believed that they do not have a responsibility over the implementation of the indigent programme's exit strategy but that their responsibility is to check whether implementation of the programme is happening as

expected and people received the services, for instance, in response one councillor said:

“the oversight we do is to look at the cost benefits in terms of value for money looking at what is provided versus the value of what is reported or said to be provided”.

Another councillor stated:

“There is no voluntary presentation of M&E information to assist the oversight committee in doing its job. This is an area that the committee is still lacking, and we will have to look at it”.

These findings suggest that there is no awareness of the importance of using M&E evidence for accountability and oversight of the Indigent programme.

The findings of the study further indicated that there are existing barriers to the use of evaluation evidence in the CTMM, it was found that there is no capacity to generate such evidence in the CTMM, for instance, one councillor responded by saying *“the monitoring doesn’t happen as it should, making it difficult to evaluate what is working and what is not working”*. These results are in line with a study conducted Mokgari & Pwaka, (2018) who found that oversight committees are unsuccessful in using M&E evidence because they lack the capacity, aptitude, and required skills to carry out their oversight responsibilities. It was also found that the Department of Monitoring and Evaluation's framework for government-wide monitoring and evaluation, as well as the tracking matrix for oversight recommendations, were also unknown to committees.

According to schedule 4 of the Local Government: Municipal Structures Act, 1998 (Act 117 of 1998) “the executive committee in performing its duties must (a) identify and develop criteria in terms of which progress in the implementation of the strategies. programmed and services referred to in subsection (2) fc) can be evaluated, including key performance indicators which are specific to the 40 municipalities and common to local government in general; (b) evaluate progress against the key performance indicators; (c) review the performance of the municipality to improve (i) the economic. Efficiency and effectiveness of the municipality; (ii) the efficiency of credit control and revenue and debt collection services”. This legislation suggests that contrary to what councillors believe, the oversight committees are expected to use M&E evidence to

ensure that they hold the administration accountable for their performance and to improve service delivery.

The role of the Section 79 Oversight Committee Research Unit

The study found that the section 79 committee research units play certain functions in relation to supporting the work of the oversight committee and that include undertaking benchmarking exercises and has recently undertaken an exercise of making members of the council aware of their roles in service delivery interventions such as the Indigent programme. These findings suggest that the research unit to some extent should be the one that champions the generation of M&E evidence to assist the oversight committee to use rigorous evidence in their oversight function and the use of evidence-based management on the indigent programme to hold the administrators accountable.

Collaborations on the implementation of the IP

The results of the study suggest that there is an existing link between social workers and councillors in the implementation of the indigent programme. Social workers are often called by councillors to attend information-sharing community meetings where they are requested to share information on service delivery programmes such as the indigent programme. There was a view that *“councillors are community leaders, and they know the community better”*. The results of the study indicate that there are instances where the councillors take advantage of their proximity to the social workers and try to influence who should receive the free benefits. These findings suggest that there are politicians who do not understand the importance of ensuring that only those who are deserving should receive the benefits given the impact the programme has on the municipality’s resources. According to Ruiters (2018), in an implied comparison to whites, who are seen as the model of civic-mindedness, local leaders have publicly stigmatised the black poor as dependent on a “culture of non-payment”

The results also showed a disconnect between the beneficiaries of service delivery and the councillors on the ground. It was found that councillors often become visible during electioneering and turn to use service delivery programmes such as the Indigent to canvas. They often go to communities during the canvassing period and

use the programme to promote their campaigns. This finding is consistent with the allegation that the state welfare system is a type of patronage utilised by the ANC to secure the black poor's electoral loyalty which exacerbates the problem (Berman, 2016). These findings suggest that the poor citizens of the CTMM are deliberately kept to a state of Indigent due to a lack of political will to equitably implement the programme to improve the lives of the citizens as required by the Constitution of South Africa.

5.3.5. The uptake of evaluation recommendation implementations

The results of the study on the process of follow-up on the implementation of recommendations from evaluation studies and on whether results from the reviews/assessments or evaluations of the intervention influence decision-making processes reveal that the indigent programme as a whole has never been subjected to an evaluative process, therefore there is no implementation of any recommendations. However, participant's reflection on the importance of evaluations as a management tool for interventions such as the Indigent programme exit strategy revealed that the role of evidence could assist in *measuring social impact improving performance, could assist in improving accountability, and knowledge generation for learning on what works and what does not work* in implementing the indigent intervention.

No assessments or evaluations undertaken

The results of the study indicated that the municipality does not generate any evaluation evidence related to the Indigent programme's exit strategy to inform reviews and for learning instead there is an emphasis on meeting targets. These findings are consistent with the argument that in South Africa, many social welfare programmes rely on short-term metrics to infrequently evaluate effects without taking into account the counterfactual and using comparable rigorous procedures (Heinrich, 2007). According to Turban et al., (2011), the decision-making process requires the decision-maker to assess numerous possible outcomes for each alternative. For each option, there are multiple consequences, and the decision-maker frequently lacks knowledge. Thus, producing trustworthy, causal evidence through rigorous techniques should be a top priority for decision-makers (Heinrich, 2007). These findings suggest

that the CTMM misses the opportunity to measure whether the Indigent programme is achieving the intended changes in the lives of the indigent households based on the rigorous analysis that comes with undertaking evaluations.

It is worth noting that the M&E unit of the CTMM could not be available to participate in this study as they viewed the study to be affecting the programme itself, as a result, the extent to which M&E is conducted could not be measured. Therefore, it could not be established what could be the challenges experienced with the generation of evaluation evidence within the CTMM. However, according to the Revised National Evaluation Policy Framework (NEPF) 2019, evaluations should be institutionalized at the local government as per the extended scope of the NEPF. Furthermore, a municipal needs assessment study by the Department of Planning, Monitoring, and Evaluation (DPME) found that the organisation structure of municipalities prevents evaluations from being institutionalized in many municipalities and that there are no legislations that mandate municipalities to carry out the evaluation function. Additionally, the study also found that there are capacity issues which will affect the ability of municipalities to undertake the evaluation function (DPME, 2023).

What was discovered is that there is reliance on performance reporting which focuses on achieving targets to the detriment of measuring real change in the lives of the beneficiaries. However, the information gathered indicates that the department depends on research projects undertaken by institutions of higher learning to assess some of their interventions. Gemma & Sadan, (2015) argue that the use of evidence in the South African public sector focuses more on monitoring evidence over evaluations resulting in devastating policy results. According to Rousseau et al (2008), maintain that the decision-making process should be informed by four main evidence sources namely “practitioner expertise and judgment; evidence from the local context; a critical evaluation of the best available research evidence; and the perspectives of those people who might be affected by the decision”.

Could assist in measuring social impact, improving accountability performance Knowledge generation for learning Inform decision-making

The study found that there is an understating that evaluation evidence could assist in the implementation of service delivery intervention, especially in measuring the social

impact of service delivery interventions such as the Indigent programme. One participant went further to quote the “*theory of the broken window in New York*” to demonstrate that they are aware of the importance of undertaking evaluations to ensure that decisions are based on rigorous evidence. There was also a view that “*it would allow the municipality to know who the beneficiaries are and the impact that the services provided are making and where the municipal resources are making a difference*”. Stewart et al (2019) suggest that in resource-constrained situations, where the opportunity cost of wasting money is significant, the role of evidence utilization is particularly vital to minimise any waste of resources on ineffective programmes. The ability of an organisation to gather knowledge from intelligence units and produce evidence through research on organisation learning is necessary for making well-informed decisions based on a bounded rationality model. However, it is crucial to recognize that the information needed is stored in production systems and would be helpful for in-depth, methodical analysis of complex issues (Herbert, 1979).

The results of the study also found that evaluations could also assist in accounting for how the municipality deploys its revenue to assist those who cannot afford it, thus, assisting in *accounting* for how the budget of the municipality is spent. These findings are consistent with the conceptual use of evaluation evidence which implies using evidence to stimulate debate and clarify issues in policy formulation forums (Peter & Michael, 2010). There is also an understanding that evaluations could be useful in assisting councillors in undertaking their oversight functions with the purpose of *improving the performance* of service delivery programmes such as the indigent programme in line with the requirement of Chapter 4 clause 3 of the Local Government Municipal Structures Act of 1998, thus meeting the key objectives of the IDP.

Evaluations are also understood to be useful for “*knowledge generation to learn from what works and what does not work*” with the implementation of interventions. Moreover, the study found that evaluations are understood to be useful in “*informing decisions*” because evaluations often triangulate different sources of evidence and produce recommendations. These findings are also consistent with the symbolic use of evidence which involves using evidence to support a pre-determined position of policymakers, to undertake a certain course of action (Peter & Michael, 2010).

CHAPTER SIX: RECOMMENDATION AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1. Introduction

This chapter provides an overall conclusion of the research with an abridged summary of the study according to each chapter. The focus of this chapter is to reflect on whether the objectives of the research have been achieved based on the design and methodologies applied. This chapter also summarises the findings of the study with recommendations as a way forward to improve the implementation of the exit strategy based on practical examples. Lastly, the chapter documents the lessons learnt to inform recommendations for future studies on a similar topic.

6.2. Summary of the chapters

Chapter One of the study provided a background of the research which laid the foundation for the enquiry, the research purpose objectives, and questions that the research intended to focus on. Moreover, this chapter included a brief discussion of the problem statement, which helped to establish the study's focus. This chapter provided a brief discussion on why there is a need to study evidence-based management in managing the implementation of the indigent programme exit strategy as a service delivery intervention for the City of Tshwane Metropolitan.

Chapter Two presented the literature review with a focus on defining evidence-based management (EBM), what counts as evidence, the use of evidence and the type of evidence used to inform strategies related to free basic services in the different spheres of government in South Africa. The chapter also looked at different studies conducted internationally on free basic services such as in Zimbabwe. To assist in the development of the theoretical and explanatory framework, the focus was on the bounded rationality model of decision-making as presented by Ivancevich et al., (2014), as well as systems thinking within the organisational context as argued by Barends et al.,(2014). The final section of the chapter offered a conceptual framework that was intended to guide the inquiry.

Chapter Three discussed the research methodology describing the design of the study as qualitative, outlining the use of a semi-structured data collection tool where an

interview schedule was developed to guide the data collection process. The chapter further articulated the sampling strategy, issues of validity and reliability, adopted data analysis and any expected challenges that might arise, especially when data is collected. The chapter touches on issues around ethical consideration which includes a consent form for respondents. Finally, this chapter provided a high-level approach to bringing the adopted methodological plan into action.

Chapter Four described the results of the study based on participants' responses to the key questions raised by the inquiry. Interviews were held with Municipal Councillors, and Ward Committee members from one of the wards around the CTMM including the Ward Councillor who is the chairperson of the ward committee. Officials responsible for implementing the programme inclusive of one social worker. Indigent beneficiaries who are locked in the programme and those who have exited the programme. The chapter presented the results according to the themes that emerged, aligned with the key questions. The responses were presented as sub-themes with direct quotations without any interpretations provided. The focus was on presenting the raw data gathered in preparation for the discussion chapter.

Chapter Five provided the overall analysis and interpretation of the results as outlined in Chapter Four. This chapter intended to discuss the results of the inquiry in light of the identified interpretive framework. It focused on using the results to answer the key research. The findings are discussed with evidence highlighted by similar studies conducted on the indigent programme. The use of research results from other studies helped to validate the results and highlighted how the study varies from other comparable studies.

Finally, Chapter Six was dedicated to providing the overall summary of the work discussed in each of the chapters. The main aim of this chapter was to conclude the inquiry by reflecting on whether the objectives of the research have been achieved based on the design and the methodologies applied. The chapter provides a summary of the findings and makes recommendations for further research based on the lessons learnt to inform future studies on a similar topic. The conclusion against the research purpose is that there is no use of evaluation evidence by the CTMM compared to other

sources of evidence in managing the implementation of the exit strategy of the indigent programme.

6.3. Summary of the findings and recommendations

This research was aimed at exploring the use of evaluation evidence compared to other sources of evidence in managing the implementation of the exit strategy of the indigent programme in the City of Tshwane Metro Municipality. The study found that the CTMM exit strategy is dependent on limited evidence throughout its implementation and that there is a lack of alignment with the National Indigent Framework. The programme is seen as targeting pensioners and lacks clear evidence-based guidance on exiting households. Social workers' role is undervalued, leading to ineffective exit modalities. Performance reporting information is heavily relied on, with no programme evaluations undertaken. Councillors often lack understanding of Monitoring and Evaluation evidence for accountability purposes. The study also reveals that councillors are manipulating social workers to influence free benefits, indicating a lack of political will to implement programmes equitably.

The first objective of the research was to identify the types of evidence used to inform the implementation of the exit strategy of the Indigent programme. The findings in response to the question, *What type of evidence is currently being used to inform the implementation of the exit strategy of the indigent programme?* revealed the following on the different types of evidence used:

6.3.1. Absence of instrumental use of evidence to guide communication strategies of the indigent programme: According to various scholars, different types of evidence exist, including legal, scientific, anecdotal, and statistical evidence, with quantitative scientific research often regarded as the most rigorous (Goldman & Pabari, 2021; Tourish, 2013). As such, the findings of the study suggest that from the initial stages of the programme, evidence was not considered to ensure that the communication methods used to recruit participants into the programme were appropriate for the targeted participants. The study found that while multiple platforms were employed such as media statements, they were ineffective in reaching the targeted group. These findings highlight the importance of evaluating the effectiveness of communication

strategies for disseminating programme information based on available evidence. On the other hand, word of mouth was found to have been effective, especially in local settings. Moreover, it was found that when the dissemination of information is linked to political figures, the risk of politicization emerges, potentially undermining the neutrality and intended purpose of the programme. Therefore, it is recommended that the indigent programme be reviewed based on the available evidence and the review relook at the information dissemination strategy to recruit participants, to ensure that the targeted beneficiaries are recruited.

6.3.2. Limited instrumental use of evidence to inform selection strategies of the

indigent programme: The study's findings are not conclusive on the extent of evidence use to influence the targeting of beneficiaries. According to Mkandawire (2005), the debate between targeting and universalism is couched in terms of effective resource allocation that is subject to financial limitations and when adopted beliefs continue to be satisfied, value judgements on the advantages and disadvantages of selected tactics start to become crucial. In this instance, the availability of scientific and rigorous evidence is required to guide the decision-making process on who should benefit from the programme. The study found that, although the participants demonstrated an understanding of the criteria for selecting beneficiaries for the indigent programme, aligned with the CTMM Indigent Policy registration criteria, the beneficiaries perceived the programme as primarily targeting pensioners, suggesting that participants are not clear on who the programme is targeting. Public perceptions of welfare need to consider the issue of targeting (Ruiters, 2018). Furthermore, the results indicated that a more generic approach is adopted where areas designated as indigent are automatically considered for inclusion in the indigent register, these are old townships with houses below R150 000, new RDP and informal settlements.

The findings of the study suggest that the mechanisms used to recruit beneficiaries are ineffective, and not tailored to ensure that those who need the free basic services the most are recruited. The findings further suggests that the CTMM does not know who the poor clients of the municipality are because

it seems the programme currently facilitates the recruitment of households who do not deserve to be in the register, and this suggests that the selection mechanisms are not evidence-led. It is, therefore, recommended that the municipality utilises the available official statistics from Stats SA and household profiling information to target and prioritise households that are deserving.

6.3.3. Inconsistent instrumental use of Evidence to inform implementation mechanisms of the indigent programme:

The design of the Indigent Programme consists of built-in Monitoring and Evaluation mechanisms to ensure that evidence is generated to inform decision-making during the implementation. The results of the study indicated that built-in mechanisms to monitor the usage of the free services such as free electricity and tax rebates are working but there is no mechanism to monitor the use of the free 12 kilo liters. Consistent with findings from a study conducted by the Centre for Development Support UFS, (2001). The result of the study also revealed that only performance monitoring and audit evidence is generated on the indigent programme. The information reported on the performance of the indigent programme is generated on a monthly, quarterly, and annually basis based on the targets that are set. However, the study also found that the information was occasionally used to inform budget allocation, budget adjustments and oversight of service delivery by the different committees of the municipality due to credibility concerns. Often when members of the section 79 oversight committee go to the ground to do observations, they find that the reported information is sometimes inconsistent with what is found.

The study found that there is little monitoring of the free basic services provided to households and it was found that there are a number of challenges in implementing the monitoring strategy, key to some of the challenges is installation of a technology to monitor water usage. Verifications are not conducted prior and during, also there is no internal capacity for social workers to conduct individual evaluation of households. At the beginning the social workers are expected to go to the applicant households to verify the application and at the end they are expected to follow-up on whether their circumstances have improved based on the benefits received through the programme. During

implementation social workers are expected to follow up on beneficiaries to check if the situation has changed. These findings suggested that the available M&E information is not reliable to assist the oversight committee in determining whether the municipality is making a difference in the lives of beneficiaries. It is therefore recommended that a theory of change for the indigent programme be mapped to inform a comprehensive Monitoring & Evaluation Framework for the programme. The CTMM consider instituting an M&E function for the Indigent programme to support the generation of evidence given the budget allocated to the intervention.

6.3.4. Reliance on anecdotal evidence to inform exit strategies of the indigent programme:

The study found that although there is an understanding of the various exit modalities that can be employed to exit beneficiaries, there is no evaluation of the households to inform decisions whether to exit them or to retain them. Moreover, the results revealed that the programme has never been subjected to an evaluation to measure whether the intervention is making the change that is envisaged instead there is an emphasis on meeting targets. The results reveal that the exit strategy of the municipality is not implementable according to design due to capacity challenges, instead beneficiaries are automatically exited upon the death of the property owner, suggesting that the exit modality is reliant on anecdotal evidence. The study also found that there are structural barriers to the effective implementation of an indigent programme exit strategy, resulting in beneficiaries locked in and not graduating out of a state of indigent as envisaged. While beneficiaries were expected to benefit for six to twenty-four months, it was discovered that some had remained in the programme for over two decades, with no reassessment to determine eligibility. This finding indicates a critical gap in the use of monitoring and evaluation evidence to facilitate the implementation of the exit strategy. Moreover, Instead of individually reviewing each household status based on evidence, an umbrella approach is used to exit beneficiaries through the process of database maintenance after a prescribed period.

The research found that beneficiaries of the programme who have been automatically removed either through database maintenance or roadshows are

allowed to reapply so that their benefits can be renewed, one of the officials in response cited “The requirement from exited beneficiaries is that they should re-apply should they feel that they still qualify”. This is consistent with what Ruiters, (2018) argued that pre-conditions have been set on households, such as regular re-registration, effectively keeping a substantial proportion of impoverished households off the list. Leburu (2017), also found that the exit strategy for indigents is not well thought out or planned, contrary to clause 10 of the CTMM Indigent Policy 2012 consistent with these findings Barends et al (2014), argued that the concept of organisation effectiveness is broad and requires a different element within the organisation to work together. These suggest that CTMM is implementing the exit strategy without adequate processes and procedures. Therefore, it is recommended that the review of the programme consider documenting each phase of the programme aligned to the requirements of the National Indigent Framework and a clear Monitoring and Evaluation Framework Mapped out to address data needs to inform decision-making throughout the programme cycle.

The second objective of the study was to explore the extent to which evidence is used to inform measures to exit households from the programme. The findings of the study to the question, *To what extent is evidence used to inform exit procedures for households?* discovered the following:

6.3.1. Ineffective use of social worker’s function to generate and verify evidence

to exit beneficiaries: The study reveals that social workers' role is undervalued in the implementation process, resulting in inconsistencies during verifications and assessments of household due to lack of internal capacity. This aligns with Mashego's (2015) study, which found social workers at the centre of registration, implementation and exiting of beneficiaries. However, structural restrictions, such as complex problems, financial constraints, time constraints, and incomplete information, may hinder the CTMM from producing sufficient evidence to inform decisions on beneficiaries' status, as argued by Champoux (2011). The findings suggest that the indigent unit is not adequately capacitated with human resources resulting in a shortage of social workers on the ground. Without adequate staff on the ground, the CTMM indigent programme will not

be able to achieve its mandate. It is therefore recommended that the programme harness the availability of existing capacity through non-government organisations (NGOs) that have social workers, to supplement the available capacity given the financial constraints the CTMM is alleged to be operating under.

6.3.2. Ineffective exit modalities resulting from reliance on anecdotal evidence:

The study reveals that exit modalities are ineffective as they keep unjustly enrolled individuals locked in without assessing their affordability. Ruiters (2018) also noted that the database is not updated annually, leading to the programme becoming a regime. The findings suggest that evidence is not used to determine the neediest households and benefiting households. The indigent register lacks a clear mechanism for managing households, leading to financial burdens for the municipality. Capacity constraints cause financial issues when households aren't removed from the register (Leburu, 2017). The programme's sustainability and resources will run out until a significant portion of families leave so that new enrollees can access the free services offered. For registered indigents to leave the programme, the programme administration needs to come up with a coordinated plan that offers them alternatives. To avoid homes from being put on the destitute register, it is recommended that the indigent policy management programme enhance the exit strategy to concentrate on offering sustainable developmental routes. To guarantee that only the deserving continues to receive benefits, a deliberate assessment of the register will also be crucial to ensure that decisions are informed by evidence.

6.3.3. No exit through empowerment: The study reveals that the programme's policy does not prioritize empowerment for indigent households and that strong partnerships are crucial for the successful implementation of the Indigent exit strategy, as per Bhuyan et al. (2010). The empowerment element is not being implemented effectively, and it is crucial to link households with partners to lift them out of poverty. Currently, little is done to empower households, and there is a lack of capacity to manage partnerships. The study lacks sufficient data to measure partner roles, and there is a lack of decisive leadership among stakeholders, which results in implementation gaps in exit strategy execution

(Leburu, 2017). Programme management ought to take advantage of flagship programmes that are designed to expedite the transition of registered indigents from recipients of free services to active participants in the economy who eventually leave the programme, such as the EPWP programme. As of right now, the CTMM is unable to empower families. As a result, it is recommended that the CTMM indigent management concentrate on programme coordination and make use of partnerships as implementing agents on the grounds. For the CTMM Indigent Programme to be effective, all stakeholders must participate and contribute, it cannot be implemented by the CTMM in isolation.

6.3.4. High reliance on performance monitoring evidence: The findings suggest that there is a high reliance on performance reporting information as a tick box exercise, with no evaluations and an emphasis on meeting targets, leading to incomplete information to measure the program's impact, with feedback, payments, and community complaints being the most common measures (Leburu, 2017). Monitoring data can lead to errors in conclusions due to not accounting for efficacy issues. Goldman et al. (2013) argue that monitoring is useful during implementation but only provides explanations without answering why questions. Patton (2002) supports this view, arguing that focusing on evaluation evidence is more advantageous as it aims to create utilization-focused solutions. It is recommended that the CTMM Health and Social Development Department consider establishing a shadow Monitoring and Evaluation Unit for its service delivery intervention to ensure that there is real-time data to inform decision-making on interventions such as the Indigent programme.

6.3.5. Lack of confidence in the reported M&E evidence: The study reveals that M&E information in municipalities is not reliable for oversight committees to assess if service delivery programmes such as the indigent programme are making a difference in beneficiaries' lives. The Centre for Development Support UFS (2001) found that most indicators are not properly verified, and this is consistent with CTMM findings. These findings highlight the need for the conceptual use of evidence in policy formulation (Peter & Michael, 2010). It is recommended that the CTMM provide support to the M&E unit to undertake

performance verifications of all reported information by sampling and visiting some of the households benefiting from the Indigent programme.

6.3.6. limited use of rigorous evidence to inform decision making: The study indicates that decision-making in the indigent programme is often based on incomplete and limited evidence, leading to superficial analysis and reliance on administrative data as argued by Selten (1990). The findings suggest that the use of rigorous evidence is limited, and alternatives are not analysed to ensure informed decisions based on rigorous evidence. This lack of analysis aligns more with a rationality model of decision-making (Bright et al., 2019). The generation of rigorous evidence is dependent on the institution set up, more especially the generation of evaluations. It is difficult for municipalities to institutionalise evaluation because the mandate is not legislated. However, evaluations are a management tool that can be undertaken internally by the CTMM to assist in decision-making. It is, therefore, recommended that the CTMM start to relook at the available capacity to undertake small-scale rapid evaluations to measure the implementation mechanisms of the Indigent programme. This is in light of the finding that there is reliance on academic research which faces data challenges for the CTMM to rely on for decision-making purposes.

The third objective of the study sought to assess the influence of political role players in the use of evidence to manage the exit strategy of the indigent programme. The findings of the study to the question, *What influence do political role players have in the use of evidence in managing the exit strategy of the indigent programme?* revealed the following:

6.3.7. There is a lack of understanding on the use of M&E evidence to foster accountability: The study revealed that councillors believe they do not have a responsibility for the indigent program's exit strategy, and the section 79 oversight committee's role is limited to IDP implementation, budget, and service delivery. According to Mokgari & Pwaka, (2018), there is a lack of understanding of the role of M&E information in their oversight functions, as required by Schedule 4 of the Local Government: Municipal Structures Act, 1998. The study suggests that oversight committees struggle to use M&E

evidence due to a lack of capacity, aptitude, and skills to undertake their legislated functions. The findings indicated that there is work already done by the Section 79 Committee to capacitate councillors to champion the Indigent programme. Therefore, it is recommended that awareness and empowerment of councillors can be initiated by the Section 79 Oversight Committees' research unit working together with the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) in partnership with the Department of Corporative Government and DPME through their capacity-building initiatives targeting the local government.

6.3.8. Politicians turn to politicise the programme & contribute to beneficiaries

being locked in: The study reveals that councillors often manipulate social workers to influence who receives free benefits, ignoring the impact on the municipality's resources. According to Ruiters (2018), local leaders stigmatize the black poor as dependent on a "culture of non-payment," comparing them to whites. This is a common tactic used by politicians to subject voters to a state of dependence, as argued by Berman (2016). The state welfare system is seen as a form of patronage by the ANC to secure the black poor's electoral loyalty, suggesting that the poor citizens of the CTMM are deliberately kept in a state of indigent due to a lack of political will to put in place correct mechanisms to equitably implement the programme to improve their lives as required by the Constitution of South Africa. It is therefore recommended that the CTMM empower councillors in their roles and introduce mechanisms that will protect social workers from political influence. Using social workers as coordinators may assist and using NGOs as implementing agents may assist to ensure that the programme is championed on the ground.

The last objective of the study was to explore the use of evaluation evidence recommendations if evaluations are undertaken by the City of Tshwane, in the management of the exit strategy. The findings on the question, *If evaluations are undertaken, what is the uptake of recommendation implementation to improve the management of the exit strategy?* discovered the following:

6.3.9. The CTMM does not generate any evaluation evidence on the indigent

programme: The study found that the CTMM lacks evaluation evidence for the Indigent programme's exit strategy, focusing on meeting targets instead.

These findings suggest that the CTMM misses the opportunity to measure whether the Indigent programme is achieving the intended changes in the lives of the indigent households based on the rigorous analysis that comes with undertaking evaluations. The finding aligns with South Africa's social welfare programmes that often use short-term metrics without considering counterfactuals or rigorous procedures (Heinrich, 2007). Decision-making requires assessing multiple possible outcomes for each alternative (Turban et al., 2011). The Department of Planning, Monitoring, and Evaluation (DPME) conducted a study on municipal evaluation needs, revealing that organisation structure, lack of legislation, and capacity issues hinder the institutionalization of evaluations in many municipalities, affecting their ability to perform this function (DPME, 2023). Impact evaluation is essential for efficiently tracking the CTMM Indigent Policy's outcomes. The anticipated modifications in human development, as determined by the increases in the well-being of the impoverished population, can be used to assess impact (Leburu, 2017). It is therefore, recommended that the CTMM assist the Health and Social Development Department in developing impact assessment tools, in the wake of the existing evaluation institutionalisation challenges, to ensure that all stages of the indigent programme results chain are measured based on a comprehensive data collection system not only performance related information.

6.3.10. Reliance on academic research projects to assess the indigent programme: The CTMM depends on research projects from higher learning institutions. According to Gemma & Sadan (2015), the South African public sector prioritises monitoring evidence over evaluations, leading to negative policy outcomes. Stewart et al (2019) suggest that evidence utilisation is crucial in resource-constrained situations, where the opportunity cost of wasting money is high, to minimise resource waste on ineffective programmes. This finding suggests that although there is an appreciation of scientific evidence, there is a lack of awareness of the benefits of generating evaluation evidence to inform decision-making for service delivery interventions such as the Indigent programme, which has detrimental effects on the management of such services and accountability efforts by council and

the executive of the municipality. Given the capacity challenges and legislation gaps in the institutionalisation of evaluation, It is recommended that the CTMM continue to use evidence made available to the municipality through research projects. However, the municipality should work together with the researchers to ensure that they avail all the information to increase the validity and quality of the findings to inform decision-making.

6.4. Opportunities for future studies

The study experienced a lot of information gaps, there were limited views from the CTMM officials who could have provided clarity on the extent to which monitoring, and valuation evidence is generated and used. Although the study established that the Indigent programme has never been subjected to an evaluation before, also that there are challenges to the institutionalisation of evaluations across many municipalities, the study could not establish whether the CTMM undertake evaluations.

The study could not get access to the indigent register for sampling purposes, as a result, the study cannot be generalised across the City of Tshwane. However, the study discovered several areas that were concerning based on desktop studies and the responses from the interviewed participants which could not be explored further due to the identified limitations. As such, further studies that focus on the use of M&E evidence for managing service delivery interventions at local government may assist in exploring the effects of employing evidence-based management on a broader scale.

6.5. Conclusion

The last chapter of the study focused on concluding the study by providing a summary of the findings to determine whether the research achieved its intended purpose and whether all the stated objectives have been assessed. An overview of the research project was given, which included an abridged summary of every chapter. After the study questions were addressed, conclusions were reached based on the data analysis and findings. Lastly, the researcher offered suggestions based on what the study revealed, some of the recommendations included suggestions for potential future study projects based on the limitations of this research project.

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APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

APPENDIX 1.A: OFFICIALS INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Introductions

Establishment of rapport by formal greetings

My name is Diniko Setwaba, as you are aware I am a Masters student in the School of Governance at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg under the supervision of Dr Angelita Kiwekete. I am conducting a research study about the use of evidence in implementing the indigent programme exit strategy of the city of Tshwane.

2. Purpose

The purpose of the interview today to ask you a few questions as an official of the city of Tshwane about touching on your background in terms of your education, your experiences in terms of your past and current positions, as well as your role in the implementation of the indigent programme in order to learn more about your role and gather information that will assist in responding to the key questions of the research study I am undertaking.

3. Motivation

The research focuses on the use of evaluation evidence in improving service delivery, to foster learning and increase accountability in the local government, given the financially constraints environment that the local government is operating under.

4. Timeline

The interview should take about 130 minutes. I am hoping that you will be able to respond to questions within the allocated time.

5. Key research questions

The research question asked:

To what extent is evaluation evidence used to influence the management of the exit strategy of the indigent programme compared to other sources of evidence in the city of Tshwane Municipality?

Key interview questions and probing questions included the following:

- Understanding of the Indigent Programme
 - What is your understanding of the indigent programme?
 - What informed/guided its development, in terms of its legislative framework and other guiding prescript?
 - What are the services offered by the indigent programme of the CTMM?
 - What is your understanding of the Selection Criteria for Entry into the Indigent Programme?
 - What is your understanding of the exit strategy of the CTMM indigent policy?
- What type of evidence is currently being used to inform the implementation of the exit strategy of the indigent programme?
 - What type of evidence is used to guide entry into the programme?
 - Describe your understanding of the exit strategy of the indigent programme?
 - To what extent are evaluations undertaken for service delivery interventions within the municipality?
- To what extent is evidence used to inform exit procedures for households?
 - Is the IP subjected to any form of M&E assessments?
- What influence does political role players have in the use of evidence in managing the exit strategy of the indigent programme?
 - What is the role of members of council in the implementation of the indigent programme exit strategy?
- If evaluations are undertaken, what is the uptake of recommendation implementation to improve the management of the indigent programme exit strategy?
 - How does the results from evaluations of the intervention influence decision making processes?
 - What is the potential role of evidence in implementing the IP?

APPENDIX 1.B: POLITICIANS INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Introductions

Establishment of rapport by formal greetings

My name is Diniko Setwaba, as you are aware I am a Masters student in the School of Governance at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg under the supervision of Dr Angelita Kiwekete. I am conducting a research study about the use of evidence in implementing the indigent programme exit strategy of the city of Tshwane.

2. Purpose

The purpose of the interview today to ask you a few questions as a public representative on your experiences in terms of your past and current positions, as well as your role in the implementation of the indigent programme in order to learn more about your role and gather information that will assist in responding to the key questions of the research study I am undertaking.

3. Motivation

The research focuses on the use of evaluation evidence in improving service delivery, to foster learning and increase accountability in the local government, given the financially constraints environment that the local government is operating under.

4. Timeline

The interview should take about 130 minutes. I am hoping that you will be able to respond to questions within the allocated time.

5. Key research questions

The research question asked is:

To what extent does evaluation evidence use to influence the management of the exit strategy of the indigent programme compared to other sources of evidence in the city of Tshwane Municipality?

Key interview questions and probing questions, include the following:

- Understanding of the Indigent Programme
 - What your understanding of the indigent programme is?
 - What informed/guided its development, in terms of its legislative framework and other guiding prescript?
 - What are the services offered by the indigent programme of the CTMM?
 - What is your understanding of the Selection Criteria for Entry into the Indigent Programme?
 - What is your understanding of the exit strategy of the CTMM indigent policy?
- What type of evidence is currently being used to inform the implementation of the exit strategy of the indigent programme?
 - What type of evidence is used to guide entry into the programme?
 - Describe your understanding of the exit strategy of the indigent programme?
 - Do the municipality come to do follow-up assessments to inform readiness to exit households?
 - To what extent are evaluations undertaken for service delivery interventions within the municipality?
- To what extent is evidence used to inform exit procedures for households?
 - Is the IP subjected to any form of M&E assessments?
- What influence does political role players have in the use of evidence in managing the exit strategy of the indigent programme?
 - What is the role of members of council in the implementation of the indigent programme exit strategy?
 - How do members of council use evidence in their oversight function?
- If evaluations are undertaken, what is the uptake of recommendation implementation to improve the management of the indigent programme exit strategy?
 - How does the results from evaluations of the intervention influence decision making processes?
 - What is the potential role of evidence in implementing the IP?

APPENDIX 1.C: BENEFICIARIES INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Introductions

Establishment of rapport by formal greetings

My name is Diniko Setwaba, as you are aware I am a Masters student in the School of Governance at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg under the supervision of Dr Angelita Kiwekete. I am conducting a research study about the use of evidence in implementing the indigent programme exit strategy of the city of Tshwane.

2. Purpose

The purpose of the interview today is to ask you questions as a current/exited beneficiary of the indigent programme and to gather information that will assist in responding to the key questions of the research study I am undertaking.

3. Motivation

The research focuses on the use of evaluation evidence in improving service delivery, to foster learning and increase accountability in the local government, given the financially constraints environment that the local government is operating under.

4. Timeline

The interview should take about 130 minutes. I am hoping that you will be able to respond to questions within the allocated time.

5. Key research questions

The research question is:

To what extent is evaluation evidence used to influence the management of the exit strategy of the indigent programme compared to other sources of evidence in the city of Tshwane Municipality?

Key interview questions and probing questions include the following:

- Understanding of the Indigent Programme

- What is your understanding of the indigent programme?
- What informed/guided its development, in terms of its legislative framework and other guiding prescript?
- What types of free basic services are/were provided through the programme?
- How were you recruited?
- What is your understanding of the selection criteria for entry into the Indigent Programme? What do they look at?
- What is your understanding of the exit strategy of the CTMM indigent policy?
- What type of evidence is currently being used to inform the implementation of the exit strategy of the indigent programme?
 - What type of information is used to guide entry into the programme?
 - Describe your understanding of the exit strategy of the indigent programme? How are participants exited/ How were you exited?
 - Do the municipality come to do follow-up assessments to inform readiness to exit households?
- To what extent is evidence used to inform exit procedures for households?
 - Does the municipality conduct follow-up visits to check up on you? How frequent do they visit you?
- What influence does political role players have in the use of evidence in managing the exit strategy of the indigent programme?
 - For the period that you have been in the programme, to what extent were members of council involved in the implementation of the programme during your entry or exit from the programme?

APPENDIX 2: ETHICS CLEARANCE

APPENDIX 2.A: WITS ETHICS CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE



SCHOOL OF GOVERNANCE ETHICS COMMITTEE

CONSTITUTED UNDER THE UNIVERSITY HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE: WSG-2022-69

PROJECT TITLE: Evidence-based management use in implementing indigent programme exit strategy in the city of Tshwane Municipality

<u>INVESTIGATOR</u>	Diniko Setwaba
<u>SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT OF INVESTIGATOR</u>	School of Governance
<u>DATE CONSIDERED</u>	30 October 2022
<u>DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE</u>	Approved unconditionally
<u>RISK LEVEL</u>	Low Risk

EXPIRY DATE Date of submission of the Research Report

ISSUE DATE OF CERTIFICATE 30 October 2022

CHAIRPERSON *Rekgotsofetse Chikane*
Rekgotsofetse Chikane

cc: Supervisor:

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Chairperson of the School/Department ethics committee.

I fully understand the conditions under which I am authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee.



Signature

Date 05 / 12 / 2022

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES

APPENDIX 2.B: CITY OF TSHWANE PERMISSION LETTER



City Strategy and Organizational Performance

Room CSP22 | Ground Floor, West Wing, Block D | Tshwane House | 320 Madiba Street | Pretoria | 0002
PO Box 440 | Pretoria | 0001
Tel: 012 358 6069
Email: SiphumezeC@tshwane.gov.za | www.tshwane.gov.za | www.facebook.com/CityOfTshwane

My ref: **Research Permission/Setwaba**
Contact person: **Pearl Maponya**
Section/Unit: **Knowledge Management**

Tel: 012 358 4559
Email: PearlMap3@tshwane.gov.za
Date: 01 December 2022

Mr Diniko Setwaba
2142 stand
Andeon
0001

Dear Mr Setwaba

RE: EVIDENCE-BASED MANAGEMENT USE IN IMPLEMENTING INDIGENT PROGRAMME EXIT STRATEGY IN THE CITY OF TSHWANE MUNICIPALITY

Permission is hereby granted to Mr Diniko Setwaba, Master of Management in Governance Degree Candidate at the WITS Graduate School of Governance to conduct research in the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality.

It is noted that the study aims to explore the use of evaluation evidence compared to other sources of evidence in managing the implementation of the exit strategy of the indigent programme in the City of Tshwane municipality. The City of Tshwane further notes that all ethical aspects of the research will be covered within the provisions of WITS Research Ethics Policy. You will be required to sign a confidentiality agreement with the City of Tshwane prior to conducting research.

Relevant information required for the purpose of the research project will be made available as per applicable laws and regulations. The City of Tshwane is not liable to cover the costs of the research. Upon completion of the research study, it would be appreciated that the findings in the form of a report and or presentation be shared with the City of Tshwane.

Yours faithfully,


PEARL MAPONYA (Ms.)

DIRECTOR: KNOWLEDGE MANAGEMENT