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INVESTIGATING INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS AVAILABLE TO IMPLEMENT SOUTH AFRICAN POLICY FOR OLDER PERSONS IN KWAZULU-NATAL

By

MHLAHLANDLELA MBOBO MABENA

A research report submitted to the Faculty of Commerce, Law and Management, University of Witwatersrand, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Management in Public Policy (MM-PP).

June 2011

ABSTRACT

According to Lombard and Kruger (2009), the status of older persons has not changed considerably despite the promulgation of the Older Persons Act in 2005 and the adoption of the South African Policy for Older Persons in 2006. The researcher attempted to contribute to a better understanding of the problematic status of older persons through an exploratory study of institutional arrangements involved in the implementation of the policy using a case study approach. The network theory was used as a guiding theoretical framework. Findings from the study indicate a randomly related network affected by lack of robust, efficient and effective leadership and co-ordination. Formalization of network membership through written rules and a constitution that spells out the roles and responsibilities of network members, and continued interaction amongst network members is suggested to strengthen the network and the leadership. It is the conviction of the researcher that strengthening of the network will improve the implementation of the South African Policy on Older Persons, thereby improving the lives of older people.

DECLARATION

I, Mhlahlandlela Mbobo Mabena, declare that this research report is my unaided work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Management in Public Policy (MM-PP) in the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in this or any other University.

Mhlahlandlela Mbobo Mabena

June 2011

DEDICATION

For my son, Mhlahlandlela Mbobo Mabena (Jnr), whose inspiration during this research, and in my life, remains unquantifiable.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this research project marks yet another milestone in my life. So many people contributed to the successful completion of this milestone and I would like to thank them for their contributions. However, the contribution of the following named individuals was crucial in the research. First, my sincere appreciation and gratitude go to Dr Horacio Zandamela, whose guidance, advice, mentorship, insight and interest in the research area gave me strength to continue with this research. His support during the research process is unquantifiable. I am also thankful to Professor S. Booysen who helped conceptualise the study and encouraged me to tread where others would not. My informants who participated in the study and who shared their knowledge and experiences are greatly appreciated; had it not been for them my quest to complete this project would not have succeeded.

I would also like to thank my son, Mhlahlandlela Mbobo Mabena (Jnr), who cried for me every night I left to collect building blocks for this project. Son, your tears inspired me to complete this research on time and compelled me to comply with the research requirements so I can live to be your inspiration. Your tears were indeed the pillar on which my quest for intellect was based.

The understanding of my wife Boitumelo Mabena, and her spending time alone during this research deserves special mention.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC:	African National Congress
AU:	African Union
COSATU:	Confederation of Trade Unions in South Africa
CDWs:	Community Developmental Workers
DAFTA:	Durban Association For the Aged
DCoGTA:	Department of Cooperative Governance & Traditional Affairs
DSD:	Department of Social Development
DoH:	Department of Health
DHA:	Department of Home Affairs
DoHS:	Department of Human Settlements
DSS:	Department of Safety and Security (now the Department of Police)
DoJ&CD:	Department of Justice and Constitutional Development
DWCPD:	Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities
HSRC:	Human Sciences Research Council
KIDS:	KwaZulu-Natal Income Dynamics Study (KIDS)
KZN:	KwaZulu-Natal
MIPAA:	Madrid International Plan on Active Ageing
MEC:	Member of Executive Council
NGOs:	Non-Governmental Organisation
OAU:	Organisation of African Union
OAG:	Old Age Grant
OASP:	Old Age Security Policy
SASSA:	South African Social Security Agency
SAPAA:	South African Plan of Action on Ageing
SAPOP:	South African Policy for Older Persons
SAPS:	South African Police Services
TAFTA:	The Association for The Aged

UN:	United Nations
UKZN:	University of KwaZulu-Natal
GHS:	General National Household Survey

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

Robust, efficient and well co-ordinated institutional configurations are crucial in the implementation of public policies. In modern society it is evident that public policy implementation requires collaborative and inter-sectoral support from different role-players within and outside government. Empirical evidence from policy implementation research suggests that public policies supported by effective, efficient and well co-ordinated institutions are more likely to yield intended policy results.

This report is based on an exploratory study of institutional arrangements available to implement the South African Policy for Older Persons (SAPOP) that was adopted by the South African parliament in November 2006. The study was conducted in KwaZulu-Natal province (KZN) and the period of focus was between 2006 and 2010. The SAPOP is supported by the Older Persons Act No. 13 of 2006. The network theory was used as the theoretical framework that guided the researcher in the analysis and interpretation of the findings of this study.

1.2. Background to the study

A major milestone in the policy for older persons in South Africa was achieved in 2001 following media exposition of high levels of older persons' abuse, neglect and vulnerability. A Ministerial Committee was set up to investigate the nature and causes of older persons abuse, neglect and ill-treatment and its findings revealed that older persons

were abused, neglected and ill-treated by their family and community members, businesses, private institutions and government departments (Kollapen, 2006). The findings of this Ministerial Committee changed the social landscape and stirred the nation towards a new policy direction on older persons (Ferreira and Kalula, 2006). The Committee recommended that new legislation and a new policy framework that was aligned to the Constitution were needed. The SAPOP was approved in November 2006 and an Act, that is, Older Persons Act No. 13 of 2006 was ratified by cabinet. In the international arena the older persons discourse had gathered momentum as evidenced by the Madrid International Plan on Active Ageing (MIPAA) conference in Vienna in 2002 that brought together 160 Heads of States to discuss older persons and new policy direction. In the African continent there were also developments around ageing as indicated by the adoption of the the African Union Policy Framework and Plan of Action on Ageing (PFPAA) in Namibia in 1999 by the African Union member states. The 38th session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government in Africa in Durban in 2002 also made recommendations on the older person's landscape (Kollapen, 2008). Thus it can be argued that the SAPOP was influenced by these policy discussions.

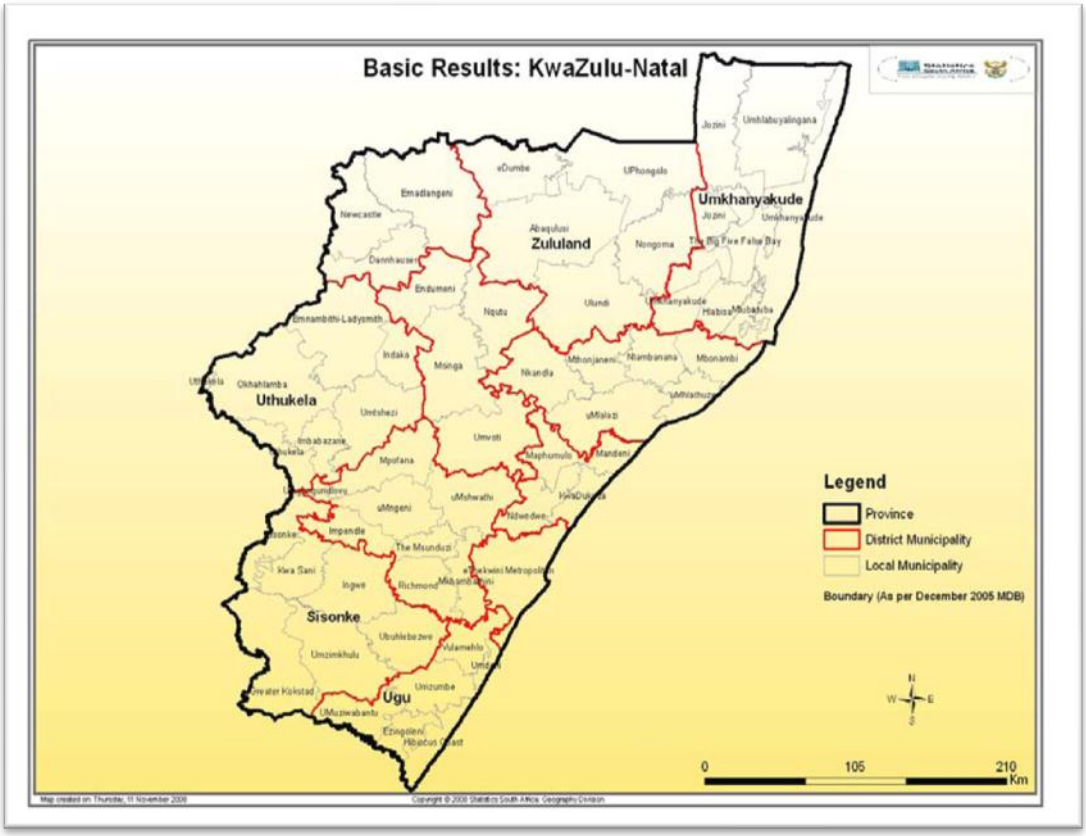
Research that has been conducted on the status of older persons in South Africa since the promulgation of the older persons' legislation and policy indicate that the abuse, neglect, marginalisation, and insecurities of older persons are still acute despite the new policy direction. Researchers such as Noumbissi (2004) and Troussi (2004) conclude that such a state of affairs is likely to continue if the implementation of the policy is not intensified. Such conclusions may be explained in part by conducting a study of different actors in the implementation of the policy. The researcher is of the view that it is not only the content of the policy which is important to implementation but the role and contribution

of different policy implementation stakeholders is equally critical. Furthermore, the context where the policy is meant to be implemented is influential to the success of implementation.

1.2.1. Brief profile of KwaZulu-Natal

KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) is one of the nine provinces of South Africa. According to Statistics South Africa (2007) KZN had a total population of 9 584 130 in 2009 indicating 11% increase from the 2001 census. Of the total population 8% were older persons aged 60 years and above, and 11% were children aged between 0 to four years. On average each household had five members. An analysis of household income indicates that more than half (53%) of households have no income, 25% had income less than R800,00 a month thus leaving only 22% of households with income over the poverty threshold of R800/month for an average household of four members. Employment indicators for 2007 show that 26% of the economic active population was unemployed, 14% were economical inactive, 21% were employed and 39% had unspecified employment status. KZN has the highest HIV/AIDS prevalence in South Africa. Analysis of ante-natal data from the DoH indicates that KZN had 38,7% HIV/AIDS prevalence rate, 9,3% above the national prevalence of ante-natal attendees of 29,4%. These socio-economic indicators were used as a window in exploring the institutional arrangements for implementing the policy in KZN province and provided the contextual foundation from which the study could be carried. Figure 1 below indicates the geographic location where this research was conducted.

Figure 1: Map of KwaZulu-Natal Province



Source: Statistics South Africa Community Survey Report 2009.

1.2.2. Analysis of the Older Persons' Policy

According to the Training Manual on the Older Persons Act No. 13 of 2006 (2009:10) the objects of the Act are embedded in the White Paper on Social Development, the African Union Declaration on Ageing and the South African Plan on Ageing. Prior to these, the legislation guiding services to older persons had been the Older Persons Act of 1967. The SAPOP of 2006 departs from the Older Persons Act No. 81 of 1967 which emphasised institutionalisation of older persons. Welfare and dependency on the state through old age homes underpinned the Older Persons Act of 1967. Under Act No. 81 of 1967, once a person reached old age, that is, sixty years, they were admitted into the nearest old age institution. The institutionalisation of

older persons guaranteed somewhat the physical security of older persons in these institutions. However, keeping older persons in old age homes isolated them from their families and dissolved their roles within their family units. Furthermore, the state was absolved from the responsibility of looking after the welfare of its aged citizens and passed this responsibility to old age homes. Considering the financial deprivation and structural injustices of the past which favoured a few because of their racial orientation, a large majority of the families could not afford to look after their older persons. Thus the institutionalisation favoured those who had access to financial resources. Furthermore, residential facilities were usually located in the more affluent areas. This left those in poor areas, particularly those in rural areas, very poor and without care.

The current SAPOP is clear that older persons should be allowed to live in their communities for as long as is possible. Thus the policy emphasises the family unit and acknowledges the fact that older persons, despite their age, can still contribute to their societies. Chapter three of the current policy acknowledges the significant contribution towards development made by older persons to their families and communities (South African Policy on Older Persons: 14). Encouraging older persons to be in their communities for as long as possible retains the bonds and social capital and networks that they would have accumulated over the years. Moreover, staying in the community is relatively economically cheaper when looked at in parallel with the policy that encouraged institutionalisation of older persons. This way care and support is extended to the poor who constitute the majority in the aged population.

However, there are flaws in the policy, particularly in its definition of older persons. According to SAPOP an older person is defined as sixty

years for females and sixty-five years for males. The irony in the definition is that there are fewer males who reach old age than females (May, 2007; Lombard and Kruger, 2009) yet the old age bracket for males is sixty-five years whereas that of females is less at sixty years. Furthermore, this definition of older persons in the policy of 2006 was in conflict with the definition adopted by the United Nations (UN). According to Kollapen (2008), the UN defines an older person as anyone aged sixty years and older. The different age groupings for males and females have a bearing on access to social security for older persons. For instance, the age differentiation between females and males meant that males below sixty-five years could not access the Old Age Grant (OAG), which was interpreted as discrimination because of age and gender. The researcher also observes that this definition is inconsistent with the provisions of the Constitution of 1996 which opposes any form of discrimination. As a result of this realisation, an amendment to the policy has been made. The Social Assistance Amendment Act No. 6 of 2008 made provision for a phased in change in legislation (Lombard and Kruger, 2009: 119-135). Thus, as of 2008, men aged sixty-three years and above qualified for the OAG, in 2009 men aged sixty-one years and above qualified for the OAG, and in 2010 the age group for old age will be sixty years and older for both sexes.

Regarding the issue of frail older persons, the policy calls for standardisation of home based care and community based care. Over and above providing for caring for the frail older person, the policy emphasises participation of the broader public and private stakeholders by way of encouraging and regulating community based organisations. The current policy situates the state and its departments at the centre of care and support for older persons, thus legislating for an inter-governmental as well as private and civil society implementation of the policy. This suggests that role-players such as

the Department of Social Development (DSD), Department of Health (DoH), Department of Human Settlements (DHS), Department of Cooperative Government and Traditional Affairs (DCG&TA), South African Police Services (SAPS) and other departments as well as civil society should come together and contribute to the implementation of the SAPOP. These departments, according to the current policy, should work together in providing services to older persons. Bringing different role-players together in the implementation of the policy should minimise the gap in service delivery that aims at affording older persons a dignified life as stipulated in the SAPOP. However, the policy is not explicit on the roles and responsibilities of government stakeholders regarding the implementation of older persons, thus creating vagueness in how each department should be involved in the implementation of the policy. Efforts and research energy should be put into the implementation if the goal of guaranteeing a dignified life for older persons is to be achieved.

Though the shift of policy towards domestication of older persons is applauded by some researchers on SAPOP, this researcher is of the view that the converse of this development is that, because of high levels of poverty and unemployment, estimated at 24% as of March 2010 (StatsSA, 2009), older persons become vulnerable to different types of abuse. For example, the old age grant is the sole source of income for most poor families (DSD, 2009) and thus older persons receiving the grant become targets for physical and emotional abuse by their children or relatives who, as an example, may at times beat them for refusing to buy groceries in the household. Quantitative data on spending patterns of the old age grant suggest that the grant is largely utilised for covering household expenditure such as food, rent, clothes and health costs.

1.2.3. Legislative policy framework

The SAPOP is guided by the South African Constitution (Act No. 108 of 1996) that guides policy in South Africa. In the past, regulations for older persons were informed by the Aged Persons Act No. 81 of 1967, wherein the institutional care of older persons was prescribed. However, this disadvantaged black older persons and further perpetuated the segregationalist policies of the apartheid government. Incremental changes were made to the Aged Persons Act in 1998 through Amendment Act No. 100 of 1998. The amendment sought to intensify the implementation of the welfare policies and the transformation drive of the new government (Turok, 2006; Lombard and Kruger, 2009). In 2002 further incremental changes were made through the South African Plan of Action on Ageing (SAPAA). A policy evolution was realised in 2006 through the Older Persons Act No. 13 of 2006. It is this Act that is now the cornerstone of government policy on older persons. The SAPOP is also anchored within the Constitution and government White Papers on a developmental state approach. Other legislation and government policies that have a direct influence on the implementation of the SAPOP are shown in Appendix A.

1.3. Problem statement

1.3.1. Problem

Available research on the status of older persons indicates that the situation of older persons has not improved despite the adoption of SAPOP in 2006. Conclusions by researchers such as Marais and Eigelaar-Meets (2007); Kollapen (2007); Madhava (2007); Ferreira (2007); Hellop (2008); Lombard and Kruger (2009), amongst others, suggest that older persons still feel unsafe, marginalised and vulnerable.

1.3.2. Knowledge gap

Although research on older persons exists, the primary focus of researchers into the question of older persons in South Africa is limited to socio-economic indicators and less on the implementation of the SAPOP. The researcher also observes that policy debates on older persons are limited and age is downplayed in social policy analysis. To contribute to the understanding of the process of implementing the SAPOP, the researcher explored the process of implementation of the SAPOP through an investigation of institutional arrangements using the network theory as the point of departure.

1.3.3. Context

This study focused on the implementation of the SAPOP in the period between 2006 and 2010. KZN was selected as a case for this particular study because of its peculiarity in terms of having a high HIV/AIDS prevalence of 38,7% in 2007 which was 9,3% higher than the national average of 29,4%; an unemployment rate of 26% which was above the national average of 24,4%; and a high proportion of older persons at 19,9%, 9% higher than the national average proportion of older persons (StatsSA, 2007).

1.3.4. Logic and documentation

Peters (1993) notes that public policy outcomes depend in part on the process of implementation and the context in which the policy is implemented. This exploratory study investigated institutional arrangements available to implement the SAPOP in KZN province, using the network theory as a framework to provide a better understanding of the problematic status of older persons from the network implementation point.

1.4. Purpose statement

The purpose of this exploratory study was to investigate institutional arrangements in place for implementing the SAPOP in South Africa using KZN as a case. The central focus of this research was structural configuration of network members, their relations, network leadership and co-ordination. It has been observed by the researcher that most researchers are interested in the socio-economic status of older persons and applaud the new policy dispensation and negate its implementation particularly the institutions available to implement the policy. Thus, the present researcher attempts to provide ground-breaking research by investigating the institutions available for the implementation of the policy. Through this exploratory study the researcher attempted to contribute to the body of knowledge on the implementation of the SAPOP discourse and stimulate academic enquiry on the networks that are available for implementing the policy.

1.5. Objectives

The primary objective of the study was to investigate the institutional arrangements in place for implementing the SAPOP in KZN. Other objectives of the study were:

a. To identify institutions available to implement the SAPOP
b. To study structural configuration of the identified network
c. To understand network inter-linkages
d. To analyse the status of older persons in KZN
e. To suggest possible research questions

1.6. Research questions

1.6.1. Primary research question

The primary research question was:

> What are the structural and relational configurations of different institutional arrangements available to implement the SAPOP in KZN province?

In addition to the primary question, the researcher formulated secondary questions to help answer the primary question.

1.6.2. Secondary research questions

Secondary research questions were:

a. What institutions are available to implement the SAPOP?
b. What kinds of relationships exist between the network members?
c. What is the status of older persons in KZN post-2005?

1.7. Study limitations

No academic research is without limitations. Generally academic research builds from other research and uses existing research (Mouton, 1996; Creswell, 1994; Neuman, 2006:110). The researcher acknowledges that the main limitation of the study is that there is limited academic and published literature on older persons. Despite the fact that this study was exploratory with the aim being to generate questions for other researchers to build on, the study had a limited academic framework to use as the foundation. Nevertheless, as argued by Neuman (2006:33) who states that an exploratory research

where a social phenomenon has not been written about formulates precise questions that future research in the subject may investigate more, the present researcher is of the view that the study is useful as a starting point for other researchers to build on.

Another limitation worth highlighting relates to the methodology that was utilised. The research used secondary analysis of quantitative data from the DSD. The researcher accessed and re-analysed data that was collected for other purposes to satisfy other objectives which are not fully consistent with the current research objectives. Furthermore, the sampling shortcomings of the accessed dataset are not known to the researcher, as the DSD did not highlight the weaknesses of their sampling approach in the report. Thus caution needs to be exercised in generalising the socio-economic indicators. However, the advantage of utilising already existing datasets from the DSD meant that the researcher saved on time and monetary resources. Furthermore, the researcher avoided repeating an exercise of conducting a survey as it was already accomplished by the DSD. The fact that the DSD has published and disseminated the report suggests that their research processes follow acceptable research standards. Though the researcher acknowledges that not all the objectives of the DSD study are consistent with the objectives of this study, the researcher remains of the view that the present research builds directly from the main objective of the DSD research.

The researcher acknowledges that, as in case study research, the views and values of the researcher had some influence on the findings. However, it should be noted that the researcher bias was minimised through utilisation of guidelines during data collection and triangulating the findings through multiple data sources. An interview guide was designed to guide the primary data collection through in-depth interviews. During analysis of primary data, direct quotations

from informants were taken from the transcripts to avoid the voice of the researcher dominating the evidence from the informants. Transcripts were submitted to the examiner to validate the conclusions and quotations from the interviews.

During data collection the researcher discovered that there were other institutions such as business entities and academic institutions which include the Department of Psychology in the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN). These institutions that were encountered during fieldwork had contributed significantly to the implementation of the SAPOP. The discovery of these institutions suggested that there exists a more complex web of actors in the implementation of the SAPOP than the researcher had anticipated. However, the researcher was not able to conduct an interview with a representative from UKZN because the key person was out of the country and the alternative person could not commit to an interview. The interview with business, that is, the Royal Hotel, was successful. The researcher acknowledges that the failure to conduct an interview with UKZN deprived the report of richer information from the academic perspective. It is the assumption of the researcher that the findings of the study may have been different had these institutions been included in the study.

1.8. Draft outline of Chapters

This research report is divided into five chapters:

Chapter 1: Introduction: The chapter introduces the study, discusses the background to the study and gives a brief synopsis of the SAPOP. The problem statement, the purpose statement, the primary and secondary research questions, objectives of the research and

justification of the study are highlighted in the chapter. The chapter ends with a discussion of possible limitations of the study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review: The second chapter provides a literature review. In this chapter the socio-economic realities of older persons in South Africa are discussed to provide a context in which the policy has to be implemented. The status of older persons in South Africa is discussed in this chapter. This context lays the foundation and justifies the location of the research study. The researcher is guided by an argument that that it is not only the policy content which is important but also the context in which the policy will be implemented. Literature on public policy implementation and network theory is reviewed to find out how the theory is helpful in studying institutional arrangements. Linkages between the theory and the institutional arrangements are given as a concluding remark at the end of chapter.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology: The chapter discusses the methodological approach utilised in the study. In this chapter the researcher discusses methodology in general and procedure taken through this research; discusses the research design; highlights the primary and secondary sources; discusses validity and reliability; and relates these concepts to this particular study.

Chapter 4: Data presentation and Discussion of Findings: The fourth chapter presents and discusses the results from the secondary analysis of DSD dataset and analysis of the fifteen in-depth interviews. Data from the secondary analysis is presented in the form of pie-charts and histograms. The quantitative data follows key background and socio-economic indicator information. The qualitative data is presented according to identified themes. Graphical presentations and direct

quotes from informants are provided to illuminate the discussion. It should be noted that informants are referenced as ‘A’, ‘B’, ‘C’-‘P’ according to the order of the interviews because they said they were uncomfortable with their names or organisations they represent appearing in the research report.

The researcher interprets the data and makes inferences at the end of each piece of presented data. In the interpretation and discussion of findings, the researcher seeks to reflect the interface between the voice of the data, the existing literature and his view on the institutional arrangements available to manage the implementation of public policies.

Chapter 5: Conclusion: The chapter concludes the report by way of summarizing the key findings of the study. While it was not the primary objective of this exploratory study to offer recommendations, the researcher offers suggestions in this chapter on how to strengthen the institutional arrangements for the purposes of implementing the SAPOP. Furthermore, the researcher provides some questions that other research on institutional arrangements can be built on.

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1. Introduction

This section discusses the research methodology. The first part will discuss the generic conceptualisation of social science research methods, that is, quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods. The second part of the section deals with specific research design that the researcher followed during this research project. Different methods are explained and also the rationale of selecting the method provided. Secondary quantitative data analysis, literature review and in-depth interviews are discussed in this section. The researcher will indicate how data collection will be undertaken, primary and secondary sources of data, as well as sampling strategies for the primary data sources. Furthermore, the researcher will discuss how data will be analysed and how the reliability and validity of the data will be maintained.

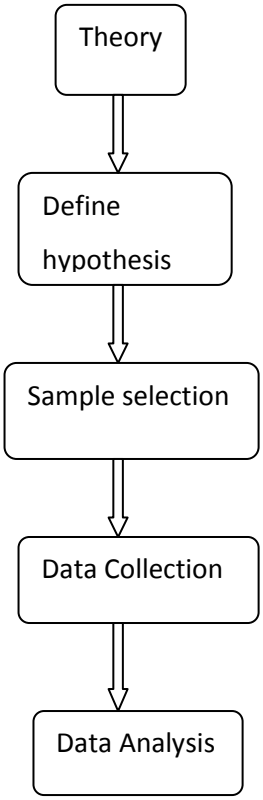
2.2. Research methods

2.2.1. Quantitative method

The quantitative method is termed the traditional, the positivist, the experimental or the empiricism approach (Creswell, 1994). In quantitative research, a research problem moves from theory to reality by way of linking theory and problem through hypothetical analysis. In addition to studying causal relatedness of social problems and theory, quantitative research looks at variation and prevalence, and quantifies the distribution of social phenomena.

According to Creswell (1994), quantitative research employs a deductive form of logic that seeks to test hypothesis generalisation where concepts and variables are tested through a cause-effect approach. Willing (2008:2) underlines the cause-effect approach in quantitative research and further argues that the method suggests that there is a straightforward relationship between the world and our understanding of the world. Thus, in quantitative research the objective of research is to construct objective knowledge and understanding of the world. This further suggests that the main objective of the quantitative research is to generalise about the whole population by studying a small sample by using a technique called sampling (Mouton, 1996). Kalof, Dan and Dietz (2008:85) present the following schema of quantitative research method:

Figure 2: Overview of quantitative research



Adapted from Kalof, Dan and Dietz (2008:85)

The above matrix indicates that quantitative research assumes a linear structure where data is collected and used to support or refute theory. As shown above, quantitative research begins with a theory to be tested. Once a theory is defined, hypothesis to be tested is defined. A sample from where the information will be collected is identified, then data collection using a structured instrument is conducted. Data collected is then analysed using mathematical and statistical concepts. Results from collected data are linked to the theory through the defined hypothesis. The theory is either refuted or proven, based on the results, thus quantitative research uses the 'top down' logic or moves from the general (theory) to the specific (data). Generalisation to other situations can also be made based on the results.

Generalisation in quantitative research is made possible by closed research instruments and consistent research methodology measured through validity and reliability. The theory underlying the quantitative research approach is adopted from hard sciences such as physical science where a phenomenon is taken and tested in a laboratory for a scientific conclusion. Creswell (1994:4) argues that this paradigm was promoted by scholars such as Comte, Mill, Durkheim, Newton and Locke. The quantitative approach, though borrowing from hard sciences, makes certain assumptions about social realities. According to Creswell (1994) on the ontological assumption the quantitative approach underlines the objectivity of the researcher. This may be indicated by the closed tool that the quantitative researcher employs (questionnaire). This ontological assumption indicates that the researcher remains distant from the social reality under study without the potential of contaminating the social reality under study. According to Creswell (1994) quantitative researchers control bias and are systematic and scientific in their approach. The quantitative reporting uses a formal vocabulary that is impersonal and argues from the facts

gathered in the study without putting their values and understanding of the social reality (Creswell, 1994).

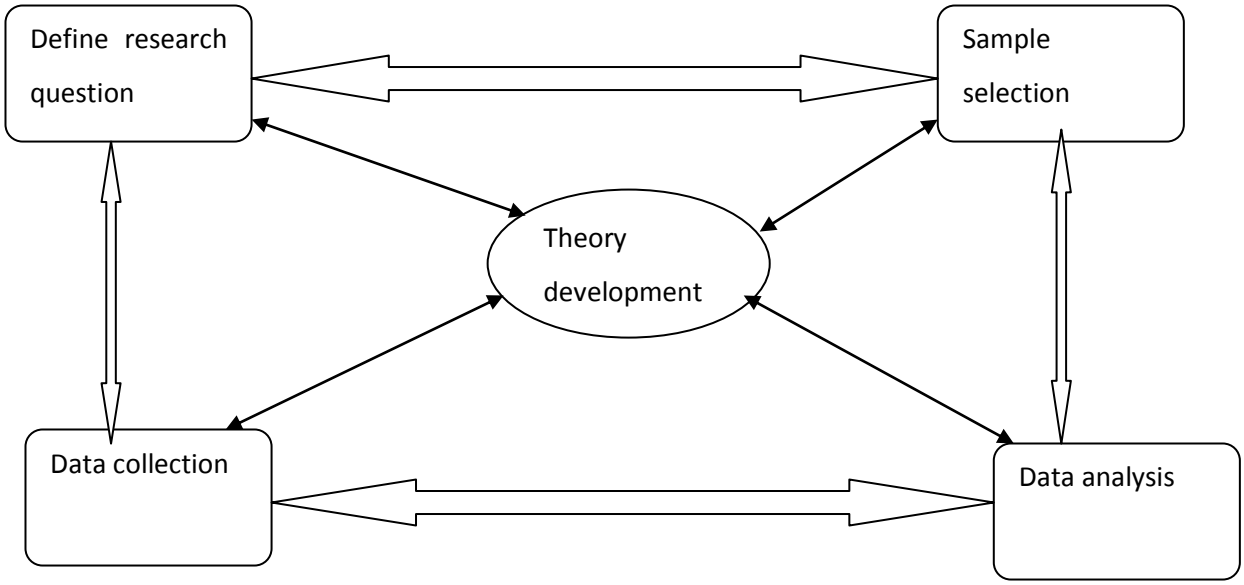
2.2.2. Qualitative method

The qualitative method developed as a counter research approach to the quantitative school of thought. This method is also termed the constructivist or naturalist approach (Mouton, 2006). Other social scientists refer to the qualitative research method as the interpretative approach (Troachim, 1996; Leedy and Ormrod, 2005). Unlike in the quantitative research where generalisation is critical, qualitative research is inductive. Thus, qualitative research departs from observations and open questions to conclusions that supports or criticise theory using the lens of the informants. At the heart of qualitative research is to understand peoples' (informants) experiences, meanings they assign to phenomena and their understanding of processes. Categories emerge from the informants rather than from the researcher. Results from a qualitative research are context-rich (Creswell, 1994). Leedy and Ormrod (2005) reiterate that qualitative research seeks to answer questions on complex social reality from a participants' viewpoint rather than that of the researcher (Troachim, 1994). Qualitative researchers argue that the best way to understand a social phenomenon is to view it in its natural context, thus arguing that for researchers to understand a social phenomenon fully they need to be immersed in it.

Arguments from qualitative research literature indicate that qualitative researchers are concerned with meaning in context or in the 'real world', thus highlighting the fact that research is context-bound and encompasses views as expressed by individual human beings. In the qualitative research approach, the researcher constructs the reality

and applies his/her understanding of the social phenomenon using the respondents' appreciation of social reality as the lens. Thus the qualitative approach acknowledges the fact that multiple interpretations can be derived from any given social situation. Figure 3 below provides a visual summary of the qualitative research process.

Figure 3: Overview of qualitative research



Adopted from Kalof, Dan and Dietz 2008:85

Figure 3 above suggests that the definition of research question and theory development is interwoven and linked to data collection. Berg (1998) cited in Kalof *et al*, submits that once a qualitative researcher gathers and analyses the initial information s/he may be compelled to search for further information and modification of the interview guide and sometimes altering the sample type. According to the qualitative analogy, the researcher observes social life events and collects concrete data. Once data has been collected it is broken down to

understand and appreciate social phenomena and generate theory. It can also be appreciated from the figure above that qualitative research is non-linear and employs a 'bottom up' reasoning, that is, from collected data (specific) to theory (general).

Creswell (1994:6) advises that qualitative researchers should therefore be honest when interpreting social reality and rely on voices and interpretations of the informants. In the qualitative approach the researcher is very active and engages with the informants to generate a detailed understanding of the social reality under study. The distance between the researcher and the researched is reduced as a researcher can live with the informants while studying them (this is called ethnography). The language reporting for qualitative research uses researcher-value laden vocabulary with words such as discover, understanding, and meaning (Creswell, 1994). Qualitative language is personal and informal.

2.2.3. Mixed-Method

Enquiry in social and behavioural sciences created tension between positivist's oriented researchers and post-positivist scholars (Troachim, 1994; Creswell, 2007; Mouton, 2006). During this period of social science enquiry scholars were polarised based on their inclinations, it was either quantitative or nothing and for qualitative scholars it was qualitative approach or nothing (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998). Noting the threat posed by the research paradigm wars on social science, other scholars proposed to combine these methods in pursuit of social science enquiry (Troachim, 1994; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998). They noted that there is strength in approaching social enquiry using a combined method. Creswell (2007) argues that such an integrated approach to social enquiry is likely to provide more credible and

reliable information of social reality than a single method. In the same vein, Neuman (2006) argues that it is better to look at social phenomena from different perspectives than from a single perspective. Whereas quantitative method may result in objectivity and generalisability of results, qualitative methods offer detailed explanations of the social phenomenon under enquiry. In the public policy scholarship the use of a mixed method may be most useful, in the sense that such an approach quantifies social phenomena and explains social phenomena within its social context. Creswell, Fethers and Ivankova (2004) submit that not only do mixed research methods expand the research tools box but they provide an opportunity to create a broader perspective and present insights about social problems than a single research approach. The researcher appreciates the mixed method and observes that while quantitative provides depth, qualitative will provide detail.

2.3. Research design

The researcher applied a research design that combined in-depth interviews and secondary quantitative data analysis. The study was exploratory research conducted in the province of KZN. The researcher aimed to develop a deeper understanding of the institutional arrangements in place to implement the SAPOP as well as developing knowledge on which further inquiry on the subject may be built. As acknowledged, results cannot be generalised to other cases due to peculiar and different social realities, although it was not the intention of the researcher to generalise to other cases but to attempt to generalise to theory of policy implementation and contribute to debate on institutional arrangements and policy implementation. Yin (1994:20) submits that case study researchers are not preoccupied with generalisability to broader populations but to generalising and contributing to theoretical propositions. The researcher goal in this

research was to contribute to knowledge generation and provide a foundation on which further research on the subject can be built, as well as contributing to knowledge generation in an attempt to address the existing knowledge gap.

2.4. A Case study

A case study approach was adopted since it 'can enable researchers to explore, unravel and understand problems' (Bennet, 1983:93). A case study is not by itself a study methodology but rather a research approach. Case study approach provides an opportunity to researchers to employ different methodology so as to arrive at a complete and in-depth understanding of social phenomena. Thus, case studies allow for triangulation and utilisation of different methods. A case study by its nature, according to Leedy and Ormrod (1984:149), Creswell (1994:85), Merriam (1998:27) and Neuman (2006:40), is a detailed analysis, investigation or exploration of a social phenomenon bounded by time, activity and space. Yin (1994:23) defines a case study as an empirical inquiry that investigates a social phenomenon within its real life context. These definitions underscore the point that a case study is characterised by a clear unit of analysis that is bound space and time. Furthermore, in case studies the context is rigorously studied so as to understand the social phenomenon in its totality as well as in its real-life situation. In this study the unit of analysis was the institutional arrangements available for implementing the SAPOP in KZN. The time-frame under consideration was the period since the approval of the SAPOP in 2006 up to 2009.

Case studies, as a result of an intensive investigation of one or two cases and focusing on several factors, affords a researcher a deeper, more holistic and nuanced understanding of a social phenomenon by

studying the social phenomenon in a specific context (Merriam, 1998:41; Neuman, 2006:40). Furthermore, the contextual considerations in case studies illuminate and expand the researcher's understanding of the social phenomenon under investigation. As a result of the high level of detail in a case study, knowledge about a little known or poorly understood phenomenon is generated. A case study researcher collects extensive information on the historical, socio-economic and political environment that has had a bearing on the situation. Thus, this researcher collected information on the implementation of the SAPOP in KZN province from different sources.

However it should also be noted that the case study approach has its limitations and should not be exaggerated. Merriam (1998:42) warns that sometimes case studies can oversimplify or exaggerate a social phenomenon as a result of erroneously considering the results as representing the whole, when in fact they represent a part of the whole case. As a result of the rigour and depth in case study approaches, a lot of resources and time are required and in resource-limited situations case study approaches may not be conducted. This point resonates with Merriam (1998:42) who highlights that sometimes researchers do not have the time and resources to devote to conducting case studies. These weaknesses of the approach do not relegate the approach but mainly underscore the fact that the researcher needs to be cautious when conducting case study research.

2.5. Primary data

Primary data was generated from in-depth interviews with informants who participated in the study. The next sub-section discusses these in-depth interviews as a strategy of research, the selection procedures for

informants, data collection process, and analysis of the transcripts from the interviews.

2.5.1. In depth interviews

This is a qualitative method that has the ability to generate in-depth, detailed and rich information on the subject matter. This method is adopted in this exploratory research because, according to Kalof, Dan and Dietz (2008:83) qualitative research methods are particularly well suited for studying a substantive area about which little is known in order to describe it in detail and explore topics which are less researched.

In-depth interviews provide a researcher with an opportunity to hear informants speak about the institutional arrangements in place to implement the SAPOP. In a semi-structured interview, questions posed by the researcher will act as stimulus for the informants to speak in detail about a social phenomenon (Willing, 2008:24). Troachim (1994) recommends semi-structured in-depth interviews for an exploratory study. Jolley and Mitchell (2001:67) note that qualitative researchers have the ability to get to the bottom of the subject through the probes and follow-up questions that the researcher may pose during interviewing. Muyangwa and Imenda (1996:101), Neuman (2006:151), and Mouton (1996:47) note that the exploratory and inductive nature of in-depth interviews gives it weight as a research methodology. In-depth interviews are relevant to people who can engage in matters of policy at a higher level; the researcher anticipated that in-depth and detailed information can be generated to understand the institutional arrangements in place to implement the SAPOP. Semi-structured interviews were ideal because the research needs to be flexible so that all aspects about the institutional arrangements for the implementation of the SAPOP could be interrogated. The

researcher had the ability to move the conversation in the direction that answered the research questions and fulfilled the goals of the proposed research. Leading questions during interviews and probes were used to gather more detailed information from the interview participants.

2.5.2. Selection of respondents/Sampling

The concept of sampling originated from the positivism school of thought where the principal aim is to get representativity so that results from a sub-set are generalised to the broader population (Creswell, 1994; Mouton, 1996; Babbie, 1998). For positivist researchers representativeness is the underlying epistemic criterion of validity and reliability of the data (Mouton, 1996:110). The objectivity of the positivism school of thought is based on the fact that sampling is crucial in this approach. For the positivist researchers' probability sampling, where everyone in the population has an equal chance of being sampled, is normally used. In the post-positivist school of thought, however, the main goal of research is not to generalise to the broader population but to generalise and add to theory and analysis of social phenomena by collecting extensive and detailed information.

The researcher followed a purposive sampling frame for this study. This sampling approach resonates with the qualitative research method where the principal aim is to provide conclusions that are generalisable to theory rather than to population (Creswell, 1994). In purposive sampling the researcher selects the informants as well as the sites for study because they can purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and the central phenomenon in the study (Creswell, 2007:125). In purposive sampling, the selected site and informants should be consistent with the information required

for the study. Thus informants for the in-depth interviews were selected, based on what the researcher knew about the specific institutions available for the purposes of implementing the SAPOP and information gathered through the discussion with the Director of Older Persons at the DSD.

Purposive sampling for this research was on two levels, that is, the first level was on identifying institutions that participate in the implementation of the SAPOP in KZN and the second level was on identifying individual interviewees. The institutions were identified with the help of the national DSD office. The researcher requested a database of registered role-players in KZN, which were predominantly NGOs. From this list eight active organisations were identified. Once these were identified the researcher made contact and requested an interview with the relevant representative of that particular organisation. Once permission to conduct the interview was granted, an appointment for the interview was set. All appointments were secured for July 2010.

The researcher anticipated that bureaucrats would be able discuss the implementation of the SAPOP and how their departments are involved in the implementation process as well as in their relationships with other role-players within and outside government. In implementation research, the influence of civil servants cannot be avoided as they are the core drivers of policy implementation. Furthermore, the present researcher anticipated that the director of older persons' programmes at national government would provide a general overview of the state of implementation of the policy, resources allocation, and support mechanisms available institutions. Provincial bureaucrats were targeted because they were assumed to be able to discuss their experiences during interaction with other stakeholders during policy

implementation activities. Other targeted respondents included people at management echelons of Non-Governmental Organisations and Community Based Organisations.

Although private sector (business) was not targeted for this research, it turned out during fieldwork that there is a contribution made by the business sector and as a result, one interview was conducted with a business representative. The researcher anticipated that these respondents could address issues of the networks over and above their experiences regarding the situation of older persons. Stakeholders' views are important if the institutional arrangements available to implement policy are to be investigated comprehensively, because the policy proposes a multi-stakeholder approach to the implementation of the SAPOP.

2.5.3. Primary data collection

The researcher conducted fifteen (15) one-to-one in-depth interviews, five more than the proposed number. The researcher had proposed to conduct ten (10) interviews based on the understanding that there were limited institutions to implement the policy but it emerged during the pilot interview with TAFTA that there were other institutions working on implementation to older persons in KZN. Targeted respondents for the in-depth interviews included government bureaucrats in government departments at provincial (in KZN) level.

Though the researcher had proposed conducting interviews with personnel in KZN it became clear to the researcher during conceptualisation of the research that some problem areas regarding the implementation of SAPOP could be gathered through interviewing people who are involved in the policy but who are not in KZN. For this

reason, the researcher conducted a telephonic conversation with the Director of Older Persons at the DSD national office in Pretoria. Issues discussed included role-players, identifying the different stakeholders and their roles in the implementation of the policy, challenges in the implementation of the policy, and problems facing older persons. This discussion was conducted so as to guide framing precise questions in the first draft of the interview guide. The first draft of the guide was piloted with the director of The Association For The Aged (TAFTA), an organisation providing care to older persons. Some questions in the guide were reworked because they were not addressing the question of the institutional arrangements and those which were repetitive were removed. It was also evident from the discussion with TAFTA that there were additional actors in the implementation of the policy, some of which were not identified by the DSD. The transcript from TAFTA forms part of the analysis.

The researcher conducted in depth interviews during the month of July 2010. To guarantee compliance with the ethical considerations that the researcher committed to, and to gather credible information that addressed the objectives of the study, the researcher did not have data collection assistants. The researcher travelled to KZN to conduct the interviews. The advantage to the researcher of conducting fieldwork was that the context in the case study was not missed in the analysis and interpretation of the findings. Conducting in-depth interviews gave the researcher an opportunity to probe the informants on all key aspects of the interview as outlined in the interview guide. Before travelling to KZN to conduct interviews, the researcher sought permission from the leadership of the organisations that were the target. Once permission to conduct the interviews was granted the researcher asked to be linked to the relevant potential informants. Contact with potential informants was done telephonically where the

researcher introduced himself, the study and its objectives, as well as the reasons for the study. Participants requested to see the guide before agreeing to participate in the study. Once potential informants received the interview guide via email they agreed to participate and appointments were set as appropriate.

During data collection, the researcher conducted preliminary analysis of the first two interviews in the field. Preliminary findings from these two interviews informed further probes and these were added in the final guide. The in-depth interviews were recorded. The researcher took notes about the context and other non-verbal gestures, as it was expected by the researcher that this information will complement information generated by in-depth interviews.

2.5.4. Primary data analysis

The in-depth interview recordings were transcribed by the researcher immediately after completion. During transcription, the researcher was identifying possible patterns and complementing the transcripts with the notes that were taken during the interview process. The benefit of transcribing the interviews also afforded the researcher an opportunity to read and re-read the transcripts and make sense of them before analysis. Thus, the researcher developed themes before coding. Transcribing while in the field meant that the researcher did not need to outsource transcription.

At the completion of transcription, the researcher loaded transcripts onto qualitative data analysis software, Atlas Ti version 5 for coding, memoing, identifying and highlighting important quotes. Transcripts were sorted and categorised into themes and sub-themes based on

the interview guide as well as those that emerged from conversations with informants during interviews. Themes were informed by the primary research questions, fieldwork experience and the preliminary results of the first two transcripts. Over and above answering the research questions, the researcher looked for underlying sub-themes and patterns in the data and attempted to interpret these underlying patterns. Single and outlying instances picked out during data collection were interpreted and reported on and inferences drawn on the outlying instances.

The codes and memos that the researcher identified were interpreted in relation to the research questions and study objectives. Direct quotations were taken from the transcripts and integrated in the report to support the process of reflection and describing the patterns and where there was divergence of patterns from the data. Reflecting on the data was done to explore the voice of the data, validate the primary data with literature and draw conclusions from the qualitative data.

2.6. Secondary data

Secondary data was drawn from the 2009 DSD survey dataset. DSD conducted a national household for 1 350 households with older persons. Analysis for this research was based on 250 households from KZN. The researcher isolated the KZN dataset from the national dataset using statistical software called Stata, version 9.

2.6.1. Secondary quantitative data analysis

Secondary analysis of data refers to the manipulation of already existing data to align with new research questions which the data was not originally collected for. Thus secondary analysis is further statistical

manipulation of already analysed data to answer newly constructed research questions. According to Troachim (1994), secondary analysis refers to re-analysis of quantitative existing data. In the same vein Dale, Arber and Procter (1988) highlight that secondary analysis involves extraction of knowledge on topics other than those which were the focus of the original survey. Data mining, as secondary quantitative data analysis is sometimes called, is a statistical method of research which entails extracting valuable information from existing data sets. Available data, collected previously for other purposes, is extracted and analysed for other purposes that it was not originally collected for. Data mining has an advantage of being economical and facilitates projections into the future (Hastie, *et al*., 2001:3; Witten and Frank, 2000:23). In addition, the method has the advantage of opening doors that would not otherwise be anticipated thus expanding the knowledge horizon of researchers (Dale*, et al.,* 1988). This researcher is of the view that secondary analysis unlocks the creativity potential amongst researchers and affords researchers an opportunity to look at evidence from different world views.

The DSD conducted a baseline study on the status of older persons in 2009. In this study DSD conducted a national household survey with 1 350 older persons. To complement information gathered from the household survey and also complement the perspectives of older persons, managers and staff working in luncheon facilities were contacted. This component aimed at finding out the capacity amongst staff in luncheon facilities as well as knowledge of SAPOP, and accessibility of the policy. In-depth interviews were conducted with older persons' organisation leaders to gather information on the challenges of implementing the SAPOP, milestones achieved to date since the inception of the policy, and recommendations on the policy. The present researcher utilised the quantitative dataset for the

purposes of this study. The researcher isolated the KZN dataset from the national data set using the quantitative software Stata 9. Thus, the researcher re-analysed the household survey dataset for KZN and the luncheon survey dataset for KZN.

The researchers received the national household dataset in raw format, that is, in Excel spreadsheet. The dataset was converted into Stata. After converting the national dataset into Stata, the researcher isolated the KZN dataset using the 'keep command' (keep if prov=="KZN") in Stata. No cleaning of the dataset was done by the researcher as the data had been cleaned by DSD before analysis. Analysis of these datasets was guided by an analysis plan which changed during the course of the research as a result of insights from literature review. That is, as the researcher accessed literature and reports, new ideas were generated, the analysis plan changed, and disaggregation was tried using different variables in the dataset. Of particular interest from the quantitative data were socio-economic indicators that included sources of income, access to basic services, security and safety, and knowledge of older person's rights. These socio-economic indicators are central in the SAPOP as they reflect the outcomes of the policy. The researcher subscribes to the view that in order to fully investigate implementation, existing indicators of the status quo that the policy under study seeks to change need to be fully comprehended. Utilising existing data that was already collected saved on financial resources and time without compromising the information. Manipulation of variables through straight and cross-tabulation provided very useful insights into the status of older persons in KZN and stimulated a different dimension of appreciating older persons.

2.7. Validity and reliability

Researchers acknowledge that validity and reliability is problematic to qualitative research because of the role of the researcher during the research process (Mouton, 2006). Validity and reliability has its history in the quantitative tradition (Patton, 2002). In a similar line of thinking, Stenbacka (2001:252) argues that validity and reliability are quantitative concepts as a result of their preoccupation with measurement. Furthermore, the concepts of validity and reliability test the methodological coherence and consistency which is more of a quantitative phenomenon. In the quantitative tradition, validity entails the use of a structured instrument to avoid bias of the researcher and to ensure that the instrument that is used in the research process investigates what is relevant to the research topic (Mouton, 2006). Thus, the key question is whether the instrument for data collection and its questions are relevant to the research topics and the research sub-questions. Despite the fact that validity and reliability have a history from the quantitative paradigm, these concepts have seen use within qualitative research. In qualitative research, the concepts of reliability and validity have come to refer to the relevancy of the instrumentation, appropriateness of data analysis technique, and the degree of relationship between the conclusions drawn and the data upon which they are drawn (Meriam, 1998:199).

In an effort to minimise bias in this research, the researcher designed and used an interview guide (see themes in appendix C) during the interviews. The researcher piloted the guide before conducting fieldwork for the purposes of testing whether it is relevant for the research topic and secondary questions for this study. Findings from the pilot helped design an interview guide that contained information which was relevant to the aims and objectives of the research.

Furthermore, the researcher avoided leading questions during probing and follow-up questions. This approach was applied to all informants.

Different sources of information, that is, secondary analysis of already available quantitative data, in-depth interviews with different stakeholders and available literature on older persons in South Africa were used in the study to better inform the researcher when drawing conclusions. Furthermore, the use of different sources of information or triangulation, according to Babbie (2004:143), afforded the researcher an opportunity to validate information gathered from one source and verifies that information with that from another source. Direct quotes from the in-depth interviews were used in writing the report to illuminate an argument and illustrate that it is the voice of the informants rather than of the researcher.

In qualitative research, validity can be attained through recording the informants. Mc Millian and Schumacher (2006:355) posit that recording the interviews or focus group discussions ensures completeness of the conversations and provides adequate detail for reliability checks. The researcher solicited consent from informants for recording the conversations. Recordings of discussions also acted as back-up and sources of validating the information.

2.8. Ethical considerations

Creswell (2003:62) advances that social researchers should approach research ethically and morally. Similarly, Neuman (2006:129) submits that researchers should observe the research code of conduct if their moral and professional obligation is to be achieved. The researcher, though pursuing knowledge and informants' experiences, held the informants in high esteem and conducted the interviews respectfully.

The researcher explained in detail the background, objectives and purposes of the research to all potential informants before data collection. The researcher also explained that participation in the research was voluntary and there were no risks associated to not participating in the study. Verbal consent to participate in the study and to record the interviews was sought from individual informants before interviewing. However, informants set a condition for participation, that is, they indicated that they were comfortable with having their names or the organisations they represent appearing in the research report. The advantage of this condition was to maintain the anonymity of participants.

In relation to the fact that participation was on a voluntary basis, informants were informed that they had the right to stop the interview at any time if they felt uncomfortable; they were assured that there were no risks in stopping the interview. The confidentiality of informants was secured through limiting access to transcripts and recordings to the researcher and his supervisor only. It was explained that information was used for the purposes of this research only. Furthermore, the researcher attempted to conduct himself with integrity during data collection and avoided passing judgements on or to participants.

Creswell (2003:66) submits that ethical considerations do not stop at data collection and analysis but extend to write-up and dissemination of the report. The researcher conducted the study only for academic purposes and results from the study and the report will not be disseminated to the public. However, the researcher informed the informants that the final research report will be displayed in the library of the University of the Witwatersrand and thus could be read by other people who utilise the library. Quotes from informants were acknowledged in the report.

2.9. Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the research method that was followed through this exploratory research. An overall background of different research methods was discussed. The logic of each of the methods was presented and benefits of using the method highlighted. However, the conclusion of the researcher is that there is value to social science research in using the quantitative and qualitative methods together rather than looking at them in isolation. In this chapter the researcher also indicated the sources of primary and secondary data and how analysis of these different datasets will be carried out, taking into account the principles of reliability and validity. The researcher advances the view that secondary data analysis needs to be elevated in academic research and be treated as an equal to surveys and in-depth interviews.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1. Introduction

This section discusses literature review. The first part of the section focuses on the relevance of literature review in academic research. The second sub-section discusses the status of older persons in South Africa and draws from different reports and published documentation on older persons. The intention of the sub-section is to outline the socio-economic contextual information of older persons as argued in different literature and reports. The researcher subscribes to the view that a proper understanding of policy implementation dynamics needs to be built from the socio-economic and political contextual factors and that the understanding of policy implementation is reflected through the socio-economic indicators. The last sub-section is on conceptual framework. This sub-section provides the framework through which the present researcher understands networks in policy implementation studies.

3.2. Reasons for literature review

A literature review is specific to academic research (Badenhorst, 2007:43). Its importance in academic research is that it enables the researcher to discuss previous research, theoretical frameworks, and locates the study at hand within the available body of knowledge. According to Creswell (1994:21) literature review traces available trends on the subject matter, enables the researcher to fill in the existing gaps in the body of knowledge, and relates a study and locates it within the academic debates. Furthermore, literature review

enables the researcher to frame his or her study whilst justifying its importance, showing how his or her findings relate to other published findings on the same subject matter, and maintaining the focus of the study.

However, in this study the researcher conducted literature review for two major reasons, that is, to identify gaps within available literature on providing a safe and secure environment for Older Persons in South Africa as articulated in the Older Persons' policy and other policies of the Republic, and to establish and understand the theory which the researcher used as the lens to comprehend the institutional capacity in implementing the Older Persons' policy. On the first reason, the researcher observed that the discourse on Older Persons' is relatively under-researched and there is limited literature to refer to. Thus it was the view of the present researcher that rigorous academic engagement in the discourse of SAPOP implementation through a study of institutional arrangements is required, so that a body of knowledge can be available to refer to in future studies.

3.3. Status of older persons

Studies on older persons and implementation of SAPOP are limited. This observation lends weight to the speculation that policies on older persons are not regarded as priority. Another observation on the conventional analysis on public policies is that little reference is made to ageing. Though extensive research has been conducted on the socio-economic status of older persons, less research has been conducted on the process of implementing the SAPOP of 2006. However, significant work on older persons in South Africa was conducted prior to the finalization of the SAPOP. For example, in 1991 Bester, Weich, and Albertyn documented the socio-economic, clinical, laboratory and nutritional information on older persons in Free State.

The African Strategic Research Corporation (ASRC) conducted a national survey on the extent of abuse in South Africa in 1999. According to the survey findings, nearly three-quarters (73%) of respondents had knowledge of abuse of older persons and more than half (53%) admitted to having abused an older person. The parliamentary committee conducted a study on older persons and their findings indicated deep-rooted abuse and vulnerability of older persons, particularly in the old age homes. Other studies on older persons have largely been related to medical sciences. Bester, *et al.* (1991) conducted a study in Free State on the prevalence of hypertension amongst older persons where they found that hypertension was more prevalent among women (62%) than men (41%). Burman (1995) investigated the extent of child care services rendered by older persons of low income groups.

3.3.1. History of Older Persons Policies

Sagner (2000) discusses the old age security policy within the context of apartheid policies. Sagner (2000) traces the advent of the old age security policy in 1928 and the broadening of its scope to include black older persons in 1944. The core argument of his discussion is that the old age security policies during the apartheid era were segregational as they systematically disadvantaged and excluded the black older persons. The Old Age Security Policy (OASP) further perpetuated white supremacy alongside other apartheid policies. The relevance of the discussion of policies that related to older persons pre-1994 is that it provides crucial baseline legislative information on the status of older persons pre-2005 and how the legislative environment affected the lives of older persons.

The current policy should be studied within the context of the Constitution of 1996. Any analysis of this policy that does not factor in the Constitutional context denies the analysis of the relational meaning of the policy. It should be underscored that the South African Constitution, through Act No. 108 of 1996, prohibits any form of unfair discrimination on the grounds of, amongst other denominators, age, and informs all legislation and government policy. According to Lombard and Kruger (2009) the transformative agenda introduced by the new government in 1994 aimed at protecting human rights of older persons. The adoption of a developmental approach in 1997 to ageing promotes active ageing and integration of older persons into the community. The incremental amendment to the Aged Persons Act No. 81 of 1967, through Amendment No. 100 of 1998, was in the same breadth of transformation. This amendment was, however, incremental in the sense that, despite it seeking to fast-track the implementation that made subsidized homes available to black older persons, the amendment promoted institutionalization of older persons in the same way the Aged Act of 1967 did.

In many ways the amendment was seen in a positive light as access to old age homes was a serious issue to government. According to Turok (2006) a turn of events in 2000 was to initiate a review of the amendment, motivated by the Ministerial Committee of the Minister of the DSD which, through research, exposed abuse, neglect and ill-treatment of frail older persons in the institutions. Despite Amendment No. 100 of 1998, the Ministerial Committee discovered that there was no coherent policy and strategy to address abuse of older persons (Lombard and Kruger, 2009:122).

The researcher observes that most researchers who have commented on the SAPOP do not make reference to the global and regional

contextual developments on older persons. For example, Lombard and Kruger (2009) do not highlight the Madrid International Conference on Ageing, the African Union Policy Framework and Plan of Action on Ageing (PFPAA) in Namibia in 1999 where the African Union (AU) (formerly Organisation of African Union, or OAU) met to chart the way forward on older persons, as well as the 38th session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government in Africa in Durban in 2002. Following Ham and Hill, 1993; Parsons, 1996; and Howlett and Ramesh, 2006, the researcher is of the view that the contextual development within a policy area has influence on the eventual policy. Thus, the developments in Madrid, Namibia and in Durban provided currency to the SAPOP. However, despite the oversight of making reference to international and regional developments on older persons, the information provided by such researchers is useful in the appreciation of SAPOP and how it affects older persons.

3.3.2. Living arrangements amongst older persons

The question of living arrangements amongst households with older persons has been extensively documented. Substantial shifts around the living arrangements have been noted and it is argued that data indicates multi-generation households where older persons live with family members of different generations. Traditionally, in the African context, older persons are cared for by their children and the family has traditionally been a safe and secure place for older persons. Lombard and Kruger (2009:119-135) echo this observation when they argue that in Africa it has traditionally been assumed that extended families and the community would care for their elderly as opposed to older persons being cared for by the government. The family structure which has changed has resulted in a shift of responsibility.

Schatz and Madhava (2009) conducted a study on the living arrangements of older persons in Agincourt sub-district in Mpumalanga province. Schartz and Madhava (2009) utilised a case study research design in a rural context. Findings from their study suggest that the roles and responsibilities of older persons have changed. The pattern of living arrangements in modern households has changed. There are many factors that have led to the multi-generational household setups. One critical factor worth discussing is HIV/AIDS. The World Health Organisation (WHO) (2006) estimates that the vast majority of 40 million people living with the virus are adults aged between eighteen and fifty. Thus when this middle aged group dies as a result of AIDS, a generation of infected children and elderly is created. The generation of the elderly does not only lose support from their children (victims of AIDS) but takes on additional responsibilities of caring for the orphans and assuming household headship.

Furthermore, the generation of elderly has to take care of their children when they are frail as a result of HIV/AIDS. Several studies conducted in Africa, Cambodia and Thailand on the effects of HIV/AIDS on elderly people indicate that a large proportion of adults who died as a result of HIV/AIDS lived with or near their parents before they died and the added responsibilities assumed by elder persons when they assume additional responsibilities are adverse (Knodel and Zimmerman, 2007). Research from South Africa suggests that the proportion of elder persons caring for HIV/AIDS orphaned children is higher in provinces where HIV prevalence has increased the fastest (Chimwaza and Watkins, 2004). Qualitative research on the impact of HIV/AIDS older persons conducted in Zimbabwe by the WHO suggest that caring for orphans is a traumatic experience for the elderly as they have to provide care in a resource-limited environment. Agyarko (2004) argues

that older persons, particularly women, are not coping with the burden of caring for orphaned children.

The HIV/AIDS pandemic and poverty have resulted in older persons becoming burdened with caring for families and orphans and are sometimes sole providers of basic needs such as food, shelter and school fees. This is as a result of increased mortality rates that result from HIV/AIDS. The effects of HIV/AIDS have resulted in most households, particularly in rural settings, being headed by older persons (Schatz and Madhavan, 2009:4). This finding is consistent with findings from other scholars who have studied HIV/AIDS and old age. For example, Ferreira (2004), Moller and Devey (2003) note that one key area of change of responsibilities is that of giving care to their grandchildren who become orphans as a result of the deaths of their parents and caring for their own children who become sick.

Caring for their own children sometimes reduces support from their children who would otherwise have been a source of support. A study by Nyaguru (2006b) in rural Lesotho resonates with conclusions made by Schatz and Mdhavan (2009), Ferreira (2004), and Moller and Devey (2003). Furthermore, elder persons not only take care of their own biological children but also other relatives as a result of the nature of extended family units in rural areas. A study into the effects of HIV/AIDS on the elderly carried out in Thailand and Cambodia indicates that a large proportion of adults who died of HIV/AIDS had lived with their parents when they were terminally ill (Knodel, 2006). Additional members of the household add a strain in households as a result of existing high rates of poverty and unemployment. With unemployment estimated at 24% (Stats SA, 2007) it is justifiable to speculate that older persons are the source of income for many households through their old age grant. Analysis of the spending

patterns of old age grant recipients corroborates this point. This is also highlighted by Case and Menendez (2007) who argue that in most households the old age grant is a household resource that supports the entire family. They further note that receipt of the old age grant has a magnetic effect on other relatives. Ferreira (2008) echoes the same point and concludes that in the context of high unemployment and poverty, dispersed family members regroup around a beneficiary of the OAG. Schatz and Madhavan (2009) posit that Old Age Grant income is often regarded as a household asset rather than an individual's (older person) resource. Becker (1974), using a household altruistic model, concludes that a household's individual work is usually for the collective good of the whole household. Thus, the Old Age Grant, though meant for the well-being of the older person as the recipient, has become the source of income for many households.

Although literature on HIV and its effects on old age is useful in providing factors that have an influence on the status of older persons, it is, however, limited as it de-emphasizes the fact that older persons are also at risk of HIV/AIDS infection and consequently vulnerable to HIV/AIDS related illnesses. Most researchers who have investigated the impact of HIV/AIDS on older persons underline the additional support for those who are sick or orphaned by older persons but there is little reference to the exposure to HIV infection by older persons. The present researcher subscribes to the view that, despite the general belief that sexual activity amongst older persons is minimal (Cronje, 2002), they are still at risk of contracting HIV/AIDS as a result of their sexual behaviour. Lombard and Kruger (2009:119-135) further argue that there is data that suggests that condom usage by elderly men is generally low. Furthermore, there is anecdotal evidence that suggests that many young women are infected during intercourse with older men (Darkwa and Mazibuko, 2002).

Sexual assault also exposes older persons, particularly women, to exposure to HIV/AIDS. Sexual assault statistics of 2007 from the South African Police Service (SAPS) suggest that there are significant incidences of sexual assault perpetrated against older persons. Considering that anecdotal evidence suggests that some sexual assault perpetrated against older persons goes unreported to the police and is dealt with through familial or traditional arrangements, it is posited that the SAPS statistics are the 'tip of the iceberg' in relation to sexual assault against older persons. Considering the fact that 25% of sexually assaulted clients are likely to contract HIV it is evident that older persons are also at risk of HIV.

Furthermore, older persons are exposed to HIV/AIDS infections through caring for their infected children and orphaned grandchildren. Many older people have only limited knowledge on HIV and precautionary measures and there is thus high exposure to HIV

Another key factor leading to multi-generational living arrangements is migration. According to Ferreira (2000) the removal of control measures in 1988 by the apartheid government resulted in economically active age groups migrating to cities in search of economic opportunities. In most cases, the elderly and children were left in rural areas. A comparison of 1996 and 2001 data supports Ferreira's argument and indicates that the elderly are usually left in rural areas in the care of children.

Literature on living arrangements of older persons in South Africa cannot be overlooked in a study that seeks to investigate the implementation and management of the SAPOP as it provides a contextual frame and background information on the realities of the

older persons for whom the policy is meant. For the present study the context where Schatz and Madhavan (2009) conducted their study was relevant as it shares a lot of socio-economic realities with KZN, the case study area for the present study.

3.3.3. Older persons and household headmanship

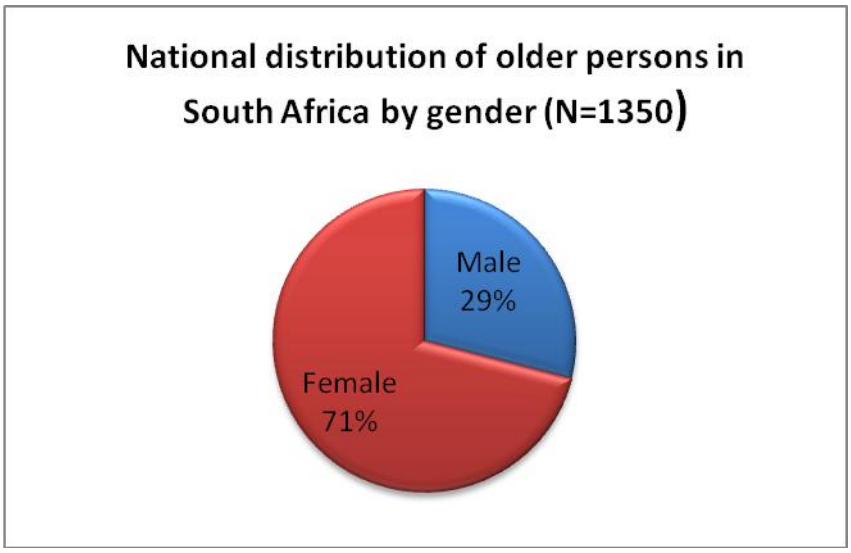
Related to living arrangements is the concept of household headmanship. Household headmanship here is defined narrowly to mean an adult who is able to provide household income. The symbolic aspect of household headmanship is excluded because of its controversy as articulated Schwartz and Madhavan (2009). According to Budlender (2003), symbolic headmanship refers to both income-earning and decision-making in the household. Despite their status as income earners, older persons are not accorded the status of decision-makers as they do make decisions on how their income is to be utilised. Instead older persons are sometime denigrated by society and are accused of witchcraft.

Schatz and Madhavan (2009) notes that of older persons have since become caregivers instead of being recipients of care from family members. Results from a study that sought to identify the patterns of spending the old age grant by recipients indicates that 80% of recipients use the grant for household expenses and recipients do not make decisions on how the old age grant should be utilized (DSD, 2009). These findings further corroborate the conclusion that the reversal of roles of older persons has adverse effects on their well-being. A study conducted in Lesotho on the utilization of the Old Age Pension (OAP) suggests that the OAP provides support to the families and households, particularly in those households where adults cannot find employment (Schatz and Ogunmefen, 2007). It is evident from international trends that access to OAG has brought with it responsibilities of household headmanship and opened a window of vulnerability to abuse for older persons.

3.3.4. Older persons and gender dynamics

Female-male proportions at old age are a recurrent theme in literature. Authors argue that the situation of older persons cannot be fully understood without looking at the gender proportions. May (2007) indicates that there are more females reaching old age than males. May (2007) goes further and says that in all age groups there are greater numbers of women than men and the proportion of women increases as age increases. Thus, a larger proportion of women are to be found in the older groups than men. Disaggregating the Community Survey data from KZN indicates that the population of older persons in KwaZulu-Natal is 71% and 29% for females and males respectively as indicated below:

Figure 4: Older persons distribution by gender



Source: Adjusted DSD 2008 dataset

Results presented in the pie-chart above are consistent with arguments presented in literature on gender distribution in old age. The relevance of understanding gender dynamics of older persons lies in the fact that gender has a direct impact on the status of older persons as it has cumulative effects resulting from patriarchal settings.

The socio-economic implication of the disproportionate gender distribution is that a heavier burden is carried by females. This conclusion is supported by Carter and Zimmerman (2001) who note that 42% of all African households are female-headed and in most cases are single-parent households. According to May (2007) a significant number of households are 'granny' households which is to say the female household head is the grandmother rather than the mother of the children.

The disproportionate number of males and females at old age is also discussed by Schatz and Madhavan (2009), who reiterate that an analysis of older persons cannot be insensitive to gender dynamics. According to Schatz and Madhava, quantitative evidence suggests that there are more women caregivers at old age than men in the same age bracket. Ogunmefun (2008) states that older women are more likely to be caregivers than their male counterparts since the death rate for men are higher than that of women at old age. The unequal burden on women can be explained in part by the fact that women tend to live longer than men and their likelihood of being widowed at old age is greater. Heslop and Gorman (2007) attribute the high risk and vulnerability of older women to traditional inheritance practices that disadvantage women, and unequal access to educational opportunities which also disadvantage women.

Thus cumulative lifetime disadvantages due to patriarchal settings create additional burdens for women at old age. The increasing percentage of households headed by female older persons can be located within the context of high HIV/AIDS prevalence. Other scholars such as Posel (2001), and Merli and Palloni (2004) have studied the living arrangements, headship and households in rural settings and within the context of HIV/AIDS, and conclusions from these studies echo the fact that the roles of older persons have changed, where older women are more burdened by the new responsibilities as compared to their male counterparts. Furthermore, May (2007) argues that households headed by women are more likely to be poor than households headed by men. Disaggregation of gender, income and household headship from the 2009 Community Surveys by Stats SA further supports the conclusion that households headed by older women are more likely to be poor than those headed by men. This situation can be further explained by the patriarchal arrangements of society.

3.3.5. Older persons and poverty

Poverty is a serious social problem facing the South African society. Poverty is estimated at 54% (StatsSA, 2010). As members of the South African society, older persons are not spared from poverty. Research on the status of older persons conducted after 2006 indicates that older persons continue to live under very poor conditions (Ferreira, 2008). May (2007) states that quantitative socio-economic data from census surveys indicate that households with older persons are the most affected by chronic poverty. Lombard and Kruger (2009) also argue that poverty and social insecurity is pervasive amongst older persons. Using the 2007 General National Household Survey (GHS) they argue that the data indicates that 13% of elderly headed households live in a backyard shack or any informal dwelling – an

indication that such households lack any form of tenure security and are therefore vulnerable to poverty (Lombard and Kruger, 2009:119-135). GHS data further reveals that 6,5% of households headed by older persons receive housing subsidies.

Older persons in rural areas are marginalised and are generally more vulnerable. Literature on older persons post 2005 indicates that some milestones have been achieved regarding the status of older persons since the introduction of the policy. Despite the acknowledged positive changes as a result of the policy, much still needs to be done to address poverty amongst older persons. May (2007) posits that available quantitative data from the KwaZulu-Natal Income Dynamics Study (KIDS) indicates that more than one-quarter of older persons lives in chronic poverty. Disaggregation of national census data from the 2007 Community Surveys also suggests that older persons are largely affected by poverty and in most cases they live in households where they are primary caregivers. More revealing from the quantitative data is that older persons who are caregivers depend on the OAG as their only source of income (DSD, 2009).

Qualitative and ethnographic data from other studies supports conclusions drawn from quantitative data. May (2007) cites the South African Participatory Poverty Assessments (SA-PPA) that are conducted yearly in KZN and in the Eastern Cape province to provide a full and integrated understanding of poverty as obtained from the older persons who are perceived to be poor, and to fill gaps from quantitative data. Observation from the field in KZN by the present researcher, and anecdotal evidence from conversations with older persons, resonates with these findings. DSD undertook an evaluative study where they profiled the needs of older persons and access to services. Findings from this research echo the findings of other studies

on older persons, such as research by Ferreira (2007), Ramashala (2002), HSRC (2004), Nomboussi (2004), and Trouisi (2004). What these studies and others that were not mentioned did not address was to investigate the implementation of the SAPOP and the institutions that are available to implement the policy. Though the DSD has conducted an analysis of the policy and gathered information from implementing partners, particularly the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), on the noted improvements of the policy and areas that need improvement, this analysis was not comprehensive. What the project achieved was an audit of NGOs involved in the implementation of the policy and in the views of these NGOs, the missing link in this analysis was the detail of implementation. Thus a research project aiming at the policy implementation will complement the knowledge corpus.

Mabasa (2008) conducted exploratory research on the response to abuse of older persons in the Zonkizizwe area in Germiston, Gauteng. She concluded that there is poor response to abuse of older persons and that service delivery centres such as government hospitals and clinics, home affairs offices, police stations, South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) offices, amongst others, mistreat older persons. It is during the pay days for the OAG where older persons are exposed to loan sharks. The level of satisfaction with services offered by government departments is negative. Though this study was conducted in Gauteng and its primary aim was to investigate response to abuse of older persons, its findings are useful for this study as issues of service delivery can be explained through investigating institutional arrangements available to deliver services.

3.3.6. Older persons and economic activity

The SAPOP states that older persons should participate in the labour markets. Ideally, and as dictated by the developmental approach, older persons should participate in the mainstream economical activities. However, within a context of illiteracy amongst older persons and the damaging stereotypes amongst employers with regard to old age, it is almost impossible for older persons to participate in the mainstream labour markets. Quantitative data indicate that a large majority (80%) of black older persons do not have formal education thus making it difficult for them to participate in the knowledge-based labour market. On the stereotypes, Marais and Eigelaar-Meets (2007) recommend that new and innovative workplace practices that are favourable to an ageing workforce need to be developed to promote the participation of older persons in the labour market.

Ramash (2002) profiled demographic and economic indicators for older persons in KZN. She reveals that the majority of older persons are neither working nor educated and they depend on the OAG while providing care to an average of five children. She concludes that older persons in the province are vulnerable and marginalised. Such social reality cannot be overlooked in this study as the implementation of the policy depends in part, on the environment and context in which it is intended. The researcher is of the view that the socio-economic environment thus can either facilitate the implementation of the SAPOP or act as a barrier to its implementation.

3.3.7. Older persons and rights

Ferreira and Broadrick (2001) explored different mechanisms of supporting older women as carers to orphaned children. Their point of departure was that aged persons, particularly women who form the

majority of caregivers, do not have the necessary support to fulfil their role as carers. The researcher observed that these research outputs contributed to the policy debates and engagements which culminated in the SAPOP. Since the culmination of the policy and enactment of the Act, research on older persons has been limited to socio-economic indicators and status of older persons.

In addition to the socio-economic challenges faced by older persons as a result of HIV/AIDS, poverty and lack of access to economic capital, amongst other challenges, older persons experience vulnerability through violation of their rights. Kollapen (2008) argues that although human rights instruments and national policies that seek to protect older persons exist, the lack of specificity on the implementation of these instruments results in limited progress on improving the status of older persons. For older persons, the violation of their rights includes age discrimination, gender discrimination and stigmatization, abuse and violence in the domestic and institutional settings. Abuse of older persons disproportionately affects women (Kollapen, 2008). Furthermore, lack of participation on matters that affect their well-being by family members is another form of abuse. Mabasa (2008) also supports the view that the rights of older persons are violated in society. The researcher has observed that older persons are excluded from participating in political activities and in the economy. There is also a trend in rural areas where older persons used to occupy positions of authority but now they are relegated to subjects of the youths.

3.4. Theoretical framework

This section discusses the theoretical framework that guided the research. The section begins with giving an overview of key theories of

public policy implementation: top-down, bottom-up, and the network theory. The purpose of discussing these theories is to locate the relevance of the network theory which was the point of departure in this study.

Volumes of definitions of policy implementation have been provided, yet consensus on what implementation entails remains elusive. A common thread in the definitions provided is that the common denominator of implementation is executing or carrying out certain activities with the aim of achieving policy objectives. Grindle (1980) notes that implementation can be defined both as a noun and as a verb. As a noun it refers to the state of achieving the policy goals and as a verb it refers to the process of executing activities to realize policy goals. It should be emphasized that implementation as a noun does not mean that implementation as the process did not happen. For the purposes of this study policy implementation, by definition, implies executing, reinforcing or fulfilling tasks aimed at achieving the policy outcomes. It involves carrying out of different activities so as to achieve the policy agenda. Pressman and Wildansky (1984) defined implementation as a process of interaction between the setting of policy goals (policy formulation) and actions geared to achieve the set policy goals. Three main public policy implementation theories have been proposed by scholars, that is, top-down, bottom-up and network theory. The sub-sections that follow discuss these theories.

3.4.1. Top-down public policy implementation

This approach acknowledges the authority and power of the executive and the elected. The theorists of this school of thought concede that policy made at the top by the elected and the executive are the epitome of legitimacy and should be implemented without alteration by

the civil servants in a ‘command-comply’ or ‘principal-servant’ relationship between policy-makers and bureaucrats, suggesting obedience from those with the task of implementing the policy (Peters, 1993; Brynard, 2000). There is also a suggestion from this approach that there is a unitary central system that yields authority and enforcement of uniform rules and objectives. Thus policy implementation in this school of thought is mechanical where civil servants act like automated robots. Implementation is recognized as a mechanical and an administrative exercise rather than a political endeavour, thus clearly defining policy formulation as political while policy implementation is administrative, rational and non-political. Civil servants, according to this model, are viewed as ‘cogs in an administration machine’ (Grindle and Thomas, 1990). The proponents of the theory are convinced that policy content and the existence of enforcement mechanisms are the basic factors affecting implementation (Peters, 1993). Furthermore, the theory assumes that those with the task of implementing are obedient.

The disregard of socio-political and economic environment of this theory has been a source of criticism by other public policy theorists. As noted by Berman (1980:206) a context-free theory of policy implementation is likely to be flawed from the onset as it is likely not to produce consistent predictions. May (2003) elaborates this view and underlines that failure to acknowledge the political and economic realities that account for policy processes is the most glaring weakness of the theory. Another criticism of the theory is its assumptions. For instance, the theorists assume that civil servants are experts in the field of a particular policy area and they possess the required capacity to implement the policy.

Top-down theory was influenced by the rational choice model of policy making. The theory views policy-making and policy implementation as distinct, divided and dichotomous processes in a linear policy process. Scholars who subscribe to this theory also assume that policy formulation starts and ends where implementation starts; thus, policy formulation has a beginning and end. However, practice has shown that policy formulation is a continuous process without a clear ending.

It is undeniable that policy formulation is iterative with policy implementation. Policies often change as they move through different bureaucrats. According to Paudel (2009) policy formulation precedes policy implementation but it is true that implementation generates policy.

Furthermore, the theorists assume that there is one central and legitimate actor (government) which possesses solutions to the problems affecting society. In modern democratic arrangements where there is strong civil society and lobby groups the assumption is flawed.

3.4.2. Bottom-up public policy implementation

This theory arose as a challenge to the top-down approach to policy implementation. Instead of viewing policy formulation and policy implementation as distinct processes, this approach argues that the boundary between these processes is blurred. Attention in this approach is given to civil servants or, according to Lipsky (1980), street level bureaucrats and their influence on the policy. Parsons (1996) notes that bottom-up directs attention at the formal and informal relationships constituting sub-systems involved in the making and implementation of the policy. It should be highlighted that the acknowledgement of street level bureaucrats does not obliterate the executive and its role in the policy-making. The central argument in

this approach is that street level bureaucrats do alter policies during the implementation phase. In the same vein, May (2002) notes that street level bureaucrats are the real policy-makers. Civil servants adapt policies, co-opt the project designs or simply ignore new policies (Grindle and Thomas, 1990). Thus, civil servants do redesign policies during implementation processes. The proximity of the street level bureaucrats to the social, economic and political environments make them better placed to make policy that reflects these realities on the ground. Thus, according to this school of thought, policy failure is a reflection of failure of street level bureaucrats to relate intended policy outcomes to the reality.

Though the bottom-up model has been appreciated on the basis that it acknowledges reality and the influence of street level bureaucrats, the theory has been criticised on the basis that it does not provide satisfactory solutions to problems of public policy implementation. Furthermore, the diminishing of the executive powers in policy formulation proposed by the theory is questionable (Matland, 1995). The model is one-sided as it puts more emphasis on the influence of civil servants.

As a result of the debate between the top-down and bottom-up scholars and the weaknesses in each model, other scholars such as Elmore (1985) attempted to unify these theories. The central argument was that the strengths of each approach complement the weakness of the other model. Matland (1995) notes that that policy-makers should use forward and backward mapping approaches. Forward mapping involves formulation of precise and clear objectives that specify explicitly the outcome criteria. Backward mapping consist of stating the behaviour to be changed and describing a set of operations. However,

this proposition was criticised for its ambiguity and lack of clear hypothesis to test.

3.4.3. Network theory

The network theory scholarship evolved as a result of the weaknesses identified in the top-down and bottom-up theories of policy implementation. Despite the extensive research that has been undertaken on networks, network researchers cannot explicitly define what networks are. Borzel (1998) reiterates that there exists a 'Babylonian' variety of understanding of the network theory. The use and definitions ascribed to networks in policy implementation varies amongst scholars. However, the common thread across these scholars is the admission that networks are linked together by mutuality and interdependencies on resources and reciprocity amongst policy actors. Borzel (1998:254) notes that the minimal denominator in the definition is that networks consist of relatively stable relationships, between government and non-government policy actors, which are of a non-hierarchal nature sharing in the policy arena and joined together through resource interdependence. Kenis and Schneider (1993:36) define networks as 'webs of relatively stable and ongoing relationships which mobilise and pool dispersed resources so that collective action can be orchestrated towards the solution of a common policy problem'. In the same vein, Ham and Hill (1993:161) note that there are mutual resource dependencies amongst different policy participants within their horizontal or vertical relationships. The notion of stability in Borzel's definition suggests a level of an integrated structure within the network. The interdependencies amongst different groups become a resource and asset of the policy as groups can complement each other based on their capacities and capabilities. Central to the definition is the question of linkages and interaction amongst members of the 'web' or network (Kenis and Schneider, 1993).

The network theory challenges the 'conventional' theories of policy implementation, that is, the top-down and the bottom-up models. Proponents of the theory dispel the hierarchical notion of policy-making and implementation (Ham and Hill, 1993:99) and that policy implementation is about getting people to do what they are told by the politicians (Parsons, 1996:466). At the core of the theory is the observation that policy-making in modern times is not only a prerogative of government but requires trilateral partnerships that bring government, civil society and business into the policy arena. Proponents of the theory also observe that no single player, not even government, possesses adequate capacity and knowledge to implement policies (Parsons, 1996:185; Hill and Hupe, 2002:163; De Coning and Cloete, 2002:44; Innes and Booher, 2003:39; John, 2005:116; Klijn and Koppenjan, 2006:30). Governments often look outside for resources and information to facilitate the policy process thereby giving rise to policy networks. According to May (2002:226) policies are no longer a result of government machinations but result from participation of the 'publics'. Within the 'publics' there are civil society members, business, academics and members of the public. This is particularly true in democratic societies. Furthermore, May (2002:226) observes that the policy process involves a long series of strategic back and forth engagements and consultation between the government and those outside government in shaping policy outcomes and implementation.

The network theory was inspired by the inter-organisational approach which underlines that the environment of organisations consists of other organisations that relate to each other through resource and information sharing (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2006:30). The theory also realises that the policy terrain is a complex and messy process that requires pulling resources that sit in various stakeholders together for

the common goal (Innes and Booher, 2003:255). Parsons (1996:185) concurs based on the assertion that policy is framed and modelled within the context of relationships and interactions of stakeholders. The strength of the theory lies within its acknowledgement of co-operation and participation of multiple stakeholders within and outside government. Hajer and Wagenaar (2003:12) reiterate that as the elected elites recognise their inadequacies and look outside for information, capacity and effectiveness, networks provide the practical avenue for engaging citizens and other stakeholders in the policy process.

According to Borzel (1998) network theory can be approached from two angles, that is, as a typology of interest intermediation between the state and societal interests, as well as a governance model. In the interest intermediation school, networks are an analytical tool for examining institutional relations between state and non-state policy players thus suggesting that rules and co-ordination are key elements in managing network relations. Gains (2003:72) argue that policy networks involve interaction between stakeholders in the policy process and assert that this interaction can be formal or informal. Parsons (1996:185) observes that the essence of policy network analysis is on the formal and informal relationship and interplay between or amongst policy institutions. As a result of the interaction amongst policy players, rules of engagement are required to minimise conflict and enforce cohesion amongst policy actors. Smith (1993:82) reiterates that rules govern the way in which policy participants should conduct themselves in the policy processes as well as their roles within the process. He elaborates that policy participants should abide by the set rules. The definition of policy networks as a patterned relationship between state and non-state players linking public and private sectors in policy implementation was proposed by Skocpol (1993:24) who suggests the relevance of rules within the policy networks. Laffer

(1986:12) articulates that policy networks are governed by both normative and cognitive rules. Klijn and Koppenjan (2006:30) underline the centrality of rules in the interaction of policy actors and conclude that these interactions call for some game management and network constitution to deal with the complex nature of interactions.

Though the literature de-emphasises mutual trust in these inter-relations the present researcher subscribes to the view that partnerships are formed and sustained by trust. Trust is not a written rule yet the policy networks relations hinge on trust that is built amongst them over time. It is likely that that rules, regulations and trust lead to cohesion amongst policy networks and lack of it results in unstable inter-relations which, if serious, can threaten the existence of policy networks. Cohesion amongst policy players is particularly important in that it enables stakeholder co-operation which influences the extent to which policy may succeed (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2006:31). Ham and Hill (1993:99) concur with this view and use an approach that is based on the fact that co-operation hinges on the inter-relationship within the policy chain and that these inter-relationships should be very close to 100% to avoid policy deficits, or what Parsons (1996:464) calls 'policy implementation deficits'.

Gains (2003) is of the view that the rules do not necessarily have to be formal. In the same vein Stone (2002) notes that society has other types of rules that co-ordinate their behaviour in addition to formal rules. These, she furthers argues, often have the force of law and they can reinforce or undermine the formal rules (Stone, 2002:285). Because formal and informal rules interact, there is a tendency for these to influence each other. Highlighting this observation, Stone (2002:285) states that informal rules shape the categories and classification used in formal rules and interpretation as well as

enforcement mechanisms. Elevating informal rules suggests that co-operation in the network set-up is as important as co-ordination which is largely enforced through formal rules. Acknowledging the primacy of rules to regulate stakeholder interactions and relations is to acknowledge the centrality of politics, power and institutions in the policy process. May (2002:226) underlines this fact by acknowledging that one of the criticisms of the network approach has been that the approach analyses policy processes separately from politics. One can argue that policy networks and politics are inseparable concepts, thus an understanding of one can only be achieved through a comprehensive understanding of the other.

On the other hand, the governance typology views networks as a tool to connote the structural relationships, interdependencies and dynamics between actors in policy-making (Schneider, 1988:2). This approach is an offshoot of inter-organisational analysis. In this approach it is not only the structural organisation within a network which is important but also the joint processes of inter-organisational collaboration and co-operation in the implementation process. Thus horizontal co-ordination of government and non-government actors becomes central. The theory reflects an altered relationship between government and non-government policy actors. Kenis and Schneider (1991) advise that policy networks therefore serve not merely as a vehicle for exchange of resources and representation of stakeholder interests but also as instruments for modern governments to steer society. This school of thought thus presents networks as an alternative to conventional governance forms.

Rhodes (1991:187) labels the different actors involved in the policy process as a ‘policy sub-system’. This ‘policy sub-system’ comprises policy actors or participants who are formally charged with policy

implementation. However, borrowing from other authors, particularly those who have written about policy processes in South Africa, who explore the policy-making process from the rational model perspective (Booysen 2006a; 2006b; de Coning and Cloete, 2002; Wissink, 2002), one can argue that defining a 'policy sub-system' is a narrow definition that does half the job in terms of definition. One may suggest that the definition should be expanded to include policy actors and participants who participate either formally or informally in the policy process throughout the stages of policy-making, that is, from agenda setting through to policy implementation and its evaluation. Borzel (1998:254) posits that policy networks are particularly important in both policy-making and policy implementation.

Rhodes (1991:188) discusses approaches in which networks may be useful in the policy processes. According to Rhodes (1991:189) networks can be used as a metaphor when analysing interest mediation, inter-organisational analysis and a move away from bureaucracy to markets to networks. Furthermore, network theory can be used in examining power dynamics within groups and how networks are created in the policy processes.

Policy networks do not happen in a vacuum but occur within the context of capacity deficits and from sharing a common vision about a specific policy domain. Rhodes and Marsh (1992:183) define networks as resource interdependencies that connect organisations. This view is highlighted by Borzel (1998), O'Toole (1998), Peters (1998), Klijn and Koppenjan (2006) amongst other prominent scholars. This definition suggests that networks cannot develop when there are no resources to share.

Though the majority of scholars view the interest typology and governance models as distinct models, this researcher subscribes to the argument that the approaches need to be embraced as one because the primary argument in both is that public and private relations are a result of resource interdependencies. Alleged differences between the theories, in the opinion of the researcher, are as a result of different emphasis on different variables rather than an indicator of substantial difference in perspective. In any event, the interest mediation approach and the governance typology are not mutually exclusive (Marsh and Rhodes, 1992; Borzel, 1998) and the variations in theory are of a basic theme, that is, the idea that public policies result from multiple actors drawn from government and private spheres which are inter-related and are inter-dependent on each other (Kenis and Schneider, 1991).

Like other theories, criticism has been levelled at the theory. The theory has been criticised as lacking theoretical foundation, clarity, explanatory power, and clear evaluation criteria, and of showing a neglect of politics in the stakeholder relations and its normative objectives against networks and the role of public actors within them (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2006:35). The theory also romanticises network interactions and presupposes that relations and engagements are smooth. Smith (1993:82) acknowledges that difficulty of maintaining cohesion and disciple within complex organisational interactions. In practice relations are not always smooth as different stakeholders contest the policy space to push for their own interests. This point can be illustrated by the efforts of COSATU to push its alliance and partner in government (ANC) for policies that are aligned to the left. In its efforts for change of policies COSATU is strengthening to protest a scenario that has serious implications on its inter-relations with the ANC. Furthermore, the theory ignores the fluidity of stakeholder

participation and that groups have multiple interests and interact with other groups who may share divergent interests to those that interact with the group they interact with. Policy participants enter the policy arena at different phases and not all have permanent stakes and interests in a particular policy arena.

Despite these weaknesses in the theory, the researcher is of the view that the theory remains important and plausible in analysing policy processes. The strength of the theory lies in its ability to be used for different purposes within the public policy terrain. Network theory can be used as a tool box for analysing politics and policy processes, as a theoretical approach, and as a form of governance (Borzel, 2003:255; Innes and Booher, 2003:39; Rhodes and Marsh, 1992:184). Rhodes (1991:188) suggests that the theory can be approached differently, that is, as a metaphor, as a theory of analysis of the political context of group interactions or in terms of interpreting the formation and sustainability of policy networks. One can argue that in an environment where public policy is an outcome of consultation and stakeholder engagement, there is wisdom in interrogating actors, participants, groups, rules and government departments involved in the policy arena as proposed by the Ostrom model (Ostrom, 1990:324). This is applicable in the policy at hand as it was an outcome of stakeholder consultation and engagement as discussed in section 3 above. In disputing the assertion that the theory lacks theoretical foundation, Klijn and Koppenjan (2006:36) argue that the theory is foregrounded on a rich theoretical bedrock of inter-organisational theory and its concept is based on the mutual dependencies of policy actors. The theory remains useful as a tool and a resource for public policy analysis as it reflects modern reality in policy processes (Erik-Hans and Koppenjan, 2006:32).

The network theory, despite the weaknesses that are levelled against it, is convincing in explaining modern political and policy processes. The theory is the closest tool box for public policy scholars in the analysis of policy implementation. The network theory provided the researcher with the necessary tools to interrogate and appreciate the dynamics, network configurations, relations and network structure of the network involved in the implementation of the SAPOP in KZN province.

3.5. Conclusion

The chapter discussed the existing body of knowledge on the SAPOP. It was noted that there is less literature on the implementation of SAPOP. Discussion of older persons took place under the following themes: Legislative framework, older persons and living arrangements, older persons and household headmanship, older persons and gender dynamics, older persons and poverty, older persons and violation of rights, and older persons and economic activity. An underlying conclusion that runs across these themes is that older persons remain adversely affected. Experiences from other countries were drawn from literature to further illuminate contextual understanding of the status of older persons.

On the theories of public policy implementation, the researcher observed that literature indicates that theories of policy implementation have evolved over time. The researcher concludes that the hierarchical theories of implementation are not in alignment with modern realities of policy-making and implementation and thus caution needs to be exercised if an attempt is made to use them in the analysis of policy implementation. Despite their non-applicability in modern day policy analysis, hierarchical theories need to be appreciated for their recognition of the influence of the state and the civil servants in policy

implementation. Using the network theory, this researcher was able to appreciate the dynamics at the structural level as well as inter-organisational relations of organisations involved in the implementation of the SAPOP.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1. Introduction

This section presents and discusses the findings gathered through secondary analysis of quantitative data and through the in-depth interviews. The first sub-section of this section presents and discusses the quantitative results. Under this section data is organised according to the disaggregation of the quantitative variables, that is, gender, age categories, number of members in a household, size of household, source of income, adults earning an income, usage of income, financial burden, registration with indigence structures, and satisfaction with life in general. For each category, findings are presented graphically, each graph described, and conjecture to literature then follows for each theme. In enriching the discussion the researcher also relates the results and findings from the literature to his view for each category.

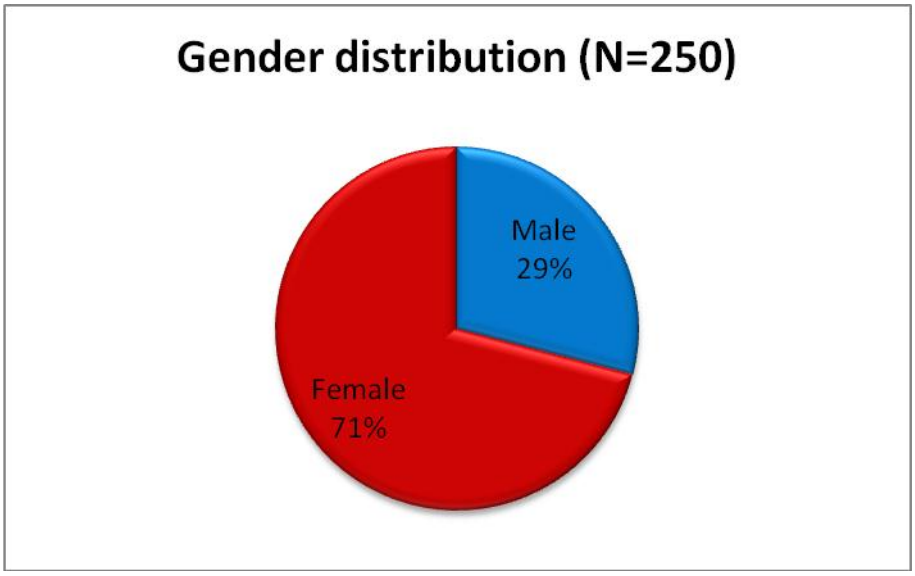
The second sub-section presents and discusses qualitative findings under eight broad themes: value of networks in the implementation of the policy; network mapping and identification; contribution in the implementation of the policy; network relations; network rules of engagement; co-ordination and leadership; meetings; and resource limitations. A discussion of the findings with references to literature and the researcher's view on each theme is made. It should be noted that, as discussed in the methodology section, informants indicated that they were not comfortable with their names or identities appearing in

the report. Therefore quotations from informants are referenced from A-P in the order in which the interviews were conducted.

4.2. Quantitative results

Aggregations of informants by gender indicate that a large majority (71%) of older persons in KZN are females. As shown in Figure 5 below, males account for 29% of the older persons population.

Figure 5: Gender distribution of older persons in KZN



Source: Adjusted DSD 2008 dataset

The gender imbalance in KZN, which is consistent with national gender trends in old age, resonates with arguments in literature that there are more females than males at old age (May, 2007, Ferreira, 2008, Kollapen, 2008, Marais and Eigelaar-Meets, 2009). Schatz and Madhavan (2009) conclude that longitudinal data makes it clear that, at old age, women have a greater presence. It should also be highlighted that such a distribution suggests that more women are heads of households. This argument is supported by Burns, Keswell and

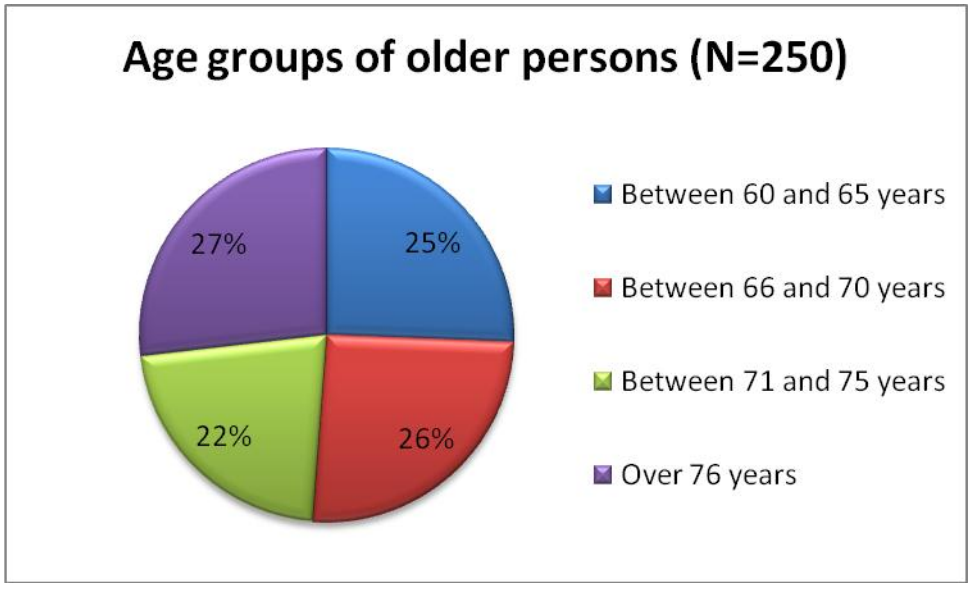
Leibbrandt (2005) who assert that ‘women at old age are the backbone of society’. It is logical to speculate from this finding that aged women in KZN carry the burden of financially supporting the orphaned children, their ill children and relatives, and that most households with older persons are headed by females. This argument is supported by the tabulation of the dataset and some of the results that are presented below. Furthermore, considering the accumulative residues of patriarchal practices and exclusion from the mainstream economic activities as a result of apartheid, one can advance a view that households with female older persons in KZN are chronically poor.

An understanding of gender distribution in the analysis of the implementation of the policy is critical. Ferreira (2008); Kollapen (2008); and Lombard and Kruger (2009), amongst other scholars, note that the status of older persons cannot be fully understood without appreciating the gender distribution amongst the aged population. The SAPOP of 2006 acknowledges that according to the policy, an older person is defined as, in the case of males, sixty-five years of age and older, while in the case of females, it is sixty years and older. The irony in the definition is that there are fewer males at old age than females (May, 2007; Lombard and Kruger, 2009) yet the old age bracket for males is sixty-five years whereas that of females is lower at sixty years. Furthermore, the original definition of older person in the policy of 2006 was in conflict with the definition adopted by the UN. According to Kollapen (2008), the UN defines an older person as anyone aged sixty years and older. The different age groupings for males and females have a bearing on access to social security for older persons. For instance, the age differentiation between females and males meant that males below sixty-five years could not access the OAG, which was interpreted as discrimination because of age and gender. As a result of this realisation, an amendment to the policy has been made. The Social Assistance Amendment Act No. 6 of 2008

made provision for a phased in change in legislation (Lombard and Kruger, 2009:119-135). As of 2008 men aged sixty-three years and above qualified for the OAG, in 2009 men aged sixty-one years and above qualified for the OAG, and in 2010 the age group for old age will be sixty years and older for both sexes.

Tabulation of marital status of older persons reveals that more than two-thirds (62%) are widowed, nearly a quarter (24%) are married, just above one-tenth (11%) are single and 3% are divorced. Analysis of the patterns of widowhood indicates that significant percentages (90%) of women are widowed at old age while men account for only 10% at old age. These findings corroborate the view that women are more burdened by responsibilities at old age than their male counterparts as elucidated in reviewed literature.

Figure 6: Age groups of older persons

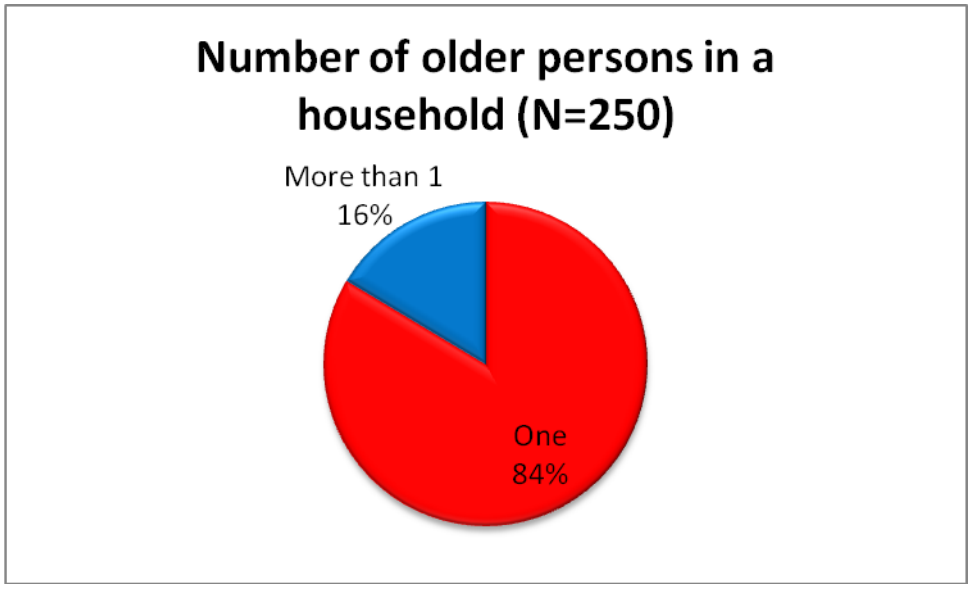


Source: Adjusted DSD 2008 dataset

The pie chart above presents older persons age groups. The chart reflects that older persons are almost evenly distributed in the age groups, between sixty and sixty-five years (25%), between sixty-six and seventy years (26%), between seventy-one and seventy-five years (22%) and over seventy-six years (27%). The mean age for older persons in KZN is seventy-two years while the minimum and maximum ages are sixty and one hundred and three years.

Considering that there is a positive correlation between age and illness (Udjo, 2006; May, 2007; Lombard and Kruger, 2009) one can submit that frail older persons experience a difficult life at old age as they still carry the burden of financially, emotionally and socially supporting their grandchildren, children and relatives. The increased burden at old age has been highlighted as one factor that has a direct effect on the emotional well-being of older persons as articulated by Lombard and Kruger (2009).

Figure 7: Number of older persons per household



Source: Adjusted DSD 2008 dataset

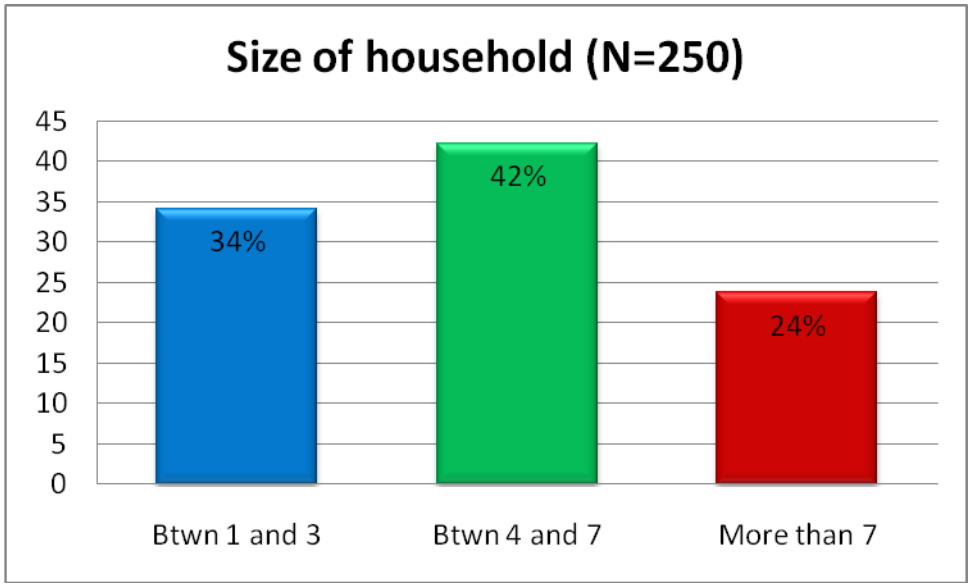
As shown in Figure 7 above, most households (84%) where older persons reside in KZN have more than one older person living in the household and a small percentage (16%) of households had one older person living in the household. Having more than one older person in one household compounds the strain on the already challenged households.

Cross-tabulating the number of older persons in the household and number of household members indicates no significant difference between households with one older person and those with more than one. This suggests comparably greater burdens for older persons living in households with only one older person as there is a high likelihood of facing the demands of the household alone.

Figure 8 below indicates the size of households with older persons. More than a third (34%) of households has between one and three members, 42% of households have between four and seven household members, and nearly a quarter (24%) has more than seven household members. A cross-tabulation of households with more than three household members indicates that grandchildren and other extended family members occupy households with older persons. This finding supports conclusions on living arrangements by other researchers such as Schwartz and Madhavan (2009), and Marais and Eigelaar-Meets (2009), who argue that older persons usually live in multi-generational households. Though tabulation of relationship of household members to the older persons was not done, there is a possibility of the magnetic effect highlighted by Ferreira (2008).

Furthermore, results from tabulating the household size suggest that traditional living arrangements where extended family members live together still exist. However, the researcher is of the view that households with older persons have greater social deficits than households with one older person as there is a likelihood of more household members requiring social support and care such as bathing, washing and feeding. Such a burden may fall to other able-bodied older persons within the household. However, further research into this question is required to support or dispute this view.

Figure 8: Size of households with older persons

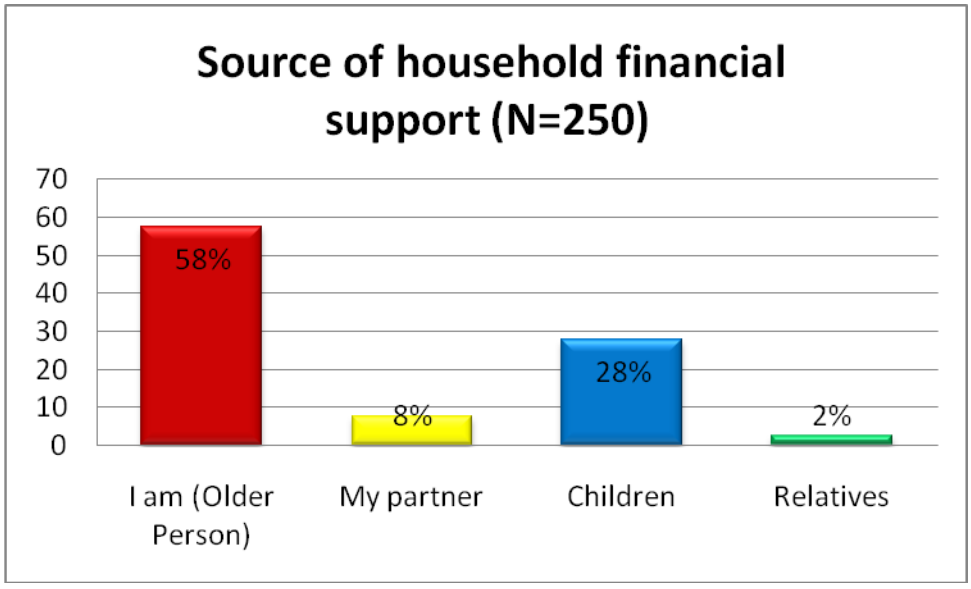


Source: Adjusted DSD 2008 dataset

Over three-quarters (66%) of older persons are the source of finance through the OAG in households and a large proportion of these are females who are either widowed or deserted. In nearly a third (28%) of households the children are the source of income and 2% indicated that their households depend on relatives for financial support. This is indicative of the fact that most households rely on the OAG for support in KZN.

This researcher also tabulated sources of household income. As shown in Figure 9 below, more than three-quarters (66%) of households have older persons being the primary source of income, while nearly a third (28%) and a small percentage (2%) rely on income from children and relatives respectively. Results from these tabulations support the view that the OAG is the main source of support in most households, a view that has been articulated extensively in literature. This view is also highlighted by authors such Case and Menendez (2007), Ferreira and Lindgren (2008) and Marais and Eigelaar-Meets (2009) who argue that in most national households the old age grant is a household resource that supports the entire family. Authors further note that receipt of the OAG has a magnetic effect on other relatives.

Figure 9: Source of household financial support



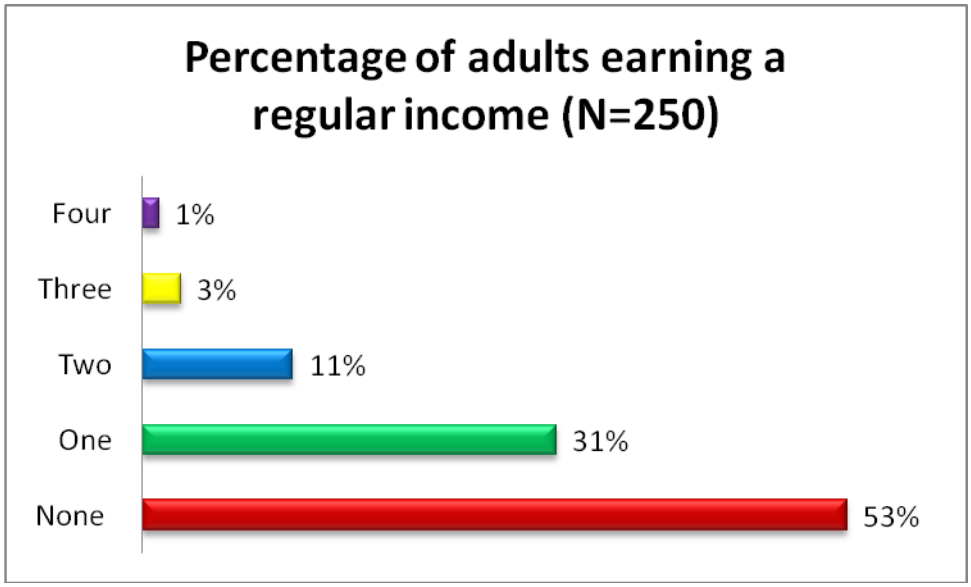
Source: Adjusted DSD 2008 dataset

The researcher is of the view that it is worth acknowledging that, despite the conventional view from literature and other quantitative

data that older persons are the sources of income, it is true that some households with older persons still rely on their children for financial support as shown by the KZN data. It can be argued that despite the effects of HIV/AIDS on economically active people, these people are still useful resources to their aged parents as they continue to financially support their parents. This assertion may not be true for all provinces as the contrary is suggested in provinces such as Mpumalanga (Schwartz and Mandhava, 2007) and Western Cape (Marais and Eigelaar-Meets, 2009) but it is true for KZN as shown by the findings presented above.

Aggregation of adult household members earning a regular income indicates that most households with more than one adult have no regular income. Regular income was defined as income received on a regular basis such as weekly, fortnightly or monthly. It included OAG, pension or royalties or other income from investments. More than half (53%) the households have no adult earning an income. Such households survive on remittances from children and relatives in other areas, donations from NGOs, and child support grants. Over a third (31%) has one adult earning an income, over a tenth (11%) have two adults earning an income and 3% and 1% have three and four adults earning an income respectively. An adult was defined as any person living in the household who is aged over eighteen years. The fact that more than half (53%) of older persons have no source of regular income supports the view that older persons are affected by chronic poverty (May, 2007; Ferreira, 2008; Lombard and Kruger, 2009). Tabulation of socio-economic indicators using 2010 Community Survey data for KZN corroborates the view that older persons are affected by chronic poverty.

Figure 10: Household adults earning an income

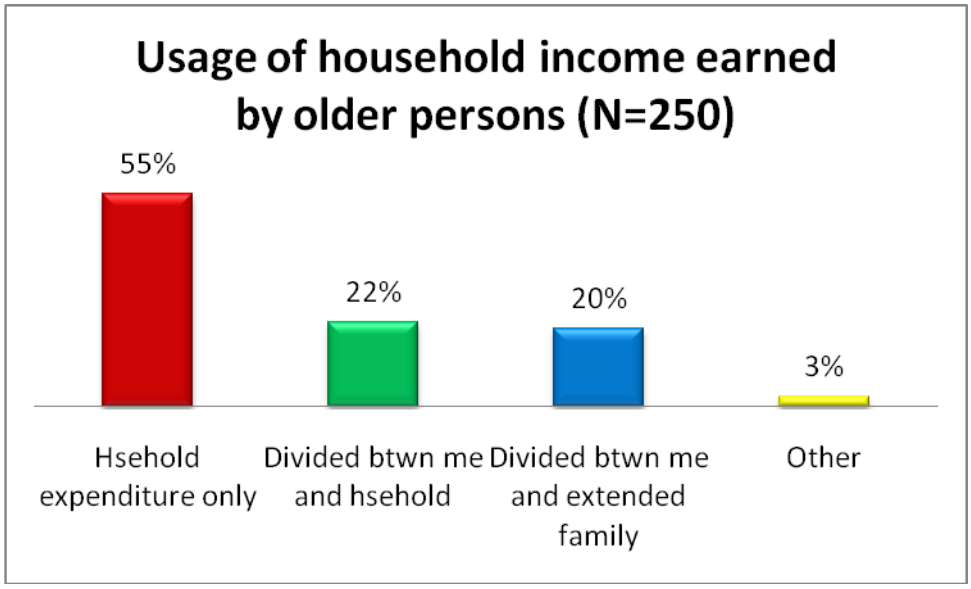


Source: Adjusted DSD 2008 dataset

As shown in Figure 10 above, more than half (55%) of household income is used to cover household expenditure only, including food, clothing, paying household debts, rent, and electricity. Over a fifth (22%) of older persons has their income divided between themselves and the household. A fifth (20%) of older persons has their income divided between themselves and relatives or the extended family and only 3% of older persons utilize their income in other ways. This analysis indicates that the older person's income is used to cover household expenditure; thus, older persons become the source of household support. Nyaguru (2006b) argues that quantitative data in rural Lesotho suggest that OAG is the source of income for the majority (88%) of households. Moller and Devey (2003), Schwartz and Madhavan (2009), and Lombard and Kruger (2009) also argue that there is evidence from South Africa that households in rural areas survive on the OAG. It should be noted that despite the fact that over half (55%) of older persons' income is used for household expenditure

only, there is actually more than 55% of older persons providing for household costs because 22% divide their income between themselves and household expenses while 20% share their income with extended family. This finding further lends weight to the argument that older persons have attained household headmanship status.

Figure 11: Usage of income by older persons

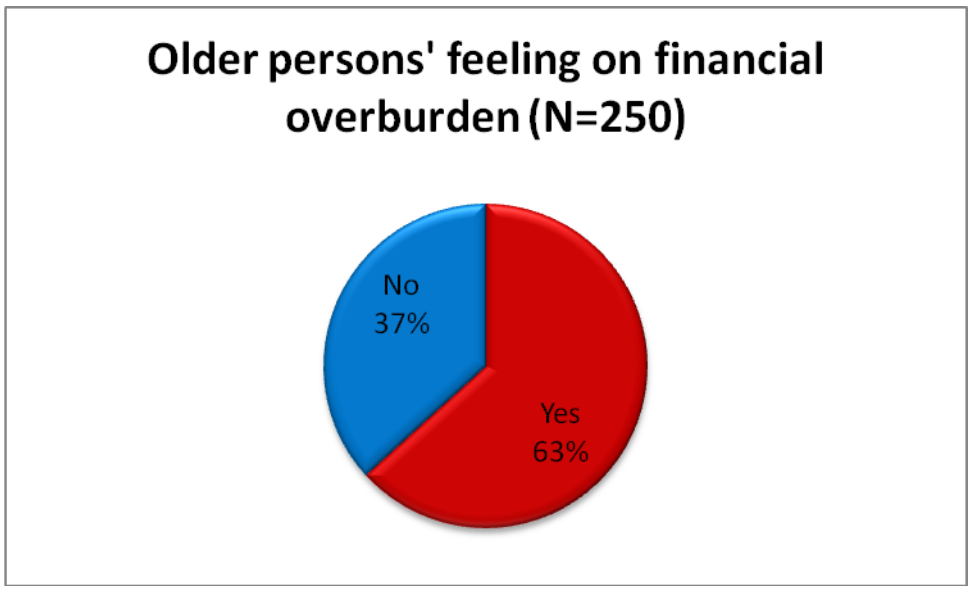


Source: Adjusted DSD 2008 dataset

Figure 12 below presents responses of older persons from KZN on whether they feel financially overburdened or not. Over two-thirds (63%) of older persons in KZN feel financially overburdened whereas more than a third (37%) feel that they are not financially burdened. It is evident from Figure 11 that the majority of older persons feel financially overburdened. This is supported by Agyarko (2004) who concludes that older persons are not coping with the financial responsibilities of old age. May (2007) concurs that quantitative data from KIDS corroborates evidence of socio-economic burdens carried by older persons. Reasons for different feelings on financial overburden were not explored but one can speculate that some of the 37% that do not

feel financially overburdened are those that receive financial support from their children and relatives while the 67% is those older persons who are the primary sources of income for their household.

Figure 12: Feelings of financial overburden by older persons

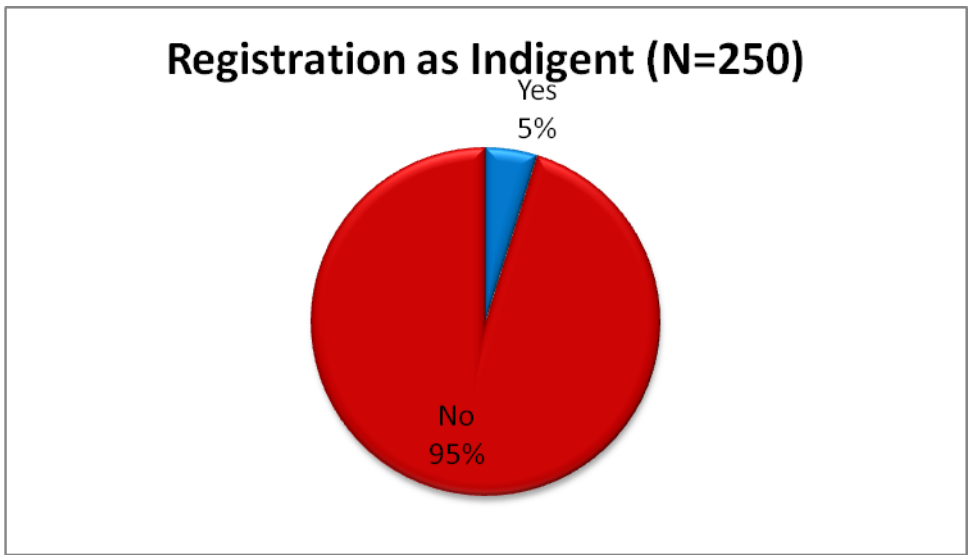


Source: Adjusted DSD 2008 dataset

Figure 13 below presents registration of households with the municipalities as being indigent. As shown in the pie chart, an insignificant percentage (5%) are registered for the government subsidies on basic services such as electricity, rent and water while a large majority (95%) of households are not registered. This finding is consistent with other studies that have been conducted in the past. For example, Lombard and Kruger (2009) found that the 2007 national GHS data set indicates that only 6.5% of households headed by older persons receive any form of housing subsidies. Though this is revealed by the national data set it is clear that KZN follows the national pattern in relation to subsidies. The fact that such a large majority (95%) of households headed by older persons are not

recipients of government subsidies on housing suggests vulnerability to poverty and insecurity.

Figure 13: Registration of households as indigent

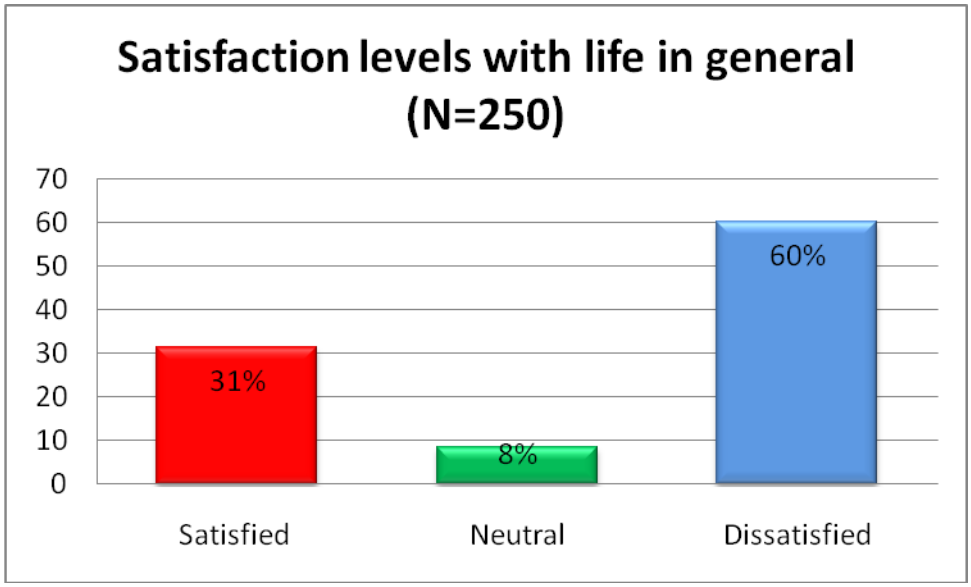


Source: Adjusted DSD 2008 dataset

Figure 14 below shows results from a tabulation of satisfaction levels with life in general and reveals that two-thirds (60%) of older persons are dissatisfied with life in general, 8% are neutral and over a third (31%) are satisfied. There is a significant difference between those who are dissatisfied with life in general and those who are satisfied. Satisfaction levels included health status, income levels, security, and status of housing. Drawing from satisfaction levels one can speculate that, according to older persons themselves, the policy is yet to yield any significant positive change to their lives. Researchers argue that reasons for dissatisfaction with life for older persons include feeling isolated and neglected by family members, abuse and lack of security (Marais and Eigelaar-Meets, 2007; Ferreira, 2008; Schwartz and Madhavan, 2009; Lombard and Kruger, 2009). Though reasons for

rating satisfaction levels were not explored in the analysed data the present researcher is of the view that the above are possible reasons for the 60% of older persons who are dissatisfied with their life in general.

Figure 14: Satisfaction with life in general



Source: Adjusted DSD 2008 dataset

Overall, results from the secondary analysis of the DSD 2009 dataset reveal that socio-economic status of older persons has not improved substantially and this is in line with conclusions from other research studies that have been undertaken. Data reflects that older persons in KZN, particularly females, carry a disproportionate burden of caring for the sick, orphans and household headmanship. Tabulation of sources of income indicate that the OAG is the largest (84%) source of income for older persons and spending patterns suggest that the OAG is turned into household income rather than older persons' income.

Furthermore, the results of apartheid laws and accumulative lifetime disadvantages, compounded by patriarchy, further add strain to older women far more than men.

Interestingly, secondary data revealed that there is a shift with regard to living arrangements in households with older persons. For example, most (84%) older persons' households have more than two older persons, suggesting a further evolution in living arrangements. This finding is in contrast with findings by authors such as Ferreira (2008), May (2007), Schwartz and Madhavan (2009), who conclude that older persons live in multi-generational settings.

4.3. Qualitative findings

4.3.1. Mapping of networks

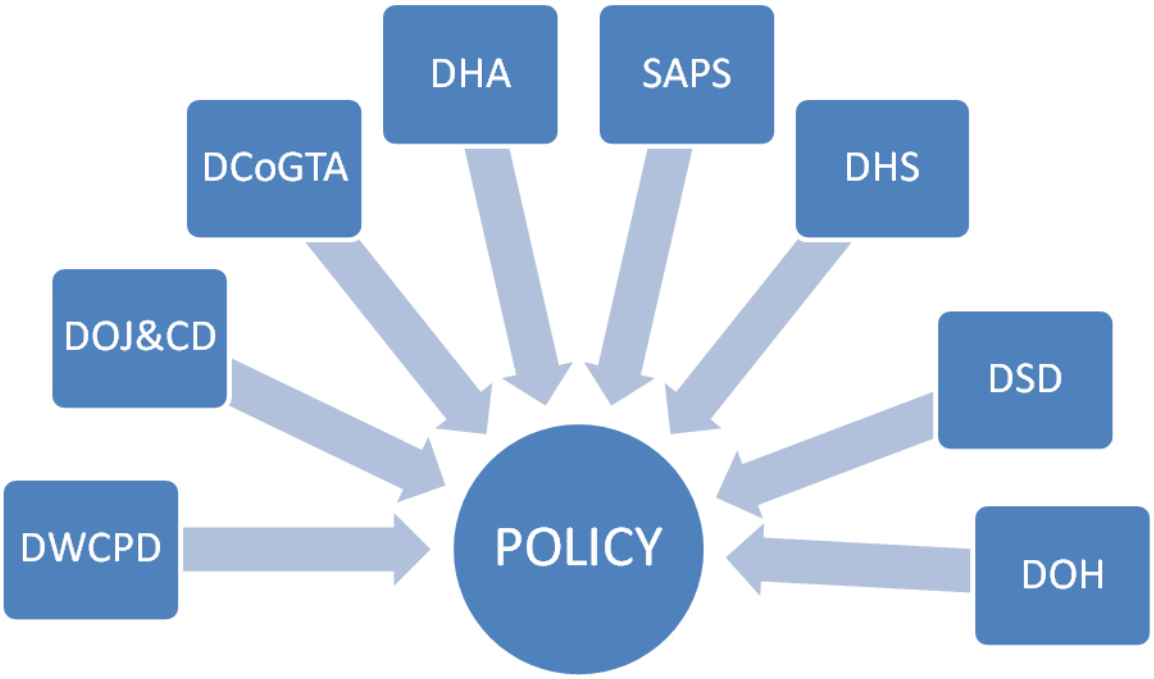
The key focus of this exploratory research was to identify different actors participating in the implementation of SAPOP in KZN. Identifying and mapping network actors involved in the implementation of SAPOP as well as identifying individual actor roles and structural configurations is critical if the network is to be fully understood. This argument follows Herranz's (2008) proposition that existing gaps in a network can be identified and understanding of reasons for success or failure gained if the networks involved are identified.

Information gathered through the interviews suggests that, at the structural level, there are two sets of networks involved in the implementation of the SAPOP. The first set of the structure involves different government departments or 'horizontal partnership' (Fard, Jandaghi, Gholipour and Nikraftar, 2010). Rhodes (1991)and Broadkin (1987) echo the view of horizontal partner when they underscore the

inter-relations of different government departments in a policy area. To avoid wastage and duplication of services and programmes, different government departments have to harness available resources and co-ordinate their services. For the implementation of SAPOP, the researcher is of the view that it is also vital for government departments to share knowledge and information so that there are no gaps created in the implementation process. .

Figure 15 below presents the government departments that were identified in KZN as having a critical role in the implementation of the SAPOP. It should be acknowledged that this list of departments is by no means exhaustive but reflects institutions of government that were identified as participating in the implementation of the SAPOP. The individual roles of these identified departments are discussed in the section that follows.

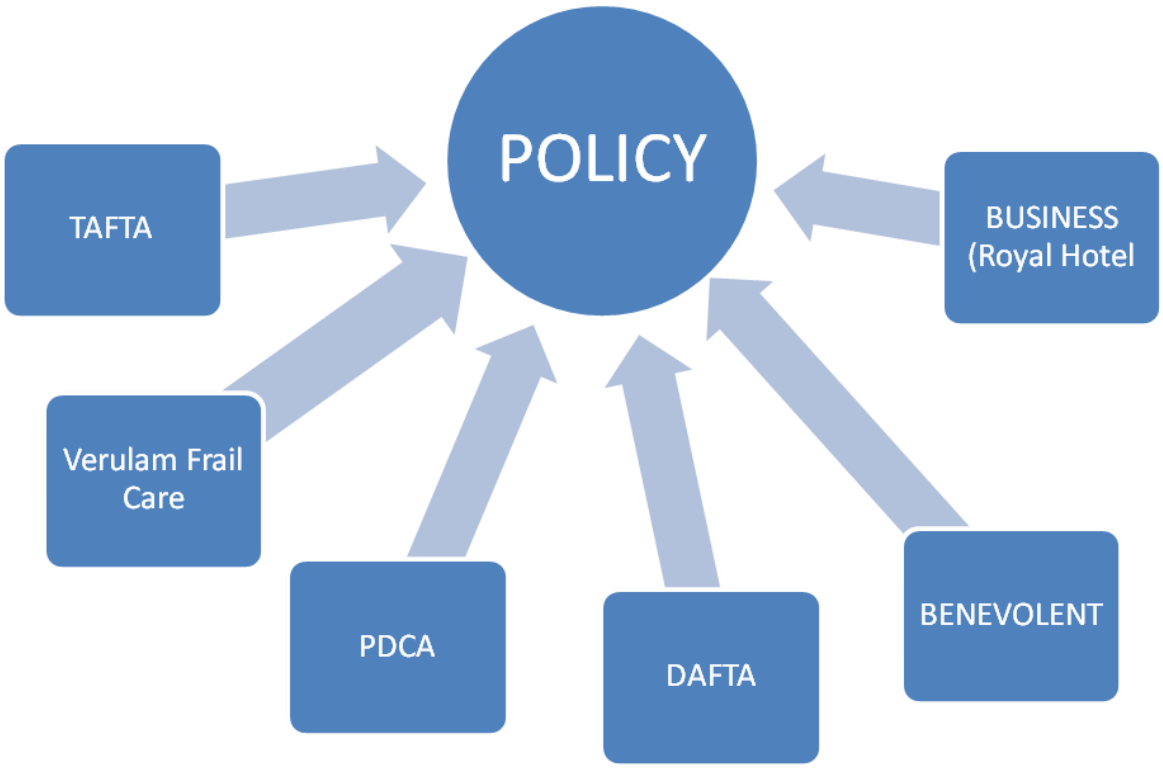
Figure 15: Government role players involved in the implementation of the policy in KZN



Source: Own 2010

A second set of policy networks includes non-governmental actors which include civil society and business.

Figure 16: Non Governmental partners involved in the implementation of the policy in KZN



Source: Own 2010

Interestingly business was never mentioned in the partners from outside government, even though a critical role-player in the implementation of the policy is the business sector. The researcher was able to identify business through informants of NGOs. The contribution from the business partners through the Corporate Social Investment (CSI) programmes was acknowledged by NGOs. Partners such as hotels provide meals to older persons at old age homes, and banks inject money for sustained activities during special events such as the older persons week.

4.3.2. Contribution in the implementation of the SAPOP

Information gathered from individual government departments was conflicting as others claimed that older persons do not fall within their mandate but that of the DSD. Informant 'C' from a government department in the province commented:

> Anything that relates to older persons and other vulnerable members of our society are within the mandate of DSD. My department's mandate is to provide services to all citizens (Interview with Informant 'C', conducted 27 July 2010).

Asked about the application of indigent policies and subsidies on rentals, electricity and water that the department applies to the older persons, the informant maintained that it is not the role of his department to look after older persons. On the role of Community Development Workers (CDWs) when it relates to their observations from the community outreach programmes, the informant still maintained that the Department of Local Government has nothing to do with older persons and their needs. The fact that quantitative data indicates that 95% (Figure 13) of older persons are not registered as indigent with local government despite meeting eligibility criteria sheds light on the involvement and participation of the Department of Local Government and Traditional Affairs in the implementation of SAPOP and suggests that older persons are not on the agenda of the Department. One can speculate that the information given by the representative from the Department of Local Government and Traditional Affairs is the tip of the iceberg on how bureaucrats see the implementation of the SAPOP by their departments. The impression from the discussion with this informant suggests that the Department is not involved in the implementation of the SAPOP. The informant further suggested that the researcher needed to check with the

Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities (DWCPD) if their mandate covers older persons.

During the interview the researcher had a copy of the policy and read the paragraph on implementation that indicates that all government departments need to integrate the needs of older persons in their programmes and activities is emphasized. In addition, when the researcher cited the Municipal Properties Rates Act (MPRA) (Act No. 47 of 2000) and asked the informant to relate his statement to the policy pronouncement and the Municipal Properties Rates Act the representative seemed unaware of the SAPOP and MPRA. This supports Ball (2003) who argues that some bureaucrats mandated with the implementation of government policies are unaware of the policies which they are supposed to champion. Thus they cannot relate their tasks and activities to policies of government. This finding also raises questions of policy implementation knowledge and capacity amongst the cadreship of bureaucrats mandated with policy implementation.

The picture painted by informant 'C' was that of co-operation and active participation in the implementation of the policy. The informant highlighted some housing projects for older persons that they have participated in, particularly in Durban where the provincial department, EThekwini municipality, TAFTA and business have been partnering to provide affordable housing to the elderly. This information was validated and confirmed by TAFTA who acknowledged the active participation of the Department in providing affordable housing to older persons. Over and above the projects, the Department is revising its housing policies and now incorporates the needs of older persons in their programmes, something they argued was a result of sensitization by the NGOs. From the foregoing discussion one can conclude that

collaborating with other stakeholders results in a systematic influence on the content of decisions, actions and policy responses.

The active participation of the department in the implementation of policy through housing projects is incongruent with the insinuation of informant ‘F’ who works closely with DCoGTA. Informant ‘F’ emphatically maintained that DCoGTA has no mandate regarding older persons. Another informant from a provincial government department acknowledged that she is not aware how her department is involved in the policy as she was of the view that the primary mandate of her department was to provide services to all citizens without any special attention to any group. The irony is that the department she works for is central in terms of facilitating access to basic services such as health, social grants, and housing amongst other key services. Thus it is evident that the issue of aging is not prioritized in government departments despite the fact that older persons are categorized as a ‘special’ group. To support this view the researcher reviewed the ‘lokisa ditlomane’ programme document and discovered that there is no mention of older persons as a priority group. The civic affairs in the Department have no desks that deal with older persons. Asked about participation in multi-stakeholder forums where the interests of vulnerable groups such as older persons are discussed, the informant indicated that there is no such forum in KZN.

SAPS seemed to be aware of its role in the implementation of the policy. SAPS indicated that their mandate is to provide safety and security to all citizens and emphasis is on protecting vulnerable members of the community such as older persons, the disabled and children. The active participation of SAPS in the implementation of the policy was further corroborated by informants from NGOs who

confirmed that SAPS participates in activities organized for older persons. They further indicated that SAPS is involved from the viewpoint of protecting older persons as citizens and they also accompany social workers and home based caregivers when they make visits to frail older persons.

The need for co-ordination compounds the challenges as information gathered through interviews revealed that some government departments do not feel obliged to implement the SAPOP, a sign that there is a problem in communicating the involvement of individual government departments in the implementation of the SAPOP despite the requirements of the policy. This suggests that the horizontal government departments sharing of information is weak.

From the informants the role of NGOs is generally to lobby and advocate for rights and access to basic for older persons. They further stated that they also assist in passing information to elders through events for older persons. Other services mentioned luncheon services, home based care and facilitating income generating projects for older persons.

4.3.3. Value of networks in the SAPOP

Information gathered from all 15 interviewees acknowledged the value of collaboration and working together in the implementation of the SAPOP. Findings from in-depth interviews suggest that it is essential for different stakeholders in the SAPOP landscape to bring comparative advantages of individual players to the table so as to maximize the potential of each stakeholder and thus facilitate the likelihood of achieving the intended policy outcomes. Thus, there was acknowledgment by informants that each role-player is a valuable

resource to the implementation of the policy. According to Informant 'O' from a provincial department:

> The participation of different role players in the implementation of the [older] policy from within and outside government is noted and highly appreciated. This is in resonance with the government approach in policy where emphasis is put on strong partnerships between government and civil society (Interview conducted with Informant 'O' on 30 July 2010).

The above sentiment was also highlighted by representatives of NGOs in KZN as captured in the quote from informant 'A' below:

> We as NGOs play our role in the implementation of the [older persons] policy through partnering with DSD (Interview conducted with Informant 'A' on 30 July 2010).

Asked about the tangible resources partners bring to the network and comparable advantages of partners, informants highlighted that NGOs have the required manpower to do the basic work such as home visits to the frail elderly persons. NGOs achieve this through a huge pool of volunteers in the communities and their proximity to communities makes them appear as the 'closest' service points rather than government departments. Another key role-player, UKZN, which was discovered during fieldwork, provides technical research expertise and guidance to NGOs and government departments, particularly the DSD. Bringing these resources together was highlighted as strength of selflessness and the power of collaboration.

Judging from the sentiments expressed in the interviews on the contribution of each member of the network, it became clear that no organization, not even government, through the DSD as the chief custodian of the SAPOP, possesses adequate resources and capacity to implement the policy alone therefore the implementation of the policy requires pooling resources from different sources. This

resonates with researchers (O'Toole, 1986; Agranoff and McGuire, 1998; Pierre and Peters, 1998; Milward and Provan, 2000) who acknowledge that the main advantage of the network approach is pooling together of otherwise dispersed resources and combining the comparative advantages of network players. Furthermore, there is realization in modern policy-making that no institution, not even government, possesses adequate resources and power to implement policies alone.

Drawing from interviews and literature, one discovers that the implementation of the SAPOP requires concerted efforts from different stakeholders within and outside government. This finding resonates with the literature which concludes that, 'through a process of mutual learning, information sharing and joint problem solving, multi-stakeholder mechanisms can identify integrative solutions to some of the most complex and contentious problems facing society' (Boyer, 2001). This reinforces that there is benefit in stakeholder participation in the implementation of the policy as each possesses an advantage and resources that are useful for the policy but are also available to other stakeholders within the implementation of SAPOP.

An underlying theme from the interviewees was that the advantage of the network configuration in the implementation of SAPOP is the creation of bridges between otherwise diverse institutions which have different objectives.

4.3.4. Co-ordination and leadership

Information gathered from the informants suggests that the network in the implementation of the SAPOP is riddled with complex challenges

that are linked to co-ordination and leadership. One informant from an NGO highlighted the leadership challenge when she said:

> We NGOs are willing and are always available to assist in the best of our abilities. However what lacks is a voice that unifies us and gives strategic direction and guidance in terms of implementation (Interview conducted with Informant 'A' on 25th July 2010).

Another informant from the NGOs commented thus:

> Our serious challenge is that we have disjointed membership who, in the absence of leadership, lacks coordination (Interview conducted with Informant 'B' on the 28th of July 2010).

The emerging message from the interviewees is that efficient co-ordination and strong leadership is critical for the implementation of the policy; however informants indicated that such leadership and coordination is currently missing. For the informants, co-ordination includes timely communication and communication of relevant information and bringing different actors together. There is resonance amongst scholars that communication is an important tool in policy implementation (Guy-Peters, 1993; O'Toole, 2003). Implementation directives can be transmitted through communication. Naturally, if there is information vacuum and inadequate information, then misunderstanding on the part of the implementers is likely to occur. The danger of lack of proper information transmission is likely to be misinformation.

According to the informants, leadership is not only critical for mobilizing actors and resources and harnessing these for the common good of the policy, but also motivating other network members and influencing them to achieve the policy goals. Policy implementation literature supports the view that competent leadership is a critical resource for

collective and engaged actors that are involved in the implementation of the policy (Ostrom, 1995, Melluci, 1996, Klijn and Koppenjan, 2000). However, it was observed from the interviewee sentiments that there is a general conviction amongst policy actors that the DSD's leadership remains unsatisfactory. For example, NGO informants indicated that there has not been any communication from the DSD regarding the schedule of capacity building workshops on the Older Persons Act. This, they argued, is despite numerous attempts to get the DSD to communicate this information. Another informant highlighted that no communication has been received from the DSD on resource allocation despite the fact the department budget vote was passed in April 2010.

As a result of lack of proper information transmission, network players rely on each other for information which often leads to inaccurate and unreliable information being shared, thus creating confusion and conflict between the DSD and NGOs. As a result of the different cliques and sub-groups within the NGO network members, some organizations are always beaten by events. Furthermore, it is fair to speculate that wrong information that is shared creates conflict between the DSD and NGOs. This is because the DSD set guidelines, for instance in the layout of funding proposals and because this information does not get to NGOs through formal channels and is often diluted when it gets to organizations, organizations do not accurately adhere to these guidelines.

An emerging trend in the sentiments from informants is that leadership and co-ordination is complex. In a multi-stakeholder network implementation there is likely to be challenges resulting from finding common ground that satisfies a range of interests from different

stakeholders. Furthermore, forged relations in a network are not easy to sustain due to different external influences that weigh on the network members involved in the implementation of the policy. Literature on networks concludes that networks bring with them ‘complexity of joint action’ (McGuire, 2002) meaning that the coming together of diverse and autonomous network members brings with it challenges (Elmore, 1975; Hanf and Scharpf, 1978). Co-ordination often requires technical skills and expertise that is beyond the conventional bureaucratic structures (Elmore, 1975). Waugh (2002) contends that leadership is central to successful networks and organization, thus network achievements is a reflection of leadership within the network. To address this ‘complexity of joint action’, O’Toole (2003) proposes effective leadership and co-ordination.

The ingredient of effective leadership goes beyond motivating and influencing and includes facilitating productive interaction amongst network members. However, leadership, despite it being a fundamental ingredient in network studies, has been overlooked in network research. Huxham and Vangen (2000) states that empirical literature on public management rarely addresses leadership as a determinant of collaborative network effectiveness and when it does, the concept of leadership is hypothetically stated. Fernandez (2008) echoes this view and states that “the dearth of public administration research on leadership is startling”.

An observation during interviews was that leadership is understood differently by NGOs and the DSD. While the DSD implements a top-down approach and expects NGOs to comply, NGOs expect to be treated as equal partners rather than subordinates. As a result, network members could not identify who amongst them is responsible

for leading the network. While NGOs think that the DSD is responsible as principal government department with the prerogative of protecting older persons, the DSD seems to believe that leadership is the prerogative of the collective network membership. It is evident from the foregoing observation that while NGOs assume the DSD administers the network, the DSD assumes that leadership is spread across the network members and network members should lead themselves. Provan and Kenis (2008) identifies two ways in which networks are governed. The first is flat leadership where leadership is spread across the network and the network is self-led. The second is when there is an organization or an agency that administers the network. In the second type, it is usually the government department that is the custodian of that particular policy area that takes the lead. Thus, whereas the DSD subscribes to the first type its network partners (NGOs) subscribe to the second type. It is also evident that despite DSD and NGOs' active participation in the implementation of the SAPOP, neither of these players wants to take responsibility and be accountable. Jennings and Ewalt (1998) acknowledges that sometimes leadership is not understood in multi-organisational implementation resulting in difficulties over accountability.

4.3.5. Network relations

Interviewees were asked about their relationships amongst themselves. It emerged from the interviews that NGO representatives feel the DSD does not appreciate the work they do. According to the informants the work done by the NGOs is the work of the state. Informants from outside government departments indicate that the DSD dictates to NGOs and does not consult them in decision-making thus making the NGOs feel disempowered. For meetings, which some network members claimed were irregular or not communicated properly, the DSD send junior staff to meetings and expect senior

managers and CEOs from NGOs to attend the same meetings. Sometimes, according to the informants, the DSD sends different staff members to meetings thus defeating the purpose of the meeting as these staff members do not have information on previous meeting resolutions. As a result of this, NGOs feel frustrated as the junior staff does not have adequate knowledge on the policy and its implementation, and they also do not make decisions.

The organisational relationship between NGOs is not perfect. One representative professed ignorance of the existence of a sister organization which provides services to older persons. The irony is that the offices of these organizations are separated by less than 10 kms. However, an analysis of the funding models for these organizations give insights on the reasons for the relationship as, according to the informants, the DSD always funds the one organization and is always rejecting proposals from the other. Thus, competition for resources and recognition from the DSD can be one reason for such a relationship. Competition and self-satisfaction and reward may also be the reason for the conflict between the two NGOs who should, by their interests in the older persons, need to be pulling together rather than in different directions. It is also possible that there is a battle of policy space amongst members of the NGO community and this competition for policy space reflects itself through the 'not-so-smooth' relations amongst network players.

Informant 'C' from an NGO said that:

> As NGOs we have our own cliques, for example, our NGO feels comfortable sharing information with some NGOs but not all and other NGOs do the same (Interview conducted with Informant 'C' 26 July 2010).

This sentiment further reflects that relations within the NGO sector are very complex. Information gathered through interviews with different NGO representatives suggested that the relationship between this set is very complex as there are sub-networks or networks within the NGO network. This observation resonates with Innes and Booher's (2003) observation of the existence of networks within and between networks.

Without stable relations, it is argued that networks rarely achieve the intended policy outputs (Agranof and McGuire, 2003). Scholars acknowledge that relations can be both formal and informal. However, the researcher is of the view that emphasis needs to be put on formalizing relations in a network. Based on evidence from literature, it seems that formalizing relations is critical to strengthen the stability of the network. Some relations are based on mutual trust amongst network members. It is worth highlighting that relations in a network are not easy to form and sustain as network members are influenced by different external forces. However, once formed, relations become social capital for network members as they begin to appreciate their reciprocity.

One observes that the relation amongst NGOs and between NGOs and government departments is complex. The complexity of relations of network members is elucidated by Bressers, O'Toole and Richardson (2007) when they argue that complex network interdependences often result in unintended consequences that in most cases require mending of stakeholder relations. Similarly, Pierre (2000), Kooiman (2003), and O'Toole and Meier (2004) emphasise that complexity comes with complications in inter-organisational relations. The existence of a complex web of network relations sometimes results in selective sharing of information and resources.

This observation may be a reflection that network actors involved in the implementation of the SAPOP react to the action of other network members and are also open to coercion from other connections which may not be directly involved in the implementation of SAPOP. It is normal in any policy arena that network members maintain their relations with other members outside a particular policy area while participating in that particular policy implementation. Rhodes (1993) observed that network members usually belong to multiple relations in multiple policy areas and use their bargaining power to influence outcomes in some policy areas while participating in other policy areas. Evidence from the implementation of the SAPOP in KZN attests to Rhodes's argument.

In addition, the selective sharing of resources discussed above can also be interpreted as ways of network members to outplay other network members. It is natural that network actors contest for space within a policy arena and different manoeuvres and strategies are employed. Peters (1993) notes that battles for policy implementation turf are usually fierce and attempts to build firewalls against other actors sometimes happen. An exploration of these relations is proposed so that a conclusive interpretation can be revealed.

Indications from the informant sentiments suggest that the working relationship between the DSD and NGOs is not smooth, indicating that network relationships are not always stable. Peters (1993) observes that stakeholder relations in a policy are subjected to endogenous and exogenous factors. It can also be speculated that stakeholder relations are predisposed to changing values and power shifts as a result of participating in the implementation of SAPOP. The protest marches in August 2009 against the DSD organised by NGOs, and calls for the MEC for the DSD to resign in April of 2010, demonstrate the

sometimes turbulent relationship between NGOs and the DSD. Informants from NGOs highlighted that the MEC at the DSD does not value the contribution of NGOs in the implementation of the policy and thus the DSD uses a hierarchical command and control approach to the implementation of the policy where the government, through the DSD, dictates on how the policy needs to be executed. However, as suggested in literature (Rhodes, 1993; Guy-Peters, 1993) working relationships in network arrangements is not always smooth.

There is a strong possibility that some members of the network disadvantage others because other members rely on them for resources and their survival, a sign of power configuration within the network. The fact of leveraging resources to manipulate and disadvantage weaker network members was highlighted by representatives of the NGOs. From the sentiments of informants from NGOs there was an observation that the DSD is using the fact that it has resources in the form of subsidies and can register and deregister organizations, to enforce compliance from NGOs. One interviewee commented thus:

> As NGOs we feel as a junior partner of DSD. DSD, instead of giving us a platform to engage and deliberate as equals it dictates and imposes to us and sometimes things that are impractical (Interview conducted with Informant 'N' on 29 July 2010).

These sentiments elucidate Clegg and Hardy's (1996:678) who argue that network researchers cannot ignore that power can be hidden behind authority and the rhetoric of collaboration. Power can be used to promote interests through the manipulation of and capitulation of weaker partners.

One informant said that:

> … DSD is an all too powerful institution that wishes to tower everybody involved in the implementation of the policy… (Interview conducted with Informant 'L' on 27 July 2010).

The researcher is of the view that, despite the fact that the network approach to policy implementation dictates that no single actor is in charge (Hall, 1999; O'Toole, 1998; Guy-Peters, 1993; Rhodes, 1993), the DSD usurps all the power and behaves as the 'in-charge'. The researcher notes that the DSD derives its powerful status from the fact that most organizations interviewed rely on subsidies and funding from the DSD.

Conflict amongst network players in the older persons' arena can also be explained by the fact that network members attempt to keep and maintain their identity within the network. Thus, it is possible that network members may associate well with network members they regard as 'same-minded' or those that are easy to influence. Network literature emphasises that network members, despite participation in a policy landscape are involved in a political game of influence and power. However, this point did not come from interaction with informants.

It is evident from the interviewee sentiments that the network is loose and unstable. It is also evident that relations are not formalized amongst network members and relations hinge more on mutual trust. The instability of the relations is one of the variables that negatively impact on the implementation of the SAPOP. There is empirical evidence from literature that suggests that an achieving network is one that is stable and where relations are formalized (Rhodes, 1993; Peters, 1993; O'Toole, 1998).

4.3.6. Rules of engagement/ground rules

Informants indicated that rules of engagement are neither present nor absent as they are not aware of the existence of such rules. This is the problem of not having formalized rules as there is no sense of being bound to the network. Based on the foregoing observation I submit that, though informal rules are important, it is central to formalize the relations to strengthen the stability of the network and legitimize network actions. Furthermore, as stated by Stone (2002), rules work best when they are perceived as legitimate.

Related to network relations are rules and regulations that govern network members. Theorists on network models of policy implementation resonate in arguing that rules are crucial ingredients for co-ordination and relationship building and sustainability. Ground rules are necessary to co-ordinate and regularize engagement and sharing of resources and responsibilities. Rules also confer powers, clarify roles and responsibilities of network members (Stone, 2002), and act as the constitution of engagement for the network.

Furthermore, and as a result of the interaction amongst policy players, rules are required to minimise conflict, enforce cohesion, collaboration and co-operation amongst policy actors. Smith (1993:82) reiterates that rules govern the way in which policy participants should conduct themselves in the policy processes as well as their roles within the process. He elaborates that policy participants should abide by the set rules. Klijn and Koppenjan (2006:30) underline the significance of rules in the interaction of policy actors and conclude that these interactions call for some game management and network constitution to deal with the complex nature of interactions confounded by the diverse nature

and backgrounds of network members, thus creating co-ordination deficits.

It is important to mention that network members need to craft their own rules rather than have rules defined by external forces. Roles should be guided by the member's technical and resource capacity. Innes and Booher (2003) add that not only is expertise and capacity important but also the interests of the network member in carrying out the suggested role. The hypothesis here is that if the network member has an interest in the role and has both technical expertise and capacity compliance, then it is likely that the implementation will be high. However, absence of such rules in written form does not necessarily imply that rules and norms are not there though it is essential to have them written.

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4.3.7. Meetings

When asked about the frequency of the meetings between government and NGOs, informants' responses varied but emphasised that meetings have not been held for some time. One informant said:

> The Provincial Liaison Committee hasn't met since March 2008 (Interview conducted with Informant 'B' on the 25 July 2010).

Another informant commented:

> The last time I heard of such meetings was in 2009 (Interview conducted with Informant 'A' 24 July 2010).

All the selected quotes from the informants indicate that meetings amongst government and non-governmental stakeholders in the implementation of the policy are non-existent. Absence of meetings in a policy arena with different actors from different backgrounds is a limiting factor for effective and efficient policy implementation. Absence of meetings is suggestive of limited communication and interaction amongst network members which further lends weight to the observation that networks are loose and fragmented.

Inconsistent interaction amongst network members in the KZN network involved in the implementation of the policy has been identified, contributing in part to network stagnation. Klijn and Koppenjan (2006) reiterate that co-operation cannot be achieved when interaction between network members stagnates. Klin and Koppenjan (2000) further argue that consistent interaction between network members creates specific resource sharing within the network. Consistent interaction can be achieved through regular stakeholder meetings. Ewalt (1998) supports this view and notes that network meetings are a critical tool in network management as they present a forum to enhance understanding of different roles and responsibilities within the implementation of the policy.

In such meetings, stakeholders can debate and recommend workable policy implementation strategies and resolve any conflict among stakeholders. Report-backs from different stakeholders can be heard and progress monitoring can be achieved through sharing of

information and experiences. Makinde (2005) asserts that such network meetings can be used for strengthening communication and interaction amongst network members. This researcher subscribes to this school of thought and is of the view that communication and interaction are key ingredients for organized networks. Experiences of individual stakeholders can also be useful and applicable to other stakeholders within the network. If there are sub-committees or working committees within the stakeholders, their reports can also be shared through these meetings thus affording an opportunity to network members to consolidate implementation plans. Such arrangements can minimize fragmentation and duplication of efforts resulting from an information vacuum. Such meetings can also act as platforms for strengthening co-ordination of stakeholders. Moreover, such meetings can work as monitoring and evaluation tools for the implementation of the policy.

Emerging from the discussion with the interviewees on meetings is the lack of a multi-stakeholder forum to discuss problems affecting society. There are individual committees co-ordinated by different government departments. What is noticeable in these committees is that they work in isolation and never share any information or resources with each other. These forums are also inconsistent in meeting and older persons do not feature on their agendas. The informant from DHA who alerted the researcher to the existence of such forums reiterated that:

> Older persons fall within DSD. If there is any department that needs to champion the needs of the older persons and have them as their agenda it is DSD not us. Ours (mandate) is managing issuing of enabling documents to citizens and that's what we do, that's what we discuss in our forum meetings (Interview conducted with Informant 'B' 25 July 2010).

From this statement one can argue that the absence of an encompassing multi-stakeholder forum where older persons policy can be discussed alongside other policies may be attributable to the belief and attitude that the DSD is the sole principal for the older persons policy.

4.3.8. Resource limitations

Interviewees acknowledged that resources were a limiting factor for them. One informant exclaimed that:

> We have had a problem with the way in which DSD expects us to implement the policy. For instance, DSD does not consult anyone and expects older persons to accept and be grateful to whatever they give them, an example being provision of luncheon equipment. However the policy is clear in expecting consultation and including older persons in the implementation of the policy as articulated in the White Paper of 1997 (Interview conducted with Informant 'K' on 28 July 2010).

The above quote suggests a conflict of approaches in the implementation of the policy, compounded by a lack of appropriate skills and knowledge within the SAPOP arena. Jenkins (2005) maintains that while there is research into the implementation of policies, that some senior managers in public service have limited understanding of the tools of implementing the policies. However, if the claim made by the NGO representative is accurate, the DSD will have to change its approach and adopt a developmental approach to implementation as dictated by the White Paper of 1997. Another observation from the above quote is that organizational culture of policy implementation and knowledge within a policy area creates a certain bias to the implementation of the policy.

Findings from the interviews reveal that there are two levels of resource challenges. At DSD there are both challenges with shortage of staff, that is, the quantitative aspect of human resources, and limited expertise as required for the implementation of the policy. For NGOs the challenge is with expertise and skills of available human resources as most volunteers are not capacitated. The conflict between the MEC from the DSD who approached the implementation of the SAPOP from a welfare perspective whereas NGOs approach the implementation of SAPOP from a developmental perspective can be used to exemplify the lack of expected expertise in a policy area.

The subject of lack of human resources and capacity was highlighted by the DSD as the main challenge that militates against consistency and sending senior staff to such meetings. It is not only the lack of resources within the DSD but also the lack of expertise which is a challenge in the department. Despite these shortcomings within the DSD, one can speculate that the problem is bigger than just lack of capacity. One can assume that a delegated staff member needs to have prepared himself/herself for the meeting through reading the minutes of the previous meetings and received a briefing from a colleague who attended or from senior staff so that they participate in these meetings actively and motivate other players rather than going there as passive participants who just attend the meetings.

When organizations are asked to re-submit in the correct format they feel undermined. One informant claimed that she was made to correct the business plan (funding proposal) seven times. She further observed that having written the business plan in a new format seven times is frustrating and time-consuming. On the issue of having to

request organizations to resubmit their proposals, one informant from a provincial government office commented:

> DSD has specific proposal formats and proposals have to be aligned to these formats because all proposals are sent to the national office in Pretoria. Now you have a situation where organization X will come with their format and organization Y with their format. There are more than ten organizations and how does one synergise these different formats? If an organization disregards the format provided their proposal will be sent back to them for correction (Interview conducted with Informant 'O' on 29 July 2010).

Taking the sentiment from the DSD representative into consideration it can be extrapolated that NGO personnel have challenges in using and understanding the provided proposal formats. Information gathered from the informants is overwhelming regarding the limitations imposed by incapacity on both government departments and NGO partners. As a result of the emerging sentiment on resource limitation as a challenge, the researcher is convinced that this identified lack of capacity retards implementation of the SAPOP.

The problem of resources in government departments has been extensively documented. In this research the resources include human capital required to carry out the implementation of the SAPOP. It has been argued in literature that insufficient resources retard policy implementation. The insufficiency in resources should not be limited to mean number of human resources required but also to include capacity and expertise. This conceptualization is influenced by Grindle (1980) who views capacity from the systems thinking perspective. From this point of view capacity includes structural, functional and cultural ability to implement a policy (Grindle, 1980:19). Thus, capacity refers to the availability and access to concrete resources such as

human resources and intangible resources which includes leadership and co-ordination. Human resources, leadership and co-ordination, as discussed in section 4.3.4, were within the definition of resources in this study. O'Toole's survey of 300 literature sources highlights resources as a critical variable in policy implementation (O'Toole, 1986:189).

4.4. Conclusion

Information gathered through the interviews indicates that though a government and non-government partnership exists, the thread connecting and linking the partnership is informal and weak. Weak linkages exist within the inter-departmental partnership and within the government and non-governmental partnership. Within government departments it was evident from interviews that some departments are not aware if they have any role to play in the implementation of SAPOP. The identifiable lack of knowledge on the role in the policy raises a fundamental question of capacity of bureaucrats.

The connection amongst non-government players is relatively strong in relation to that amongst government departments. Collaborative work between TAFTA and UKZN or with EThekwini Municipality is a sign of the linkage. However, this linkage needs strengthening to avoid the current situation where organizations within the same network deny the existence of partner organizations. At the centre of the weak linkages is lack of robust leadership and co-ordination within the network.

An interesting point in the research was the discovery of the role of business sector in the implementation of the policy and the partnership

forged by TAFTA and EThekwini municipality. The interest of the latter is around the fact that DCoGTA in KZN, the department which is responsible for EThekwini municipality, is not aware of such a partnership neither was the representative aware of the role of DCoGTA in the implementation of SAPOP. DSD was also not aware of such a partnership. It can be argued that networks depend on relations and it is thus important to identify particular relationships among network actors. Information gathered through the interviews supports the argument that the success of policy implementation depends in part on stakeholder relations. Thus, relational patterns between network members influence policy implementation.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Introduction

The principal problem of the researcher was that the socio-economic indicators on the status of older persons indicate that the lives of the older persons have not improved despite the introduction of SAPOP in 2006. In an effort to understand why the new policy has not yet yielded its expected results, the researcher conducted an exploratory research on the institutional arrangements available for the implementation of SAPOP, using KZN as a case study. This chapter summarises the findings of the research and links these to the research questions. The researcher also provides possible suggestions for filling the identified gaps.

In summary, the researcher is of the view that opportunities of strengthening the existing network exist and the weaknesses identified through this exploratory research can be overcome.

5.2. Status of older persons in KZN

Results from the secondary analysis of the DSD 2009 dataset reveal that socio-economic status of older persons has not improved substantially; this is in line with conclusions from other research studies that have been undertaken. Data reflects that older persons in KZN, particularly females, carry disproportionate burdens of caring for the sick, orphans and in household headmanship. Sources of income show that the OAG is the largest source of income for older persons

and spending patterns suggest that the OAG is turned into household income rather than older persons' income. Furthermore, apartheid laws and accumulative lifetime disadvantages, confounded by patriarchy, further add strain to older women more than men.

Interestingly, secondary data revealed that there is a shift with regard to living arrangements in households with older persons. Literature identifies that older persons live in multi-generational arrangements. Added to this is the observation that most (84%) older persons' households have more than two older persons, suggesting a further evolution in living arrangements. Linking results from quantitative data and qualitative findings, the researcher is convinced that the status of older persons in KZN mirrors the state of the network involved in the implementation of the SAPOP. However, opportunities to strengthen the network do exist and a strong collaboration between network players can yield positive policy implementation results.

5.3. Available institutions in KZN

At the structural level, the research identified two types of network organization, that is, horizontal partnership. Another horizontal partnership is amongst networks that are outside government and these include NGOs, business and UKZN. The second level is the vertical partnership which involves the DSD as the custodian of the SAPOP and the non-government partners. It is evident that network actors feel disintegrated and randomly related to each other with thin threads linking them. This holds true for both the inter-departmental relations as well as in the NGO-government departments' level. At the heart of lack of connectedness is inefficient leadership and lack of co-ordination of the government machinery, particularly by the DSD as the chief custodian of the SAPOP. There is concrete evidence that

suggests that the leadership machinery to co-ordinate and inspire network members is weak. The lack of efficient co-ordination and lack of satisfactory leadership stems from, in part, the fact that networks have no set of agreed rules and regulations that govern the interaction of network players. Limited interaction amongst network members stagnates progress in the implementation of the policy.

An interesting finding from interviews was the existence of a complex web of actors, thus further complicating co-ordination of the network. The co-ordination dilemma is worse at the level of non-governmental actors. Evidently the co-ordination dilemma is partly due to the selective sharing of information and resources as revealed by interviewees. In addition these actors seem to belong to other networks whose interests are sometimes not in resonance with the implementation of the SAPOP. There are many threads which connect network members and sometimes work at cross-purposes. This was particularly identified in the field level of stakeholder relations where there is competition for subsidies from government and a scarce resource base. Thus, it is the researcher's conclusion that a network that is incoherent and ineffectively co-ordinated – such as reflected by the case of KZN with regard to the implementation of the SAPOP – is less purposeful and lacks authority and credibility. Improved interaction between network members, robust, efficient and effective leadership, and clarifying the roles and responsibilities of network members will result in improved implementation of the SAPOP.

5.4. Suggestions on strengthening implementation through the network

Based on the fact that the network is working without any form of rules, the recommendation is that there is need to start focusing on working

with a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) that will clarify the rules, roles and responsibilities so that it is clear who is eligible to make which decisions, actions which are allowed, consequences for not meeting the responsibilities, and the information chain. Such a document needs to be drafted, discussed and approved by all network members so that it is credible and binding on all. The suggested MOU will strengthen the formalization of network relations.

The researcher suggests that DSD should take the lead and strengthen its communication and co-ordination strategies. A multi-stakeholder forum consisting of concerned government departments and non-governmental partners should be formed to improve implementation of the SAPOP, and strengthen accountability and communication. This forum could also define network rules and roles to minimize ambiguities amongst partners. DSD, as the principal custodian of the SAPOP, should take a leadership role in seeing the suggested forum to fruition. To enhance consistent and constant communication the forum can hold monthly meetings.

To strengthen capacity and the technical skills of those working within the network, capacity-building workshops could be implemented. The purpose of the proposed workshops will be to capacitate government bureaucrats and NGO members with required skills and expertise. Top level bureaucrats need formal capacity with regard to policy implementation.

To strengthen accountability of the network, monitoring and evaluation systems need to be enforced by all network members so as to measure the success of policy implementation and effect corrective

measures in cases of non-implementation compliance. A monitoring and evaluation committee constituted by members of the suggested multi-stakeholder forum can become the ambassador of monitoring and evaluation. It is the overall recommendation of the researcher that more rigorous research on the implementation of the SAPOP should be conducted, to strengthen the implementation and management of the policy.

5.5. Possible future research questions

Findings from this exploratory research indicate a loose network. To appreciate the network approach to implementation of the SAPOP, a thorough investigation of individual institutions that forms the network would be helpful. Research on best practice on implementation of public policies through networks can add value in providing lessons to the network involved in the implementation of SAPOP. In conclusion, thorough research on different models of public policy implementation, using different case studies and policies, can also be useful so that the best model can be adapted to suitable environments rather than adopting a ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: List of Government Policies and Legislation

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996. Act 108 of 1996.

Human Rights Commission Act, No 54 of 1994.

Aged Persons Amendment Act, No. 100 of 1998.

Domestic Violence Act, No. 116 of 1998.

Promotion of Equality and Unfair Discrimination Act, No. 4 of 2000.

Income Tax Act, No. 58 of 1962. (amended: 32 of 1999.)

Restitution of Land Rights Act, No. 22 of 1994.

Criminal Procedure Second Amendment Act, No. 85 of 1996.

Social Assistance Act, No. 45 of 1994.

Social Work Amendment Act, No. 102 of 1998.

Recognition of Customary Marriage Act, No.120 of 1998.

Social Assistance Act, No. 59 of 1992. (Proclamation No. 8 of 1996).

Housing Act, No. 107 of 1997.

Prevention of Illegal Eviction from Unlawful Occupation of Land Act, No. 19 of 1998.

Rental Housing Act, No. 50 of 1999.

Labour Relations Act, No. 66 of 1995.

Employment Equity Act, No. 55 of 1998.

National Policy for Health Act, No. 116 of 1999

Source: Department of Social Development: South African Policy for Older Persons (2006: 12).

Appendix B: Other relevant documents

Protocol on Victim Empowerment

Protocol on Elder Abuse

Human Rights Charter

Protocol on Child Abuse Department of Health

Department of Health: Strategy on Elder Abuse

SADC documentation

UN Principles and Resolutions

Vienna International Plan of Action

IFA position on Elder Abuse

Department of Health: Parents' Charter.

Source: Department of Social Development: South African Policy for Older Persons (2006: 12).

Appendix C: Interview guide

Good day. My name is Mhlahlandlela Mabena and I am studying for Masters of Management of Public Policy (MM-PP) at University of Witwatersrand, student number: 0617049V. As part of my studies, I am conducting a research study that seeks to explore institutional arrangements available for implementing the South African Policy on Older Persons of 2006. My interests include finding out the institutions available for implementing the policy, interface between different available institutions, roles, responsibilities and coordination of these institutions. I am interviewing representatives of a few NGOs that provide services to older persons in the province, government representatives in the province and the national department of social development. Information gathered during the interviews will **ONLY** be used for the purposes of my studies and shall not be published or shared with other people. The discussions remain confidential and no identifying information such as your name or your job title will be disclosed or appear on the report.

Participation in the study is voluntary and no incentive shall accrue as a result of participation. Participants can also stop the interview anytime when they feel uncomfortable and no consequences will be faced by such participants. If you allow me, I would like to record this conversation **ONLY** for the purposes of accurately capturing all the points you raise. The recorded information will be transcribed into text (transcripts) for analysis purposes.

This interview will take between 1-1&half hours.

1. Can you tell me about your organization/department with regards to its role in the implementation of the Older Persons' policy.
2. What other institution/s (government and/NGO) do you collaborate with in the implementation of the policy? **Probes:** what are some of their roles, how is the collaboration between your institution/department critical in the implementation of the South African Policy on Older Persons, how is the collaboration between/amongst the different role players?
3. How is the collaboration between/amongst the different role players managed and coordinated? **Probes:** who coordinates the policy implementation activities, how the coordination is conducted (rules, meetings, how often, structures), its effectiveness and areas where improvement is required.
4. Sharing of information amongst role players.
5. Additional comments on how stakeholder relationships could be strengthened.