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Consolidating Developmental Local Government through the Local Government Turnaround Strategy: The Case Study of Makhuduthamaga Local Municipality

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A research report submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Science in Development Planning.

Johannesburg, May 2012

DECLARATION

I declare that this is my own unaided work and that, it has never been submitted before in this or any other university for examination.

Signed……..on this……day of……2012

DEDICATION

For my Parents

REP - MO

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation could not have been completed without the help and support of the following people:

My Supervisor (Amanda Williamson), Thank you for patience, support and guidance
My Parents (Rep-Mo), your support is priceless
My Siblings (Neo, Bonolo, Mothekgi, Phetho), Love you always
To Tshepiso NM, love you still'
To all my friends especially Phasha the commander of the troops, Thanks
Last but not least, I would like to thank the Officials of Makhuduthamaga Local Municipality for their participation in the study.

ABSTRACT

In 2009 the State of Local Government Report (SLGR) found that municipalities across were struggling to deliver the developmental objective of the White Paper on Local Government. The goal to build Developmental Local Government (DLG) has not been achieved despite the numerous interventions that have been introduced over the years to support local government. Following the diagnosis by the SGLR the Local Government Turnaround Strategy (LGTAS) was introduced as an intervention to support and complement municipal programmes. In this report, the case study of Makhuduthamaga Local Municipality (MLM) was used to investigate the impact of the LGTAS on the aspirations to deliver on the objectives of DLG. MLM is situated in the Sekhukhune Region (southern region) of Limpopo Province and is one of the poorest municipalities in South Africa. Thus, the study investigated the impact of the LGTAS in a 'distressed' municipality that does not have the capacity to execute its developmental mandate.

One of the main factors that is often cited to explain South Africa's inability to deliver DLG is that municipalities tend to focus more on institutional building and thus sideline the issue of community participation. In this regard, the influence of the New Public Management is pointed out. Although the South African Constitution provides for a decentralised developmental planning system that is 'bottom- up' in approach, evidence suggest that community participation in municipal programmes has been minimal. Instead of a 'bottom-up' approach, the development planning system is characterised by a 'top- down' approach wherein municipal programmes are formulated by national and provincial government. The lack of citizen participation is acknowledged by the LGTAS. In fact, the LGTAS attempts to create a platform where both community participation and institutional building can occur simultaneously.

The study reveals that the impact of the LGTAS in the case of MLM has not been significant in improving community participation and service delivery which is a key indicator of a municipality that is able to deliver on its developmental mandate. The minimal impact of the LGTAS in MLM has been due to a number of factors which include the 'top-down' process followed to formulate Municipal Turnaround Strategy. To improve community participation, the report suggests that MLM should seek new ideas that have the potential to accentuate the existing measures. In this regard the ideas of presented by Gaventa (2002) are pivotal. Importantly, the report also outlines institutional building as a prerequisite for a good function municipality.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC - African National Congress

ASGI-SA - Accelerated Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa

COGTA - Department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs

DFA - Development Facilitation Act

DLG - Developmental Local Government

DLGH - Department of Local Government and Housing

GEAR - Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy

IDP - Integrated Development Plan

IGR - Intergovernmental Relations

KPIs - Key Performance Indicators

LDOs - Land Development Objectives

LGTAS - Local Government Turnaround Strategy

MLM - Makhuduthamaga Local Municipality

MSA - Municipal Systems Act

MFMA – Municipal Financial Management Act

MTAS - Municipal Turnaround Strategy

NPM - New Public Management

RDP - Reconstruction and Development Programme

SGLR - State of Local Government Report

TAS - Turnaround Strategy

UN ESCAP - United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1. 1. Background to the Study

Burger (2009: 6) argues that the primary reason behind the wave of service delivery protests is "dissatisfaction with the delivery of basic municipal services such as running water, electricity and toilets, especially in informal settlements." To ameliorate these, the Department of Cooperative and Traditional Affairs (COGTA) launched the Local Government Turnaround Strategy (LGTAS) in December 2009. The LGTAS represents the most recent initiative introduced by government to promote the effective functioning of municipalities in its aim to facilitate Development Local Government (DLG). The analogy used by Schmidt (2008) best captures the struggles of municipalities to oversee DLG. In *From Spheres to Tiers – Conceptions of Local Government in South Africa in the Period 1994-2006*, David Schmidt draws parallels between local government policy in South Africa and the story of Plaatjes, a prisoner on Robben Island. Plaatjes built numerous boats in an attempt to reach mainland Cape Town, but unfortunately passed away before realising his dream because the authorities kept on destroying the boats (Smith, 1997; Schmidt, 2008). For Schmidt (2008: 109) "the story of Plaatjes serves as a metaphor for how local government policy in South Africa has functioned over the past decade" because "new boats are continuously being built" to trigger DLG with little success to show for it. The intention of this research report is to explore whether the most recent initiative, the LGTAS signals a more successful effort to bring about DLG in South African municipalities. In other words, is the LGTAS the boat that can finally carry DLG to the mainland?

1.2. Developmental Local Government

Developmental Local Government (DLG) is defined by the White Paper on Local Government as "local government committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs and improve the quality of their lives" (PACD, 1998: 1). According to Section 40 (1) of the Constitution, "government is constituted as national, provincial and local spheres of government which are distinctive, interdependent and interrelated." The roles of local government are outlined as the following:

- To provide democratic and accountable government for local communities;
- To ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner;
- To promote social and economic development;
- To promote a safe and healthy environment; and
- To encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in matters of local government (DCD, 1996: S152).

Hence, local government in South Africa has been earmarked to play a pivotal role in the "overall developmental ambitions" (Pieterse, 2008: 3) of the developmental state. Therefore, DLG refers to creating local government systems that will meet the aforementioned objectives of local government through working together with the community (PACD, 1998). Further, the DLG concept in South Africa was strongly influenced by the broader context of the international policy focus on good governance.

1.3. The Genealogy of 'Good Governance' and the Emergence of New Public Management

Schalkwijk argues that "effective democratic local government can, in theory, contribute to poverty alleviation through a chain of causal relationships, starting with increased participation by the urban poor which should lead to increased representation and thus to empowerment, in turn leading to the poor having increased access to resources" (Schalkwijk in Gilbert, 2006: 401). The growing dominance of democracy as the ideal political ideology is promoted by the shift away from earlier technocratic institutions to new practices of good governance. Cheema and Rondinelli (2007: 6) define governance as "the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority in the management of a country's affairs." Against this background, good governance can be understood as the shift from "authoritarian, totalitarian, and dictatorial" forms of governance to a system that adheres to democratic values through the inclusion of various stakeholders in government's decision making (Cheema and Rondinelli, 2007: 2).

Against this backdrop, the concept of governance expanded from the definition that envisaged the state as the "dominant source of political and legal decision making" to one which opened up channels for other stakeholders in society (NGOs, civil society, private sector) to have a say in issues of governance. From this perspective, good governance encompasses a government that is transparent, representative, and participatory (UN-Habitat in Devas, 2004) hence the push towards decentralisation. Decentralisation was a way of bringing government closer to the people not only to ensure participation, democracy and representative but also to position government so that it is more responsive to the needs of the people.

Heller (2008) argues that there are two components to good governance. On the one hand, "technocrats" promote efficiency, believing that too much participation can overwhelm institutions. On the other hand, "associationalists" emphasise the need for increased participation, arguing that "an over-emphasis on institution building crowds out civil society" (Heller, 2008: 153). This

distinction between the technocrats and associationalists is embedded in the different interpretations of good governance. For technocrats, good governance involves building government institutions that are able to meet the needs of the people, whilst the interpretation by the associationalists entails a more inclusive and consultative way of delivering government services.

The two-fold interpretation of good governance is rooted in the early 1980s, when there was a shift from the political decentralisation in the good governance agenda. According to Beard et al. (2008: 3), the 1980s saw a shift in the good governance agenda from the "logic of political devolution and democratisation to neo-liberal economic policies." This was fuelled by the rise of neo-liberalism and closely associated with the New Public Management (NPM) of the 1980s. The first wave of NPM swept through countries such as Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States of America (Rondinelli, 2007). Under NPM, governments were encouraged to adopt a handful of free market policy principles, including the following:

- Catalytic - governments should steer rather than row and see that services are provided rather than always delivering them directly;
- Mission-driven rather than rule-bound, setting goals and allowing employees to find the best ways of meeting objectives;
- Customer-driven in meeting the needs of citizens rather than those of the bureaucracy;
- Enterprising - in earning revenues rather than just spending tax resources;
- Decentralised - working through participation and teamwork among government agencies at different levels and with groups outside of government; and
- Market-oriented in solving problems through market forces rather than larger government programmes (Rondinelli, 2007: 5).

According to Harrison (2006: 35) NPM introduced a "corporate culture to public sector management." As a result, the idea of strategic planning, which is mainly used in the private sector (Rondinelli, 2007), has become synonymous with public sector policies. Blackerby (in Myeza, 2009: 25) defines strategic planning as "a continuous and systematic process where people make decisions about intended future outcomes, how outcomes are to be accomplished, and how success is measured and evaluated". According to Harrison (2001) the second wave of NPM of the mid-1990s differs from that of the 1980s. Unlike the first wave of NPM, the second wave shifts away from the single-minded focus on economic rationality to a system that conflates the ideals of neo-liberalism and the progressive stance on "inclusion, participation and poverty alleviation" (Harrison, 2001: 189). Promoted by leaders such as Bill Clinton (USA), Tony Blair (UK), Jean Chretien (Canada) and Thabo Mbeki (South Africa), this came to be known as the Third Way approach.

Under the umbrella of Third Way, NPM sought to promote economic modernisation whilst emphasising the need for government to be inclusionary in nature (Harrison, 2006: 194). While the Third Way is "broadly acceptable to global capitalism and global development agencies it could also be regarded as an approach of the left because Third Way scholarship makes references to inclusion, community building and poverty alleviation" (Harrison, 2006: 194). In the case of South Africa, the Third Way was adopted as a progressive policy trajectory during the early days of the democratic era as part of the government/institutional restructuring process following apartheid.

1.4. Good Governance in South Africa and the Rise of Institutional Reform

In the South African context, DLG has been introduced as a particular form of 'good governance' in which decentralisation to the municipal level was intended to bring about more responsive, effective and democratic local government. Decentralisation was a prerequisite for the adoption of South Africa's first macro-economic policy in the post-apartheid era, the Growth, Employment and Redistribution policy (GEAR). The simultaneous call for DLG and implementation of free market policies through GEAR was representative of the NPM approach that dominated the policy arena during the 1990s. Thus, the South African government conceptualised DLG as a mechanism for growth-orientated and participatory local government. Central to this objective is the need to build effective government institutions that can respond to the needs of the people in an efficient manner (Pieterse and van Donk, 2008).

To achieve these objectives, the Municipal Systems Act (MSA) of 2000 required municipalities to produce Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) as a strategic tool to guide development. In short, the IDP became the centrepiece for municipalities to attain the aspirations of DLG as envisaged by the 1998 White Paper on Local Government. Harrison (2006: 186) draws a number of similarities between the IDP and the Community Strategies that were used by the Labour Party in Scotland to illustrate the influence of international thinking on public administration in the formulation of the IDP.

The IDP, however, has failed to build a people-centred local government because the emphasis has been placed mainly on building institutions. Harrison (2006: 190) argues that this represents a departure from the ideals of a social compact. The idea of social compact is typical of the good governance agenda that advocates for a people-driven project as seen in places like Porto Alegre, Brazil and Kerala, India (Heller, 2001). Contrary to the latter cases, Heller argues that the African

National Congress (ANC) drifted toward technocratic governance that embraces a neo-liberal economic orthodoxy (Heller, 2001: 159). The latter statement correlates with Pieterse and van Donk's (2008) critique of the top-down participatory approach of the IDP process. In short, the cases of Porto Alegre and Kerala demonstrate the implementation of a centre-left good governance agenda that calls for a democratic participatory process in government's operations, and, in the case of South Africa, the centre-right ideology has mainly focused on institution building.

According to Harrison (2008), the institutional reforms that have been introduced by government over the years to complement municipalities in delivering DLG are exemplary of neo-liberal elements of the NPM. Moreover, the sole focus on institutional capacity has negated the dynamic local politics and power struggles that play a fundamental role attaining DLG or lack thereof (Pieterse and van Donk, 2008: 66). As a result, the prescribed solutions have turned out to be blanket solutions with a "top-down direction for bottom-up implementation" (Long and Franklin, 2004, in Harrison, 2006: 190). Thus, the South African experience of good governance in the post-1994 era has been partial and far removed from the social impact that ought to be realised by the Third Way approach.

1.5. Developmental Local Government and the Local Government Turnaround Strategy

Despite nine years of implementing the IDP, the State of Local Government Report (SLGR) of 2009, prepared by COGTA, revealed that most municipalities are a long way from reaching the objectives of DLG. This is the case although numerous initiatives have been introduced over the years to support local government. These initiatives include, "Local Government Support Programme, Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme and Urban Renewal Programme, specialised training by professional institutes, Project Consolidate including Siyenza Manje, and Five-Year Local Government Strategic Agenda" (COGTA, 2009b: 4). According to COGTA (2009a: 11), the inability of municipalities to deliver on the objectives of DLG has resulted in the "escalating loss of confidence in governance" by communities.

The SLGR recognises that local government is in distress and a long way from attaining the aspirations of DLG. Importantly, the SLGR points out that the failure to provide DLG is caused in equal measure by internal problems and a low level of community trust in municipalities (COGTA, 2009a). Thus, on the one hand, the internal organisational setbacks impede municipalities in attaining the ambitions of DLG. On the other hand, the lack of consultation between municipalities and their communities and lack of adequate municipal services has resulted in service delivery

protests across the country. As a result, COGTA launched the Local Government Turnaround Strategy following the findings of the SLGR. It is premised on the idea that government needs to do "things differently" (COGTA, 2009b: 5) in order to "restore the confidence of people in municipalities as the primary delivery machine of the developmental state at a local level," as well as "rebuilding and improving the basic requirements for a functional, responsive, effective, efficient local government" (COGTA, 2009b: 19).

The LGTAS plans to address the shortcomings of DLG through five strategic objectives, which are:

- Ensure that municipalities meet the basic services needs of communities;
- Build clean, effective, efficient, responsive and accountable local government;
- Improve performance and professionalism in municipalities;
- Improve national and provincial policy, oversight and support; and
- Strengthen partnerships between local government, communities and civil society (COGTA, 2009a: 19).

The LGTAS aims to achieve these through the following six interventions:

- National Government (including state enterprises) will organise itself better in relation to local government;
- Provinces will improve their support and oversight responsibilities over local government;
- Municipalities will reflect on their own performance and identify their own tailor-made turnaround strategies;
- All three spheres of government will improve Inter-Governmental Relations (IGR) in practice;
- Political parties will promote and enhance the institutional integrity of municipalities; and
- A good citizenship campaign will be designed and launched, at the core of which is *Ubuntu*. All citizens, including public officials at all levels, those in the private sector, trade unions, professional bodies and traditional leaders will be guided in their actions by a common set of values (COGTA, 2009a: 20-22).

1.6. Problem Statement

Harrison (2006: 188) suggests that the Third Way approach of NPM represented a progressive policy trajectory insofar as creating a balancing act between the ideals of neo-liberalism and centre left policiesprimarily to build inclusionary government institutions through decentralisation. However, literature on South Africa's local government experience (Harrison, 2008; Heller, 2008; Pieterse and van Donk, 2008) suggests that this equilibrium has not been attained. It points out that the focus of the IDP has been to deliver DLG by building institutions of government that can meet the needs of the people, rather than facilitating people-driven local government/participatory governance processes. This view is also reflected in the SLGR. According to the SLGR, poor communication and accountability relationships with communities and municipalities remain at the forefront of

government developmental challenges (COGTA, 2009b: 4). This single-minded approach to development has undermined the relationship between communities and municipalities. The latter problem has been compounded by the inability of local government to deliver services despite numerous interventions introduced.

The strategic objectives in the LGTAS do not represent a departure from the initial aspirations of DLG as inscribed in the 1998 WPLG. However, COGTA has attempted to distinguish the LGTAS from earlier municipal reform initiatives, such as Project Consolidate and the Local Government Support Programme. Unlike the past reforms, the LGTAS urges municipalities to "reflect on their strengths and weaknesses and to take responsibility for identifying and managing appropriate interventions" (COGTA, 2009b: 11). COGTA has committed itself to move away from the earlier "one size fits all" approach to one that focuses on localised issues within each municipality (COGTA, 2009c: 1).

In this regard, the LGTAS appears significant as it aims to do things differently in order to address the problems facing local government. This is because the policy initiative recognises that government is "everyone's business" (COGTA, 2009b: 5). It states that government programmes across the country will be driven by the idea of "social compact," namely, the convergence of the state and broader society (COGTA, 2009b: 24). Although the LGTAS aims to improve the performance of municipalities through citizenry engagement, the six interventions it proposes seem to reinforce the earlier institutional approach. This raises doubts as to whether there is a commitment on the part of government to deepen democracy through local government policy. However, given its ambitious intentions, it is suggested that the LGTAS may signal a shift towards more inclusive democratic DLG, and associationalist good governance. Thus, the research is instituted to investigate whether the LGTAS signals a shift to a more inclusive, democratic form of DLG.

According to COGTA (2009b: 4), the LGTAS "applies largely to those undermining local government including those municipalities who have evidence of performance failures, or difficult social and economic circumstances to manage." It is envisaged that the LGTAS will "turn around municipalities from struggling with failure to ones that are confident in their abilities to execute their service delivery mandates" through working with communities (COGTA, 2009b: 4). This assertion will be tested through the case of a distressed municipality, with reference to Objective One (ensure that municipalities meet the basic services needs of communities) and Objective Six (strengthen partnerships between local government, communities and civil society) of the LGTAS. The case of

Makhuduthamaga Local Municipality is chosen to inform the research study because the LGTAS aims to "turn around municipalities from struggling with failure to ones that are confident in their abilities to execute their service delivery mandates" (COGTA, 2009b: 4). In 2001, "only 11 per cent of households in the municipality had piped water on site, while just 2 per cent had flush toilets and 16 per cent had no toilets at all" (Makgetla, 2007: 146). Similarly, COGTA (2009) states that households without access to water, sanitation, electricity and refuse removal in the municipality stands at 31.1%, 84.7%, 61% and 98.5% respectively.

1.7. Research Question and Sub-Questions

Has the LGTAS enhanced citizen participation and service delivery in the case of Makhuduthamaga Local Municipality?

Sub-questions:

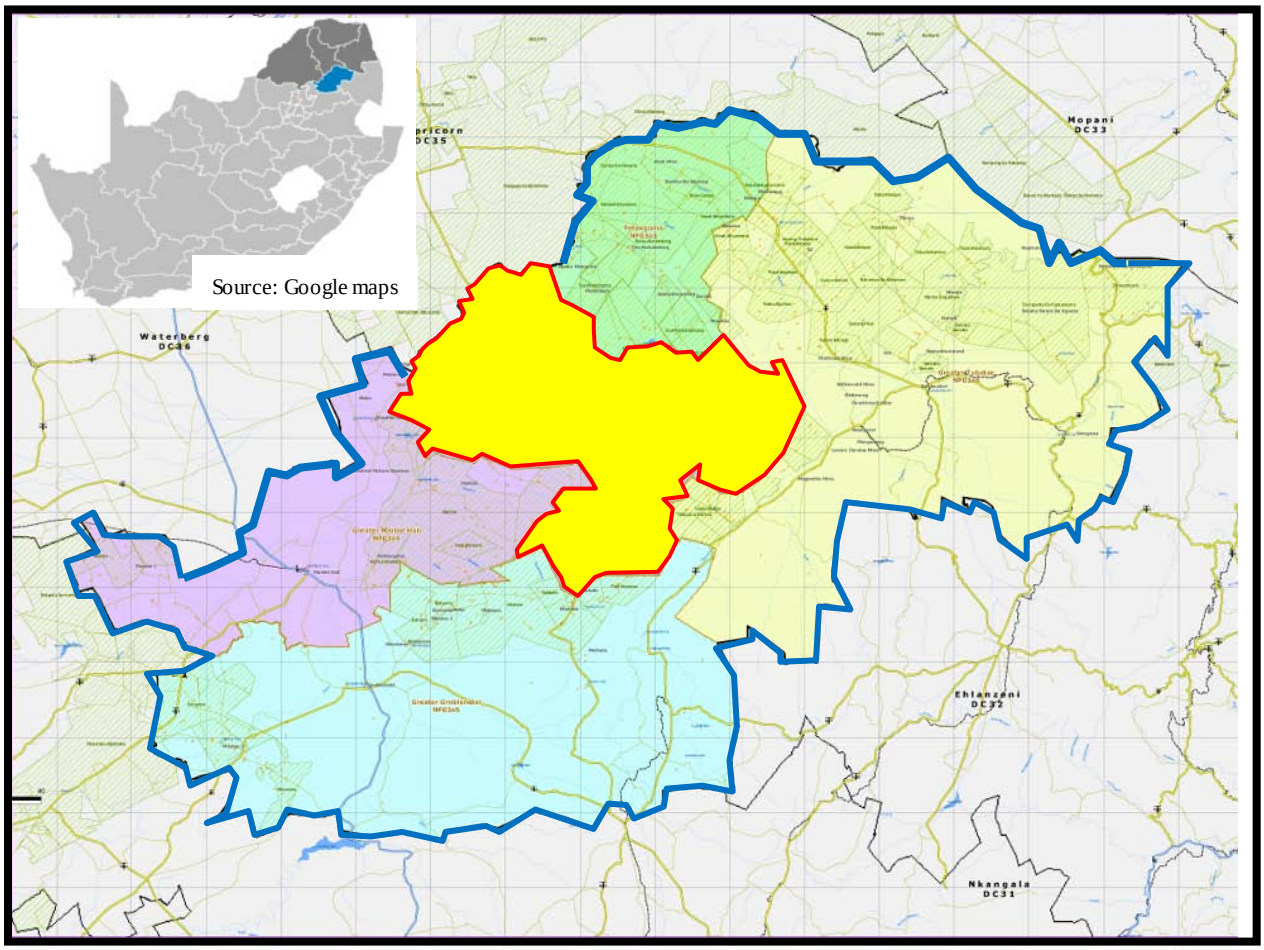
- In what way does the LGTAS, as national policy, signal a shift to a more inclusionary and responsive form of DLG?
- In what way does the Makhuduthamaga TAS seek to improve citizen participation and service delivery?
- What change, if any, has there been regarding citizen participation and service delivery since the inception of the Makhuduthamaga TAS?
- In what way can the TAS be improved to ensure increased citizen participation and adequate service delivery?

1.8. Research Method

The nature of the research is qualitative in approach and it will be based on a case study. One of the advantages of using a case study is that this method allows in-depth research (Sarantakos, 2005). Makhuduthamaga Local Municipality has been selected as a case study because, as indicated above, it represents one of those municipalities "struggling with failure", and one which the SLGR classified as being very vulnerable. This kind of municipalities is the primary focus of the LGTAS, and thus an investigation of its developmental impact on MLM would not only reveal the extent to which it has turned around fortunes in this and similar municipal areas but also the way in which it has consolidated the promise of DLG. This municipality has been selected not only because of its vulnerability, but also because of the researcher's familiarity with it. Having been born and bred in the area, the researcher has firsthand knowledge of how the area has evolved over time. As a former resident of the municipality and the established communication network thereof, the researcher is at an advantage to gain access to many of the interviewees.

MLM is located in the southern region of Limpopo Province and falls under the Sekhukhune District Municipality. Refer to Map 1: Location Map and indicate that MLM is shaded in yellow.

Map 1: Location Map of Sekhukhune District Municipality illustrating the position of Makhuduthamaga Local Municipality (yellow)



Source: www.ledet.gov.za

The case study will be conducted through interviews with various stakeholders of the municipality, and through an analysis of the key documents. The interviewees were selected because they were directly involved in the formulation and implementation of the MLM Turnaround Strategy. The interviewees were:

- Municipal Manager, who was responsible for preparing the MLM Turnaround Strategy. This interview provided an understanding of the LGTAS on the part of the municipality, and the process of preparing the Municipal Turnaround Strategy.
- Senior Manager in the Technical Services Department, and two Project Managers for infrastructural projects that have been implemented since the inception of the MLM Turnaround Strategy. These interviews explored the ramifications of the Turnaround Strategy for service provision.

- Community Liaison Officer and two Ward Councillors, which provided an understanding about the extent of citizen participation in the municipal affairs since the adoption of the MLM Turnaround Strategy.

An analysis of both the national LGTAS and the MLM Turnaround Strategy was also conducted. The aim of this analysis was to critically extrapolate the envisaged change brought about the LGTAS.

1.9. Ethical Issues

The researcher is aware of the ethical considerations that have to be adhered to regarding the university rules and regulations. Central to the data collection process are interviews with stakeholders. As part of the procedure, the interviewees were notified that the research was solely for academic purposes, and thus, the data has not been used for anything else but academic work. In this regard, the researcher provided the relevant documentation from the university to all potential interviewees stating that the data is purely collected for the use of academic research. Further, the researcher informed the interviewees that the interview was to be conducted anonymously and, therefore, their names will not be published without their consent. This will ensure the confidentiality of the data collected.

1.10. Rationale

The starting point of this research is premised on the metaphor drawing parallels between the South African local government system and the story of Plaatjes. As stated before, new boats are continuously built to deliver on the aspirations of DLG, with little success. Service delivery and community participation in government's decision making are two of the central determinants of DLG (PACD, 1998). Service delivery and community participation in most municipalities has been below the satisfactory level, hence the shortcomings of municipalities in delivering DLG. On the one hand, service delivery has been hampered by challenges such as lack of capacity, corruption, nepotism and weak IGR, and on the other hand, the emphasis on delivering DLG though technocratic institutionalism has overlooked the more inclusive democratic outcomes of DLG.

It was with this in mind that the research was conceptualised. The literature on the South African local government experience suggests that there was a deviation from the Third Way approach of NPM to a system whereby DLG was mainly thought of in terms of institution building. Therefore, the research seeks to uncover whether the LGTAS represents a continuation of technocratic

institutionalism or if it signals a shift towards more inclusive democratic DLG. Academically, there is little work, if any, that has interrogated the implementation of the LGTAS. Thus, the research represents an original piece of work that makes a contribution to developing a critical understanding of this policy intervention developed to support local government.

1.11. Chapter Outline

This report consists of six chapters, the structure and content of which is outlined below.

Chapter One - Introduction

The primary aim of Chapter One is to introduce the research study thus highlighting key aspects of the study such as the rationale underpinning the focus on DLG. The chapter is structured into eleven sub-headings. First, the background to the study report introduces the LGTAS as the most recent intervention to ensure that municipalities deliver on the objectives of DLG. Secondly, the concept of DLG is defined. The third section argues that DLG South Africa has been influenced by the good governance agenda as well as the emphasis on NPM. Building from the third section, the fourth argues that the focus on NPM has created a situation wherein good governance in South Africa has largely focused on the institutional reform. The fifth section briefly highlights that the LGTAS should be understood as a mechanism to consolidate the DLG programme. Following the fifth section is the problem statement, research question and research method respectively. The last three sections cover the ethical considerations, the rationale as well as the chapter outline. To conclude, it must be noted that the introductory chapter has established that the objectives of DLG are yet to be realised and thus the LGTAS aims to correct this.

Chapter Two - Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

The aim of this chapter is two-fold: first, to provide a critical understanding of the good governance discourse; and second, to review literature on DLG. Chapter Two is divided into five sections. The first section outlines the aim as well as the structure of the chapter. The second section provides a historical perspective of good governance. The third looks at the influence of NPM in South Africa. Following the third, the fourth section outlines South Africa's path to DLG and how this has been shaped by NPM. The last section summarises the key points emanating from the chapter, which include the shortfalls of DLG in South Africa.

Chapter Three - Analysing the LGTAS

The aim of Chapter Three is to understand the LGTAS in light of the conceptual framework. The analysis is divided into five sections. The first section is the introduction of the LGTAS. In the second section, the background to the LGTAS is discussed. Importantly, these include the rationale underpinning government's decision to formulate the policy intervention (LGTAS). The third section composes an overview of the content of the LGTAS. Building from the third, the fourth section analyses the content of the LGTAS in light of the conceptual framework. Lastly, the fifth section concludes the chapter by highlighting that the LGTAS is a balancing act to DLG. The LGTAS emphasises that DLG should be realised through greater community participation and efficient institutions.

Chapter Four - Overview of the Case Study Area: Makhuduthamaga Local Municipality

The chief aim of Chapter Four is to introduce the case study area. This chapter is divided into seven sections. First is the introduction of the chapter. This is then followed by sections dealing with the physical location, the historical background, demographic profile as well as the state of basic service delivery in the municipality. The latter argues that the municipality is struggling to deliver basic services. Before concluding, section six outlines the IDP institutional organisation of the municipality. One of the key points emanating from the chapter is that MLM is located in one of the most impoverished regions in South Africa.

Chapter Five - The Case Study of Makhuduthamaga Local Municipality

The aim of Chapter Five is to analyse the findings from the interviews and the analysis of the MLM Turnaround Strategy. This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section is the introduction of the chapter. This is then followed by an outline of the research findings based on the field work. These findings are then analysed in section three, and the fourth section is the conclusion. Although some of the interviewees interviewed acknowledge that the LGTAS is a progressive intervention they are reluctant to use it as a governing policy tool for the municipality.

Chapter 6 - Conclusions and Recommendations

The aim of Chapter Six is to conclude the research study as well provide some recommendations for MLM. The chapter is divided into three sections, that is, introduction, conclusion and recommendations. For MLM to realise participation in DLG, it is pivotal for the municipality to

explore other measures that have been formulated to maximise community participation in development.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

2.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is two-fold: first, to provide a critical understanding of the good governance discourse; and second, to review literature on DLG. Understanding of good governance is fundamental to exploring DLG, as DLG is informed by the principles of good governance. In this light, the chapter will provide a conceptual lens for understanding and analysing the research findings. The aim of the literature review is to reflect on South Africa's DLG experience and thereby contextualise the LGTAS initiative. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section deals primarily with the notion of good governance and the different interpretations thereof. The second section reviews the influence of NPM on South Africa's post-apartheid public administration. The third section outlines South Africa's DLG experience. Lastly, the fourth section summarises the central arguments emanating from the chapter.

2.2 Good Governance: A Historical Perspective

The UN ESCAP defines governance as the "process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented)" (UN ESCAP, 2012: 1). Although governance is a relatively new term in the policy arena, the literature on the subject is widespread. The literature ranges from international relations, policy analysis, public administration, comparative politics and urban planning to political theory (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003). This multiplicity is also confirmed by the UN ESCAP (2012), which explains that governance can be used in several contexts including "corporate governance, international governance, national governance and local governance" (UN ESCAP, 2012: 1). Wagenaar and Hager (2003), Rakodi (2003), Cheema (2007), Rondenelli (2007) and Beard et al. (2008) agree that in the past (the pre-1980s), government and governance were inseparable. In public administration governance, the state was the main stakeholder (Burger, 2006). Much has changed since then.

Today, the term governance refers to a 'quasi' system wherein "the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority to manage a nation's affairs" (Abdellatif, 2003: 4; Cheema and Rondinelli, 2007: 6-7) involves a number of societal actors. Governance is not limited to the state but includes a variety of non-state actors, such as the private sector, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and broader civil society. This definition represents a shift from "government to governance" (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2001: 1; Meehan, 2003: 5), in which "governance refers to the development

of governing styles in which boundaries between and within public and private sectors have become blurred" (Stoker in Ewalt, 2001: 8).

Governance is a decision-making process, but the meaning and norms of the process have evolved over years. The good governance agenda is a component of this evolution (Ewalt, 2001). Good governance is understood to be a process that undertakes the necessary measures to ensure the participation of all societal stakeholders. It promotes the rule of law (Ewalt, 2001; Rondenelli and Cheema, 2003) in order to improve governance and eradicate issues such as corruption, nepotism and maladministration. Ewalt (2001) notes that good governance may also cover issues like democracy, human rights, and economic policy. Lately, its scope has been widened by the global drive on sustainability. The UN ESCAP defines good governance as a "participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive" process that adheres to the "rule of law" (UN ESCAP, 2012). The characteristics of good governance are depicted in the figure below.

Figure 1: Characteristics of Good Governance



Source: UN ESCAP, 2012: 3

There are various factors to explain the upsurge of the good governance paradigm. Some authors (Beard et al., 2007) find the earliest push towards good governance in the 1970s arising from the post-World War II period that was characterised by contestations and uncertainty. More recently, however, previously disadvantaged groups, such as the disenfranchised youth, ethnic minorities, women, and the poor challenged the meaning and interpretation of governance (Beard et al., 2008: 3). At this point, government and the state were generally perceived to be interchangeable, and

assumed the status of the "dominant source of political and legal decision making" (Cheema and Rondinelli, 2007: 1). The disadvantaged groups sought to change this hegemony of governance. In this respect, their demands were for decentralisation of the state (Beard et al., 2008: 4). Decentralisation was perceived to be a prerequisite for democratic society that is based on principles of participation and inclusion. The mandate was to demand a greater representation in the decision-making process.

According to Devas (2004) and Rondinelli (2007), technology and globalisation were some of the stimuli for this advocacy movement, and served to erode nation-state borders. This was significant because there was a realisation that people's lives are not only shaped by the state but also a variety of institutions that exist at both the local and international levels. Rondinelli and Cheema (2007: 1) comment that this "changed perceptions of governance and of the appropriate functions of the state." Rondinelli (2007: 4) adds that "lack of capacity to respond quickly and effectively to strategic issues and for failing to leverage off opportunities in emerging markets offered by, among others, new technologies," justified the call to review the governance status quo. Against this backdrop, the concept of governance expanded from the definition that envisaged the state as the primary institutional decision maker to one which included other stakeholders (NGOs, civil society, private sector) in the decision-making process. From this perspective, governance entails "complex mechanisms, processes, relationships and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their rights and obligations and mediate their differences" (Rondinelli, 2007: 8). By this definition, the state is one of many actors. The change in the definition of governance can be summarised as follows:

> As international economic interaction grew and as societies became more complex and interconnected, government came to be seen as only one, albeit a critically important, governance institution. The fact that people's lives were also shaped by decisions made by individual entrepreneurs, family enterprises, and private firms; by multinational corporations and international financial institutions; and by a variety of civil society organizations operating both within and outside of national territories, became more apparent (Cheema and Rondinelli, 2007: 1).

Thus, decentralisation enables good governance. It can be understood as a means to achieving good governance. By definition, decentralisation is the process of rolling back the role of central government by devolving some responsibilities to lower structures of government such as the regional and municipal level (Bryld, 2000; Rondinelli and Cheema, 2007). This tier of government is best suited to deliver good governance because it is closer to the people. Bryld (2000) and Cheema

and Rondinelli (1997) draw a distinction between three forms of decentralisation: deconcentration, delegation and devolution. Deconcentration refers to the transfer of workload from central government to local administrators. Delegation is the transfer of responsibility from the state to semi-autonomous agencies or government parastatals that operate independently from the state (Rondinelli and Cheema, 2007; Bryld, 2000). Devolution entails the transfer of legislative power to the lower structures of government (Rondinelli and Cheema, 2007; Bryld, 2000). The emphasis on good governance and decentralisation in the 1990s was instigated to pave the way for a political system of governance that was inclusionary in nature.

As the level of government that is closer to the people, local government is the ideal platform where broad civil society can engage with the state more effectively. In this vein, political decentralisation is emphasised. Other forms of decentralisation include: administrative decentralisation of authority and legislative powers; fiscal decentralisation of the means and mechanisms for fiscal co-operation in sharing public revenues among all levels of government; and economic decentralization, which involves market liberalization, deregulation, privatization of state enterprises, and public-private partnership (Rondinelli and Cheema, 2007: 7). Some of these forms (fiscal and economic) were emphasised under the influence of NPM, whereas during the 1970s and more recently, good governance has been often understood in terms of political decentralisation and democracy. Kauzaya (2010: 8) argues that decentralisation is "used as an instrument of people empowerment, a platform for sustainable democratisation, a structure for the mobilization of resources for economic development, a veritable instrument of reconciliation, social integration and well-being in post-conflict environments, and a vehicle for the promotion of a culture of political, economic, civic, and managerial/administrative good governance."

2.2.1. From Democracy to Neo-Liberalism: Shifts in Good Governance

Beard et al. (2008) argue that there was a shift in the interpretation of good governance from one that was embedded in a democratic ethos to one that dovetailed with the predominant neo-liberal economic focus. It changed from the early version whereby the basic principles were based on the notion of democracy, inclusion and participation to one in the 1980s, which was underlined by fundamentals of neo-liberalism, witnessed particularly through the introduction of NPM. For many, the NPM interpretation of good governance 'hijacked' the earlier version (Beard et al., 2008; Rondinelli and Cheema, 2007). Thus, Beard et al. (2008) argue that decentralised planning processes changed from following a "political logic of democratic, inclusive and redistributive planning as

articulated by equity planning and radical planning practice," to a system whereby decentralised planning is intertwined with an "economic logic of efficiency, cost recovery and entrepreneurship" (2008: 3).

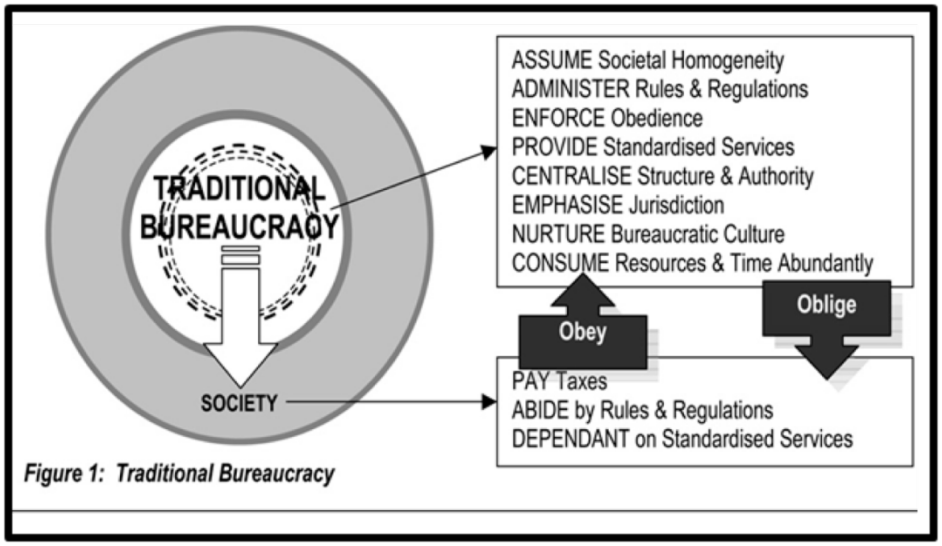
The shift to neo-liberalism was influenced by a number of factors ranging from what was perceived to be an inefficient traditional bureaucratic system to globalisation and the realisation that people's lives were not only affected by decisions taken by the state but also large corporations and international bodies such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank (Rondinelli and Cheema, 2007). These factors include:

- Economic and fiscal pressures on governments experienced in most developed countries in the 1970s and early 1980s, and more dramatically in developing countries in Africa and Asia and, more recently, in the Asian Tiger economies;
- Public attitudes and increasing criticisms of the ineffectiveness and inefficiencies of delivering public services through bureaucratic organisational arrangements and the need to search for alternatives;
- The resurgence of new right politics in the late 1970s and 1980s (i.e. Reaganomics and Thatcherism) that were pro-market and pro-private sector;
- The proliferation of management ideas generated, packaged and marketed by international management consultants, who often act as advisors on reforms to governments around the world;
- In the case of most developing and transitional countries, an additional factor driving NPM-type reforms has been donor advocacy and lending conditions of international financial institutions, notably the IMF and the World Bank, with the adoption of a more pro-market and pro-private sector stance in structural adjustment programmes;
- The spread of global markets, especially those related to financial integration and liberalisation and the resultant competition are forcing the public sector in most countries to reshape itself to keep pace with the emerging global economy and modern information technology; and
- The growth and use of new information technology has also provided impetus for some of the changes. Some aspects of the NPM reforms, such as performance management, executive agencies and management decentralisation of public services, have been facilitated by the development of information technology that allows for indirect monitoring and control of performance (Larbi, 2003: 1-2).

Neo-liberalism sought to roll back the role of the state, resulting in a shift in public governance philosophy (Burger, 2006: 5). NPM was introduced as a response to the crisis facing Keynesian welfare states of developed economies (United Kingdom, Canada and Australia) (Larbi 1999: 1), and it emerged in the 1980s as the recognised instrument of public administration modernisation (Tamekou, 2008: 217). Further, the change of the political context in the 1980s with the ascendancy of New Right ideas served as a stimulus for the widespread adoption of NPM. From this point, NPM

began to shape the governance of Anglo-Saxon countries, including Australia, New Zealand, and Canada (Burger, 2006; Rondinelli and Cheema, 2007; Bourgon, 2007; Moloney, 2009).

Figure 2: Graphical Representation of the Governance Philosophy under Traditional Bureaucracy



Source: Burger, 2006: 6

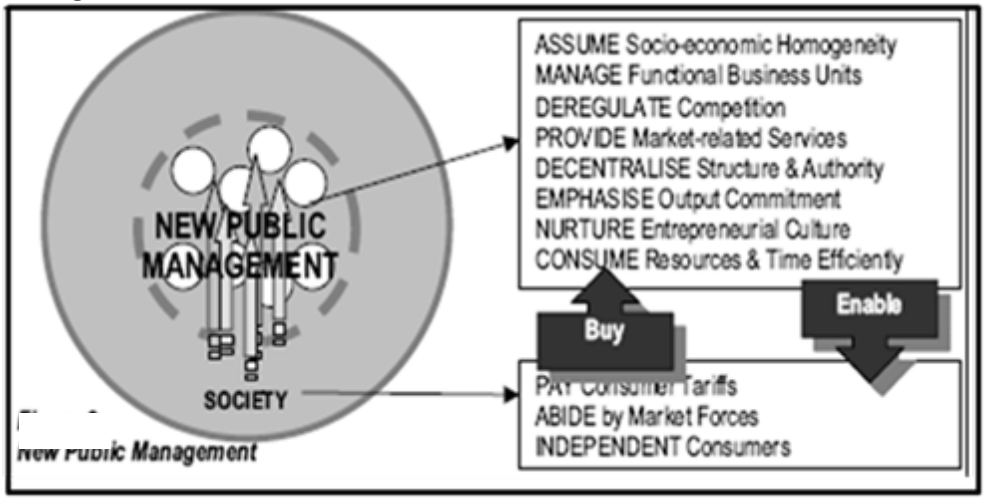
The primary aim of the NPMs was to "kill or cut down the size of the huge bureaucratic monster" that has been created by the traditional Weberian bureaucracy (Burger, 2006: 6). Figure 2 above illustrates the homogeneity of the state in the traditional bureaucracy model. In this model, the key objective of governance was for the government to manage inputs and deliver services in the context of the welfare state (Stoker, 2011: 18). The public sector was kept sharply distinct from the private sector (Jan, 2010: 2). As can be seen, the role of society played virtually no role in the decision making because the order of the day was a "top-down instructions and command-and-control mechanisms" (Jan, 2010: 2). According to Hajer and Wagenaar (2003), the vocabulary of governance was rigid and inflexible. In the context of the 1950s and 1960s, "the industrial society was a slow-paced society, characterised by its mass markets, where people had similar needs, strong geographical communities, with a logic of hierarchical authority and functional specialization" (Jan, 2010: 4).

In contrast to the industrial society, the post-industrial is globalised and knowledge based, in which information flows fast, global enterprises increase market competition and often the traditional bureaucracy is too rigid to respond to this new market (Jan, 2010). To rescue the situation, the

potency of free market policies in the 'new' era was highlighted by the Anglo-Saxon countries (Burger, 2006; Rondinelli and Cheema, 2007; Bourgon, 2007; Moloney, 2009). Free market policies were popularised as a way to good governance and therefore, "this logic of state decentralisation, by which restructuring of the state would facilitate neo-liberal economic policies, overshadowed the earlier core logic of decentralisation that sought political devolution and democratisation" (Beard et al., 2008: 3).

The NPM of the early 1980s reflects "a pre-occupation with slowing down or reversing government growth and very particularly with privatizing previously publicly provided services" (Manning, 2001: 298). In so doing, NPM resulted in the corporatisation of the public sector (Polidano, 1999; Harrison, 2006). Countries that conformed to the principles of NPM were deemed exemplary of good governance by powerful development agencies, such as the World Bank, the IMF and the United Nations (Harrison, 2003: 188). For example, the Bretton Woods institutions required African countries and other Third World countries to adopt Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) as a prerequisite for receiving aid (Olukoshi, 2000; Ayee, 2008), and in so doing, the SAPs introduced NPM principles to the Less Developed Countries (Bardill, 2001). For Burger (2006), the governance philosophy under NPM paradigm is represented by the Figure 3 below.

Figure 3: Graphical Representation of the Governance Philosophy under the New Public Management



Source: Burger, 2006, 6

Contrary to the traditional bureaucracy model, NPM encourages a public administration that does not supply standardised services to society. Instead, society is treated as individual consumers who are required to pay for services. The aim is to nurture a culture of entrepreneurialism in a society

that is based on the notion of 'survival of the fittest.' In this respect, decentralisation is emphasised as a critical tool to limit the role of the state as opposed to calls for democracy and inclusion. The principles of the NPM are outlined as follows:

- Catalytic - governments should steer rather than row, and see that services are provided rather than always delivering them directly;
- Community-empowering - governments should encourage local groups to solve their own problems rather than dictating bureaucratic solutions;
- Competitive rather than monopolistic: by deregulating and privatizing those activities that could be carried out by the private sector or non-governmental organisations more efficiently or effectively than public agencies;
- Mission-driven rather than rule-bound - setting goals and allowing employees to find the best ways of meeting objectives;
- Results-oriented - funding effective outcomes rather than inputs;
- Customer-driven - meeting the needs of citizens rather than those of the bureaucracy;
- Enterprising - earning revenues rather than just spending tax resources;
- Anticipatory - investing in the prevention of problems rather than spending to solve problems after they occur;
- Decentralised - working through participation and teamwork among government agencies at different levels and with groups outside of government; and
- Market-oriented - solving problems through market forces rather than larger government programmes (Rondinelli, 2007: 5).

Thus, "generally, NPM reforms stressed such aspects as control, financial transparency, decentralisation of management authority, and the creation of quasi-market mechanisms and performance indicators" (Blomgren and Sahlin, 2007: 157). The "common element was an attempt to bring corporate culture – concerned with business-like efficiency and outcomes – into public agencies" (Harrison, 2006: 188). However, neo-liberal NPM of the 1980s did not negate the imperative of participation as a means to good governance: the difference is that this imperative was not overly emphasised like the "economic logic of efficiency" (Beard et al., 2008, 4).

2.3. New Public Management and Public Administration in South Africa

According to Cameron (2009), Harrison (2006) and Bardill (2001), the influences of NPM philosophy in South Africa's public administration sector can be seen in the period following the demise of apartheid. Unlike other parts of the developing world, however, the introduction of NPM discourse in South Africa's post-apartheid public administration was not influenced by the adoption of SAPs. South Africa and Namibia were not party to any treaty with the Bretton Wood institutions (Ayee, 2008). Therefore, although the South African public administration service escaped the explicitly

rightist agenda in the 1980s because of its isolation from the international community (Cameron, 2009), this was not to be the case during the second wave of the NPM (Harrison, 2006: 188). In South Africa NPM was adopted as a result of the second wave of NPM that dominated both the policy and political scene during the 1990s under the rubric of Third Way politics (Harrison, 2006: 188). Third Way politics is characterised by a philosophy on governance that is based on centre-left ideology (Harrison, 2006). Third Way upholds the imperatives of neo-liberalism–conservative fiscal and monetary policies, the welfare-to-work approach, and a commitment to privatisation and at the same time commits to progressive ideals such as building community, inclusion, participation, poverty alleviation and integration (Harrison, 2006: 189).

2.3.1 South Africa's Reconstruction and the Third Way Approach

In the mid-1990s, one of the biggest challenges facing the African National Congress (ANC) led government was to reform the public administration system (Harrison, 2006; Cameron, 2009). As a progressive movement, the ANC sought models of governance from numerous settings, including Asia and the former Soviet Union. However, the demise of state socialism and financial crisis that engulfed the Asian continent during the 1990s, made senior ANC leaders sceptical about the potential adoption of these models (Harrison, 2006: 188). Eventually, the Third Way approach was seen as a viable policy trajectory for South Africa's reconstruction process. Its centre-left approach was appealing for a country that sought to be economically competitive whilst redressing the injustices of the past. Given South Africa's history and the ANC's ambitious policy goals, it became a national imperative to accommodate leftist goals with neo-liberal policies. It is in this vein that the South African government adopted the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) macro-economic policy. It has been considered controversial by many commentators because it appeared to contradict some of the principles outlined in the ANC's 1994 policy manifesto, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP).

On the one hand, the socialist-leaning RDP advocated for growth through redistribution, and on the other, the neo-liberal-inspired GEAR policy emphasised the need for redistribution through growth. What was important is that the Third Way model afforded the ANC-led government a pragmatic opportunity to alleviate poverty as well as democratising government through decentralisation. It is from this perspective that one can understand the influence of NPM on South Africa's public administration reform agenda in the post-1994 era.

2.4. Public Administration in the Post-Apartheid Era

With the transfer of power in the mid-1990s, the ANC-led government was faced with the difficult task of changing a public sector that was previously authoritarian, repressive, and oligarchic in nature to one that was democratic, developmental and committed to goals of human rights (Cameron and Tapscott, 2000: 81). The political, ideological and racial interference in the South African public service during apartheid had resulted in a public service with seemingly insurmountable challenges (Miller, 2005: 8). In response, the new government introduced numerous reforms designed to re-orientate the administration system towards the achievement of its envisaged objectives of democracy, development and human rights. The cornerstone of the post-apartheid public administration is embedded in the Constitution of 1996, which paved way for the establishment of three spheres of government (local, provincial, national) that are distinctive, interdependent and interrelated (RSA, 1996). The use of the word 'spheres' as opposed to 'tiers' illustrates that decentralisation in South Africa has occurred through devolution.

2.4.1. Towards Developmental Local Government

In addition to the influence of the Third Way and NPM, local government administration reform in South Africa was influenced by a number of local factors. Of primary importance was an urgent need to democratise local government (Lemon, 2002) and implement the imperatives of the RDP. According to Nyalunga (2006); van Donk and Pieterse (2006) the period leading to 1994 was characterised by a number of demonstrations as people, especially in the townships, protested against the apartheid system of local government. Central to the outcry was the demand to create a single tax base, the establishment of non-racial and democratic local government (van Donk and Pieterse, 2006) and the demand for the delivery of better basic services. Along with objective to democratise the state and society (ANC, 1994: 4), the demands gave rise to several policies and pieces of legislation designed to reform and re-orientate local government. The basis of South Africa's decentralised planning system is the Interim Constitution of 1993 and the Local Government Transition Act of 1993. Both pieces of legislation defined local authorities as autonomous tiers of government (Chipkin, 2002: 64).

The envisaged developmental nature of local government can be traced back to the early 1990s. According to Chipkin (2002), Lemon (2002) and Schmidt (2008), local government was seen as the

hands and feet of the RDP. In this regard, the Local Government Negotiating Forum (LGNF) was set up to negotiate the role and structure of local government. It consisted of national government, organised associations of local government, political parties, trade unions and the South African National Civic Organisation (van Donk and Pieterse, 2006: 112). The LGNF framed a three-phase (pre-interim phase, 1993-1995, the interim phase, 1995-2000, and the final phase) transitional process for local government (Chipkin, 2002; Schmidt, 2008; Nyalunga, 2006). The imperative of the first phase was to establish pre-interim councils that incorporated sections of the community previously excluded from local government (non-statutory bodies) into existing council structures (statutory bodies) (Chipkin, 2002: 111).

During the Interim Phase in 1995, government amended the Local Government Transition Act. The Local Government Transition Act Second Amendment Act 61 of 1995 began to outline the developmental nature of local government. Section 10 of this legislation required Metropolitan Councils to produce IDPs. Camay and Gordon (2004: 286) comment that IDPs link development, delivery and democracy. Harrison (2006: 196) states that IDPs were an attempt by national government to ensure that local authorities performed their functions diligently, in way that was developmental and fiscally responsible. The influence of the NPM is evident. The latter because Harrison (2006: 202) points out that IDPs were introduced as instruments for joined-up government, participatory governance and of modernised, efficient administration. Further, Harrison (2008: 325) sees performance management and goal-directed budgeting in the IDP as instruments of NPM. The developmental nature of local government was consolidated in 1998 when government released the White Paper on Local Government (WPLG). For the first time, IDPs became mandatory tools for all local government structures. The WPLG defines DLG as a local government committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs and improve the quality of their lives and, therefore, urged government to continuously engage with citizens, business and community groups (DCD, 1998: 37-38).

DLG rests on four pillars: social development and economic growth; integrating and coordinating; democratising development; leading and learning (DCD, 1998: 38). These pillars are complementary and thus have to co-exist. Importantly, the pillars represent the challenges of post-apartheid South Africa. From the report of the Presidency (2003), **Towards Ten Years of Freedom: Progress in the First Decade, Challenges of the Second**, Pieterse and van Donk (2008) conclude that during the first

decade of democracy, the predominant focus of extending basic services and opportunities to those excluded by the apartheid regime took precedence over other imperatives. The report concluded that this approach to DLG was not sustainable and stated the need to grow the economy as a prerequisite for labour absorption (Pieterse and van Donk, 2008).

Developmentally, this led to a precarious balancing act between economic growth and the efficiency of service delivery for the enhancement of poor people's livelihood (Pieterse and van Donk, 2008: 57). For Harrison et al. (2008: 70), this signaled a shift from the orthodox neo-liberalism of GEAR to the notion of a developmental state. In 2006, ASGI-SA was adopted to reflect the developmental state idea (Harrison et al., 2008: 70). This is the development context within which DLG rests and correlates positively with the NPM as practiced under the Third Way approach.

2.4.2. Developmental Local Government: The Experience thus Far

According to Heller (2008: 153), "there are two desiderata of DLG: efficiency and participation". Both desiderata are pivotal to development. In the context of South Africa, both efficiency and participation are central to the reconstruction process. On the one hand, service delivery has to be fast tracked if municipalities are to eradicate poverty and service backlogs. On the other hand, participation has to be encouraged and nourished to realise 'people'-driven development. Thus, the two desiderata should be prioritised. Heller states that (2008: 153) technocrats, as advocates for efficiency believe that too much participation can overwhelm new and fragile institutions. Equally, associationalists, as advocates of participation believe that an over-emphasis on institution building crowds civil society (Heller, 2008). These contrasting positions capture the "fault line" of South Africa's DLG programme (Heller, 2008: 154). As it has happened, DLG in South Africa has tended to be driven by efficiency, hence the formalisation of participation through a series of legislation (Heller, 2008). This has culminated into various power struggles and tensions between top-down directives and bottom-up implementation (Pieterse and van Donk, 2008: 62). Comparatively speaking, this differs from the case of Kerala (India) and Porto Alegre (Brazil) where participation is not guided by legislation but emerges as a genuine process from grassroots level (Heller, 2008). The expectation was for South Africa's DLG to follow the same pattern as that of Kerala and Porto Alegre because the apartheid legislation had disabled the majority of people from participating in governance issues. However this was not to be the case; "a once strong social-movement sector has been incorporated and/or marginalized by the ANC's political hegemony, with the result that

organized participation has atrophied and given way to a bureaucratic and commandist logic of local government reform" (Heller, 2001: 134). Thus, the institutionalisation of participation for Heller (2008: 159) is part of the political logic to consolidate power. The move to institutionalise participation is a product of NPM and the political calculation to consolidate power by the ruling ANC party. Thus, over the years the South African government has enacted legislation to formally institutionalise participation. This means that participation as envisaged for DLG is procedural. The RDP White Paper (1994) began to show the influence of NPM in ANC policy (Harrison et al., 2008: 48). Similarly, traces of NPM were also evident in the 1995 White Paper on the Transformation of Public Service.

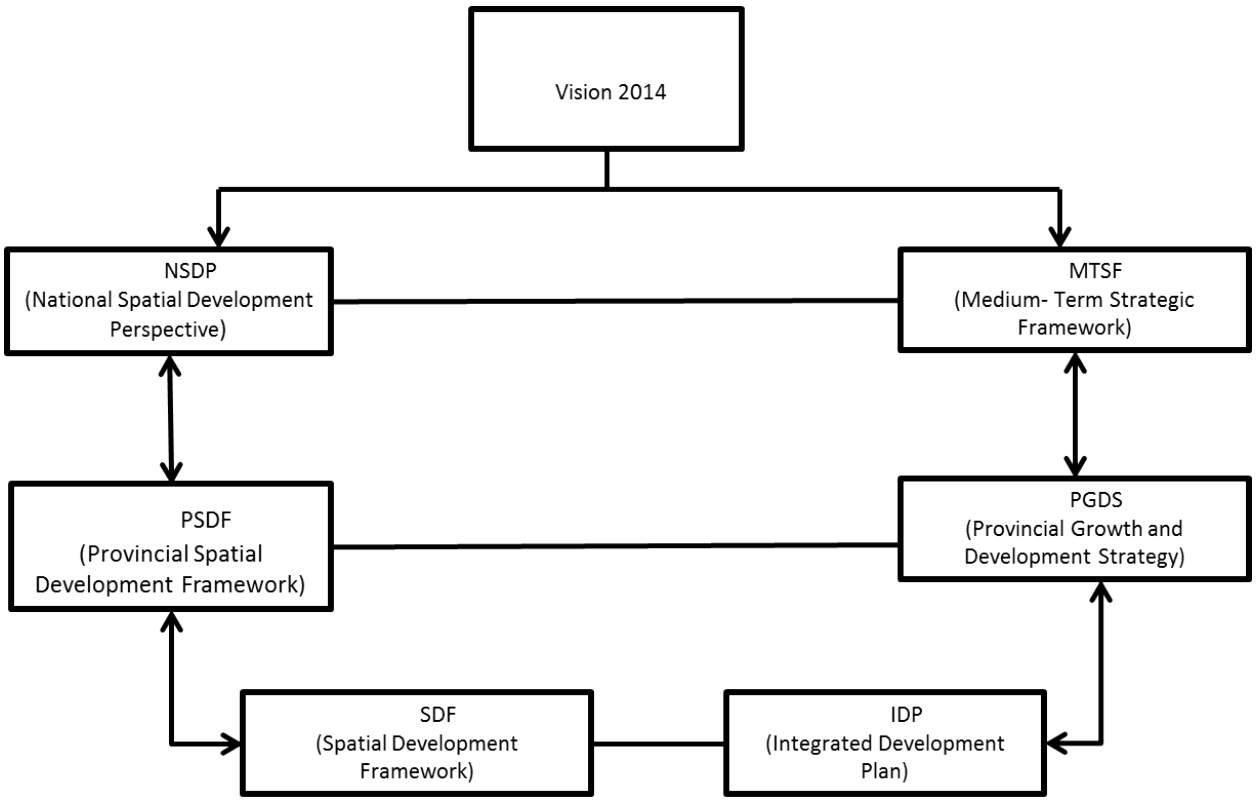
The Development Facilitation Act (DFA) of 1995 is one of the first pieces of legislation. The DFA called for all local authorities to embark on a participatory process of establishing Land Development Objectives (LDOs), which must be overtly committed to redressing apartheid injustices (Parnell, van Donk and Pieterse, 2002: 81). It also creates two centres of power. For example, in the case of the LDOs, the DFA calls for a people-driven process. This means that officials involved in the formulation of LDOs are accountable to communities. But, the DFA also states that local authorities are accountable to Provincial Development Tribunals. In this instance, the maximisation of participation is unlikely because local authorities will be driven by the need to meet key deliverables as prescribed by the Development Tribunals. Institutionalising the participatory process, however, also tends to limit the creativity of civil society (Heller, 2008).

Like the LDOs, IDPs are instruments for DLG. Although IDPs were presented as a bottom-up approach to development, this was not to be the case. According to Harrison et al. (2008), IDPs were devised by national government to direct local government towards national objectives. This is different from a perspective that sees IDPs as a locally negotiated product that is based on dynamics and priorities of a certain locality. IDPs are expressions of governmental investment and activities in a given locality, and the DPLG has referred to them as Intergovernmental Relations (IGR) impact zones (Pieterse and van Donk, 2008: 62). Under the IGR thinking, strategic priorities of municipal IDPs are informed by the plans from national and provincial government.

Harrison (2008) argues that the IDP has a narrow focus of efficiency as it is mainly concerned with introducing a corporate culture to the public sector management (Harrison, 2008: 352). This is because good governance as expressed in Third Way politics is contradictory. The Third Way administrative model is based on three key elements: joined-up government, performance

management and participatory governance (Harrison, 2006: 189). Joined-up governance entails: inter-governmental planning; performance management emphasises the imperative to set up monitoring process that will ensure rational budgeting and outcome based performance evaluation; and participatory governance seeks to establish a culture of collaborative governance as prerequisite to promote a more participatory of citizenship (Harrison, 2006: 191-2).

Figure 4: Graphical Representation of the National Development Planning System



Source: Pieterse et al., 2008: 6

Harrison (2006) states that there are contradictions between the idea of collaborative governance and the performance management culture, which places officials under enormous pressure to attain targets within specified timeframes. This is because the complexity associated with community participation makes it difficult for officials to pin down timeframes. Pieterse and van Donk (2008) also note that there is tension between the technical and political accountability. In this regard, officials tend to give impetus to Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) instead of participation. Performance under NPM is driven by "indicators and targets expressed in contracts" (Schmidt, 2008:

117). The South African NPM experience is one wherein the goal for efficiency has seriously hampered participation. The international case studies of Kerala and Porto Alegre show that this does not have to be the case. Lessons from both case studies nullify the belief that participation and efficiency cannot co-exist as desiderates of DLG.

Heller (2008: 168) argues that it is possible to create institutions that nurture meaningful forms of citizen engagement. In turn, this leads to a nuanced DLG. For example, in Kerala and Porto Alegre, increased citizenry participation contributed positively to the DLG agenda. In this vein, Heller (2008) argues that participation has led to the creation of new forms of institutions (thus, contributing to the institutional building) and has also led to socially cohesive communities. Therefore, there is an urgent need to improve the desideratum of participation in order to consolidate DLG. The 2009 State of Local Government Report has also highlighted that of participation is missing in South Africa's DLG system.

2.5. Conclusion

South Africa's public administration had to change from one that was repressive, technocratic and discriminatory to one that is inclusive, democratic and participatory over a short period. Buoyed by the euphoria of democracy in the early 1990s, the post-apartheid government sought to decentralise government and envisage a developmental role for municipalities in South Africa's restructuring process. Against this backdrop, the Third Way approach offered an alternative viable governance philosophy for South Africa's relatively new democracy, because it drew together efficiency concerns from the 1980s NPM with "progressive ideals of building community, inclusion, participation, poverty alleviation, and integration" (Harrison, 2006: 189). From the onset, DLG was part of a programme to address the injustices of the past whilst maintaining neo-liberal imperative to encourage international investment as a prerequisite for economic growth, represented by GEAR.

However, seventeen years after laying the basic foundations for DLG, its aims have not been realised. There is general agreement that municipalities are a long way from achieving the objectives of DLG as set out in the 1998 WPLG. Instead of leading to a balance between the two desiderata of efficiency and participation, decentralisation under Third Way politics in South Africa has prioritised the technocratic and institutionalist imperatives of NPM over that of democracy, inclusion and participation. Participation is seen by the ruling party as a complementary process to national plans

that are formulated by central government (Heller, 2008). Little space exists for communities to influence the development agenda. The South African case is one whereby the over-institutionalisation of the participatory process has empowered the bureaucracy and politicians at the expense of civil society (Heller, 2008: 162). It can be described as a technocratic form of DLG. It is different from the case of Kerala and Porto Alegre where a participatory form of DLG occurred. Schmidt (2008) captures the different approaches to public administration that characterise the post- apartheid era in South Africa.

Table 1: Public Administration Paradigms

	Traditional public administration	**NPM**	**Network governance**
Context	Stable	Competitive	Continuous change
Population	Homogenous	Atomised	Diverse
Needs/problem	Straight forward, defined by professionals	Wants, expressed through market	Complex, volatile, prone to risk
Strategy	State-/producer-centred	Customer- centered	Shaped by civil society
Governance through actors	Hierarchies, public servants	Markets, clients & contractors	Networks/partnerships, civil leadership
Key concepts	Public goods	Public choice	Public value
Improvement	Initial big step change, but less continuous improvement capability	Improvements in process and systems	Transformational and continuous improvement
Role of policy makers	Commanders	Announcers/commissioners	Leaders and interpreters
Role of public managers	'Clerks & martyrs'	Efficiency/market maximises	'Explorers'
Role of population	Clients	Customers	Co-producers

Source: Schmidt, 2008: 112

The problem with DLG as it has occurred in South Africa is the limitation of citizen participation. To make matters worse, government has been unable to adequately reverse the tide of apartheid insofar as alleviating poverty and providing basic services. For Some (Heller, 2008; Pieterse and van Donk, 2008) suggest that the top-down approach to development is to blame for the lack of progress. From this perspective, the argument is that the 'one size fits all' approach has failed because different localities have different challenges and require different solutions. Nevertheless, the limited space for citizen participation is evident through service delivery protests illustrating the

frustrations experienced on the ground. To fix these weaknesses, government has introduced the LGTAS. In the LGTAS it is assumed that better participation will lead to better development and hence improved service delivery. The cases of Kerala and Porto Alegre have shown that a people-centred development yields positive results.

The LGTAS is premised on the notion that Local Government is Everyone's Business (COGTA, 2009b, 3). It sought to correct the criticism leveled against South Africa's DLG experience, that is, the tendency of municipalities to focus more on the efficiency imperative of the NPM. As argued earlier this narrow focus has resulted in the neglect of the participatory imperative and has proved to be detrimental to the overall DLG project. Does the LGTAS present an opportunity for government to consolidate the missing pieces of the DLG puzzle?

Chapter 3: Analysis of the Local Government Turnaround Strategy

3.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide an analysis of the LGTAS. This will is important in order to understand what the LGTAS requires from municipalities. The chapter is divided into four parts. The first section deals with the factors that have led to the formulation the LGTAS. The second section is the overview of the content of the LGTAS. Thirdly, the LGTAS is analysed in light of the literature review and the conceptual framework outlined in Chapter Two. Finally, the chapter concludes by highlighting the key points from the analysis.

3.2 Background to the LGTAS

> What is the state of local government in 2009 and what must be done to restore the confidence of our people in this sphere of government by 2011 and beyond? (COGTA, 2009b: 5).

The previous chapter concluded with a question: Does the LGTAS present an opportunity for government to consolidate the intentions of DLG? This question underlined the rationale underpinning the LGTAS initiative. In 2009, national government acknowledged the challenges facing municipalities in the State of Local Government Report (SLGR). These include:

- Huge service delivery and backlog challenges, e.g. housing, water and sanitation;
- Poor communication and accountability relationships with communities;
- Problems with the political administrative interface;
- Corruption and fraud;
- Poor financial management, e.g. negative audit opinions;
- Number of (violent) service delivery protests;
- Weak civil society formations;
- Intra- and inter-political party issues negatively affecting governance and delivery; and
- Insufficient municipal capacity due to lack of scarce skills (COGTA, 2009a: 4).

As a result, communities have lost confidence in the ability of municipalities to deliver the objects of local government as set out in the Constitution. The service delivery protests that engulfed the country in 2009 are cited as empirical evidence for the vote of no confidence in municipalities. Moreover, government concedes that the protests illustrate the frustration on the ground emanating from the lack of communication between municipalities and communities. The SLGR goes as far as suggesting that there is a growing social distance between government and communities

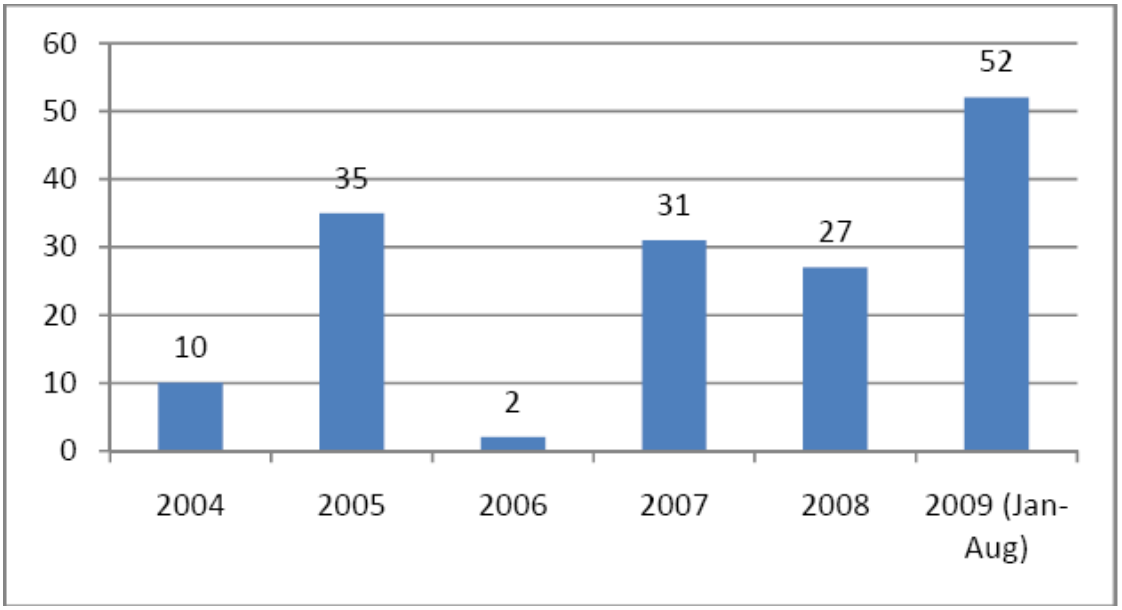
(COGTA, 2009a: 6). The situation is aggravated by the fact that most municipalities are struggling to deliver on basic services. There is no one reason to determine why municipalities are struggling to discharge their mandate.

"Dysfunctional", "in distress" and "inefficient" are some of the words used to describe municipalities in South Africa in the SLGR. Over the years, national government has formulated several programmes and policies to counter the challenges that face local government. COGTA observes that since the establishment of the local sphere, a number of measures to support and strengthen local government have been undertaken, including, the Local Government Support Programme, ISRDP, URP, specialized training by professional institutes and Project Consolidate (COGTA, 2009b: 4). However, these remedies have not proved to be the panacea of local government, especially with regard to delivering on the objectives of DLG. Although there are isolated success stories in some municipalities, the overall picture remains bleak, and has set the context for the spate of service delivery protests over the past few years.

Pieterse et al. (2008) acknowledge that there is evidence to suggest that some of these service delivery protests are politically motivated. However, the vast majority of them indicate that many communities are frustrated with local government's inability to deliver on the objectives of DLG, chiefly the provision of basic services. The reasons for this are complex in that there are both internal and external forces undermining local government. Internal factors refer to challenges that are a direct result of municipalities, such as corruption, lack of skills, limited resources and weak political leadership. External forces have to do with challenges that are beyond the scope of municipalities, such as policy formulation and the impact of intergovernmental planning.

According to COGTA (2009a), there were an unprecedented 52 major service delivery protests in 2009. This is worrying given that in 2004 there were only 10 service delivery protests (COGTA, 2009a. In other words, the number of protests has quadrupled in five years.

Figure 5: Graph depicting the number of service delivery protests from 2004 to 2009



Source: COGTA, 2009a: 77

The trend is made more worrying because by 2009, there were a number of government programmes that had already been implemented to remedy the challenges and provide support to local government. The LGTAS does not emerge as a substitute to these interventions but as a mechanism of support for existing measures. Despite the aforementioned challenges, there are also political factors that underpinned the introduction of the LGTAS. The removal of Mbeki as the president of the ANC during the 2007 National Conference in Polokwane is pivotal in this regard, and his subsequent resignation in May 2008 as South African President. In the political realm the replacement of Thabo Mbeki with Jacob Zuma signaled a new era because the latter is perceived to be more of a consultative leader. Also, the 2011 local government election were central to the preparation of the LGTAS. Against the backdrop of popular frustration and discontent in local government, the ANC needed a strategy to calm the situation before the polls.

3.3 Overview of the LGTAS

The first section of the policy deals with the role of local government in South Africa's developmental aspirations. This section can be seen as a justification for trying to make local government function, despite its lackluster performance thus far. Central to these justifications is the role of local government in achieving the goals of the RDP. One of the imperatives of the LGNF was the need to democratise society following 48 years of apartheid government centralisation. The

goal to democratise society became a policy imperative of the ANC and is one of the main aims of the RDP. By the same token, the RDP also emphasises the need for an inclusive economy. Local government is seen as the necessary sphere to achieve both goals.

More recently, local government is seen as a pivotal player in South Africa's ambitions to become a developmental state. The developmental state ideology stems from lessons learnt from the success of the Asian Tigers (Harrison, 2006). The developmental state idea was feasible because this offered the State an opportunity to have a direct impact on development. This is important in the context of South Africa wherein the spatial inequalities of the past are still evident. The ANC-led government sees it necessary for government to play an active role in development to ensure that development is evenly spread. This is different from a neo-liberal approach whereby the market dictates development. In South Africa's reconstruction programme, local government is the primary expression of a developmental state.

The importance of local government is emphasised in the first paragraph of the LGTAS document. The LGTAS states that "the aims of democratising our society and growing our economy inclusively can only be realized through a "responsive, accountable, effective and efficient local government system that is part of a developmental state" (COGTA, 2009b: 3). The assertion regarding the pivotal role of local government paves way for the introduction of the LGTAS as an intervention to counter the forces undermining the developmental role of local government. The root causes of these forces include:

- Systemic factors, i.e. linked to model of local government;
- Policy and legislative factors;
- Political factors;
- Weaknesses in the accountability systems;
- Capacity and skills constraints;
- Weak intergovernmental support and oversight; and
- Issues associated with the inter-governmental fiscal system (COGTA, 2009a: 3).

These factors were outlined in the SLGR, which was compiled following a nation-wide assessment programme of the 283 municipalities undertaken by COGTA. The LGTAS articulates the underlying rationale for the municipal assessment: "The purpose of the provincial assessments was to ascertain the key problem statement in different thematic areas and to establish the root causes for poor performance, distress or dysfunctionality in municipalities" (COGTA, 2009b: 3). Given the fundamental role of local government in South Africa's development that was established in the

LGTAS opening remarks, the conclusion of this first section outlines its aim, which is to "turn around municipalities from struggling with failure to ones that are confident in their abilities to execute their service delivery mandates" (COGTA, 2009b: 4).

Section Two of the document uses legislation to describe how a municipality ought to perform, as required by the various pieces of legislation governing local government. The focal point is the 1998 WPLG, and once again the definition of DLG is reiterated as "local government committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs and improve the quality of their lives" (COGTA, 2009b: 4). According to the LGTAS, the ideal municipality should deliver the objects of local government as set out in the Constitution, and should result in the following outcomes:

- The provision of household infrastructure and services;
- The creation of livable, integrated and inclusive cities, towns and rural areas;
- Local economic development; and
- Community empowerment and distribution (COGTA, 2009a: 13).

These outcomes, the LGTAS argues "should create a healthy local environment in which vulnerable groups are supported and protected. It should also mitigate the growing social distance between government and communities" (COGTA, 2009b: 4). The LGTAS acknowledges that a number of interventions have been introduced to achieve the ideal municipality as envisaged by the WPLG. These interventions include Siyenza Manje, and Project Consolidate. Although the SLGR states that these interventions have made some improvement in the ability of local government to execute their Constitutional mandate, the picture is far from the ideal. An indicator of this picture is the service delivery protests that have been proliferating at an alarming rate since 2004. To achieve the ideal municipality, the LGTAS proposes the following:

- "Local Government is everyone's business" (COGTA, 2009b: 5). The Strategy extends beyond government and must be owned across society. Municipalities can be made to work better for everyone by everyone. One of the main findings of the SLGR is that there is a growing distance between communities and municipalities. This distance, the SLGR argues, has resulted in the number of violent service delivery protests. The general perception is that municipalities do not engage with communities to listen to their needs, hence the frustrations. The goal to make local government everybody's business should be understood as a response to this shortfall. Thus, to achieve the ideal, participation is pivotal.

- "The structure of local government system remains. Notwithstanding certain changes that may have to be effected, the overall architecture of the system of local government is still

sound" (COGTA, 2009b: 4). Some commentators (Pieterse et. al., 2008; Harrison, 2006) have critiqued the structure of the IGR system. The LGTAS argues that the structure needs to be restructured to ensure that municipalities deliver on the aspirations of the WPLG.

- "The local government system is still new and is evolving. The new system of local government was always intended to be phased in over time and the current problems must be seen as part of an effort to learn and correct as we continue with implementation" (COGTA, 2009b: 4). This point accentuates the call for the current structure to remain intact. The LGTAS stresses that success will not be achieved overnight and that the shortfalls that have been experienced thus far should be understood as part of the learning experience. In other words, the local government system has not failed in principle, because it is an ongoing process that is faced with numerous challenges, but further efforts will be needed to ensure its success. The LGTAS has been formulated to counter challenges and ensure that municipalities deliver on their Constitutional mandate.

Section Three of the document is designed to illustrate the spatial inequalities of the South African landscape. The section shows that municipalities face different challenges and thus require a differentiated approach. This is part of COGTA's call to shift away from the earlier 'one size fits all' approach. In previous years, municipalities have been critiqued for adopting and applying local government interventions that do not address their needs and challenges. In this light, the LGTAS is seen as a progressive intervention. To qualify the need for a differentiated approach, the LGTAS provides a Vulnerability Index which is indicative of a municipality's vulnerability:

- Class 1: Very high vulnerability;
- Class 2: High vulnerability;
- Class 3: Medium vulnerability; and
- Class 4: Low vulnerability (COGTA, 2009b: 23)

The Vulnerability Index does not only take into account the spatial, social, municipal capacity and economic indicators, but also it considers the audit opinions by National Treasury regarding municipal capacity to implement the Municipal Finance Management Act (MFMA). The latter is a good indication of financial and management capacity. The LGTAS argues that this classification system "will guide the kinds and levels of support and interventions developed for the LGTAS" (COGTA, 2009b: 24). Further, "it will also lay the basis for determining the appropriate responsibilities, powers and functions that different municipalities ought to ideally provide to their communities and guide how greater state involvement must take place to ensure that all communities receive quality services, irrespective of which municipality they live in" (COGTA, 2009b: 24). Moreover, "this approach to understanding municipal difference is intended to assist

municipalities to reflect on their respective strengths and weaknesses and to take responsibility for identifying and managing appropriate interventions" (COGTA, 2009b: 25).

As outlined above, the LGTAS is premised on three key assumptions, that is, local government is everybody's business, the structure of local government remains, and local government is still new and evolving. The last two assumptions inform the LGTAS despite calls from some quarters to review the local government structure. In Section Four of the LGTAS, government can be seen to justify their position on the matter by highlighting some success stories. For example, the cases of Thabazimbi Local Municipality and the Overstrand Local Municipality are respectively lauded for their performance in Local Economic Development (LED) and financial viability. It is argued that the success stories should be a model of development for other municipalities.

The challenges faced by local government are covered in Section Five of the LGTAS. Some of the root causes of municipal failure have been determined as being due to:

- Inappropriate national and provincial government policies, practices and onerous requirements;
- Political parties that are undermining the integrity and functioning of municipal councils through intra- and inter-party conflicts and inappropriate interference in councils and administration; and
- Those municipalities that are not geared for delivering basic services and are not responsive and accountable enough to residents, including a failure to involve communities in their own development (COGTA, 2009b, 18-19).

According to the LGTAS, these have fuelled public perception and concern within government that the entire Local Government system is in distress due to the following factors:

- Local government is failing the poor;
- Local government is not working properly;
- Local government is unaccountable to the citizens;
- Local government is marred by excessive levels of corruption, fraud, maladministration; and
- Municipalities are centres of factional conflicts, political infighting and patronage (COGTA, 2009b: 18).

The LGTAS identifies that municipalities are affected by both internal and external problems. Whilst internal factors refer to issues affecting the municipalities directly, such as administrative capacity, external factors refer to factors that affect municipalities indirectly, such as national policy. The LGTAS states that external factors require a solution that is beyond the scope of local government.

The internal problems are categorised into seven thematic areas, service delivery, spatial conditions, governance, financial management, LED and labour relations, and these problems are the focus of the policy's recommendations.

Having identified the root causes of the problems undermining local government, Section Six of the LGTAS outlines the plans and interventions that government seeks to introduce. To provide overall direction, five strategic objectives have been formulated:

- Ensure that municipalities meet the basic service needs of communities;
- Build clean, effective, efficient, responsive and accountable local government;
- Improve performance and professionalism in municipalities;
- Improve national and provincial policy, oversight and support; and
- Strengthen partnerships between local government, communities and civil society (COGTA, 2009b: 19).

These objectives have been identified to "rebuild and improve the basic requirements for a functional, responsive, effective, efficient and accountable developmental local government" (COGTA, 2009b: 19).

Objectives One and Five are the main focus of this research. Whilst Objective Five represents the means for DLG, Objective One represents some of the ends that should result from DLG. Focusing on these two objectives is informed by the analyses that suggest that participation is absent from South Africa's quest for DLG, which has not only impacted negatively on service delivery, but also has led to a social distance between communities and government, and the proliferation of service delivery protests. The perceived lack of participation is not the only reason for local government's inability to deliver DLG. To fully comprehend this inability the institutional shortfalls that the LGTAS seeks to correct through the other three objectives should be acknowledged. These three objectives can be categorized as part of the imperative of efficiency in DLG, which has dominated the history of DLG in South Africa. The research question of this study is focused on the impact of the LGTAS on the imperatives of participation, hence the focus on Objectives One and Five.

An improved inter-governmental planning system is encouraged, hence the envisaged role for all the three spheres of government. The LGTAS calls for the creation of "a single window and entry point for the coordination of local government support and monitoring in the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs" (COGTA, 2009b: 20). Nevertheless, whilst national government

continues to play a leading role in the formulation of policies, the provincial structures are encouraged to support local government where possible. Other interventions include the launch of a good citizenship campaign that is based on the principles of '*Ubuntu'*. The latter is to ensure that all of society is guided by a common set of values. For the realisation of the five strategic objectives, the LGTAS plans to mobilise all of society to become involved.

Section Seven covers the implementation plan of the LGTAS. The implementation of the LGTAS is premised upon the methodology that there must be a differentiated and targeted support system for local government. This is the case because Section Two of the LGTAS has established that different municipalities face different challenges. As noted earlier, this is largely because of the spatial inequalities. Some municipalities are more capable of discharging their Constitutional mandate than others. Thus, for the implementation the LGTAS states that "measures will be taken to ensure that in those parts of the country, especially rural areas, where severe poverty and underdevelopment sits side by side with weak municipal capacity, there is a dedicated focus to augment municipal capacity with delivery through capable institutions at either provincial or national level" (COGTA, 2009b: 25). Because the implementation is envisaged through a two-phased period (pre-2011 which is the short term and post-2011, the long-term), the support system is focused on the "institutional measures to facilitate improved delivery of infrastructure and services (related to the short-term goals) and structural, policy, legislative and capacity building measures over the longer-term" (COGTA, 2009b: 22).

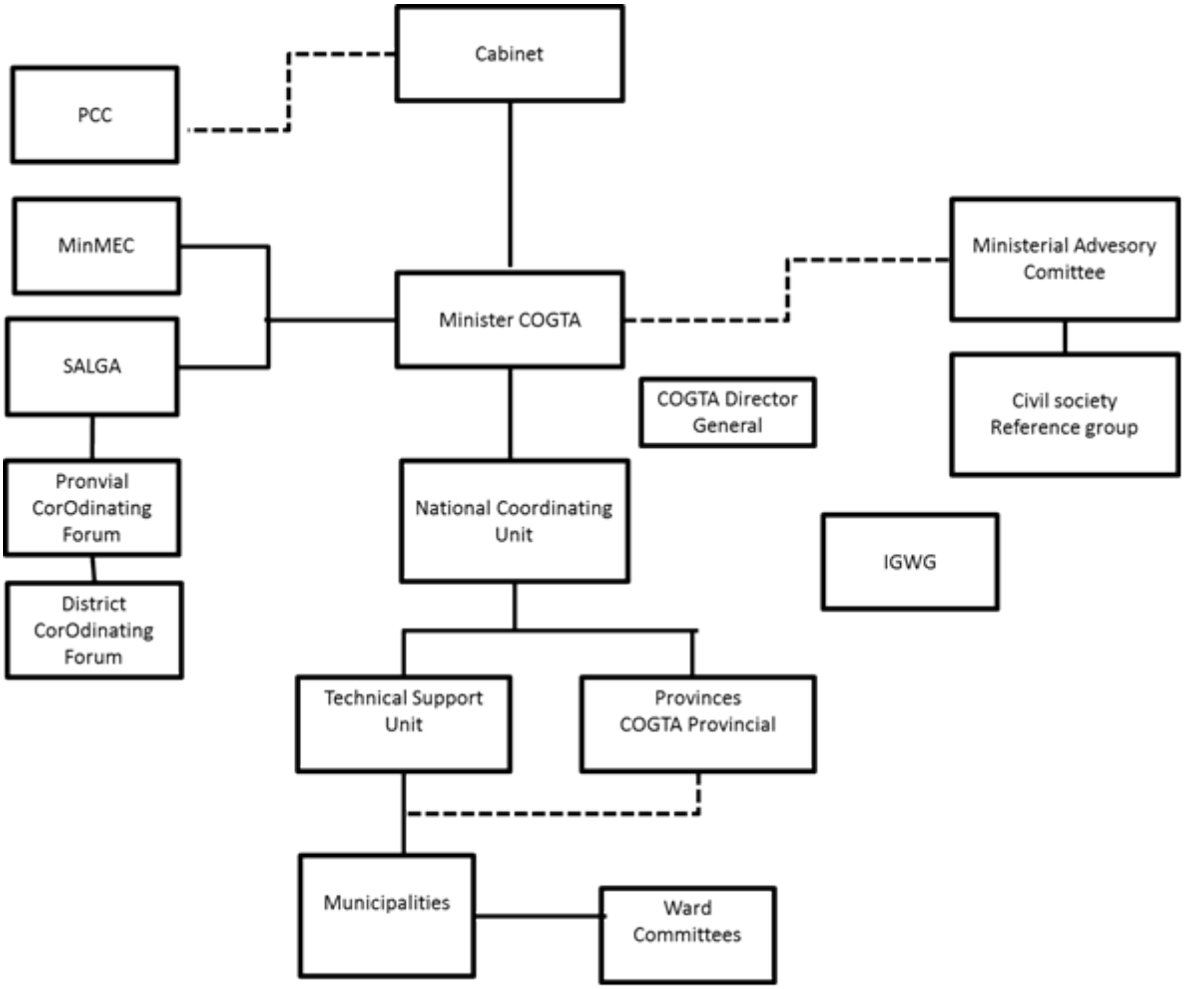
The following factors need to be addressed in the implementation of the LGTAS:

- The impact of uniform regulatory framework - shifting from the one size fits all approach;
- Municipalities focus on compliance - municipalities should start to focus on the issues affecting their localities rather than to merely observe protocol;
- Untargeted and ineffective support - the role and relationship between the three spheres of government should be scrutinized and improved upon; and
- The combination of internal factors with external impacts - poor municipal performance can be due to factors that are outside the local government scope, such as policy formulation and global economic instability (COGTA, 2009b: 24).

Section Eight is the intervention framework. This section builds from Section Five in that it sets out the priorities that should be met to address the root causes undermining the local government. The intervention framework identifies the responsibilities of the various spheres of government as well as the timeframe (short- or long-term). For example, one of the interventions to enhance service

delivery is better planning and oversight over local service delivery. In this regard the role of national government is to identify legislation and practice that constrains service delivery while that of province and local is to strengthen regional planning and strengthen collective municipal plans respectively. The pre-2011 goal was to identify constraints to service delivery and the long-term vision is to improve planning and service provision. The LGTAS document concludes by setting out the institutional arrangement for the LGTAS before outlining the key intervention areas (Section Nine) and a road map for the process moving forward (Section Ten).

Figure 6: Institutional Framework for the LGTAS



Source: COGTA, 2009b: 45

3.4 Analysis of the LGTAS

The conceptual framework highlighted the profound impact of New Public Management (NPM) practice on South Africa's public administration system. The WPLG is a good example of the ideals

represented by NPM under the Third Way approach. The WPLG calls for a system of local government that is not only institutionally competent in terms of efficiency, but also adheres to progressive ideals such as "participation, collaborative planning, and democracy" (Harrison, 2006: 188). The WPLG requires that municipalities are to produce an IDP to achieve DLG through efficient institutions that seek to address the aforementioned progressive ideas. However, conflating efficiency with participation has proved to be difficult, given South Africa's 'top-down' development system. Developmental plans are produced at the 'top' (national government) and implemented through a 'bottom up' approach. The system is characterised by contradictions and contestations that make it difficult for local government to simultaneously be efficient and participatory in nature. Since 2000, DLG has favoured the desiderata of 'technocrats', with an emphasis on efficiency in the public administration. Parnell and Pieterse (2002) argue that this has had a negative impact on local government's ability to realise the objectives of DLG as set out in the 1998 WPLG.

For Heller (2008), participation and efficiency are both necessary for DLG to occur. Several scholars argue that the South African case is one wherein participation has been institutionalised, henceforth the lack of participation (Heller, 2001, 2008; Pieterse, 2007; Pieterse and van Donk, 2008; Pieterse et al., 2008). The lack of participation is also confirmed by the SLGR. This has negatively affected the relationship between communities and local government, and has created a "social distance" between municipalities and communities (COGTA, 2009b: 24). The LGTAS has been introduced to curb this situation, and it has been designed to revitalise the participatory component of DLG and to reinforce the efficiency of local government. Therefore, the LGTAS is an indication that government has the utmost confidence in the current development system to deliver DLG. The LGTAS does not seek to overhaul the system but calls for an improvement in the implementation process. There is an urgent need to improve the relationship between communities and municipalities through meaningful participatory measures that will ensure good governance practices and lead to better service delivery.

By the same token, municipalities as institutions of government are encouraged to be efficient in executing their Constitutional mandate as well as ensuring that they are not affected by practices that do not adhere to good governance such as corruption, nepotism, and maladministration (COGTA, 2009b). From the content of the LGTAS, it is clear that government is attempting to create a common ground wherein both the imperatives of participation and efficiency of DLG can co-exist. In light of this attempt, the LGTAS has to be applauded. However, we need to investigate the 'co-

existence' further. In Chapter Two it has been established that the success of participatory governance enjoyed in places like Porto Alegre and Kerala was not evident in the earlier experience of DLG. Heller (2008: 157) argues that this is the case because in South Africa the efficiency side of DLG is highly developed, whereas the participatory element remains poorly developed. The LGTAS is an attempt to change this. The stated intentions of the document seem to suggest a more responsive, inclusionary DLG.

The key intervention areas illustrate that the LGTAS signals a shift to a responsive, inclusionary local government. Pieterse and van Donk (2008) argued that the IGR system undermined the responsiveness of municipalities to communities. Local government is accountable to the national sphere because this structure sets out the Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) of municipalities and municipal officials alike. The LGTAS states that national government (including state enterprises) needs to organise itself better in relation to local government. In this regard one of the objectives is to address the 'one size fits all' approach to enable municipalities to focus on functions that are suited to their different sizes and capacities (COGTA, 2009b). Addressing the 'one size fits all' approach will also enable municipalities to better respond to the needs of their communities. Here, the argument is that municipalities have been unable to respond to the needs of their communities because the municipal Spatial Development Framework, for example, reflects the priorities of national government through the National Spatial Development perspective (NSDP) and Provincial Spatial Development Framework (PSDF). The priorities of national and provincial government might differ from that of the local municipalities. In terms of the LGTAS, national government is to ensure a more responsive DLG by doing the following:

- Address socio- economic and institutional vulnerability of the relevant municipalities;
- Intergovernmental agreement with a targeted set of municipalities;
- More enabling environment for service delivery;
- Improve spatial prioritisation of budgets and investments, and delivery of national functions and inter-sectoral alignment in municipalities; and
- Organised participation in IDP processes (COGTA, 2009b: 20).

The role of provincial government is also imperative. According to the LGTAS, provinces will improve their "support and oversight responsibilities for local government and better communication and involvement of municipalities and communities in planning and execution of provincial functions" (COGTA, 2009b: 20). As implementers of the development programme, municipalities are expected

to “reflect on their own performance and identify their own tailor-made turnaround strategies” (COGTA, 2009b: 20).

The MTAS should focus on the following:

- Undertake appropriate set of powers and functions and identify and establish relevant agency arrangements with national and provincial government within current policy framework;
- Through the municipal Spatial Development Frameworks, each municipality is aware of and is able to guide the land use activity on every square metre and kilometre in its area of jurisdiction; and
- Improved public participation and communication including effective complaint management and feedback systems (COGTA, 2009b: 21).

Notably, institutional building is also outlined as an intervention for a more responsive DLG.

3.5 Conclusion

The emergence of the LGTAS has been influenced by a number of factors. The LGTAS reaffirms government’s commitment to the developmental state idea. According to Harrison et al. (2006), the decision to revert to the developmental state idea was spearheaded by the Zuma-led faction of the ANC who felt that the idea was sidelined during the Mbeki tenure. Unlike during the Mbeki reign where the governance approach was ‘managerial’, the Zuma-led administration emphasises the fundamentals of network governance. The LGTAS is a good illustration of network governance: local government is encouraged to mobilise all societal organs to contribute to the success of municipalities, thereby forming a complex relationship that contributes to the greater good of the developmental agenda. It is argued that “the LGTAS serves as a social compact across all sectors of society to contribute to building responsive, accountable and effective municipalities” (COGTA, 2009b: 22). In this regard, the good citizenship campaign is pivotal. The main aim of the campaign is to ensure a good citizenship programme centered on involvement in local government affairs by all of civil society.

The SLGR has played a major influence in the formulation of the LGTAS. In the SLGR it was found that communities have lost confidence in local government as the primary expression of a developmental state. The LGTAS argues that the model of local government has not failed entirely but is characterised by a number of shortcomings. These shortcomings, government argues, has

undermined the integrity of the whole local government system. Several success stories have been outlined in the LGTAS to show that the model has not failed entirely. Given the limited success, however, government uses the LGTAS to respond to those forces undermining the ability of municipalities to discharge their developmental mandate. Importantly, the LGTAS seeks to address both the external and internal factors undermining the developmental role of local government. Externally, the impact of the IGR system is questioned. Internally, municipalities are encouraged set up structures that will ensure institutional efficiency and community participation. The LGTAS can be understood as an attempt to balance both the imperatives of efficiency and participation encapsulated in the notion of DLG. However, greater priority is given to the government's long-held orientation towards institutional reform to resolve development challenges.

Chapter 4: Overview of the Case Study Area: Makhuduthamaga Local Municipality

4.1 Introduction

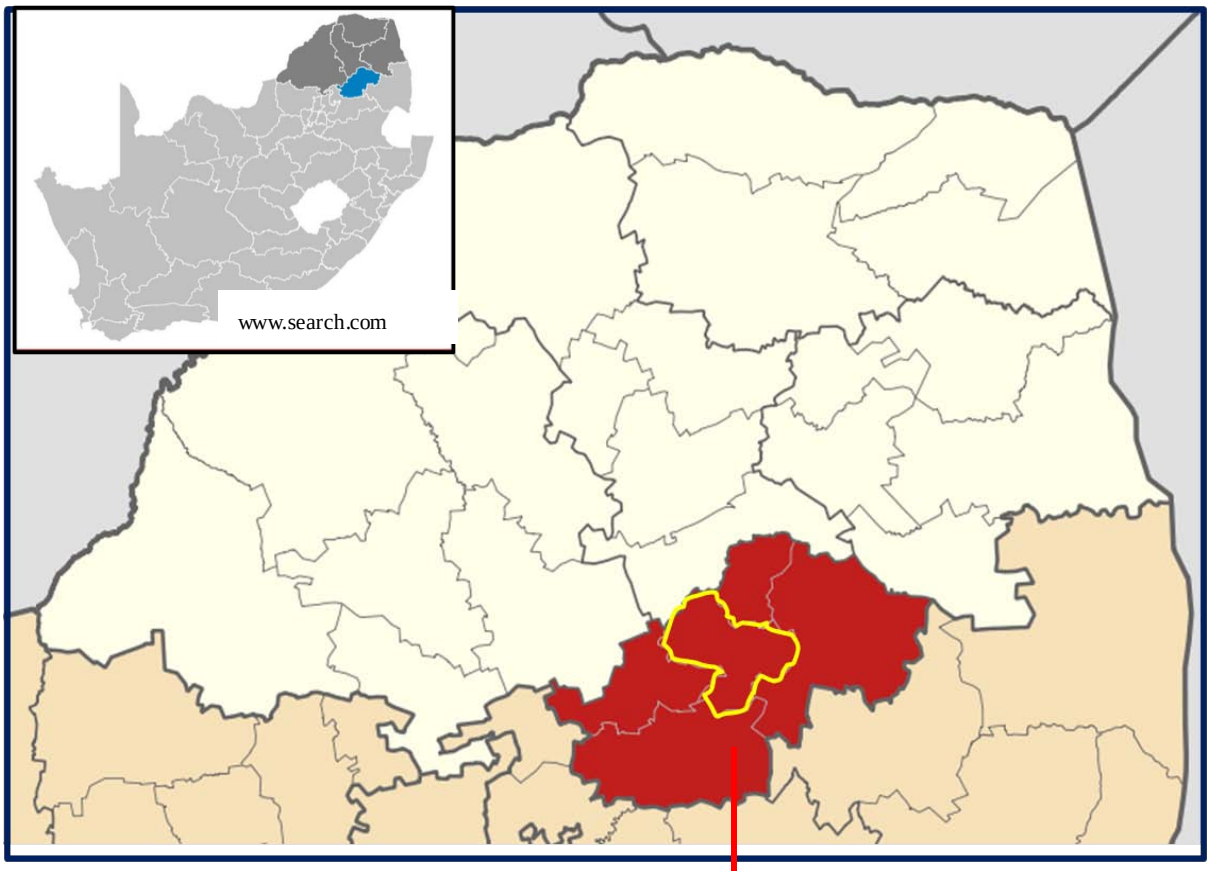
The SLGR represents the latest undertaking by government to understand the challenges undermining the ability of municipalities to deliver DLG. The LGTAS labels the SLGR as is the most consultative exercise that was instituted to understand the dynamics impacting the local government sphere in the post-apartheid era. The process was led by the Minister of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs and the respective MECs for each province. Although there is evidence that some municipalities are performing relatively well in certain aspects of DLG; the overall picture is one of a local government system that is largely unable to implement its developmental mandate (COGTA: 2009b). The LGTAS makes it clear that its priority is to re-orientate municipalities that have been identified as Class 1 (most vulnerable) and Class 2 (second most vulnerable) by the SLGR. Thus, it is appropriate to examine the impact of the LGTAS in consolidating DLG in a municipality that has been classified as vulnerable. As a Class 1 municipality, Makhuduthamaga Local Municipality (MLM) has been selected as the case study.

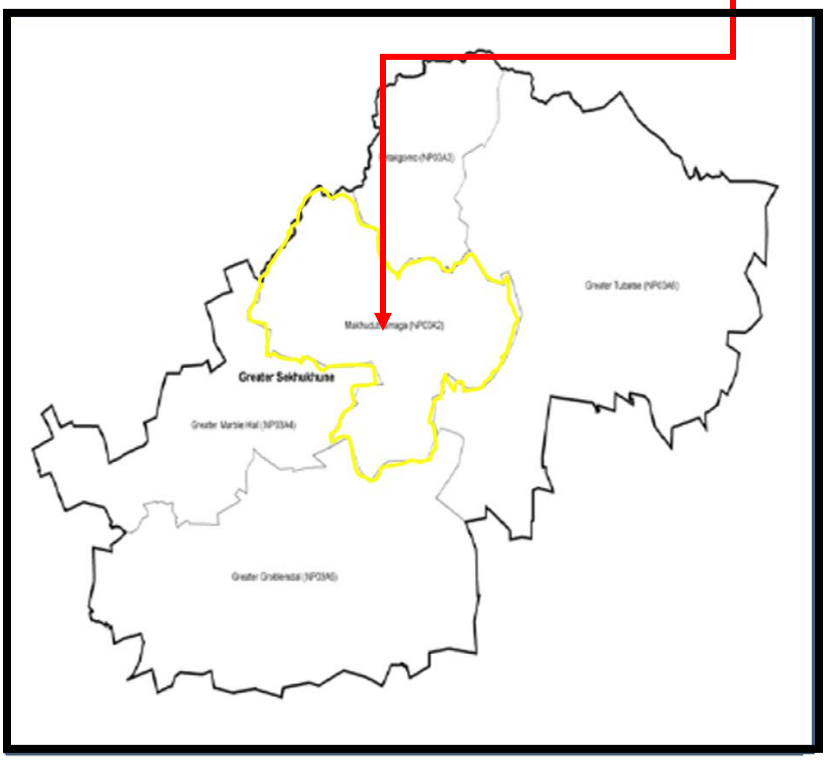
The municipality is primary rural and subsistence farming is a livelihood strategy for many in the municipality. Poverty in the area is rife. The situation is perpetuated by a municipality that is struggling to deliver basic services to the community. Nevertheless, this chapter will provide a descriptive overview of the MLM, giving particular attention to details about poverty and vulnerability, as well as service needs and delivery, and levels of civil society organisation. The first section of the chapter deals with the physical location of the municipality. Secondly, a historical background is outlined. This is vital for the reader to understand the factors that have shaped MLM. In the third section the demographics of the municipality are discussed. The fourth section contains basic service delivery backlogs in the municipality and the fifth presents the municipal response to this backlogs. Finally, the sixth section concludes by summarising the key points of the chapter.

4.2 Physical location

Makhuduthamaga Local Municipality (MLM) is a predominantly rural municipality that is found in the south-eastern part of Limpopo Province. It lies approximately 189 kilometers south-east of the provincial capital, Polokwane, and is located at the heart of the Sekhukhune District Municipality. It is bordered by Ephraim Mogale Local Municipality to the south-east), Tubatse Local Municipality in the north-east, and Fetakgomo Local Municipality in the north.

Map 2: Location Map of Makhuduthamaga local Municipality





Mayor: Clr Alfred Matlala

Vision

A development municipality that provides need satisfying, sustainable services

Mission

To strive for a people centered municipality that delivers sustainable services underpinned by the following principles:

- Efficiency
- Effectiveness
- Economy
- Integration
- Accountability

4.3 Historical Background

The Makhuduthamaga Local Municipality (MLM) is found in the former Bantu homeland that was named 'Lebowa' during the epoch of Apartheid. In 2000, MLM was established with the amalgamation of the former Nebo, Ngwaritsi and Makhuduthamaga Transitional Local Councils in terms of the Municipal Systems Act of 2000. It is a Category B municipality – in other words, a Local Municipality. In 2005 the headquarters of MLM moved from Groblersdal to Jane Furse. The move to Jane Furse was not only influenced by its more central location, but also due to the economic role it plays in the Sekhukhune Region. This is mainly due to presence of the regional hospital, the large shopping centre that was established in 1995, and a growing taxi industry that connects residents to nearby cities and towns i.e. Polokwane and Groblersdal. Initially retail activities were largely characterised by small enterprises, but today, large retail corporations, such as Pick n Pay, Shoprite-Checkers and KFC are key anchor tenants of the shopping centre. This boom of economic activity has attracted many informal traders from across the Sekhukhune Region and beyond into Jane Furse.

The small town is likely to see significant public investment in the near future. Recently the MEC for Local Government and Housing, Soviet Lekganyane announced that government had a revitalisation plan for towns such as Jane Furse which should be seen in the context of national government's commitment to rural development. Further, there are talks surfacing of plans to move the district offices from Groblersdal to Jane Furse.

4.4 Demographic Profile

According to the Integrated Development Plan of MLM (2010), the estimated population of the municipality is 300 206, 146 with 56 642 households. The average household size is 5.3 persons. This is higher than the national average which is estimated to be 4.11 (Statistics South Africa: 2007).

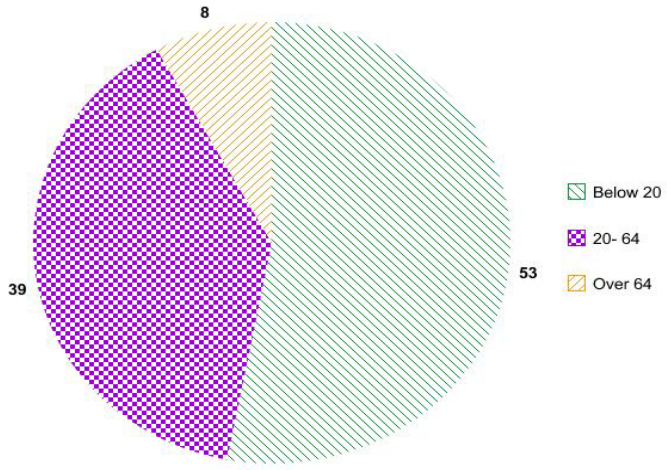
Table 2: Breakdown of the Race Groups

Population Group	Population Number	% 2007
Black	299 941	99.93
Coloureds	42	0.002
Indian or Asian	93	0.003
White	124	0.05
Total	300 200	100

Source: MLM, 2011: 32

The municipal population is mainly comprised of individuals below the age of 20. This age group is depended on government's social system to survive because the unemployment rate in the municipality is estimated to be 60-75 percent (MLM: 2010). The average household size also indicates the high dependency. Moreover, there are more females (176 744- 56 %) than males (123 462- 44 %) in the municipality. This is because males are most likely to migrate areas with potential employment opportunities i.e. Gauteng Province. The mobility of females is not only restricted by economic factors but also traditional perceptions on the role of females in society. Tradition in the Pedi clan (dominant in the municipality) dictates that males are head of the family and as such should venture out and seek for a livelihood strategy whilst the females are responsible for reproduction processes. In most cases males migrate to areas like Johannesburg and Burgersfort to work in the mining sector and other manufacturing related fields. Mining is usually associated with male labour absorption.

Figure 7: Age Distribution in Percent



Source: MLM, 2011: 32

The employment profile of the municipality reveal that the dependency ration is above 3.33 which means for every 10 economically active people they will support 33 not economically active and unemployed persons (MLM, 2011). The municipality used the international formula to calculate the dependency:

> Dependency = Number of Children (0-15) + Number of Pensioners (65+) (Economically Inactive) / Number of Working age 16-65 (Economically Active)

The municipal dependency ratio is an indication of vulnerability in the area. For the municipality, high rate of vulnerability means that more resources have to be allocated to basic service delivery. The indigent state of affairs in the municipality is worsened by low income levels.

Table 3: Employment Profile

Economically active	Male numbers	% for males	Female numbers	% for female	Total % for Male and Female	Total for Male and Female
Employed	10 759	49	11 219	51	100	21 978
Unemployment	11 950	36	21 397	64	100	33 347
Total	22 709		32 616	100		55 746
Not economically active	34 403	41	49 636	59	100	84 039
Total	57 111	82 251				139 364

Source: MLM, 2011: 32

Approximately 54.8 percent of individuals have no formal income (MLM, 2010). In 2006, Stats SA reported that 41.56 percent of the people in MMLM had no formal income.

Table 4: Household Income

Income category	No of Households	Population (%)
No income	22 525	41.56
R1- R4 800	4197	7.74
R4 801- R9 600	14 546	26.84
R9 601- R19 200	6781	12.51
R38 401- R76 800	2346	4.33
R76 801- R153 600	815	1.50
R153 601- R307 200	186	0.34
R307 201- R614 400	57	0.11
R614 401- 1 228 800	18	0.03
R1 228 801- R2 457 600	27	0.05
R2 457 600 and more	12	0.02

Source: MLM, 2006: 42

The statistics show that more than 40 percent of households in the municipality are classified as indigent. The National Indigent Policy requires municipalities to provide Free Basic Services (water, electricity, sanitation and waste removal) to households whose combined income does not exceed

R1600. This task is almost impossible for a rural municipality like MLM. The municipality does not a property revenue base.

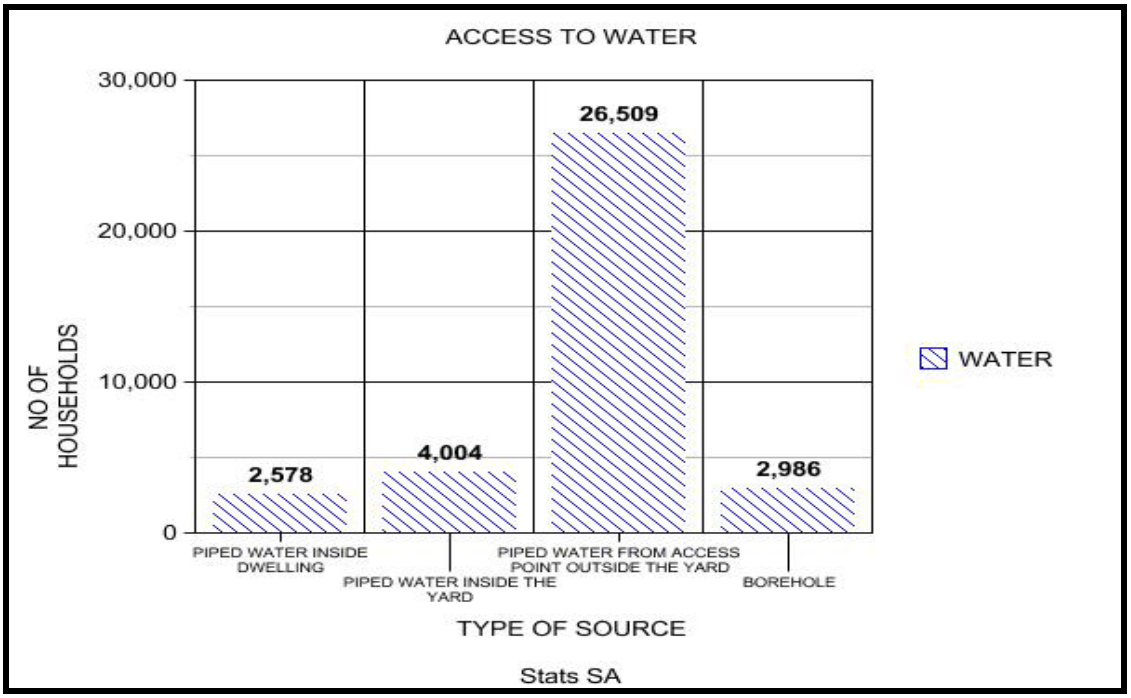
4. 5 Basic Services

The settlement pattern is also a developmental challenge for the municipality. This has had a profound impact on the delivery of infrastructural services. This is because the "municipality is characterised by dispersed villages that lie distant from one another" (MLM, 2011: 34). Long distances between settlements coupled with poor road infrastructure have made service provision a difficult and "sometimes impossible" to the communities (MLM, 2011: 34). Compounding these is the fact that the area is characterised by low density (MLM, 2011: 34). Thus, the municipality is characterised by a number of basic service delivery backlogs.

4.5.1. Water

MLM is not a Water Service Authority or Water Service provider. Water is a function of the Sekhukhune District Municipality.

Figure 8: Household Access to Water



Source: Stats SA, 2007

Only 0.98 percent of the total population has access to piped water inside the dwelling. Overall, the total population that has access to piped water is 13.7 %.

Table 5: Water Backlog

MLM	Households	Households receiving water up to RDP standard and above	Backlog	% Backlog
	56 642	20 888	32 899	64

Source: MLM, 2011: 34

Water supply authorities in the municipality have been unable to meet the target set by the Department of Water Affairs to eradication of water supply backlog in households by 2008. To overcome the water backlog the 2011 Sekhukhune District Municipality IDP has identifies 11 projects across to be implemented in various villages across MLM. In total budget for this projects is R9 3809 4848.

4.5.2. Sanitation

Like water, the district municipality (Sekhukhune District Municipality) is responsible for sanitation. Only 9% of household has sanitation up to RDP standard. Of the 56 642 households 51 271 do not have a sanitation system that meets the minimal standard of the RDP. This means that the sanitation backlog in the municipality is 91%.

Table 6: Access to Sanitation

Sanitation Type	No.	%
Flush toilet (connected to sewerage system)	879	1.6%
Flush toilet (with septic tank)	412	0.8%
Dry toilet facility	242	0.5%
Pit toilet with ventilation (VIP)	6,945	12.9
Pit toilet without ventilation	41,738	77.8
Chemical toilet	-	0%
Bucket toilet system	-	0%
None	3,439	6.4%
Total	56 642	100%

Source: MLM, 2011: 35

In contrast to the commitment on water provision, the Sekhukhune District Municipality has identified only one project to overcome sanitation in the MLM. The sanitation project is in the village of Ramphelane village. The total budget for the project is R 4 100 100.

4.5.3 Electricity

The "electrification projects that are implemented by the municipality are ceded to Eskom for operation and maintenance" (MLM, 2011: 46). This is because the municipality is not a licensed supplier of electricity. Unlike water and sanitation statistics suggest that municipality is making inroads insofar as delivering electricity. In total 46 266 households have electrified.

Table 7: Sources of Energy for Lighting in MLM

	Electricity	Gas	Paraffin	Candles	Solar	Other
2007	84.1	0.1	2.7	12	0	1.1
2001	62.58	0.11	4.83	31.84	0.22	0.43
1996	25.3	0.33	11.86	54.5	0	0.01

Source: MLM, 2011: 47

Currently, the electricity backlog is 18.3 percent. The villages without access to electricity are mainly located in mountainous regions of the municipality and newly formed settlements. The municipal IDP has identified the following as developmental challenges to electricity:

- Eskom has no capacity;
- Illegal connections to households;
- New extensions of residential sites for post connections;
- Budgetary constraints; and
- Authority over electricity (MLM, 2011: 34).

4.5.4. Housing

The Department of Local Government and Housing (DLGH) is responsible for housing in the municipality. The role of the municipality is to identify and submit the names of beneficiaries.

Table 8: Access to Housing

MLM	Households	Backlog	% Backlog
	56 642	13 258	22

Source: MLM, 2011: 51

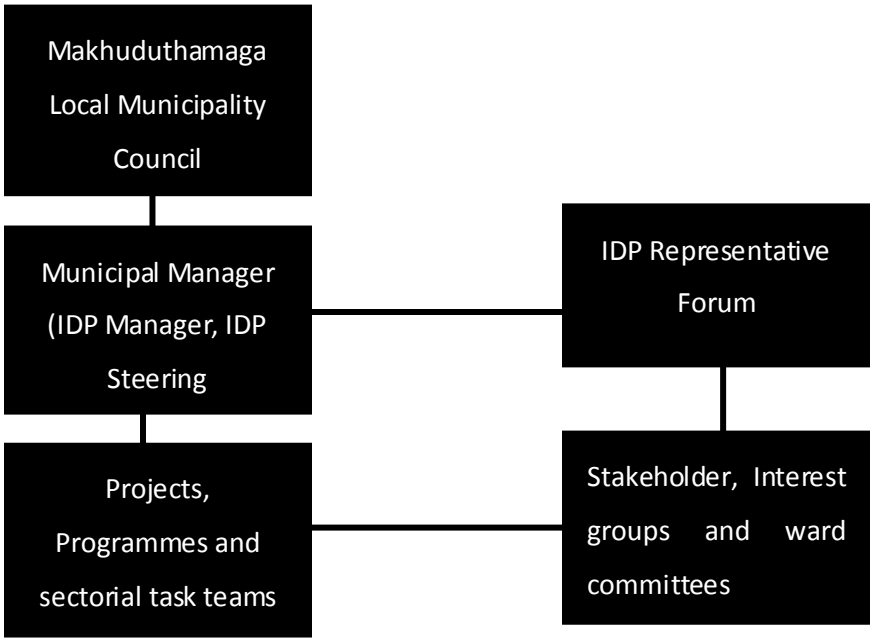
According to Stats SA (2007) 72 percent of the dwelling type in the municipality is made of brick structure. However, most of these houses are not up to the standard of the RDP and require upgrading. The IDP also points out that there has been a proliferation of backyard shacks and informal settlements in the municipality because of the envisaged development in Jane Furse. Nonetheless, there are 81 059 planned units to be implemented across various villages in the municipality (MLM: 2011).

The service delivery backlog show that MLM is faced with a number of challenges, as Makgetla outlines:

> Makhuduthamaga in the former Lebowa homeland was the poorest municipality in South Africa in 2004, spending just R50 on each of its 250 000 inhabitants every year. If you lived in Makhuduthamaga, you would likely be desperately poor, unemployed, and dependent on social grants and remittances. You would almost certainly carry in your water and have a pit toilet. In 2001, only 11 per cent of households in the municipality had piped water on site, while just 2 per cent had flush toilets and 16 per cent had no toilets at all. In 2004, just under half the population living in this municipality went hungry at least sometimes (Makgetla, 2007: 145).

4.6 The IDP Institutional Organization

Figure 8: Organogram representing the IDP Institutional Process of Makhuduthamaga Local Municipality



The aim of the organogram is to show the institutional process governing participation in the preparation of the municipal IDP. This is pivotal because the IDP is the developmental tool of the municipality. In line with the Municipal Systems Act; the municipality uses IDP forums to encourage civil society to participate in the preparation of the IDP. Also, it is important to note that this is not the only form of participation in the municipality. Community members are able to participate in the municipal processes through Traditional Leaders. Traditional Leaders are also members of the Council.

4.7. Conclusion

Service delivery in MLM remains a huge challenge to the municipality. The municipality is characterised by basic service delivery backlogs. The municipality concedes that the developmental challenges are immense and argues that the situation is worsened by the fact that land ownership in the municipality is "predominantly under the South African Development Trust but under the custodianship of local Traditional Authorities" (MLM, 2011: 34). The municipality does not own land. At times this culminates a situation where in municipal projects are delayed or even cancelled because they do not enjoy support of the local Tribal Authorities. Thus whilst the Tribal Authorities can support the municipality in terms of galvanizing the community for participation in some instances they can hinder developmental projects in the municipality. Nonetheless, Jane Furse has emerged as the core economic node of the region and represents hope for MLM. As far as governance is concerned, public participation process of the IDP process is complemented by the relationship between Traditional Leaders and the municipality. This complementary relationship is quite different from that experienced in other parts of country like in KwaZulu-Natal where the relationship between municipalities and traditional leaders is often characterized by conflict and animosity (Mtimkulu, 2009).

Chapter 5: Findings and Analysis

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the findings of the fieldwork are discussed and analysed. In the first section, a detailed account of the research findings is followed by key points that have emerged from the fieldwork. The narration of the research findings is structured to reflect the content of the interview questionnaire. This approach begins to paint a picture of the impact of the LGTAS in Makhuduthamaga Local Municipality. In the second part of the chapter, the findings are analysed through the conceptual framework set out in Chapter Two.

5.2 DLG in Makhuduthamaga: The Research Findings

The information that was gathered for the case study was done so through a series of interviews with municipal councillors and officials from the Makhuduthamaga Local Municipality (MLM). In total, seven interviews were conducted:

- Senior Manager;
- Director of Infrastructure and Services;
- Two members of the Community Liaison Office;
- Project Manager; and
- Two Ward Councillors.

The primary aim of the LGTAS is to consolidate the developmental nature of local government (DLG). To contextualise the research study the questionnaire commences by asking several questions related to the concept of DLG:

- What do you think are the objectives of DLG?
- Has the municipality been able to reach these objectives?
- If not, what impediments do you think the municipality has encountered in its endeavour to deliver DLG?
- What has been the role of interventions like Project Consolidate and Five Year Local Government Strategic Agenda in aiding the municipality to deliver DLG?

Of the seven interviewees, only the Senior Manager was aware of what DLG entailed as envisaged by the WPLG. This is not to suggest that the other interviewees are not aware of the developmental role of local government. According to the Senior Manager, DLG is about reversing the injustices of the apartheid system through basic service provision and the creation of job opportunities. One of the Community Liaison Officers commented that, for him, DLG is about decentralising development because "under the previous regime (apartheid) rural areas like Makhuduthamaga" experienced limited development. Consequently, "people had to travel long distances to access strong economic centres like Polokwane." Therefore, for him, DLG was introduced as a balancing act to development. Although the Director of Infrastructure and Services admits that while she is not aware of either the WPLG or the DLG concept, she was aware that the ANC government has introduced a number of policies to ensure that "municipalities are responsive to the needs of communities." In this regard, she cited the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP). She pointed out that the EPWP is important because it seeks to address the dual challenge of service delivery and unemployment. None of the interviewees made the link between DLG and participation.

The general perception of the interviewees is that the main objective of municipality is to deliver basic services. From this perspective, the Director of Infrastructure and Services argues that the municipality has made some inroads, despite the limited resources. Both the Director of Infrastructure and Services and the Senior Manager point out that the municipality has addressed 90 percent of the electricity backlog. They argue that areas that do not have access to electricity in the municipality are newly formed areas. The pair also indicate that the municipality has improved the road and network infrastructure. The qualities of these roads are, however, questionable. According to the Director of Infrastructure and Services, the municipality has had to "compromise" the quality of the roads because of limited resources. According to her, this practice shortens the lifespan of the roads. Although the municipality has made some inroads in service delivery, the SLGR states that the municipality is one of the worst performing municipalities in service delivery. This is because service delivery goes beyond electricity and road network infrastructure.

Importantly, all the interviewees acknowledge that service delivery in the municipality is still faced with a number of backlogs. In this regard, one of the Community Liaison Officers states that some services are not prioritised. For example, sanitation remains a challenge because in a setting like MLM the general norm is that have to take their own initiative to ensure that they have a pit latrine. People are mainly concerned about services like "electricity, roads, and water." Inevitably, the issue

of limited resources is labeled as the single most impediments undermining the developmental mandate of the municipality. Others include the lack of skills and capacity. According to the Director of Infrastructure and Services, interventions like Project Consolidate and the Five Year Local Government Strategic Agenda are adopted by the municipality to comply with the regulations of national government. The Senior Manager commented that success of local government interventions is unlikely because these interventions do not differ. He states that the only thing that national government does is to change the name "Project Consolidate to LGTAS." Also, he highlighted that the success of this intervention is limited because municipalities are expected to follow national goals, which at times tend to alter the developmental course of the municipalities.

5.2.1 The Emergence of the LGTAS

The Senior Official interviewed was the only interviewee who was aware of the LGTAS policy document. Some of the interviewees are only aware of the Municipal Turnaround Strategy (Project Manager and Community Liaison Officers). The Two Councillors and the Director of Infrastructure and Services were not aware of either the LGTAS policy initiative or the Municipal Turnaround Strategy. Thus, only the Senior Manager was able to express his views on the emergence of the LGTAS as a programme of action for consolidating DLG. He states that the LGTAS offers municipalities a real chance to perform better. Furthermore, he added that the LGTAS is a "good" intervention because it offers municipalities a chance to direct development through a SWOT analysis (strengths, weakness, opportunities, threats). The LGTAS requires municipalities to formulate a municipal turnaround strategy that is informed by the priorities of the locality concerned. The SLGR has classified MLM as a low capacity municipality. As highlighted in Chapter Three, the methodology of the LGTAS is premised on the idea that "there must be a differentiated and targeted support system for local government" (COGTA, 2009b: 25).

This means that different support structures will be given to municipalities to implement the LGTAS. This support depends on the capacity of the municipality concerned. This qualifies the Minister's utterance that the LGTAS shifts away from the 'one size fits all' approach. For example, the LGTAS states that "measures will be taken to ensure that in those parts of the country, especially rural areas, where severe poverty and underdevelopment sits side by side with weak municipal capacity; there is a dedicated focus to augment municipal capacity with delivery through capable institutions at either provincial or national level" (COGTA, 2009b: 25). MLM is one of the municipalities wherein the latter has been implemented. According to the Senior Manager, this approach weakens the

LGTAS because municipalities are deprived the opportunity to formulate a turnaround strategy that is informed by their own understanding of the local conditions. Nevertheless, the Senior Manager applauded the LGTAS because it recognised that municipalities are faced with challenges that fall outside their mandate of governance. In this regard, the official cited water provision. He commented that although water provision was a function of the district municipality (Sekhukhune District Municipality) this was a burden for MLM.

The non-provision of water is a burden to the municipality because prior to conducting the interviews the people of the Ga-Masemola community had engaged in a violent service delivery protest over the issue of water. During the service delivery protests, some sections of the "crowd burned tyres, blocked and vandalised the road" (Senior Manager, 2012). This does not only hamper the initiative to improve the road system but also has negative effects for the economy in the municipality. Thus, the LGTAS is a progressive intervention because it seeks to address both the external and internal forces undermining MLM.

5.2.2 The Process of Formulating the Makhuduthamaga Turnaround Strategy

The LGTAS requires municipalities to tailor-make their own TAS, reflect on their strengths and weaknesses and identify and manage appropriate interventions, and focus on localised issues (COGTA, 2009b). Moreover, the LGTAS states that this strategy must be formulated in consultation with the various organs of civil society. This is part of the LGTAS' call to make 'local government everybody's business.' Nonetheless, in the case of a low capacity municipality like MLM, the implementation methodology calls for the decentralisation of a capable institution from either national or provincial government to support the municipality. Although the LGTAS clearly prescribes a participatory process to the formulation of the municipal Turnaround Strategy, this did not occur in the case of MLM. The process was rather compliance led. The Senior Manager states that instead of supporting, the Provincial Department of Local Government and Housing (DLGH) took over the process of formulating the Municipal Turnaround Strategy.

The Senior Manager explained the process that was followed. The DLGH conducted various seminars with the Heads of Departments to formulate the Municipal Turnaround Strategy (MTS). Consequently, the key intervention areas outlined in the LGTAS were used to formulate the municipal Turnaround Strategy. Therefore, the product did not emanate from a democratic participatory process. Despite his critique on the approach followed, the interviewee was quick to

point out that the compliance-driven process does not mean that the MTS does not address the challenges faced by the municipality. In this regard, he pointed out that the key intervention areas of the LGTAS are informed by the issues raised in the SLGR. Moreover, the Senior Manager admitted that the Makhuduthamaga community was not involved in the formulation of the strategy. This is not surprising, especially if one considers that it took one day to formulate the strategy. There is no model to determine how long a MTAS should take, but one day is not sufficient to produce a product that is informed by a participatory process. The Ward Councillors interviewed, who would normally facilitate the community participation process, are not aware of the Municipal Turnaround Strategy. The Director of Infrastructure and Services commented that she is not aware of the MTAS because the "people above her have never made reference to it." She added that she has "never used it as a working tool."

5.2.3 Meeting Basic Needs of Communities

The primary objective is to ascertain service delivery in Makhuduthamaga since the introduction of the LGTAS. MLM, like most municipalities located in the former Bantustans, is characterised by lack of development. Key service delivery issues in the municipality include:

- The lack of access to a clean, safe drinkable water supply;
- Access to sanitation;
- Access to electricity;
- Access to adequate housing facilities; and
- Underdeveloped road network infrastructure (COGTA, 2009b: 4).

There is a general sentiment amongst the interviewees that the municipality is moving in the right direction. One of the Councillors interviewed stated that, "anyone who has been staying in the municipality since the ANC took over is aware of the changes that have occurred." In terms of sanitation, the Councillor pointed out that since 2006 the municipality has embarked on a campaign to upgrade pit latrines to the standard Ventilated Pit System (VIP). In this regard, he suggested that although MLM was a rural municipality, it is better than those municipalities that are building open toilets for their people. He added that one of the biggest challenges the municipality was facing is that people do not maintain these toilet facilities and thus the effort is not appreciated. It is difficult to understand how people can use their income to maintain their toilet system in an area that is characterised by poverty. As discussed in the preceding sections, access to electricity in the municipality has improved drastically. In fact, the Senior Manger is confident that the electricity backlog in the municipality will be addressed by 2014. One of the Councillors adds that in 1995,

residents of the municipality who had never been outside the boundaries of the municipality did not know what a tar road was. This he argued is an illustration that the municipality was performing its duties because most of the main roads in the municipality are tarred. Water and housing are not a function of MLM.

The Senior Manger states that the track record of the municipality shows that there is a will to deliver basic services to the community. However, he adds that these efforts are frustrated by limited resources. The municipality faces a dual challenge. On the one hand, he points out that the budget allocated by national government is not enough relative to the service delivery backlog. On the other hand, he highlighted that the municipality does not have a property revenue base like those located in cities and towns. The inception of the Turnaround Strategy has not improved basic service delivery in the municipality. According to the Senior Manger, this is because the MTAS was formulated to compile with national legislation. Basically, the MTS is an outline of how the municipality plans to address the key intervention areas identified by the LGTAS i.e. basic service delivery (water, sanitation, electricity, refuse removal, roads, and housing), public participation, governance issues, administration, labour relations, financial management, and local economic development.

Table 9: Makhuduthamaga MTAS for Basic Service Delivery

Priority Turn Around Focal Area	**January 2010** ***(Current Situation/ Baseline)***	**Target for December 2010** ***(Changed Situation)***	**Municipal Action**	**Unblocking Action Needed from other Spheres and Agencies** ***(e.g. intervention or technical support)***	**Human Resource Allocated**	**Allocated**	**Projected**
Access to water	Backlog is at 293 28 out of 58991 H/H	District as the Water A Authority and Provider to provide the target	Liaise with the District on water plans and backlogs	District to provide plans to address the backlog	NONE	NONE	NONE
Access to sanitation	Backlog is at 426 32 out of 58991 H/H	District to provide target	Liaise with the District	District to provide plans to address the backlog	NONE	NONE	NONE
Refuse removal and solid waste disposal	Collection at NEBO, Phokoane, Jane Furse and Schoonoord	Extend the collection to H/H in the areas listed	Finalise the By-laws on waste management	Request LEDET to assist in extra funding for the extension of the service	No additional staff required	R1m	R1m
Access to	35.5Km	6.5KM tarred	Develop	Department of	No	R18,4m	R18.4m

municipal roads	roads tarred No road master Plan for the District and Local		and finalise a Master Plan by June 2010	Roads and Transport must intervene in drawing Road Master Plan for the entire District	additional Staff required		
Formalisation of informal settlements	Land Audit done	Proclamation and formalisation	Appoint a qualified service provider	NONE	No additional staff required	R1.8m	R1.8m

Source: MLM, 2010: 1-2

5.2.4 Strengthen Partnerships Between Local Government, Communities and Civil Society

According to the one of the Community Liaison Officers, the local Chiefs are pivotal to the relationship between the community and the municipality. He states that "one of the fundamental policies introduced by the ANC government was to acknowledge and work with tribal authority." He points out that the tribal authorities are crucial to the IDP process. The Community Liaison Officer uses the words "very good" to describe the relationship between the community and the municipality. To qualify his statement, he argued that the relationship is very good because the community was satisfied with progress made by the municipality over the years. This is despite the fact that the SLGR has categorised MLM as one of the worst performing municipalities in the country. Furthermore, he pointed out that the "municipality had never experienced service delivery protest even when it seemed like all municipalities were under siege." (He was interviewed a week before the service delivery protest in the Ga-Masemola region). The Project Manager and the Director of Infrastructure and Services confirmed the good working relationship between the municipality and the Tribal Authorities. They pointed out the success of the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) in the municipality is proof of the cohesion between the municipality and the community.

According to the Senior Manager, one of the challenges facing the municipality is that people in the municipality are not aware that they (community) have a role to play in the municipality. The community perceives the municipality to be the main organ of "everything" and as such wants the municipality to solely provide basic services. Against this backdrop, he argued that the LGTAS is a necessary intervention because municipalities are urged to work with communities. This perception departs from the fundamentals of DLG. DLG as envisaged by the WPLG and the LGTAS is a symbiotic

relationship between all organs of the society engaged in an effort to better development. As in the case of service delivery, the respondents argued that the MTAS has not had an impact on citizen participation in the municipality. Participation in the municipality during the pre-LGTAS was happening through consultation with the IDP and this was still the case. Consultative participation as it has occurred in MLM does not empower the community to spearhead development but serves as a 'rubber stamp' procedure to legitimise the municipal process.

Table 10: Makhuduthamaga MTAS for Participation

Priority Turn Around Focal Area	January 2010 (Current Situation/ Baseline)	Target for December 2010 (Changed Situation)	Municipal Action	Unblocking Action Needed from other Spheres and Agencies (e.g. intervention or technical support)	Human Resource allocated	Allocated	Projected
Functionality of Ward Committees	All Ward committees are functional	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A		
Broader public participation policies and plans	Communication Strategy is in Place	Develop and Adopt Public Participation Strategy	Develop and adopt Public Participation strategy	NONE	No additional staff required	NONE	NONE
Public Communication systems	Communication Strategy is in Place and is being implemented effectively	N/A	N/A	NONE	No additional staff required	NONE	NONE
Complaints management systems	Suggestion Boxes in all Traditional authorities. Traffic Stations, Libraries and Municipal Offices	Document all activities into a complaints Management Plan	Document all activities into complaints Management Plan. Council to adopt the plan	NONE	No additional Staff required	NONE	NONE

Source: MLM, 2010:2-3

5.2.5 Summary of the Findings

Although the LGTAS document signals a shift to a more inclusionary form of DLG, the case study of MLM does not seem to reflect this shift. Furthermore the MTS has only outlined projects to improve service delivery, but little is said with regard to improving community participation in governance issues. From the findings of the field work one can deduce that the inception of the municipal turnaround strategy has not had a profound impact on both citizenry participation and service delivery.

5.3. Analysis of Findings

The LGTAS was established to consolidate the developmental mandate of local government. In the literature review, the researcher argued the initiative (LGTAS) resulted from a combination of both political factors as well as the track record of municipal performance. On the one hand, the SLGR painted a picture of a local government system that is struggling to deliver the objectives of DLG as set out in the WPLG and on the other hand the Zuma-led ANC has revitalised and renewed the call for a developmental state. Local government is understood to be the primary expression of a developmental state. In the words of Jay Naidoo, the post-apartheid first Minister of Local Government, local government is the "arms and legs" of a developmental state (Schmidt, 2008: 109). DLG is "local government committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs and improve the quality of their lives" (DCD, 1998: 34). Thus, a DLG municipality should be able to carry out the objects of local government as outlined by the Constitution:

- To provide democratic and accountable government for local communities;
- To ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner;
- To promote social and economic development;
- To promote a safe and healthy environment; and
- To encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in matters of local government (RSA, 1996: S152).

Academics have highlighted the complexity of challenges hampering the developmental mandate of municipalities. Pieterse and van Donk (2008) argue that the intergovernmental (IGR) system presents numerous challenges for the DLG idea. Firstly, Pieterse and van Donk (2008: 62) highlight the struggle to balance "top-down directives and programmes and bottom up initiatives to address local priorities" since IDPs are defined as an "expression of governmental investments and activities in a given locality." Secondly, the developmental mandate is undermined by a tension between technical and political accountability. For example, in the delivery of housing, the "over-emphasis on chasing numerical targets has sidelined more important policy objectives such as spatial integration, access to economic opportunities for the poor and more environmentally sustainable land use patterns (Ibid, 63). Also, the developmental agenda for local government is hampered by the 'prescriptive nature' of the IGR system. Here, Pieterse and van Donk (2008) argue that the numerous local government interventions (prescriptions) are not positively affecting the experimental side

which might enable municipalities to learn from experience. Lastly, the performance of municipalities is affected by the tension between horizontal and vertical integration (ibid). Municipal departments tend to overlook the necessity of integration amongst the various organs of the institutions (horizontal integration) and over-emphasise a need to align better with provincial and national departments.

Heller (2008) argues that there are two desiderates to DLG, that is, participation and efficiency. According to Heller (2008), for the realisation of DLG, the two desiderata have to co-exist. Unfortunately, the South African case is one where efficiency is overly emphasised in an effort to build institutions that are capable of delivering development. Heller (2008: 153) states that this is perpetuated by the belief that efficiency and participation cannot co-exist. He states that on the one hand, 'technocrats' "believe that too much participation can overwhelm fragile institutions," and on the other hand, 'associationalists' "believe that an over-emphasis on institutional building crowds out civil society." One of the main findings of the SLGR is that there is a "growing social distance" (COGTA, 2009b: 24) between communities and municipalities. It is argued that local government is not accountable to communities. The Constitution clearly states that one of the roles of local government is to "provide democratic and accountable government for local communities" (RSA, 1996: S3). In this light, the emphasis on institutional building tends to undermine the participatory element of DLG. These compound the findings of the SGLR: local government is failing the poor; not working properly; marred by excessive levels of corruption, fraud and maladministration; are centres of factional conflicts, political infighting and patronage (COGTA, 2009b: 25).

Schmidt (2008: 110) argues that the post-apartheid public administration system is characterised by three "paradigms of governance; traditional public administration, New Public Management (NPM) and network governance." According to Schmidt (2008: 110), the network governance that has dominated the policy level has been displaced by "more hierarchical and bureaucratic practice." For example, Section Six of the LGTAS prescribes areas of interventions for municipalities. The MLM case study reveals a case whereby a municipality has adopted legislation because it is compiled by national government to do so. The latter is an illustration that the ethos of NPM is entrenched in South Africa's public administration system. In the LGTAS, the intervention framework serves as a mechanism that is used to manage MTAS. Consequently, the MLM MTAS reflects the focus areas outlined by the intervention framework of the LGTAS:

- Basic service delivery;
- Governance;
- Local Economic Development;
- Financial Management; and
- Labour relations.

According to the respondents, the LGTAS has not changed or improved the way in which the municipality delivers services. For the respondents, the MTAS is a symbolic gesture to show that the municipality is aligned to the 2014 national vision. The LGTAS states that municipalities must "ensure that by 2014 all households have access to the minimum standard for each basic service" (COGTA, 2009b: 6). The emphasis on service delivery targets perpetuates the tension between political and technical accountability. Pieterse and van Donk (2008: 64) point out that the "focus on service delivery targets (and not sustainable human settlement outcomes and shared growth) institutionalised in the performance management system tends to structure accountability upwards and not outwards to citizens and civil society organizations." This is the practice in MLM because the MTAS is mainly concerned in meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and does not seek to improve service delivery protocol.

For responsive accountable local government it is imperative to empower communities and ensure that communities play a meaningful role in the performance management of senior managers and politicians. There is nothing in the LGTAS to suggest that communities will play a central role in the performance management of municipalities. The LGTAS states that the "implementation of the LGTAS will be supported by national government concomitantly addressing a range of longer-term and more systemic issues that have contributed to failure or distress within local government" (COGTA, 2009b: 28).These include:

- Intergovernmental co-ordination and support;
- Supervision, monitoring and interventions; and
- Incentives and disincentives (COGTA, 2009b: 28).

Furthermore, the LGTAS states that "in the case of municipalities that are dysfunctional, a special set of measures based on stronger state intervention must apply to ensure that these municipalities achieve a basic level of functionality" (COGTA, 2009b: 27). The latter confirms the argument presented by Schmidt (2008) that the traditional public administration is also entrenched in the post-apartheid governance system. Performance in the traditional bureaucratic governance is "about carrying out instructions from above and complying with law" (Schmidt, 2008: 117). The role

of the DLGH in the formulation of the MLM MTAS seems to suggest a practice of traditional bureaucratic governance. Pieterse and van Donk (2008: 64) point out that this form of practice endangers the fundamentals of DLG; "if the accountability pressure points lie upward inside the governmental system, this part of the democratic design will fail, undermining the developmental responsiveness of the municipality and raising questions about the quality and depth of the participatory democracy we are building".

In the LGTAS, national government recognised that it was demanding the same things from all municipalities, but because there were differences between them, it realised it should focus on a more asymmetrical approach in which municipalities would have greater say over what they should do, and were capable of doing. The MLM case reveals that there is a disjuncture between policy intent (LGTAS) and practice on the ground.

As it has occurred, MLM did not play a central role during the formulation process of the MTAS. The DLGH used the LGTAS as master plan to fast track the process. This is because the LGTAS was a response to the service delivery protests, among other concerns, that sprang up across the country in 2009. In total, COGTA (2009a) reports that were 52 recorded service delivery protests. All this occurred on the eve of the March 2011 local government elections. As the ruling party and the party governing most municipalities in the country, the ANC were aware of the political need to introduce strategies that could 'calm' the situation. There was a need for local government to respond to the scourge of service delivery protests and this had to happen before the March 2011 ballot. The short-term goals (pre-2011) played a pivotal role in the manner and process leading to the formulation of the MTAS for MLM. Parliament approved the LGTAS in December of 2009 and municipalities were required to have their own by the time of approving the Integrated Development Plans for 2010-2011 (May/June 2010). Municipalities were given 3-4 months to prepare a turnaround strategy.

The procedure of the MTAS confirms the argument outlined by Heller (2008: 159) that the role of civil society in "South Africa's transformative agenda is largely complementary to the goals of the ANC." During the preparation of the MTAS, the communities of MLM were not involved. In fact, members of the municipal bureaucracy were also not involved. This is because the LGTAS was used as a master plan to prepare the MTAS. The role of MTAS is to ensure that civil society supports the set out plan of national government to improve municipalities. The emphasis in the MTAS is about building an efficient institution that is able to mobilise civil society to ensure that civil society plays a

role in the plan to improve the performance of MLM. The strategy to improve the developmental nature of local government is produced by the State. This is different from the case of Kerala where the strategies for development are produced locally and later consolidated into one grand plan. This is exemplary of network governance wherein strategies are produced through partnerships between civil society and the State (Schmidt, 2008). In MLM this is not the case because the MTAS is prepared to solidify the leading role of national government in a developmental state.

5.4 Conclusion

When the LGTAS was tabled in Parliament on the 4th of December, it represented a fundamental step in South Africa's developmental programme. The LGTAS brought hope to municipalities and followed a SLGR wherein government admitted that something was fundamentally wrong with local government. Also, the euphoria was reinforced by the fact that South Africa had just ushered in a new government promising to revert to the developmental state idea of the RDP. The general perception within the ANC-led alliance was that the Zuma-led administration was willing to listen to the masses, unlike Thabo Mbeki who was accused of operating the Union Buildings like a manager. Phrases that came to be associated with initiative include the chanting that claimed that the LGTAS was 'turning the tide,' 'making local government everyone's business' and that this represents a departure from the 'one size fits all' approach. However, it seems like this euphoria was not felt at MLM.

This is chiefly because of the methodology approach of the LGTAS. The LGTAS states that "measures will be taken to ensure that in those parts of the country, especially rural areas, where severe poverty and underdevelopment sits side by side with weak municipal capacity, there is a dedicated focus to augment municipal capacity with delivery through capable institutions at either provincial or national level" (COGTA, 2009b: 24). The MTAS for MLM was prepared by the provincial Department of Local Government and Housing. Consequently, the intervention framework of the LGTAS was used as a master plan for the MTAS. This is to ensure that the priorities of MLM are aligned to the overall developmental vision of the country. For example the MTAS is not about improving the status quo of service delivery in the municipality but is mainly to ensure that the service delivery targets of the municipality are in line with the MDGs. Also, the call to make 'local government everyone's business' does not entail a 'people driven development' as is the case in the

state of Kerala. It is about mobilising the organs of civil society to support and play an active role in governments plan to remedy local government.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1. Introduction

The research report was set out to understand how the LGTAS sought to consolidate DLG. To capture this, MLM was used as a case study. Has the LGTAS enhanced citizen participation and service delivery in the case of the Makhuduthamaga Local Municipality? The research was instituted to find out this. The aim of this chapter is twofold: to reflect on the main findings from the study and to suggest a way forward for DLG in MLM. In the conclusion, the findings of Makhuduthamaga case are linked to the broader DLG trajectory. Also the overview of the chapters is outlined. The recommendations section outlines some of points that need to be considered in order to realise DLG.

6.2 Conclusion

This report has examined government's ambition to consolidate DLG through the LGTAS. The case study of MLM was selected to determine the impact of the LGTAS at a municipal level. DLG has been conceptualised by the government as the bedrock for a developmental state, and numerous local government support mechanisms have been formulated over the years to facilitate it. So far, the performance of local government in meeting its Constitutional mandate and functioning as DLG is not impressive, and it is evident that despite considerable support many municipalities are unable to play their developmental role. The study and the SLGR, as well as numerous other documents and scholarships have shown that there is no one solution to explain the situation, due to the complex and dynamic nature. However, this has not discouraged the government's ambition of DLG, because the vision to build a developmental state remains the core policy of the ANC-led government and, the LGTAS is one of the latest national initiatives to reaffirm its centrality.

The study began by using the story of Plaatjes to metaphorically consider the history of DLG in South Africa. DLG is yet to be realised, despite the numerous 'boats' built over the years. The LGTAS should be understood as yet another 'boat' that has been built to ensure DLG. For Heller (2008), DLG is born from two desiderata: participation and efficiency. The latter sees institutional building as the best viable option for DLG and the former urges DLG to occur through vigorous civil society participation. He argues that in South Africa the efficiency side of the equation is highly developed, in contrast to the participation side of the equation. This is the case because participation has suffered from many conventional zero-sum assumptions that pervade the literature on decentralisation (Heller, 2008:

157). This includes the assumption that the two desiderata of DLG cannot co-exist. The LGTAS did not emerge in a vacuum. Instead, it has been strongly influenced by South Africa's post-1994 public administration system. International emphasis on good governance and its association with decentralisation, democratisation and NPM are some of the policy positions that informed the transition to a democratic South Africa. The LGTAS does not only reaffirm a decentralised form of governance but also emphasises the principles of NPM.

The adoption of NPM by the South African public administration had more in common with the second wave associated with the Third Way politics of the 1990s, rather than the earlier neo-liberal project of the 1980s. Under the Third Way, NPM is presented as a system that adheres to free market policies and also acknowledges the need for progressive ideals such as "building community, inclusion, participation, poverty alleviation and integration" (Harrison, 2006: 189). Harrison (2006) identifies three key elements of NPM in the IDP process: joined-up government, performance management and participatory governance. These have played a significant role in the way local government has sought to become developmental. Joined-up government emphasises the co-ordination and integration of policies and plans between different government entities (Harrison, 2006: 190). Long and Franklin (2004, in Harrison, 2006: 190) define joined-up government as a top-down direction for bottom-up implementation. This definition captures South Africa's DLG experience.

In South Africa, centralism is legislated through the Intergovernmental Relations (IGR) Act of 2005. Harrison (2006) argues that this is designed to consolidate the power of national government. The emphasis on co-ordination and integration is noted by Harrison et al (2008: 71) who argue that 2004 represented a shift in ANC thinking from the orthodox neo-liberal (GEAR) to the notion of a Developmental State. The shift is associated with strengthening the leading role of national government in the developmental agenda. This dovetails the argument presented by Pieterse and van Donk (2008: 62) who argue that the IDP changed from a tool that represented a coalition of local debates to one that was seen as an expression of governmental investments and activities in a given locality. Thus, the IGR system consolidates the developmental role of municipalities as implementers of policies set up by national government (Harrison, 2006).

The focus on joined-up government and performance management has led to the marginalisation of civil society. Participatory governance has not taken the shape of a people-driven process but rather

one wherein citizens are passengers to a state-led development process (Harrison, 2006: 192). This confirms Vigoda's concern that participatory governance has been met by "a lower willingness to share, participate, collaborate and partner with citizens" (Vigoda in Harrison, 2006: 192). The combination of joined-up government and performance management with participatory governance presents numerous contradictions and challenges for municipalities.

These challenges have undermined the ability of municipalities to deliver DLG. Pieterse and van Donk (2008) outline some of these challenges:

- Top-down direction for bottom-up implementation dilutes the strategic aspect of IDP;
- Focus on performance management tends to undermine local issues by concentrating on service delivery targets;
- The prescriptive nature of local government intervention hampers the experimentalism of municipalities; and
- Emphasis on vertical integration with national and provincial government can undermine the horizontal integration of municipal departments (Pieterse and van Donk, 2008).

Nine years into the new local government system there are worrying trends and signs that are undermining the progress and successes achieved thus far. The country faces a great development risk if local government fails. The "Local Government Turnaround Strategy is therefore aimed at counteracting those forces that are undermining our Local Government system" (COGTA, 2009b: 3). Three years on, to what extent has the LGTAS addressed the challenges to achieving DLG? This study examined the LGTAS in the light of one of the worst performing municipalities. The case study of MLM begins to reveal the implications of LGTAS for DLG. The analysis of the LGTAS in Chapter Three revealed that government is prioritising the need to change the 'social distance' between communities and municipalities. Municipalities are urged to ensure that communities play a meaningful role in the endeavor to obtain nationally defined objectives. Thus, a participatory element is evident in the LGTAS. Thus, the LGTAS can be understood as an attempt to reignite participation in a highly technocratic development planning system. Community participation in the LGTAS, however, does not entail an outright call for network governance wherein the population is a co-producer of development strategy (Schmidt, 2008: 112).

However, the over-emphasis on joined-up government and performance management of the LGTAS continues the earlier overly technocratic approach to governance. Although the issue of participation comes out strongly, the LGTAS seems to continue the earlier approach to DLG through an emphasis on institutional building and intergovernmental planning. With this approach come the problems that arise from institutionalising participation (Heller, 2008) and the legacy of poor

communication between council and communities (Pieterse, 2007: 10). If an unbalanced emphasis continues, local government will continue to be hampered by the lack of citizen participation and a failure to achieve DLG. The South African experience of DLG has shown that incapacitated municipalities will struggle to achieve the objectives of DLG. As an appropriate response, Heller (2008) is correct to call for the co-existence of both desiderata of DLG. Some emphasis on institution building is critical to improve weak capacity and thus should not be done away with altogether.

The findings from the case study show that the municipality is primarily concerned with the institutional impediments to DLG. Limited resources, an unskilled labour force, shortage in the labour force and the IGR system were raised as obstacles to the municipality's mandate to deliver DLG. As the findings reveal, participation was seldom raised as an issue that has to be tackled. Although the slogan of the LGTAS is that 'Local Government is Everybody's Business'; the MLM community was not even included in the preparation of the MTAS. This is because a top-down approach was followed in formulating the strategy. The formulation process followed is testimony that the LGTAS has not changed the decision making process. Institutional building is still at the forefront of DLG; while participation seems to be an ignored issue. According to Heller (2008: 159), one of the aftermath scenarios of the 1994 elections was that the ANC consolidated power by replacing "structures and processes that were originally presented as providing autonomous spaces for civil participation in DLG with more technocratic forms of decision making." A participatory interpretation of DLG runs the risk of disfiguring the consolidated power.

It was found that only one of the interviewees was aware of the LGTAS and MTS. In fact, most of the interviewees were not aware of the DLG concept. The responded argued that service delivery in the municipality was 'business as usual'. This was also the case for community participation. It was found that the LGTAS has had none or little impact on service delivery and participation in the municipality. This means that the LGTAS has not had a significant impact on vulnerability experienced by many in MLM.

6.3. Recommendations

The LGTAS has reaffirmed that DLG is at the forefront of South Africa's developmental trajectory. Central to this trajectory is the idea of building a developmental state. The LGTAS captures the importance of local government: local government is a key part of the reconstruction and

development effort in our country. The aims of democratising our society and growing our economy inclusively can only be realized through a "responsive, accountable, effective and efficient Local Government system that is part of a Developmental State" (COGTA, 2009b: 3). However this has to be balanced by a rigorous participatory process that seeks to ensure that the MLM community is part of the developmental programme.

To date, the SLGR represents the most extensive exercise that government has undertaken to issues affecting local government. The SGLR found that the majority of municipalities are struggling to discharge their developmental agenda. The findings echo the concerns in the academic literature suggesting that municipalities in South Africa are far from the achieving the objectives of WPLG. The constraints include: weaknesses in the accountability systems; capacity and skills constraints; and weak intergovernmental support and oversight (COGTA, 2009a: 3). Some of these challenges are institutionally self-inflicted constraints. For instance, weak accountable systems lead to corruption, maladministration and nepotism. Positively, the LGTAS covers these challenges extensively, and its progressive prescriptions are likely to have the potential to consolidate the developmental agenda of local government in MLM.

One such intervention is that both national and provincial government support incapacitated municipalities like MLM. MLM is geographically disadvantaged and is not going to attract the type of expertise one would find in more affluent municipalities like the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality or Polokwane Local Municipality. The municipality is situated in one of the poorest and rural districts in the country and will inevitably struggle to attract the skills needed to realise DLG. The decentralisation of skilled personal from national and provincial government to support the municipality is, therefore, a welcomed intervention. However, national and provincial government should support capacity building instead of taking charge of municipal affairs. This should only happen if the municipality has been placed under administration. Following the examples of the Department of Health, skilled personnel can be incentivised to work in state institutions in rural areas. An incentive like that of Department of Health, wherein a rural allowance is used to lure skills to rural areas can go long way in addressing the incapacity of municipalities like MLM.

Incapacity is not the only factor hampering DLG in rural municipalities. According to the SLGR (2009), municipalities are often centres of corruption, maladministration and nepotism. The professional ethics governing municipal officials has not only been questioned by the SLGR but concerns have also been raised in the literature. Thus, it would be necessary for the municipality to ensure that it is not characterised by these negative perceptions. In this regard, the principles of NPM emanating from the LGTAS are pivotal for DLG in MLM. These include the call to:

- Professional administration that supports the political vision contained in the electoral mandate;
- Properly constitute corporate services, technical services and financial management functions, including recruitment and skills retention policies ensuring right people in the right job; and
- Provision of basic services and ensuring every cent spent is well considered and accounted for – value for money (COGTA, 2009b: 21).

Adhering to these principles will ensure the efficiency of MLM. An efficiently run institution will ensure that the municipality responds quickly to challenges. Often municipalities are not efficiently operated and consequently respond late to challenges that were raised a long way back. Responding late to challenges is problematic because dynamics change over time and thus solutions which might have been appropriate then might not be the answer for today. It is important to acknowledge that the efficiency of municipalities to respond to the needs of communities is also dependent on the IGR system. Thus, the efficiency issue can sometimes be beyond the scope of municipalities and questions the broad IGR system. In this light the call to review the IGR system is welcomed. As mentioned before it is important to balance efficiency with participation to realize DLG. To balance the equation, the ideas of Gaventa (2002) on participation are pivotal.

Gaventa (2002: 29) notes that there is a "growing gap" between ordinary people and government in both developed and developing world. In other words, the finding of the SLGR that there is a social distance between communities and local government is actually a global phenomenon. To avert this in MLM there is a need to reconstruct the "relationship between ordinary people and the institutions". In the interview the Senior Manager mentioned that the community is not aware that they have a role to play in the developmental agenda. For DLG to occur the attitude of merely understanding communities as customers or citizens towards local government has to be addressed. This is possible through education forums wherein the municipality should educate the public about their role. The second recommendation by Gaventa (2002) relates directly to the shortcomings of DLG South Africa. He argues that in order to rebuild the relationship between government and citizens the approach must go beyond "civil society or state-based approaches" (Gaventa, 2002: 30). To ensure participation in MLM it is crucial to improve both the institutional mechanisms used by the municipality to engage the community (capacity building) whilst improving the platform for citizenry participation. Here, the focus should be on the intersections between the two sets of approaches ("civil society or state-based) to "create new forms of participation, responsiveness and accountability" (Gaventa, 2002: 30).

According to one of the Community Liaison Officers, the MLM has been able to mobilise community participation through relations with Tribal Authorities. This is good because it does not only capitalise on the existing structures of participation but also acknowledges and preserves the traditional power dynamics of the community. However, the municipality has to be cautious in this approach. Conflict of interest is inevitable because the Tribal Leaders are also members of Council. Harrison (2001) and Pieterse and van Donk (2008) argue that national government is unresponsive to the priorities of local communities. Therefore, the role of Tribal Leaders as representative of communities whilst serving Council needs to be monitored. This dovetails the third recommendation presented by Gaventa (2002).

According to Gaventa (2002: 30) it is critical to "re-thinking about the ways in which citizens' voices are represented in the political process and a re-conceptualisation of the meanings of participation and citizenship in relationship to local governance". There needs to be a "more direct connection" (Gaventa, 2002: 30) between communities and municipalities. MLM can achieve these by setting up structures that will complement the current representative system wherein communities are represented by both elected and traditional leaders. For a more robust civil society in MLM, it is essential for the municipality to create avenues of inclusionary governance.

Fourthly, any form of citizenry participation has to be weary of power dynamics communities. For participation to thrive in MLM; the municipality has to ensure that the process is representative of all voices and is not captured by the local elites. Gaventa (2002) warns that decentralisation often empowers the local elites and therefore democratic outcomes of participatory local government ignore the plight of the poor. Lastly, it is necessary for MLM to create an enabling environment for participation to thrive. The principles of Empowered Deliberative Democracy (EDD) are important in this regard:

- focusing on specific, tangible problems;
- involving ordinary people affected by these problems and officials close to them;
- deliberately developing solutions to these problems;
- devolving public decision making authority;
- formalising linkages of responsibility, resource distribution and communication; and
- using and generating new state institutions to support and guide these efforts (Gaventa, 2011: 33).

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Appendix

Interview Questions (Municipal Manager/Senior Official)

(1) Developmental Local Government

- What do you think are the objectives of DLG?
- Has the municipality been able to reach these objectives?
- If not, what impediments do you think the municipality has encountered in its endeavour to deliver DLG?
- What has been the role of interventions like Project Consolidate and Five Year Local Government Strategic Agenda in aiding the municipality to deliver DLG?

(2) The emergence of LGTAS

- Do you think that the LGTAS differs substantially from these the previous national programmes that were designed to support municipalities? If so, in what way?
- Do you think that the LGTAS is a necessary intervention for MLM? If so, what can be improved using the LGTAS?
- Do you think it (LGTAS) to responds to actual problems/challenges that are experienced by the municipality? If so, what are some of these challenges?
- Do its recommendations seem realistic/feasible?
-

(3) The Process of formulating the Municipal TAS

- What process was followed in the formulation of the municipal TAS?
- How long did this process take and what did it entail?
- Which stakeholders were involved in the different stages of the process, and how?
- According to the LGTAS municipalities are required to tailor-make their own TAS, reflects on their strengths and weaknesses and identify and manage appropriate interventions, and focus on localised issues. Do you think the MLM has done this? If so, how did it go about doing this? What are its strengths and weaknesses? What are the appropriate interventions and how will they be managed? What are the key localised issues?

(4) 'Meeting basic service needs of communities (This is outlined as one of the objectives of the LGTAS and is used in the questionnaire)

- What have been the key service delivery issues in the municipality?
- What are some of the challenges the municipality has encountered in dealing with these service delivery issues?
- Do you think the municipal TAS is addressing these obstacles? If so, how does it aim to deal with the service delivery issues?
- Do you think the TAS has changed the way in which the municipality responds to services delivery issues? If so, how?

- Does the track record suggest that the TAS has improved service delivery in the municipality? If so, can you mention any successful projects that have resulted from the TAS? Importantly, why do you regard these projects successful?

(5) 'Strengthen partnerships between local government, communities and civil society' is another LGTAS objective

- How would you describe the relationship between these stakeholders before the inception of the TAS? Was it tense and difficult, co-operative and trusting, or passive?
- The SLGR points out that there is lack of service delivery in the municipality. Given this point, have there been demonstration in the form protests on the part of the community like elsewhere in the country to voice their dissatisfaction? If not, what do you attribute this to?
- Has the TAS had a positive impact on the relations of these stakeholders? If so, how?
- Do you think there is a link between this LGTAS Objective and improved service delivery? If so, how has this happened in MLM?
- Is the municipality's TAS building a partnership/social compact between these stakeholders, as required by the LGTAS? If so, what are some of the measures that have been adopted to ensure that local government is 'everybody's business'? Is it linked to other programmes, e.g service delivery?
-

(6) How would you describe relationship between the municipality and the community?

Mapping a way Forward

- Do you think that LGTAS and the municipality's TAS mark a change in the way in which (local) government is doing things? Or is it 'business as usual'?
- What would you regard as shortcomings of the LGTAS? What recommendations would you make to improve the Municipal Turnaround Strategy?
- What you regard as the shortcomings of the municipal TAS? How would you improve the TAS?

Interview Questions (Community Liaison Officer)

(7) Developmental Local Government

- How do you understand the concept of DLG?
- One of the main characteristics of DLG is 'democratising development, empowering and redistributing'. Do you think that the municipality has been able to deliver on this objective? If so, how? What are the obstacles/challenges in implementing this characteristic?
- How would you describe the relationship between the municipality and the community? Does it enable DLG?
- How has the relationship impacted upon past local government support programmes like Project Consolidate?

- The LGTAS states that communities have lost confidence in municipalities as primary service delivery provider. Do you think that this is the case in this area? How do communities view the municipality?
-

(8) The emergence of LGTAS

- Do you think that the LGTAS differs substantially from these the previous national programmes (e.g Project Consolidate) insofar as community engagement is concerned? If so, in what way?
- Do you think the LGTAS responds to the challenges the municipality is facing regarding community engagement?
- Have you begun to implement some of the recommendations outlined in the LGTAS? Are they feasible/realistic?

(9) The Process of formulating the Municipal TAS

- Was the community involved in the formulation process? If so, how?
- Do you think the community understands the TAS (process and objectives)?
- Do you think that the TAS addresses the concerns of citizens in the area?

(10) 'Meeting basic service needs of communities'

- Is the community content with the provision of basic services in the municipality? If not, which deliverables are they dissatisfied about?
- How have they expressed their dissatisfaction?
- Are communication channels between communities and the municipalities effective? Can you comment on the roles of the ward councillors, ward committees and CDWs.
- Does the TAS respond to the concerns of residents? If so, how?

(11) 'Strengthen partnerships between local government, communities and civil society'

- Do you think that the municipal TAS marks a change in the way in which the MLM engages the community or is it 'business as usual'? if so, how?
- What are some of the programmes that have been adopted in the municipal TAS to ensure that community participation occurs? What is the role of the community in this regard?
- Do you think the TAS has strengthened the relationship bonds between the municipality and the community? If so, what has been done through the TAS programmes that were not done before?
- How has the municipal TAS made local government 'everybody's business'?
- Do you think improved relations between the parties could lead to improved service delivery?

(12) Mapping a way Forward

- What would you regard as shortcomings of the TAS insofar as community engagements are concerned? If any, what improvements or alternatives to the current approach would you suggest and why?

Interview Questions Project Manager

- What do you think are the objectives of DLG?
- Has the municipality been able to reach these objectives?
- If not, what impediments do you think the municipality has encountered in its endeavour to deliver DLG?

What has been the role of interventions like Project Consolidate and Five Year Local Government Strategic Agenda in aiding the municipality to deliver DLG

(13) The emergence of LGTAS

- How does it (municipal TAS) compare to previous programmes (such as Project Consolidate) in terms of facilitating service delivery?
- Do you think the municipal TAS responds to the challenges faced by project managers in service delivery?
- How would you rate service delivery in the municipality after the inception of the LGTAS? why do you think this is the case?
-

(14) The Process of formulating the Municipal TAS

- Were you consulted during the formulation process of the TAS? If so, which issues pertaining service delivery did you highlight, or have been included/addressed?

(15) 'Meeting basic service needs of communities'

- What are the basic service needs of communities? How are they being met by the municipality?
- Has the municipal TAS impacted upon the way services are delivered in the municipality or it 'business as usual'? If so, how?

(16) The LGTAS outlines the minimum standard service delivery targets for 2014. Do you think that project managers can use municipal TAS to ensure that these targets are met 'Strengthen partnerships between local government, communities and civil society'

- Do you think that the municipal TAS has strengthened relations between the community and the municipality? If so, has this led to improved service delivery and why do you think this has been the case?

(17) Mapping a way Forward

- Do you think that the municipal TAS adequatedly addresses service delivery challenges in the municipality? How could it be improved?

Interview Questions (Councillors)

(18) Developmental Local Government

- How do you understand the concept of DLG?
- Has the MLM been able to deliver on the objectives of DLG? If so, what measures have been taken to ensure that MLM delivers on these objectives?
- Do you think the municipality can improve the way in which it has delivered DLG? If so, what should the municipality improve?
- What impediments do you think the municipality has encountered in its endeavour to deliver DLG?

(19) The emergence of LGTAS

- What does the LGTAS mean for you? What do you think is the main purpose of the LGTAS?
- Did its recommendations seem realistic/feasible?

(20) The Process of formulating the Municipal TAS

- What was the role of the councillors during the formulation process of the TAS?
- Were ward committees involved in the process? How?
- How were the municipal challenges determined?
- What is the role of councillors in the implementation of the TAS?
- Do you think that the municipal TAS will address the challenges faced by the municipality?
-

(21) Meeting basic service needs of communities

- What have been the key service delivery issues in the municipality?
- What are some of the challenges the municipality has encountered in dealing with these service delivery issues?
- Do you think the municipal TAS addresses these obstacles? If so, how does it aim to deal with the service delivery issues?
- Do you think the TAS has changed the way in which the municipality responds to service delivery issues? If so, how?
- Does the track record thus far suggest that the TAS has improved service delivery in the municipality? If so, can you mention any successful projects that have resulted from the TAS? Importantly, why do you regard these projects successful?

(22) 'Strengthen partnerships between local government, communities and civil society'

Was the community informed on what the municipal TAS entails? If so, how?

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- How would you describe the relationship between these stakeholders before the inception of the TAS? Was it tense and difficult, co-operative and trusting, or passive?
- The SLGR points out that there is lack of service delivery in the municipality. Given this point, have there been demonstration in the form protests on the part of the community like elsewhere in the country to voice their dissatisfaction? If not, what do you attribute this to?

- Has the TAS had a positive impact on the relations of these stakeholders? If so, how?
- Do you think there is a link between this LGTAS Objective and improved service delivery? If so, how has this happened in MLM?
- Is the municipality's TAS building a partnership/social compact between these stakeholders, as required by the LGTAS? If so, what are some of the measures that have been adopted to ensure that local government is 'everybody's business'?
- How would you compare the municipal's engagement during the pre and post introduction of the TAS with the community?

(23) Mapping a way Forward

- Do you think the municipal turnaround strategy adequately addresses the challenges faced by the municipality? How would you improve it?