



**Khanya-African Institute for
Community-Driven Development
(Khanya-aicdd)**

**Overview of
Community-Driven
Development in South
Africa**

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**Khanya- African Institute for Community-Driven
Development**

16A President Steyn St, Westdene, Bloemfontein, 9301, Free State, South Africa

Tel +27 (0)51 430 0712 Fax +27 (0)51 430 8322

Email goldman@khanya-aicdd.org

Website www.khanya-aicdd.org

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GLOSSARY

ABET	Adult basic education and training
AICDD	African Institute for Community-Driven Development (formerly Khanya-managing rural change)
ANC	African National Congress
BCID	Bradford Centre for International Development
CBO	Community-based organisation
CBP	Community-Based Planning
CBW	Community-based worker
CDD	Community-Driven Development
CDW	Community Development Workers
DBSA	Development Bank of Southern Africa
dplg	Department of Provincial and Local Government
DPSA	Department of Public Service and Administration
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution policy
GWM&ES	Government-wide M&E system
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
IDASA	Institute for a Democratic South Africa
IDP	Integrated development plan
IDT	Independent Development Trust
INGO	International NGO
MFMA	Municipal Finance Management Act
NDA	National Development Agency
NPO	Non-profit organisation
PCC	President's Coordinating Council
PFMA	Public Finance Management Act
PIR	Poverty and Inequality Report
PSC	Public Service Commission
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SA	South Africa
SALGA	SA Local Government Association
SANGOCO	South African National NGO Coalition
SL	Sustainable livelihood
SMME	Small, medium and micro enterprise
TAC	Treatment Action Campaign

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1 Introduction

1.1 This paper is written by the African Institute for Community-Driven Development (Khanya-aicdd) as part of research funded by DFID and managed by the Bradford Centre for International Development (BCID) entitled “How participation evolves: individuals, community workers and institutions”. AICDD is the partner in South Africa, and BCID is undertaking the work in Tanzania. This report summarises the situation with CDD and challenges in South Africa (SA).

1.2/3 The definition of CDD varies, including in its chief promoter, the World Bank. A number of principles are proposed for CDD and 5 dimensions:

- empowering communities
- empowering local governments
- realigning the centre
- improving accountability
- capacity-building

These dimensions are used to structure the environment for CDD in South Africa.

2 Overall policy environment

2.1/2 The overall approach to development in South Africa was set by the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) published before the democratic elections of 1994. One theme of the RDP is democratising the state and society. The Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy was implemented in 1996 as the macro-economic framework for the country, aiming to correct the very poor macroeconomic situation inherited in 1994, overcome the large debt, and to open the economy, so creating a platform for growth. There has been a major restructuring of the formal economy, with the emergence of some globally competitive sectors including minerals, tourism and the motor industry. However until 2004, the economy has been shedding jobs, and depending on the measure used, unemployment stands at up to 50%. A Poverty and Inequality report was published in 1998 which was a comprehensive study of poverty in South Africa, taking a human development approach to poverty. By 2004, the need to look at the informal sector was strongly evident, and the President focused attention on what he called the second economy, and a range of livelihood creating activities such as temporary employment schemes, the expansion of infrastructure as well as initiatives to stimulate community initiative and reduce dependency, notably the community development worker initiative.

2.3 The Constitution specifies three spheres of government - national, provincial and local - with specific and concurrent powers and functions. There has been marked devolution to provinces, to a limited degree to local governments, with the retention of some key portfolios such as Defence and Land as national competencies.

2.4 A range of initiatives have been undertaken to restructure Government and create “a transformed public service, which is representative, coherent, transparent, efficient, effective,

accountable and responsive to the needs of all”¹. Two key elements in relation to CDD are a vision for the public service as integrated, coordinated and decentralised; consultative, democratic and participative. The first phase was rationalisation of the 11 former public services, with 30 central departments, 4 provincial administrations, 3 own affairs administrations, 4 ethnic homelands, and 6 self-governing territories, and the creation of 42 new departments, including 9 provincial administrations. The White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery of 1997 (Batho Pele) specified the need for consultation, service standards, access, courtesy, information, openness and transparency, redress and value for money.

2.5 A key evolution since 1994 has been in local government, with the promotion of developmental local government that is “committed to *working with citizens and groups* within the community to find *sustainable ways* to meet their *social, economic and material* needs and improve the quality of their lives”². There is now wall-to-wall local government with the amalgamation of 843 municipalities into 284 municipalities of three types, including 6 metropolitan authorities (metros, category A) with wide powers, 47 district municipalities (category C) and 231 local municipalities (category B). The Municipal Structures and Systems Acts plus the Municipal Finance Management Acts completed the main legislation around local government, with a major emphasis on community involvement in setting priorities, planning, and in holding the municipality to account. The participatory system defined is around wards with ward committees. Another key feature is the promotion of integrated development plans (IDPs), which reflect all development in the municipal area, not just municipal actions.

2.6 The Non Profit Organisations (NPO) Act of 1998, defines NPOs as organised, private, self-governing, non-profit distributing, and voluntary, and has promoted registration of NPOs to be able to access government support and tax relief. This is problematic in that it has a very formalised view of the sector, and only registered organisations are able to obtain funding.

2.7 The total of this policy environment is an enabling policy framework, that enshrines participation and the role of communities, but that is also very service delivery and formal economy focused, limiting the space for bottom-up developmental initiatives.

3 Empowering communities

3.1 The overall vision of government is for a people-driven process “Reconstruction and development require a population that is empowered through expanded rights, meaningful information and education, and an institutional network fostering representative, participatory and direct democracy”³. The Constitution stresses the need for the public to participate in policy-making and the legislation around local government in particular stresses active participation (from Systems Act):

- As voters, to ensure maximum democratic accountability of the elected political leadership for the policies they are empowered to promote;
- As citizens who express, via different stakeholder associations, their views before, during and after the policy development process to ensure that policies reflect community preferences as far as possible;

¹ White Paper on Transformation of the Public Service 1995

² White Paper on Local Government

³ RDP 1994

- As consumers and end-users, who expect value for money, affordable services and courteous and responsive service;
- As organised partners involved in the mobilisation of resources for development via for-profit businesses, NGOs and CBOs.

3.2 In terms of one key element of empowering communities, Promoting people being active and involved in managing their own development, The Structures Act provides for a ward participatory system with ward committees. The Systems Act defines the legal nature of a municipality as “including the local community within the municipal area, working in partnerships with the municipality’s political and administrative structures.. to provide for community participation”. The municipality must “Encourage and create conditions for the community to participate in the affairs of the municipality, including in ...the IDP...performance management system.. monitoring and review of performance...preparation of the budget..strategic decisions re municipal services” (Section 16 /1). The Municipal Finance Management Act (MFMA) makes provision for outside bodies such as ward committees or CBOs to receive funds, but implies they would have to produce audited accounts and is likely to mean that it is difficult for small CBOs to receive funds. This is something that legal advice should be sought on and the feasibility of establishing a method of oversight and audit.

In terms of promoting An active and dispersed network of local service providers, a second element of empowering communities, the service delivery model inherited from Apartheid was a state essentially designed to serve the needs of its privileged members, and to control the rest. While Government departments have the responsibility to deliver their services in general terms, this is often not be a reality at community level. For example in Botshabelo, Free State, there is one agricultural extension officer serving around 200 000 people. There is a gap in terms of responsiveness and awareness of services, to address which an initiative of community development workers is being directed.

3.3 Empowerment of communities implies a self-mobilising or interactive level of participation, as defined in Arnstein’s ladder of participation. However this is often not what is observed in practice, which may merely be consultative or sometimes manipulative. Even in NGOs with a stronger participatory tradition, this is often undermined by reliance on contracted work, the need for training in participatory tools and the differences between community and NGO priorities. Experience in practice includes:

- **civil society** includes around 100 000 NPOs, split into formalised, professionalized NGOs and 53% which are not formalised, commonly located in and directly serving the poorest communities in South Africa, often lacking management and administrative capacity, and struggling financially. Government sees the sector as providing either a social watch or social delivery role;
- **community consultation** – this is being promoted including *imbizos* where politicians and senior government officials go to villages and townships to meet with ordinary citizens, CDWs which are an arm of central government at community level, IDP Representative Forums etc, but with the caution on how empowering this really is;
- some emerging examples of **community involvement in planning for their own development** such as the Community-Based Planning (CBP) initiative led by SALGA and dplg which looks likely to be upscaled in 2005;
- limited examples of **community involvement in managing devolved funds**, with a willingness to consider providing funds for communities, but a reluctance to hand over the

funds, providing both an opportunity and a problem in SA's CDD landscape. This is a significant issue in relation to CDD;

- somewhat problematic **community representation** formally recognised through weak ward committees, or in practice often through other community structures such as CBOs, churches, social movements etc;
- a relative absence of government provided services in many communities but many example of **community-based services**, including many of the NPOs identified by Swilling and Russell such as burial societies or crèches, as well as individuals such as traditional healers, traditional birth attendants, home-based carers. This is being pursued in a 4 Country Project looking specifically at community-based worker systems;
- very limited examples of **community holding of government to account** (accountability), and this is an area where much more work is needed.

3.4 Some ways forward include:

- Developing a **deeper understanding of empowerment and participation** to ensure a coherent and consistent approach to participation across government and with civil society.
- **Strengthening ward committees** through capacity building for both communities and Ward Committees, compilation of Ward plans, establishing effective monitoring and evaluation and communication mechanisms between Municipality - Ward Committees – Communities, allocation of resources to enable the functioning of the ward committees, and development of properly organised meeting programmes for all ward committees and guidance to Ward Councillors on how to manage the ward.
- **Promoting community involvement in planning** through CBP linked with discretionary funds for wards to take forward their plans.
- **Promoting community management of funds**, investigating the widening of direct funding of communities and establishing the support mechanisms for this.
- **Promoting accountability**, strengthening ward committees and their reporting to municipalities and to the public, using regular public meetings, scorecards etc.

4 Empowering local governments

4.1 The SA Government's vision of developmental local government centres on working with local communities to find sustainable ways to meet their needs and improve the quality of their lives. "It also provides three approaches which can assist municipalities to become more developmental, namely integrated development planning and budgeting; performance management; and working together with local citizens and partners".

4.2 Much of the key legislation for the sector is covered briefly in Section 2. However further detail is provided in this section on the functions of local government, IDPs, and the roles envisaged for national and provincial government with reference to local government.

4.3 **Decentralisation** is the *transfer of political, fiscal and/or administrative powers to subnational units, usually of government*. **Delegation** involves the horizontal or vertical transfer of responsibility, while retaining the authority with the delegator. **Deconcentration** involves the delegation of powers within an organisation, eg to regional offices, while preserving the hierarchical relationship between field staff and the central administration. **Devolution** involves the transfer of decision-making powers, usually including of a political nature. In South Africa's case there has been devolution to provinces, and to some extent, to

local government, primarily through *Delegation and agency* arrangements, or *Devolution or assignment* of functions (HSRC *et al*, 2004). A summary is provided of the status of decentralisation in different sectors, indicating a variable picture, with many developmental services are carried out by provinces rather than local government. What is happening in practice is often creeping decentralisation, where functions are being handed on to local government with no linked funding, ie an unfunded mandate. Government departments have typically drawn up their own policy frameworks, and then slotted in the local government sphere into those policy frameworks, as and how it seemed meaningful to them, often with little linkage to the competencies specified in Schedules 4 and 5 of the Constitution. This has created significant disparities in the ways that different departments have conceptualised the role of municipal government.

In terms of the operation of local government, despite the amalgamation of local governments to 231 local municipalities, many suffer from significant capacity constraints. A recent emergency programme has been initiated by central government (Project Consolidate) to strengthen these municipalities. 136 of the municipalities have been targeted, with support teams being sent in, many from better performing municipalities.

4.4 Some of the key areas where further work is needed include:

- simplifying the IDP process for smaller municipalities;
- developing simple planning formats to integrate plans and budgets to ensure that the plan informs the budget;
- rethinking the consultative processes during the IDP, to be based on CBP so fully participatory, and to rethink the IDP Representative Forum so that it is a better use of external stakeholders;
- rethinking the accountability mechanisms including performance management system.

5 Realigning the centre

5.1 The overall Government vision is for a “transformed public service, which is representative, coherent, transparent, efficient, effective, accountable and responsive to the needs of all”. Thus the Public Service Commission uses the following principles in assessing the performance of the public sector:

1. Professional Ethics
2. Efficiency, Effectiveness and Economy
3. Development orientation
4. Impartial, fair and equitable service delivery
5. Public participation
6. Accountability
7. Transparency
8. Human Resource Management and Development
9. Representivity

5.2 The State has been used as the main agent of change by many newly-independent governments, and South Africa is no exception. A CDD approach emphasises democratic accountability, normative approaches and decentralisation, and would seem to embody the requirements of a responsive developmental state, which is committed to change. The approach being used in South Africa is a strongly technocratic approach, albeit driven by a

strong political agenda. This emphasises efficiency, performance, and management by objectives. A strong role is being played by national government, and this may be reinforced with current discussion about a unified public service, which would unify national, provincial and local government structures.

5.3 Experience with implementation is drawn from the State of the Public Service 2004, produced by the Public Service Commission (PSC). Some issues emerging in terms of CDD include:

- high level recognition of the role of **public participation** in principles three and five, with the PSC suggesting that public participation has a major role to play in increasing public service effectiveness and improving long-term outcomes of its programmes. Systems for managing public participation tend to be informal and *ad hoc*, with some isolated pockets of excellence in participation, such as the Gauteng Department of Health, in which innovative and systematic efforts are made to consult service users;
- high level recognition of the need for financial and non-financial **accountability** and **transparency** although the degree to which this has happened is not clear in this report. Research by the Auditor-General analysed the Annual Reports of 19 national departments and found that around half of them did not link their performance information to their plans and budgets. Adequate detail on the results achieved is also often not provided. Objectives were generally found to be very poorly stated and there is still a tendency to report on activities rather than outputs or outcomes.
- **Monitoring and evaluation** is underdeveloped and in need of attention. The Governance and Administration cluster has embarked on a long-term project to create a Government Wide Monitoring and Evaluation System (GWM&ES) to provide reliable and accurate data on the progress and performance of all government institutions, which will take years to come to fruition. Its importance in the interim is the catalytic role it will play in prompting all government entities to strengthen their own internal M&E practices and capacities so that they are able to provide the required information to the GWM&ES. However this does not address participatory M&E by communities.

5.4 In general in South Africa the policy framework is very positive and supportive of a CDD approach. There is a strong policy intent to promote community participation, as well as developmental local government. Some of the areas which emerge where policy work is needed are in relation to decentralisation of services and in terms of enabling communities to manage funds, as well as correcting an overemphasis on the formal economy, formalised NPOs etc. At the moment while local government is getting increasing attention as the locus of service delivery, there is still considerable debate on the appropriate roles of local versus district municipalities, and provinces. Fiscal decentralisation and particularly provision for communities managing funds has received less attention than improving financial control.

In general therefore the challenges are not policy (apart from work on the exceptions mentioned above), but rather the application of policy and the development of suitable mechanisms, eg for improving accountability. So overall one can be positive that the political will exists, and that many of the conditions for taking CDD forward exist. The biggest challenge is that a top-down approach to this could inhibit the very approach it is trying to promote, as has been seen to some extent with the CDW initiative, which while having many positive features has generated much resistance due to the way it has been rolled out.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This paper is written by the Khanya-African Institute for Community-Driven Development (Khanya-aicdd) as part of research funded by DFID and managed by the Bradford Centre for International Development (BCID) entitled “How participation evolves: individuals, community workers and institutions”. Khanya-aicdd is the partner in South Africa, and BCID is undertaking the work in Tanzania.

The purpose of this research is to identify the potential and constraints of community-based management and service delivery, by tracking the evolution of participation, in selected projects as shaped by the interface between individuals, community workers and institutions.

Participation and pro-poor development is both enabled and constrained by individual identities, the actions of community workers and the workings of institutions. The positive aspects can be enhanced through a greater understanding of individual motivations, institutional processes and improved monitoring techniques.

There are three research objectives:

- (1) to understand individual participation in collective activity;
- (2) to understand the contribution of community-workers to participatory processes; and
- (3) to understand the possibilities for ‘getting institutions right’ for pro-poor development.

It is using innovatory methods to track collective and individual life trajectories through life-history interviewing and auto-ethnography, with particular attention to building the capacity of local research assistants to produce their own research.

This report summarises the situation with CDD and challenges in South Africa (SA).

1.2 Introduction to CDD

This section summarises some of the definitions around CDD used by the World Bank. There are differences in application across the Bank.

The vision of CDD is a vision of prosperity through the empowerment of local communities. The new vision seeks to put local governments and rural and urban communities in the drivers seat and give them a new set of powers, rights and obligations. These include:

- The right to be treated as people with capabilities, not objects of pity;
- The power to plan, implement and maintain projects to serve their felt needs;
- The right to hold politicians and officials responsible;
- The power to command local bureaucrats instead of being supplicants;
- The power to hire, pay and discipline all who provide them with frontline local services like education, health, municipal and agricultural services;
- The right to a share of central government revenue;
- The power to levy user charges and local taxes;
- The obligation to enable women, ethnic minorities, the poorest and other long excluded groups to participate fully in economic development;

- The obligation to be accountable to local people, not just central governments or donors.

Key principles of community empowerment

The World Bank suggests the following principles:

1. CDD empowers communities by giving them **untied funds which allow them to choose their own priorities** and implement their own programmes. This will enable local skills to be created and improved through **learning by doing**.
2. Where no decentralisation of local funds exists, we need to **start small and grow gradually**. Grants as small as \$5-10 000 per community (R40-80 000) can kick-start the process.
3. The aim should be to **cover communities across entire countries within a short time**. Experience in Africa shows this is feasible.
4. Development must be **participatory and demand-driven**. To provide voice to the voiceless, it should have **safeguards against social exclusion** and elite capture.
5. Devolution to communities and local governments implies that the **direction of accountability should be downward to local people**, not only upward to central governments and donors.
6. Basic skills garnered through learning-by-doing must be upgraded steadily with outside support. Local governments and communities must be able to get **technical and managerial support on demand**.
7. Development has too often been viewed as mainly about physical investment or hardware. CDD emphasises **institutional change** and the software of development – empowering and sensitising people, enhancing transparency, changing attitudes.
8. Decentralisation should be viewed on the principle of **subsidiarity**. That is responsibility for tasks should be devolved to the lowest level of government that can deal effectively with them. Each level should perform tasks according to its comparative advantage.
9. Even after decentralisation, many tasks involving scale economies and externalities will remain with higher levels of government. Decentralisation should not just pit local governments against central governments or sectoral programmes. It should be a **joint venture of different levels of government**.
10. Decentralisation must give local governments a **predictable, transparent share of revenue**. This will make them financially viable.
11. To promote local ownership, **communities and local governments must contribute** to project costs and operation and maintenance costs, apart from helping with design, implementation, maintenance and monitoring.
12. **Targeted schemes** should be designed by donors and central governments for objectives which may not be given priority by communities (reaching the poor and minorities, avoiding environmental damage, combating AIDS).

Dimensions of CDD

The following 5 dimensions are proposed:

1. **Empowering communities** – with resources and authority. Communities which make the best use of funds deserve increased grants
2. **Empowering local governments** – community empowerment needs to be embedded in an institutional framework of local governments. Central government staff for frontline services may need to be transferred to local governments. Local governments will need powers to levy taxes and user charges. Municipal/local finances currently represent only

2-3% of national revenue in most countries. Sustainable decentralisation requires that local governments get an assured share of central revenue.

3. **Realigning the centre** – decentralisation implies a far-reaching change in the role of the centre, as many responsibilities and resources will shift from the centre to local governments. Central governments, instead of running services directly, should focus on facilitating local government activities, setting standards, monitoring outcomes, providing training to lower levels, and providing rewards and penalties to improve local government performance. Reformers will come up against fears and resistance from civil servants and other powerful groups who believe they will lose from the change. The reform programme needs to send the message that **decentralisation does not mean the withering away of the centre, it implies a joint venture between different levels of government**, each contributing on the basis of comparative advantage (and should be on subsidiarity). Even after decentralisation, large projects with economies of scale will remain at the centre. Strong sectoral policies and institutions will be needed to build capacity at lower levels, set standards, devise procedures to ensure accountability, social inclusion and environmental safety. If decentralisation succeeds, this could ultimately mean increased revenues (and work) for the centre and all levels of government. So CDD aims at a **win-win situation for central and local government**.
4. **Improving accountability** – currently, almost all accountability is upwards, balkanized amongst different donors, in the language of the donors, reducing transparency and helping elite capture. The empowerment of communities and local governments will enable local social capital to be harnessed, and provide downward accountability to users of frontline services. Traditional forms of upward accountability also need to be strengthened, eg training communities in participatory M&E.
5. **Building capacity** – untied matching grants to communities will help develop their inherent capacity for problem-solving through learning by doing. As they take on more responsibilities, they will find they need to upgrade their skills. This can be facilitated by technical assistance from central governments and NGOs. CDD can play an important role in private sector development

Note the Bank worldwide uses a different set of dimensions which they call principles. These are:

1. Make investments responsive to informed demand – so communities can select priority options that are within their capacity and that they can afford to operate in the long run.
2. Build participatory mechanisms for community control and stakeholder involvement – through all stages of the project cycle
3. Invest in capacity-building of CBOs – and fostering relationships with formal support institutions.
4. Facilitate community access to information
5. Develop simple rules and strong incentives supported by (participatory) M&E
6. Establish enabling institutional and policy frameworks
7. Maintain flexibility in design of arrangements and innovation
8. Ensure social and gender inclusion
9. Design for scaling up
10. Invest in an exit strategy for external support

The Africa dimensions stress local government which does not emerge strongly from the Bank-wide list, and the Bank-wide list also seems more focused on project interventions and their flexibility, exit strategy etc, ie more focused perhaps on the Bank itself, rather than in-country government and processes.

1.3 Approach to CDD in this report

The report builds on an analytical framework developed by the World Bank for country reviews of CDD as shown in Table 1.2 which draws from the 5 principles of CDD mentioned above. However in this review rather than treat accountability and building capacity as separate, these are treated as cross-cutting and applied to the 3 levels Micro (community), Meso (local government) and Macro (national).

Table 1.2 Analytical framework proposed for World Bank reviews of CDD

Dimensions	1 Empowering communities	2 Empowering local governments	3 Realigning the centre	4 Improving accountability	5 Building capacity
Overall vision, Strategy, Action plan	Community ownership	Local governance	Central governance Integrated approach	Checks and balances	Creating Learning environment
Enabling environment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formal and informal legislation • Regulations • Procedures • Institutional arrangements 	Institution-alisation of community empowerment	Organisational and institutional empowerment of local governance	Fiscal, Administrative Political decentralisation (Ndegwe scores)	Accountability and M&E setting	Learning by doing setting
Experiences with Community Driven Development	Community ownership over own development	Ownership over integrated development based on community plans	Coordinated support for local autonomous development	Downward accountability and up-ward M&E at all three levels	Capacity to own process at all levels developing
Other experiences relevant to the CDD implementation	do-	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do

This report links this structure to that used by AICDD in its approach to CDD⁴, where it summarises the key requirements at the 3 levels as:

Empowering communities

1. Poor people active and involved in managing their own development (claiming their rights and exercising their responsibilities)

⁴ eg see Goldman et al (2000), "Institutional Support for Sustainable Rural Livelihoods in Southern Africa – framework and methodology", Natural Resource Perspectives 49, London. ODI.

2. Responsive, active and accessible network of local service providers (community-based, private sector or government)

Empowering local governments

3. At local government level (lower meso) services facilitated, provided or promoted effectively and responsively, coordinated and held accountable
4. Province (upper meso) providing support and supervision

Realigning the centre

5. Centre providing strategic direction, redistribution, coordination and oversight
6. International level supporting capacity of nations and regions to address poverty

In looking at CDD, we take the community as a group that are geographically co-located, but that is not per se homogenous, indeed is likely to be heterogenous, and that may be represented by a political structure such as a ward committee, or a number of community interest groups or CBOs operating within that area. We also use the work “local” to apply to community level, rather than the local of local government.

The report provides a rapid overview of CDD in South Africa, drawing from AICDD’s experience as well as a review undertaken by Everatt and Gwagwa for the World Bank in 2005.

2 OVERALL POLICY ENVIRONMENT

2.1 Introduction

This section draws largely from Goldman (2001) in providing an overview of the overall policy framework. Specific policies are looked at in more detail in subsequent sections, as relevant to the theme of that section. National policies are grouped into three main areas: Setting the development framework; transforming the public service (various White Papers); and agrarian reform (covering agriculture and land reform).

Section 2.2 covers the South African development framework, and starts with the *Freedom Charter* which set the tone of policy for the African National Congress (ANC). Prior to coming to power the ANC developed the *Reconstruction and Development Programme* (RDP), which set the goals of the incoming government, and which was then formalised in government. In 1996 the government adopted the *Growth, Employment and Redistribution* (GEAR) strategy to guide its macro-economic policy. Finally the *Poverty and Inequality Report* (PIR) provides a comprehensive analysis of poverty.

Section 2.3 covers the Constitution, and 2.4 the approach to public sector reform in South Africa, including the *White Paper on Transformation of the Public Service*, and the *White Paper on Transforming Service Delivery* (Batho Pele), which followed. It also covers the new *Public Service Regulations*. Section 2.5 covers the key legislation around local government, and section 2.6 civil society.

2.2 The development framework

2.2.1 The Freedom Charter

The Freedom Charter was drawn up in 1955 at the Congress of the People in Kliptown. The Charter is revolutionary in that the changes it envisions can not be achieved without radically altering the economic and political structure. It also lays the basis for a participatory approach to policy development.

2.2.2 The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)

The RDP was published before the democratic elections of 1994, where the ANC announced its programme of action to resolve the inequalities inherited from the past. The RDP has 5 key themes: meeting basic needs; developing human resources; building the economy; democratising state and society; and implementation.

This programme was originally championed by a separate Department, with its own Minister and its own limited budget. Implementation had to be through existing Departments, who were encouraged to spend their own budgets on RDP priority projects. However, there was a difficulty in its role - was it only a central planning department, or was it more than that? There is always a tension between central planning departments and central Ministries⁵ and a whole debate about bottom-up planning versus top-down (usually sectoral) planning. The RDP is an admirable visionary document, but it failed to provide a clear implementation

⁵ Most newly independent Southern African governments established central planning Ministries, usually linked to the Ministry of Finance, with a remit to develop national development plans, and to help ensure that government strategy was implemented. A major element was strategy development, but with a significant element, the control of development. Examples of such Ministries are National Economic Planning Commission (Zimbabwe), Ministry of Finance and Development Planning (Botswana)

strategy, and this led to great difficulties in implementation and slow progress on key programmes.

The appropriate transformation of the positioning, organisational structure and ethos of the public sector was central to the successful delivery of the RDP, or indeed development in general. Some implications of the RDP for the public sector were (McLennan, 1997):

- the Code of Conduct for the public service had to incorporate the principles of the new South African public service as outlined in RDP;
- there had to be a professional ethos which internalises the concept of serving the people;
- the public service had to be composed in such a way that it could deliver;
- the free flow of information was seen as crucial.

South Africa had an admirable vision, but little practical guidance on how to implement it, which it had to do predominantly through an unreformed and unresponsive public service. The establishment of the RDP office was poorly conceived as a leverage mechanism and ultimately in mid-1996 the RDP fell with the introduction of the Growth, Employment and Reconstruction programme (GEAR), a macro-economic framework for the country (Munslow et al., 1997). Many of the programmes remained the responsibility of individual Ministries programmes at provincial and national level, such as land reform, low-cost housing, and the President's Office took over the planning brief and residual planning functions.

2.2.3 GEAR

In 1996 Government adopted the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy as the macro-economic framework for the country. As its name suggests it sought fast growth, redistribution in favour of the poor, with social services available to all. The point of departure of GEAR was that sustained and increased growth requires a competitive outward-oriented economy, and it projected 6% growth per annum and creation of 400 000 jobs per annum by the year 2000. It proposed a fiscal strategy focusing on debt reduction, with a forecast reduction in the deficit to 3% by 1999/2000, roughly constant real recurrent spending by government, permitting an increase of 8% per annum in RDP-related projects. GEAR suggested the need for a competitive exchange rate, the shifting from demand-side (tariffs) to supply-side support measures including industrial support and SMME development; appropriate social and sectoral policies – for example promotion of land reform and agricultural development. GEAR provided a framework for sound economic management, and by 2004:

- Inflation is down to four percent if you use the CPIX or less than one percent if you use the CPI index;
- The country is experiencing the longest period of consistent positive growth since the GDP was properly recorded in the 1940's;
- The net open forward position of the South African Reserve Bank rose to \$4,7 billion in surplus by the end of last year;
- Public sector debt has come down to less than 50% of GDP⁶.

However the economy has continued to shed jobs until 2004, from when a steady increase has been recorded.

⁶ President's State of the Nation Address February 2004

2.2.4 Poverty and Inequality Report (PIR)

In 1997 it became clear that the macro-economic strategy, GEAR, was not sufficient to address poverty, and the Deputy President commissioned a comprehensive report on Poverty and Inequality (PIR) (see May, 1998). The PIR report is based on looking at how to break the forces that have perpetuated poverty, while encouraging wealth, income and opportunity. It assumes that economic growth and human development are linked, and that this is best achieved through improving the access of disadvantaged people to physical and social assets. In the report, poverty is defined as:

“the inability to attain a minimal standard of living, measured in terms of basic consumption needs or the income required to satisfy them. It includes alienation from the community, food insecurity, crowded homes, usage of unsafe and inefficient forms of energy, lack of adequately paid and secure jobs, and fragmentation of the family. Poverty is not a static condition: individuals, households, or communities may be vulnerable to falling into poverty as a result of shocks and crises (uncontrollable events which harm livelihoods and food security) and long-term trends (such as racial and gender discrimination, environmental degradation and macroeconomic trends).

Inequality is defined ‘in terms of being the opposite of ‘equality’, a state of social organisation which enables or gives equal access to resources and opportunities to all its members”.

Several areas of government action were identified to maintain an appropriate relationship between economic growth and reduction of poverty and inequality. These include allocation of state expenditure on social services and infrastructure; provision of social safety nets; the promotion of social equity through redistributive policies (taxation, market reform, or reprioritising expenditure); and the development of governance and administrative capacity.

Three important criteria were suggested for evaluating policy:

- the extent to which policy strengthens the asset base of the poorest section of the population;
- the extent to which policy promotes human development by improving health, nutrition, education, safety and choice;
- the extent to which policies are macro-economically and environmentally sustainable, and achievable in terms of financial, institutional and human capacity.

2.5 The recognition of the second economy

Until 2004 the emphasis of Government policy was on the first (formal) economy, both economically, and even in the registration process for NPOs, or the accreditation process of training organisations. From 2004, with the State of the Nation Address, the President started emphasising the second economy “which economy constitutes the structural manifestation of poverty, underdevelopment and marginalisation in our country”. In the State of the Nation Address in 2005, the President took this further:

As we have asserted, success in the growth of our economy should be measured not merely in terms of the returns that accrue to investors or the job opportunities to those with skills. Rather, it should also manifest in the extent to which the marginalised in the wilderness of the Second Economy are included and are at least afforded sustainable livelihoods. South Africa belongs to them too, and none of us can in good conscience claim to be at ease before this becomes and is seen to become a reality.

During the past nine months, we started to put the Expanded Public Works Programme into operation. To date, we have spent over R1, 5 billion, created over 76 000 job opportunities and begun to afford thousands of those enrolled, with the skills that will stand them in good stead as they leave the programme.

A critical element in assisting those in the Second Economy is provision of information, particularly regarding how they can access economic opportunities. In this regard, the targeted communication campaign on economic opportunities occupies a central place. We hope to partner the media, particularly the public broadcaster, to bring this information to many more people.

To assist in this regard, some 500 Community Development Workers have been enrolled as learners in Gauteng, Northern Cape, the Northwest and the Eastern Cape. Management structures have also been put in place to ensure the optimal utilisation of the Municipal Infrastructure Grant.

To take the interventions in the Second Economy forward, the following additional programmes will be introduced or further strengthened by April 2005, as part of the Expanded Public Works Programme and focussed on providing training, work experience and temporary income especially to women and youth. These are:

- the Early Childhood Development programme, based on community participation, having ensured a common approach among all three spheres of government - the necessary additional funding will be provided;
- increasing the numbers of Community Health Workers, having harmonised training standards and increased resources allocated to the programme; and,
- the more extensive use of labour intensive methods of construction targeting housing, schools, clinics, sports facilities, community centres and the services infrastructure.

Some of these schemes will be referred to in more detail later. The recognition of the second economy has provided an opportunity to discuss the informal, often rural, and predominantly black second economy, which exists in parallel to the first economy, and which CDD is largely targeting.

2.3 The Constitution

The new government came into being in 1994 with an interim constitution and the requirement to produce a final constitution within two years. The nine provincial governments have the power to enact laws; the specification of competences of the three autonomous spheres of national, provincial and local government; and the legal right to non-racialism and equity.

Legislative competence

Under schedule 4 of the Constitution relevant areas of concurrent legislative competence between provincial and national include: agriculture; animal control and diseases; the environment; health services; education; industrial promotion; nature conservation; regional

planning and development; soil conservation; tourism; urban and rural development. Under schedule 5 provinces have exclusive competence in: provincial planning; veterinary services excluding regulation of the profession.

Socio-economic rights

In addition the constitution includes socio-economic rights, such as the right of access to sufficient food and water, and that children have the right to basic nutrition, shelter and basic health care services.

Public administration

The Constitution describes basic values expected of public administration and establishes a Public Service Commission (PSC).

2.4 Public sector reform

2.4.1 White Paper on Transformation of the Public Service

The overall framework for public sector transformation was established in November 1995 with the publication of the White Paper on Transformation of the Public Service (DPSA, 1995). The new vision of the Government of National Unity was:

The Government of National Unity is committed to continually improving the lives of the people of South Africa by a transformed public service, which is representative, coherent, transparent, efficient, effective, accountable and responsive to the needs of all.

In giving effect to this vision, the government envisaged a public service which was, amongst others:

- guided by an ethos of service and committed to the provision of services of an excellent quality to all South Africans in an unbiased and impartial manner;
- geared towards development and the reduction of poverty;
- goal and performance oriented, efficient and cost effective;
- integrated, coordinated and decentralised;
- consultative, democratic and participative.

In the White Paper the transformation of the public service was seen as having 4 phases. Firstly was rationalisation of the 11 former public services, with 30 central departments, 4 provincial administrations, 3 own affairs administrations, 4 ethnic homelands, and 6 self-governing territories, and was implemented through the Public Service Act of 1994. This involved the creation of 42 new departments, including 9 provincial administrations. This was to be followed by restructuring of senior management; creating a leaner and more cost-effective service; contracting out of services through partnerships, and institutional change. In the relation to the latter it states:

'For the public service to fulfil its new vision and mission effectively, it will be necessary to ensure that the creation of a rationalised and leaner service is complemented by changes in management philosophy and practice, as well as in organisational structure and culture, designed to enhance the performance, responsiveness and accountability of state institutions, thereby enabling them to build for themselves a reputation for excellence among the clients and communities they serve'.

With this in mind the Government proposed amongst others the following strategies which are relevant to CDD:

- devolution and decentralisation of managerial responsibility and accountability;
- introduction of new and more participative organisational structures (which stressed team work);
- development of new organisational cultures (from a rule culture to one focused on achievement of tasks and meeting of needs);
- learning organisations (constantly re-appraising work practices and behaviour, building those that are useful and discarding those that are not, by being prepared to experiment, and by learning from mistakes rather than attempting to conceal them);
- managing change and diversity;

2.4.2 1997 - White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery - Batho Pele

This White Paper was published in mid-1997, and it states that service delivery is critical, as 'a transformed public service will be judged by one criterion above all: its effectiveness in delivering services which meet the basic needs of all South African citizens' (DPSA, 1997). This reiterated the points in the 1995 White Paper, and stated eight principles:

- **consultation** - citizens should be consulted about the level and quality of the services they receive, and wherever possible, should be given a choice about the services they are offered;
- **service standards** - citizens should be told what level and quality of public services they will receive so that they are aware of what to expect;
- **access** - all citizens should have equal access to the services to which they are entitled;
- **courtesy** - citizens should be treated with courtesy and consideration;
- **information** - citizens should be given full, accurate information about the public services they are entitled to receive;
- **openness and transparency** - citizens should be told how national and provincial departments are run, how much they cost, and who is in charge;
- **redress** - if the promised standards of services are not delivered, citizens should be offered an apology, a full explanation, and a speedy effective remedy; and where complaints are made, citizens should receive a sympathetic positive response;
- **value for money** - public services should be provided economically and efficiently in order to give citizens the best possible value for money.

In addition this White Paper calls for Encouraging Innovation, Rewarding Excellence and Partnership with the Wider Community.

2.4.3 New Public Service regulations

The previous Public Service Staff Code and Public Service Regulations amounted to a total of approximately 1700 pages, and the Personnel Administration Standards to a further 3600 pages. The new draft regulations contain 42 pages! Of particular relevance is the section on Planning and Organising Work for Service Delivery. This has the following elements:

- **Principles** - These include the setting of measurable objectives
- **Planning** - Core objectives are to be set arising from a service delivery needs assessment.
- **Service delivery programme** - The executing authority shall establish and maintain a service delivery improvement programme that must include a list of the type of actual and

potential customers and the main services provided to them; existing and future consultation arrangements with the departments' customers and potential customers; customers means of access to the services, the barriers to increased access and the mechanisms or strategies to be utilised to remove barriers; existing and future service standards; existing and future arrangements on how information about the departments activities are provided; and a current and future complaints system.

This emphasised a strong service delivery approach which has been the hallmark of the administration since 1999, and is strongly emphasised in the Public and the Municipal Finance Management Acts.

2.5 Local government

The policy of government in this topic was originally set in the RDP, with its thrust on deepening democracy. This was then entrenched in the Constitution with the inclusion of rights, and the creation of a local government sphere. It also states that one of the objects of local governments is to encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of local government. The process towards deepening democracy was extended in the White Paper on Local Government, and its enactment in the Municipal Systems and Structures Acts. Following the White Paper on Local Government⁷ "Developmental municipalities" can be defined as:

"municipalities committed to *working with citizens and groups* within the community to find *sustainable ways* to meet their *social, economic and material* needs and improve the quality of their lives".

Notable in the Structures and Systems Act was the definition of a municipality as:

"comprising the political and administrative spheres, as well as the community itself".

This therefore put communities right into the centre of local government. The White Paper states that:

"while regulation remains an important local government function, it must be supplemented by leadership, encouragement, practical support and resources for community action. Municipalities can do a lot to support individual and community initiative and to direct community energies into projects and programmes which benefit the area as a whole. Municipalities need to be aware of the divisions within local communities, and seek to promote the participation of marginalised and excluded groups in community processes...".

The Systems Act talks of participation as voters, citizens, consumers and organised partners. It mentions certain mechanisms such as forums, structured stakeholder involvement in Council committees, participatory budgeting, focus group participatory action research and support for organisational development of CBOs.

The Local Government: Municipal Demarcation Act 27 Of 1998, for the first time in South Africa's history, demarcated wall-to-wall local government throughout the country. The

⁷ White Paper (1998), page 17, drawn from HSRC et al (2003), "Review of Schedules 4 and 5 of the Constitution".

number of municipalities was reduced from 843 to 284 municipalities, including 6 metropolitan authorities (metros, category A) with wide powers, 47 district municipalities (category C) and 231 local municipalities (category B). The Local Government: Municipal Structures Act 117 of 1998, defined the range of local government structures, powers and functions, while the Local Government: Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000 defined the systems in terms of which municipalities should fulfil their developmental mandate.

The Structures Act allows municipalities to choose a ward participatory structure and requires Councils to report on performance to citizens. The Systems Act indicates that the: “council...has the duty to..encourage the involvement of the local community, consult the community about the level quality, range and impact of municipal services provided by the municipality, either directly or through another service provider”. “Members of the community have the right...:

- to contribute to the decision-making processes of the municipality and submit written or oral recommendations, representations and complaints to the municipal council...
- To be informed of decisions of the municipal council..
- To regular disclosure of the affairs of the municipality, including its finances

The Systems Act defined the centrality of the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) to the work of municipalities, including their budgets and performance management systems. The Municipal Finance Management Act of 2004 has defined the financial management arrangements for local government.

The set of legislation around local government prepares the way for a fundamental reconsideration of the way in which municipalities’ developmental role should be supported by other spheres of government:

- The need to transcend “parallel structures” in development delivery;
- the need for integrated multi-sectoral development and planning;
- the possibility of devolving powers and functions to local government;
- and the danger of unfunded mandates.

Further detail on this legislation is provided in Section 3 and 4.

2.6 Civil society

The Non Profit Organisations Act of 1998, defines NPOs as organised, private, self-governing, non-profit distributing, and voluntary, and has promoted registration of NPOs to be able to access government support and tax relief. This is problematic in that it has a very formalised view of the sector, and only registered organisations are able to obtain funding.

2.7 Conclusions

Earlier policies such as the Freedom Charter and the RDP have a major commitment to a developmental state which addresses poverty and promotes participation of communities. Macro-economic policy (notably GEAR) has promoted globalisation and an economic growth model, focusing primarily on the formal, urban first economy. However in the last two years the importance of the informal, black, and often rural second economy has come to the forefront, as have initiatives such as Letsema and Vukuzenzele promoting community action and voluntarism.

The approach to public sector reform has emphasised rationalisation of the many previous administrations, policy reform, and now a drive for service delivery. This can be perceived as a top-down approach, which sometimes conflicts with the parallel drive for participation.

There is an increasing emphasis on developmental local government with enactment of 4 key acts which define local government and how it must operate. Central to this is the concept that a municipality includes the community in the municipal area, and that they must participate in the affairs of the municipality. There is a major emphasis on service delivery and accountability.

A policy framework has been established for civil society, although this is not yet effective. This again emphasises bringing NPOs into the formal sector which is probably inadequate to deal with the 53% of NPOs that are informal.

Therefore we see an enabling policy framework, that enshrines participation and the role of communities, but that is also very service delivery and formal economy focused, limiting the space for bottom-up developmental initiatives.

3 EMPOWERING COMMUNITIES

This section explores the emerging situation at community level, and how the legislative and enabling environment has operated in practice.

3.1 Overall vision and strategy

The overall vision of government in this regard is perhaps best expressed in the RDP, where:

- the second principle is of a People-Driven Process
- the sixth principle is Democratisation of South Africa, and that the people must participate in decision-making

In discussing deepening democracy the RDP has this to say:

“Reconstruction and development require a population that is empowered through expanded rights, meaningful information and education, and an institutional network fostering representative, participatory and direct democracy.

Democracy for ordinary citizens must not end with formal rights and periodic one-person, one-vote elections. Without undermining the authority and responsibilities of elected representative bodies (the national assembly, provincial legislatures, local government), the democratic order we envisage must foster a wide range of institutions of participatory democracy in partnership with civil society on the basis of informed and empowered citizens (e.g. the various sectoral forums like the National Economic Forum) and facilitate direct democracy (people’s forums, referenda where appropriate, and other consultation processes).

Deepening democracy in our society is not only about various governmental and non-governmental institutions. Effective democracy implies and requires empowered citizens. Formal rights must be given real substance. All of the social and economic issues (like job creation, housing and education) addressed in previous chapters of the RDP are directly related to empowering our people as citizens. One further area is absolutely central in this regard - a democratic information programme.”

In addition the Constitution states in:

- Section 152 that the Objects of local government include to encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of local government;
- section 159 (e) - Basic values and principles governing public administration – people’s needs must be responded to, and the public must be encouraged to participate in policy-making.

This gives a strong direction of enhancing participation by citizens in the affairs of the country. The main strategies around this include:

- participation in local government
- a citizen’s charter around service delivery by government services

- promoting involvement of civil society in service delivery, eg in the health and welfare sector

These are discussed further in more detailed elements around legislation below.

3.2 Enabling environment

3.2.1 Promoting people being active and involved in managing their own development

Specific elements of legislation that are relevant are shown in Table 3.2.1.

Table 3.2.1 Specific legislation relevant to community participation in management

Section	Legislation/content
	White Paper on Developmental Local Government
1.3	<p>In the past local government has tended to make its presence felt in communities by controlling or regulating citizens' actions. While regulation remains an important local government function, it must be supplemented by leadership, encouragement, practical support and resources for community action. Municipalities can do a lot to support individual and community initiative and to direct community energies into projects and programmes which benefit the area as a whole.</p> <p>Municipalities need to be aware of the divisions within local communities, and seek to promote the participation of marginalised and excluded groups in community processes...</p>
3.3	<p>Municipalities require active participation by citizens at 4 levels:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As voters, to ensure maximum democratic accountability of the elected political leadership for the policies they are empowered to promote • As citizens who express, via different stakeholder associations, their views before, during and after the policy development process to ensure that policies reflect community preferences as far as possible • As consumers and end-users, who expect value for money, affordable services and courteous and responsive service • As organised partners involved in the mobilisation of resources for development via for-profit businesses, NGOs and CBOs. <p>As participants in the policy process: Municipalities should develop mechanisms to ensure citizen participation in policy initiation and formulation, and the M&E of decision-making and implementation. The following approaches can assist to achieve this;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forums ..to allow organised formations to initiate policies and/or influence policy formulation, as well as participate in M&E • Structured stakeholder involvement in certain Council committees, in particular if these are issue-oriented committees with a limited lifespan rather than permanent structures • Participatory budgeting initiatives aimed at linking community priorities to capital investment programmes • Focus group participatory action research conducted in partnership with NGOs and CBOs can generate detailed information about a wide range of specific needs and values • Support for the organisational development of (community) associations
	Municipal Structures Act 117 of 1998 as amended
8	Allows for a Category A municipality with a subcouncil or ward participatory system
9	Allows for a Category B municipality with a ward participatory system
44 (3) (h)	Executive committees must ... annually report on the involvement of communities and community organisations in the affairs of the municipality.
56 (3) (g)	Executive Mayors must.... annually report on the involvement of communities and community organisations in the affairs of the municipality.
72	Ward committees – the object of a ward committee is to enhance participatory democracy in local government.
74	Functions and powers of ward committees – a ward committee may make recommendations on any matters affecting its ward, to the ward councillors, through the ward councillor to the metro

Section	Legislation/content
	or local council .and has such duties and powers as the metro or local council may delegate to it.
	Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000
Summary	To provide for the core principles, mechanisms and processes that are necessary to enable municipalities to move progressively towards the social and economic upliftment of local communities...to define the legal nature of a municipality as including the local community within the municipal area, working in partnerships with the municipality's political and administrative structures..to provide for community participation
2 (b)	Legal nature – a municipality..consists of the political and administrative structures of the municipality <u>and</u> the community of the municipality
4 (c) (e)	The council...has the duty to.. (c)encourage the involvement of the local community (e) consult the community about the level quality, range and impact of municipal services provided by the municipality, either directly or through another service provider
5 (a)	Members of the community have the right... (a) to contribute to the decision-making processes of the municipality and submit written or oral recommendations, representations and complaints to the municipal council... (c) To be informed of decisions of the municipal council.. (d) To regular disclosure of the affairs of the municipality, including its finances
Chapter 4	Community participation
16 (1)	A municipality must develop a culture of municipal, governance that complements formal representative government with a system of participatory governance and must for this purpose: (a) Encourage and create conditions for the community to participate in the affairs of the municipality, including in ...the IDP...performance management system.. monitoring and review of performance...preparation of the budget..strategic decisions re municipal services (b) Contribute to building the capacity of the local community participate in the affairs of the municipality and councillors and staff to foster community participation...
29 (b)	Process to be followed in developing an IDP – must through appropriate mechanisms, processes and procedures..allow for: (i) The local community to be consulted on its development needs and priorities (ii) The local community to participate in the drafting of the IDP...
41 (e)	Monitoring and review of performance management system – a municipality must in terms of its performance management system....establish a process of regular reporting to...the public and appropriate organs of state
42	A municipality, through appropriate mechanisms, processes and procedures ...must involve the local community in the development, implementation and review of the municipality's performance management system, and in particular, allow the community to participate in the setting of appropriate key performance indicators and performance`targets of the municipality
51 (a)	A municipality must within its administrative and financial capacity establish and organise its administration...to be responsive to the needs of the local community

This key legislation points to a strong recognition of the role of communities as part of the municipality, and that their participation in the affairs of local government is critical. This is particularly so in terms of accountability, and communities are entitled to be involved in the performance management process of local government. This right in fact exists right across Government as expressed in the White Paper on Transforming Service Delivery (see 2.4.2) where citizens can expect consultation, information, transparency etc.

The key representative structure that has been defined for communities is wards, although the role of CBOs and NGOs is also recognised, and in the White Paper the role of local government in strengthening community associations.

The Structures Act allows municipalities to select a model of participation based on ward committees. Around 80% of municipalities now have ward committees. A recent survey by dplg has looked at the operation of these committees and this is discussed in section 3.5.

A specific aspect here is legislative issues around communities managing funds. The provisions in the Municipal Finance Management Act (MFMA) in relation to transfers to outside bodies is shown in Box 3.2.1.

Box 3.2.1 Funds transferred to organisations and bodies outside government

67. (1) Before transferring funds of the municipality to an organisation or body outside any sphere of government otherwise than in compliance with a commercial or other business transaction, the accounting officer must be satisfied that the organisation or body-

(a) has the capacity and has agreed-

- (i) to comply with any agreement with the municipality;
- (ii) for the period of the agreement to comply with all reporting, financial management and auditing requirements as may be stipulated in the agreement;
- (iii) to report at least monthly to the accounting officer on actual expenditure against such transfer; and
- (iv) to submit its audited financial statements for its financial year to the accounting officer promptly;

(b) implements effective, efficient and transparent financial management and internal control systems to guard against fraud, theft and financial mismanagement; and

(c) has in respect of previous similar transfers complied with all the requirements of this section.

While this does make provision for outside bodies such as ward committees or CBOs to receive funds, this clause implies they would have to produce audited accounts and is likely to mean that it is difficult for small CBOs to receive funds. This is something that legal advice should be sought on and the feasibility of establishing a method of oversight and audit.

3.2.2 An active and dispersed network of local service providers

In terms of legislation, Chapter 2 of the Constitution also specifies a Bill of Rights including equality, human dignity, freedoms, environment, as well as rights to housing, health care, food, water, social security, education, access to information. In addition the Constitution specifies responsibilities of the 3 spheres of Government in Schedules 4 and 5.

However the service delivery model inherited from Apartheid was a state essentially designed to serve the needs of its privileged members, and to control the rest. While Government departments have the responsibility to deliver their services in general terms, this may not be a reality at community level. For example in Botshabelo, Free State, there is one agricultural extension officer serving around 200 000 people. Clearly this is a general service and not available widely to specific community groups. Here we only consider legislation about local service provision at community level.

In general the mechanisms for ensuring effective service delivery at community-level are not per se in general legislation and need to be considered in specific sectoral legislation. One

example is in the Schools Act which has gone far in giving communities responsibility for managing schools.

Many services have guidelines for local operations, eg operation of community-policing forums, or for example the Free State Province has Guidelines for the operation of home-based carers. Table 3.2.2 shows related provisions in some Acts.

Table 3.2.2 Key provisions re local service provision

Section	Legislation/contents
	South African Schools Act 84 of 1996
23 (1)	The ...governing body of an ordinary public school comprises elected members, the principal and coopted members
23 (2)	The elected members..comprise.. parents of learners, educators at the school..members of staff who are not educators...learners in Grade 8 or higher.
	SA Police Amendment Act 1998
64 (J)	A municipality may appoint a civilian oversight committee for a municipal police force

The gap in this area is being recognised and one instance where such an approach is now policy is the use of Community Development Workers (CDWs). The President stated in the State of the Nation Address in 2003 that:

“Government will create a public service echelon of multi-skilled community development workers (CDWs) who will maintain direct contact with the people where these masses live. We are determined to ensure that government goes to the people so that we sharply improve the quality of the outcomes of public expenditures intended to raise the standards of living of our people. It is wrong that government should oblige people to come to government even in circumstances in which people do not know what services the government offers and have no means to pay for the transport to reach government offices”.

In keeping with this the CDWs will initially be implemented in the form of a learnership for a period of approximately twelve months. Upon completion of the learnership prospective CDWs would be considered for permanent employment in the Public Service. Although the CDW intervention is nationally supported and locally driven it is worth noting that the bedrock for the success of the project is joined up government or integration which is not only political correct but in terms of service delivery it makes sense as well. Since the project is organised in terms of the delineation of roles and responsibilities therefore the implementation of policy objectives of CDWs would be championed by political leadership of all three spheres of Government, while overall implementation would be overseen by a National Task Team drawn from sector departments (dplg, undated).

3.3 Experiences relevant to Community Driven Development

At community level CDD promotes people being active and involved in managing their own development with wider access to services. Some of the key elements of this include:

- the evolution of civil society and the role they are playing, both in support to communities but also in advocacy of CDD-type approaches

- community consultation
- community involvement in planning for their own development
- community involvement in managing devolved funds
- community management of services
- community representation in relationships with government, eg through ward committees
- community holding of government to account (accountability)

The degree to which these are community-driven as opposed to be community-based is open to debate. At this stage we look at these as a continuum where we are aiming to make communities as empowered as possible.

One problem in South Africa is that participation means different things to different people, and so what one person would describe as participation would for another be a manipulative process – in other words there is no common language on ends or means. One way of assisting here is using Arnstein's Ladder of Participation (see Box 3.3.1). What this demonstrates is that CDD implies empowerment of communities, which implies interactive participation or self-mobilisation, which is way beyond a simple consultative process. Without a common understanding around this, it is very difficult to move forward effectively.

Box 3.3.1 Definitions of types of participation

- a) *Self-mobilisation*: People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions for resources and technical advice they need, but retain control over how resources are used.
- b) *Interactive participation*: People participate in joint analysis, development of action plans and formation or strengthening of local institutions. The process involves interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple perspectives and make use of systemic and structured learning processes. As groups take over local decisions and determine how available resources are used, so they have a stake in maintaining structures or practices.
- c) *Functional participation*: Participation seen by external agencies as a means to achieve project goals, especially reduced costs. People may participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives related to the project. Such involvement tends to arise only after external agents have already made major decisions.
- d) *Participation for material incentives*: People participate by contributing resources, for example, labour in return for food, cash or other material incentives.
- e) *Participation by consultation*: People participate by being consulted and by answering questions. External agents define problems and information gathering processes, and so control analysis. Such a consultative process does not concede any share in decision-making, and professionals are under no obligation to take on board people's views.
- f) *Passive participation*: People participate by being told what has been decided or has already happened. It involves unilateral announcements by an administration or project management without any listening to people's responses.
- g) *Manipulative participation*: Participation is simply pretence, with peoples' representatives on official boards who are not elected and have no power.

Source: Khanya (2002)

The evolving roles of civil society

This section goes into some detail into the background to NPOs in South Africa, who are very involved in the promotion of participatory and inclusive approaches, and often involved in direct empowerment or support to communities. NPOs developed historically within an environment of resistance to the Apartheid government, or service delivery for whites, such as in the welfare sector. After 1994 a democratically elected government meant that it was acceptable and in fact necessary for both the government and NPOs to assume a very different relationship. The challenge of negotiating a new relationship with government for these two types has been different – moving from an adversarial relationship on the one hand, or having to address a drop in funding streams for welfare organisations targeting white people. Some NPOs have managed the post 1994 transition effectively, whereas others have come and gone or changed their services and activities. NPOs face multiple challenges of ensuring programme and activity relevance, funding, research and advocacy, in a more complex environment composed of a bigger and diverse pool of potential supporters, and the terms and conditions that often come with negotiating and fulfilling these relationships. Added to this is the concern that many NPOs have in fulfilling a service delivery role while continuing to contribute effectively to advocacy (Morrow and Naidoo, 2004).

The Non Profit Organisations Act of 1998, defines NPOs as organised, private, self-governing, non-profit distributing, and voluntary, and has promoted registration of NPOs to be able to access government support and tax relief. Swilling and Russell carried out a survey of the non-profit sector in 2002 using these criteria to identify NPOs throughout South Africa, including a range of CBOs such as co-operatives, stokvels (saving clubs), and burial societies. Within the methodological limitations of the study, Swilling and Russell report that there are 98 920 NPOs in South Africa, concentrated in three sectors: culture/recreation, social services and development/housing. These three sectors together employed 178 370 full-time equivalents or 54% of the total number of people employed in the sector. According to the study, 53% of all South African non-profit organisations can be classified as less formalised voluntary associations (i.e. not formally structured as Section 21 companies, trusts and so on). The majority of these organisations can be found in poorer communities (Everatt and Gwagwa). They are therefore likely partners for CDD, their formal legal status notwithstanding.

Many authors (eg Bornstein 2003) point to a divergence in the sector between:

- NGOs which are increasingly formalised, professionalised and integrated into global aid chains and almost completely donor dependent;
- smaller less formal CBOs, who have lost capacity to government, commonly located in and directly serving the poorest communities in South Africa, often lacking management and administrative capacity, and struggling financially.

The latter CBOs mobilise communities, volunteers and specifically target local issues but require considerable support in this regard, and the mobilisation of such groups is very important within a CDD context.

Many NPOs have redefined their relationship to the state as opposition to elements of national policy, such as the conservative economic stance as epitomised by GEAR, or the HIV/AIDS policy, or by slowness of delivery (eg on land reform). This has also led to the emergence of social movements such as the Landless People's Movement or the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC).

Swilling and Russell⁸ argue that key government departments and leading non-profit organisations have co-created a legislative and policy framework that defines a non-profit organisation and establishes a sectoral role in governance and delivery. They have also developed a registration procedure managed by the state without giving the state all power to decide who is/not a non-profit organisation. A centralised funding agency has been established, alongside funding sources (National Development Agency Act and Lotteries Act), while tax incentives have been introduced for private sector donors. They go on to say:

*“It needs to be immediately emphasized, however, that like so much else that has taken place at the policy and legislative level in South Africa since 1994, it is only really the potential that has been constructed. There are already huge complications with the implementation of the framework, most of which have got to do with a dearth of managerial and institutional capacity within the NDA, the Department of Welfare and the Receiver of Revenue to actually ensure that all aspects of the new framework are properly and speedily implemented.”*⁹

Everatt and Gwagwa have a useful review of the sector and its relevance to CDD. They highlight five key problems facing the sector:

- The problem of the longer-term sustainability of the sector (including the perennial issue of reduced donor funding and the absence of effective strategies to counter this trend);
- The difficult legislative and fiscal context in which the sector operates;
- An apparently deteriorating relationship with government;
- Problems within the South African National NGO Coalition (SANGOCO) in providing national leadership and direction for the sector and its alleged neglect of the provinces;
- Poor leadership and lack of organisational capacity in many organisations.

In terms of finances, Everatt and Gwagwa quote the following from Swilling and Russell:

- It is estimated that the non-profit sector had an income of R14 billion in 1998;
- Government contributed 42% or R5,8 billion of all revenue that accrues to the non-profit sector (in Western Europe the average is 50%);
- Health, social services and development/housing get the lion’s share of government support;
- The South African private sector donates nearly R3 billion, 21% of the total revenue flow into the sector ;
- Donors (private philanthropy and non-governmental international aid) contribute R3,5 billion, 25% of revenues that accrue to the sector;
- Foreign donors gave R500m of the total (R3.5bn) in 1998;
- Private donor funding is in health, development and housing, and education
- The financial value of volunteer work is R5,1 billion; added to private donor support (R3,5 billion), the total value of all private support is equal to R8,7 billion or 46% of total revenue flows into NPOs.
- Service fees, dues and other self-generated income accounted for 34 percent of non-profit revenues, or R4,6 billion.

Swilling and Russell quote the Minister of Social Development who states that:

⁸ Quoted in Everatt and Gwagwa (2005)

⁹ Swilling and Russell (2002)

The basic twin expectations of government are that NGOs will firstly, continue to act as monitors of the public good and safeguard the interests of the disadvantaged sections of society. This performance of this social watch role requires both transparency and accountability on the part of NGOs. The government's second expectation is that NGOs will assist in expanding access to social and economic services that create jobs and eradicate poverty among the poorest of the poor. This requires cost effective and sustainable service delivery.

So this implies two perceived roles by government – *social watch* or *service delivery*.

Community consultation

Since 2001 and 2002 national government has strengthened processes of consultation with communities with the concepts of *imbizos* and community development workers (CDWs). The *imbizo* is meant to involve politicians and senior government officials going to villages and townships to meet with ordinary citizens. They are a mechanism for higher level government to bring together all agents in one place to hear from the people directly. This is an innovative way of providing a platform for monitoring access to and impact of various programmes on the quality of life of citizens, and a mechanism for listening better. . Whilst the programme was started by President Mbeki, it is now widely adopted at provincial and local government levels. However, according to Everatt and Gwagwa *imbizos* are still far from playing the ‘downward accountability’ role they are meant to.

Other consultative mechanisms can often be token, eg presenting an IDP to an IDP Representative Forum which really has little chance to make formative inputs, but is expected to rubber stamp the plan. This type of approach to consultation is very common.

The CDW initiative mentioned previously is also intended to bring central government right down to the people, and ensure that communities know of the services available to them from government. CDWs are employed by the province but seconded to municipalities, who are expected to employ them after their one year learnership. However there has been much controversy about this initiative, with some municipalities feeling they are effectively spies accountable to provinces, with a fear about how the payment of these CDWs will affect the voluntary ward committees, and also a worry about a lack of linkage between CDWs and ward committees. Because of this the initiative has been slow to get off the ground, despite high political pressure and profile.

Community involvement in planning

There is a long history of attempts to involve people in planning in some way for their community, including well-known examples such as Cato Manor in Durban. A Community-Based Planning Project has been operating in SA since 2001 with the aim of developing a systematic way for communities to plan for their areas, and take forward those plans. The aim is to improve the quality of plans, improve the quality of services, promote community action, and promote community control over development. This project was funded by DFID, and involved partners in 4 countries, SA, Uganda, Zimbabwe and Ghana. The project developed a common approach which was tested in 2001/2 in 1-2 municipalities in all 4 countries, including Mangaung Local Municipality in SA. The methodology that was developed had the following components:

- a methodology based around the sustainable livelihood principles and framework (see Box 3.3.2)

- that built on livelihoods analysis of different social groups, ie recognising differences between groups;
- that built on preferred outcomes of these groups, not problems, and so moved away from infrastructure focused planning;
- that used wards as a legally recognised participatory unit, and also at which level it was feasible to imagine plans being undertaken in all wards throughout a municipal area, and potentially the country;
- that emphasised wards' action and not just dependency on external resources.

An amount of R10-50 000 was provided to support ward action in Mangaung. The external evaluation indicated that these process funds had had significant impact on community action, that CBP had a major impact on the IDP for Mangaung, that the priorities of disadvantaged groups were considered in the overall plan, and that there had been significant empowerment (CDS, 2002).

Subsequently this project has expanded to take on 8 pilots, with a Steering Committee led by the SA Local Government Association (SALGA) and the Department for Provincial and Local Government (dplg), plus Mangaung Local Municipality, Greater Tzaneen Local Municipality, eThekweni Metro, KHANYA-AICDD (as the project managers of the 4 country project, and then the project manager for the SA component), GTZ, IDT, DBSA.

The pilots have been very committed to the work, and CBP has generated substantial interest nationally, has been adopted by the President's Coordinating Council (PCC) as one of the targets of dplg and there is strong commitment by SALGA to roll out through the country. In this work SA has been leading in Africa, along with Uganda which has also adopted CBP. A summary of the experience as at September 2004 is in CBP (2004).

Another application of participatory planning has been the IDT's Local Area Planning process. IDT developed planning manuals for Local Area Planning in March 2004, incorporating many of the CBP tools. This has been applied in some of the priority nodes where the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme (ISRDP) is operating, and one additional element is around the role of the district municipality, which is particularly important in the very weak nodal municipalities.

Community involvement in managing funds

There are many projects where communities manage funds in some manner, eg land reform projects of the Department of Land Affairs, or poverty relief projects from the Department of Social Development. However there are problems in handing monies directly over to communities. For example in the Community Projects Fund of the Free State Department of Agriculture, joint accounts were set up in 1996 with community groups who were beneficiaries of the fund, with joint signatures by the group and the Department. However the Auditor General closed these down, saying they were all government accounts, and the

Box 3.3.2 Principles of CBP

- we need to ensure that **poor people are included** in planning
- systems need to be **realistic and practical**, and the planning process must be implementable using available resources within the district/local government, and must link in and integrate with existing processes, particularly local government planning
- planning must be linked to a **legitimate structure**, ideally one that can take funds
- planning should **not be a once off** exercise, but should be part of longer process
- plan must be **people focused and empowering**
- we must **plan from vision and strength/opportunities** not problems
- plans must be **holistic** and cover all sectors
- planning should promote **mutual accountability** between community and officials
- there must be **commitment** by councillors and officials and there must be someone responsible to ensure it gets done

Department reverted to having to purchase on behalf of the groups, a very bureaucratic, slow, expensive and disempowering process.

Another example of communities managing funds is in the CBP Project mentioned above, where funds were allocated to wards by Mangaung Local Municipality. Mangaung paid suppliers directly on behalf of wards, all the items had to be from the relevant ward's plan, the ward had to put in the cheque request and managed implementation. An audit by the Municipality indicated that 98% of funds were spent as planned.

Mangaung is also likely to experiment this year with participatory budgeting of project funds, where clusters of wards have a budget and they decide which of their projects should be supported from this fund.

Hence this points to both an opportunity and a problem in SA's CDD landscape, with a willingness to consider providing funds for communities, but a reluctance to hand over the funds. This is a significant issue in relation to CDD.

Representation

Ward committees have been created as the recognised representative structures in South Africa and municipalities can choose to adopt a ward participatory model. These were first created in 2000, along with the newly demarcated local governments, and now some 80% of municipalities have ward committees. However the general experience is that the roles have not been clear, they have often been politically manipulated, and that they are often not operational. In some places there are major tensions between these structures and other stakeholders (eg in Kwazulu/Natal). There are exceptions to this, and Mangaung, which had the experience of wards having ward plans, has had a more active group of ward committees. Mangaung's experience demonstrates that even the circumscribed community management under CBP had significant impacts and released considerable energy and action within the community. CBP offers an opportunity to give ward committees a real role (facilitating ward plans, and managing implementation). Box 3.3.3 draws from CSOs experience of ward committees in Tzaneen and shows what is probably a typical picture.

Community involvement in service delivery

Table 3.3.1 is drawn from a venn diagram conducted in Ward 2, Mangaung Local Municipality, from the 2001/2 ward plan developed under CBP and shows the services provided and their perceived importance and accessibility. This shows the importance of informal NPOs such as burial societies, as opposed to formal sector services, even in this case which is an accessible and central ward. The picture

Box 3.3.3 CSOs perceptions on the Operations of Ward Committees in Tzaneen (IDASA/Khanya 2004)

- a) Most of the ward committees are nonfunctional and committees are not responsive due to:
 - Lack of support from the municipality;
 - Political bias; and
 - Lack of report back
 - Some ward committees are not operating and members are nowhere to be found.
 - Little publicity for Ward meetings and reports.
 - Lack of participation in Council activities
 - Ward Committees not in a position to resolve conflicts or problems face by communities (e.g. non payment of RDP workers).
 - Poor relationship and power struggle between some Ward Committees, Traditional Authorities and Civics.
- b) Some ward committee are operating well but lack administrative support e.g. transportation to attend ward activities.
- c) The size of some wards affects the functionality of the committees.
- d) In some cases various portfolios are allocated to wrong people because they lack know-how.
- e) Some Ward Committees do not know their roles, responsibilities as well as limitations and protocols.

is much more skewed in remote rural wards.

Table 3.3.1 Services available in Ward 2, Mangaung

Organisation	Importance (out of 4)	Accessibility (out of 3)	Comments
Government and parastatal			
Social Workers	4	1	People were confused about their role
Health (clinic)	4	3	
Health inspector	3	1	Some people felt it was important
Municipality	3	1	Water service felt to be good but sanitation poor - blocks up often and not repaired for a long time
Halls of municipality	3	1	Available but expensive at R110 per day
Swimming pool	3	1	Not one in the ward
Caleb Motsabi Sports Club	3	3	Felt to give good service
Boicujo Old Age Home	3	3	For aged who have no-one to look after them.
Telkom			
Post Office			
Police	3	2	
NGOs			
Oranje Vroue Verenging	4	1	Only 2 out of 13 knew it. Provides food and clothes
Day care centre for disabled	4	3	
Church groups	3	2	Accessible if pay contributions
Association of people living with HIV	3	1	Most people don't know of it
Association for the blind	3	1	Take a month to respond
Association for the elderly	2	1	Most people hadn't heard of it
Youth against Elderly Abuse	4	1	Again not well-known
CBOs			
Fairway Burial Society	4	3	
Iphameseng Trust	1	1	
Financial clubs including stokvels and grocery clubs	3	3	
Kgauhelo Project			Home-based care for HIV – not funded
Private sector			
Surgery			
Traditional healers	2	3	
Range of shops ¹⁰	4	1	Few shops in area
Shebeens/taverns			

There are many thousands of CBOs and community projects in South Africa – Swilling and Russell estimating almost 100 000 NPOs. Many of these are providing some form of service to their community and the picture that emerges from work in many communities is that most services received by communities are those they provide for themselves, with the notable exception of schools which are both widely spread and through their governing boards have well developed accountability structures.

¹⁰ Includes tuck shops, butchery, photographic studio, funeral parlours, MTN shop, filling station, spare parts shop, 4 hair salons

Table 3.3.2 Examples of community-based worker systems in SA

	Golang Batcha	Limpopo DoA	CHOICE Trust	World Vision	UNDP SL programme	CDW	Hospice
Type	CBO providing HBC programme	Dept of Agric supported participatory extension approaches (PEA)	NGO – started in 1996 as health training organisation, and deal with other issues. Greater Tzannen munic.. Also mentoring 10 other CBOs in project area	14 area dev projects in SA. Started with relief. Do PRA with communities. 15 year programme – each comm. decides on priorities.	Focus on organic farming.	Multi-skilled CDW acting as arms and legs of government in communities	Palliative care supported by multidisciplinary team. Separately set up focus on children.
CBW	Home-based carers – registered with DoH or DSD, as well as not known	Farmer facilitators	200 volunteer care givers 102 villages Formation of CBOs of CHWs	Target children of 5-15. Have CBWs in all areas – example here from food security HBC similar to others. Food Security Team – gardening, poultry, fishing. Use early adopters.	Selected by the communities	Multi-skilled CDWs living in communities	Community care-givers (CCGs)
Roles	Home-based care DOTs	Agricultural extension	Home-based care for range of health conditions	Health. HIV, Ed, water, agric. programmes		Inform community and enable links/ access to govt services. Promote participation	HBC Bereavement Support
Facilitating Agent	Mangaung Municipality	Dept of Agric	CHOICE Trust	ADPs and WWSA	Project – supported by Gov Depts	Local govt Employed by Province	Hospice
Accountability	Only to executive at moment as CBO. Nurse monitors feedback on client care. Exec also monitors services – but need professional nurses to assist in monitoring.	Accountable to farmers	30 support groups CBWs account to volunteer coordinators. Need to be acct to communities	Community committee to run the ADP. WV pays for Manager, HIV Coordination, Devt Worker, rest from community. FST is group of stakeholders. FST monitor.		To local government. After one year may be employed by provincial gov. Have to produce weekly reports, compiled into prov report and handed over to premier.	Professional Nurse and Social Worker

In the President's State of the Nation Address in 2002 he called on South Africans to adopt the attitude of *vuk'uzenzele*, mobilising communities and citizens to take their lives into their own hands through volunteering. This was to counteract the dependency attitude that 'government will deliver' so communities simply 'waited for their turn' without having to drive their own development.

Recognition of the importance of these community-based services has led to another 4 country project managed by KHANYA-AICDD, on Community-Based Worker Systems, operating in SA, Uganda, Kenya and Lesotho, and in South Africa piloting in Free State and Limpopo. This is looking at the system based around a community-based worker and how it can be improved, to radically increase the availability of services at community level, and increase community control over these services. This is at an early stage yet it is clear that the scale could be enormous.¹¹

Accountability

Although there is prescribed to be significant accountability for example in the Municipal Systems Act, in practice this is limited. Some examples where this does occur:

- limited accountability through IDP Representative Forums, which provide an opportunity for stakeholders to make input into integrated development plans (IDPs). Ward committees may attend these, but they are primarily consultative mechanisms, and often large, so the opportunity to influence is limited;
- audit committees of Municipalities, which undertake performance audits. However the representation on these is somewhat arbitrary and members do not represent a constituency;
- forums such as Community Policing Forums, which provide an opportunity for discussion and debate at police station level;
- service management structures such as School Governing Boards or Community Health Committees present at around half of all clinics¹². The rollout of infrastructure has often been accompanied by some form of community management structure, such as a water committee, or electricity committee who may have played some role in planning.

NPOs and participation

One area of particular importance is the role of NPOs around participation eg participatory project identification and design, inputs by local beneficiaries into project implementation or decisions over the distribution of financial benefits, if generated; and, lastly, extensive participation throughout project cycle management, which is key to CDD. Looking at this last option, the most relevant to CDD, Bornstein's research indicates that South African NGOs encounter numerous barriers to the institutionalisation of extensive participation due to:

- reliance on contracted work which usually precludes any meaningful commitment to participatory planning. Instead, project management tends to be driven by the timeframes, resources and aims of the contracting agency. As a result, participation is used selectively, in those projects less subject to the bottom line.
- even where participatory programme planning is the underlying policy framework, partner organisations and field staff require extensive training in participatory methods and

¹¹ Go to www.aicdd.org/cbw.htm to see details

¹² Strategic Priorities for the National Health System 2004-9, Department of Health

community members show uneven interest in the participatory approaches promoted, finding the language and techniques difficult and the programme outcomes uncertain.

- priority projects identified through participatory techniques may not fall within the intervention framework of the funding organisation, so that requested projects that fall outside of the predefined strategic objectives are deferred to the ‘next project phase’, a phase that never seems to arrive.

According to Bornstein:

“Many of those involved in these projects, throughout the aid chain, reported a commitment to participation. Nonetheless, the rationalities of aid effectiveness and programmatic coherence for INGOs and their funders means that in all but a few instances, appropriate areas for intervention and programming were established, and others defined as off-limits. The formalisation and institutionalisation of participation was partial and generated fundamental conflicts between locally generated priorities and upstream strategic concerns.”

3.4 Ways forward

Developing a deeper understanding of empowerment

The objectives of participatory processes need to be discussed more deeply in different forums (notably in SALGA and dplg) and the practical implications clarified. This would help to ensure a coherent and consistent approach to participation across government and with civil society.

Strengthening ward committees

Some of the areas which emerge as ways to strengthen wards include (IDASA/Khanya 2004):

- Roll-out of capacity building for both communities and Ward Committees by the Municipality through workshops and other mechanisms.
- Ensuring proper co-ordination and publicity to encourage community participation within the wards through Public notices with reasonable timeframes, Official Council feedback reports
- Compilation of Ward plans and profiles and informing the Ward Committees of their operational situation as part of capacity building.
- Establishing effective monitoring and evaluation mechanisms
- Development of well structured communication and consultation processes between Municipality - Ward Committees – Communities.
- Capacity building for Ward Committees on Organisational Development; Project and Financial management; ABET.
- Provision of annual incentives for members after their term of office to encourage availability of community members to serve in the Ward Committees.
- Allocation of resources to enable the functioning of the ward committees: eg cluster centre co-ordination, operational space, access to telephones, meeting venues, loudhailers
- Budget Vote for Ward Committees and allocations to each ward for operational purpose
- Ensuring that Ward Committees serve the interest of communities rather than political parties.
- Development of properly organised meeting programmes for all ward committees and guidance to Ward Councillors on how to manage the ward.

Promoting community involvement in planning

CBP is likely to be rolled out nationally during 2005/6 which is a major achievement. However it is important that the lessons from the second phase of piloting are learned, that quality and the empowerment component are retained, and this does not just become a better way of doing IDPs. It also must be linked with discretionary funds for wards to take forward their plans.

Promoting community management of funds

CBP is one avenue to promote community management of funds, and this should be supported strongly, with the possibility of competition introduced so that those wards which are active can get increasing amounts of funds. Mangaung's experience of participatory budgeting in 2005 should also be followed closely.

The possibility should be investigated of widening direct funding of communities and establishing the support mechanisms for this. A proposal should be developed which could be considered by the Auditor General of a suitable mechanism and this should be piloted.

Promoting accountability

It is essential to strengthen ward committees and their reporting, to municipalities and to the public, using regular public meetings, scorecards etc.

4 EMPOWERING LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

4.1 Overall vision and strategy

The **second section** of the White Paper on Local Government is on **Developmental Local Government** and it puts forward the SA Government's vision of developmental local government, which centres on working with local communities to find sustainable ways to meet their needs and improve the quality of their lives.

“four characteristics of developmental local government, namely exercising municipal powers and functions in a manner which maximises their impact on social development and economic growth; playing an integrating and coordinating role to ensure alignment between public (including all spheres of government) and private investment within the municipal area; democratising development; and building social capital through providing community leadership and vision, and seeking to empower marginalised and excluded groups within the community.

It urges local government to focus on realising developmental outcomes, such as the provision of household infrastructure and services; the creation of liveable, integrated cities, towns and rural areas; and the promotion of local economic development and community empowerment and redistribution.

It also provides three approaches which can assist municipalities to become more developmental, namely integrated development planning and budgeting; performance management; and working together with local citizens and partners. It emphasises the potential of integrated development planning as a mechanism to enable prioritisation and integration in municipal planning processes, and strengthen links between the development and institutional planning processes. It proposes a process for the development of a performance management system for local government; and suggests ways in which municipalities can engage citizens and community groups in the affairs of the municipality in their capacities as voters, citizens affected by municipal policy, consumers and end-users of municipal services, and partners in resource mobilisation for the development of the municipal area”.

In our analysis of CDD we suggested that two elements were needed in order to have empowered local government and government services:

- At local government level that services are facilitated, provided or promoted effectively and responsively, coordinated and held accountable;
- That the district and province is providing support and supervision.

In the South African context, Provincial Government does not just provide support but actually provides many developmental services. In this case it is important that these services are facilitated, provided etc at a regional level within the provincial structure, approximately equivalent to local government level, so helping to ensure deconcentration and some degree of responsiveness.

4.2 Enabling environment

Much of the key legislation for the sector is covered briefly in Section 2. Some specific elements from the Systems Act will be covered in more detail, notably the Integrated Development Plan, a key mechanism for promoting joined up working.

Executive and legislative authority

11. (3) A municipality exercises its legislative or executive authority by—
- (a) developing and adopting policies, plans, strategies and programmes, including setting targets for delivery;
 - (b) promoting and undertaking development;
 - (c) establishing and maintaining an administration;
 - (d) administering and regulating its internal affairs and the local government affairs of the local community;
 - (e) implementing applicable national and provincial legislation and its by-laws;
 - (f) providing municipal services to the local community. or appointing appropriate service providers in accordance with the criteria and process set out in section 78;
 - (g) monitoring and, where appropriate, regulating municipal services where those services are provided by service providers other than the municipality;
 - (h) preparing, approving and implementing its budgets;
 - (i) imposing and recovering rates, taxes, levies, duties, service fees and surcharges on fees, including setting and implementing tariffs, rates and tax and debt collection policies;
 - (j) monitoring the impact and effectiveness of any services, policies, programmes or plans;
 - (k) establishing and implementing performance management systems;
 - (l) promoting a safe and healthy environment; 25
 - (m) passing by-laws and taking decisions on any of the above-mentioned matters; and
 - (n) doing anything else within its legislative and executive competence.
25. (1) Each municipal council must, within a prescribed period after the start of its elected term, adopt a single, inclusive and strategic plan for the development of the municipality which-
- (a) links, integrates and co-ordinates plans and takes into account proposals for the development of the municipality;
 - (b) aligns the resources and capacity of the municipality with the implementation of the plan;
 - (c) forms the policy framework and general basis on which annual budgets must be based;
 - (d) complies with the provisions of this Chapter; and
 - (e) is compatible with national and provincial development plans and planning requirements binding on the municipality in terms of legislation.
26. An integrated development plan must reflect—
- (a) the municipal council's vision for the long term development of the municipality with special emphasis on the municipality's most critical development and internal transformation needs;
 - (b) an assessment of the existing level of development in the municipality, which

- (c) must include an identification of communities which do not have access to basic municipal services;
- (d) the council's development priorities and objectives for its elected term, including its local economic development aims and its internal transformation needs;
- (e) the council's development strategies which must be aligned with any national or provincial sectoral plans and planning requirements binding on the municipality in terms of legislation;
- (f) a spatial development framework which must include the provision of basic guidelines for a land use management system for the municipality;
- (g) the council's operational strategies;
- (h) applicable disaster management plans;
- (i) a financial plan, which must include a budget projection for at least the next three years; and
- (j) the key performance indicators and performance targets determined in terms of section 41.

So this reflects the developmental vision of local government, which is then expressed in the Integrated Development Plan.

The White Paper on Local Government envisages the following roles for provincial and local government in relation to local government (see Table 4.2.1 below).

Table 4.2.1 Summary of roles envisaged for national and provincial government re local government¹³

	National government	Provincial government
Strategic role	Setting overall strategic framework for economic and social development, for all spheres of government. Ensuring that municipal government is structured and capacitated to enable it to promote development.	Developing a vision and framework for integrated economic, social and community development in the province.
Intergovernmental relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Appropriate division of powers and functions between Category B and C municipalities. • Providing a framework for IGR. 	Establish forums to include local government in decision-making processes which affect it.
Development role:		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensure that municipal IDPs form a viable development framework. • Processing grants. • Ensure municipal planning and budgeting give priority to social and economic development.
Municipal capacity-building	Providing a framework	Funding training programmes, providing technical assistance and mentorship, arranging exchange programmes, assisting municipal IDPs, facilitating horizontal learning, and even secondment of staff.
Local government finances	Fiscal provisions for local government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monitoring financial status of municipalities • Building financial management capacity
Monitoring	Monitoring and oversight	Monitoring in ways which empower

¹³ From HSRC et al (2003)

	National government	Provincial government
and oversight:		local government, and do not impede its functions.
Intervention	Where a province fails to intervene, or where intervention is required to maintain economic unity, essential national standards, and national security.	Where municipalities fail to fulfil their functions

4.3 Experiences with empowering local government

Table 4.3.1 shows the current status of decentralisation in different sectors. In this discussion we refer to **decentralisation** as the *transfer of political, fiscal and/or administrative powers to subnational units, usually of government*. **Delegation** involves the horizontal or vertical transfer of responsibility, while retaining the authority with the delegator. **Deconcentration** involves the delegation of powers within an organisation, eg to regional offices, while preserving the hierarchical relationship between field staff and the central administration. In this form there is decentralisation of some administrative powers, in some cases some fiscal powers, but not political powers. **Devolution** involves the transfer of decision-making powers, usually including of a political nature. In this case a government is devolved when the country contains autonomous elected subnational governments capable of taking binding decisions in at least some policy areas". In South Africa's case there has been devolution to provinces, and to some extent, to local government, primarily through **Delegation and agency arrangements**, or **Devolution or assignment of functions** (HSRC et al, 2004).

This uses the following terms:

- (1) **Non-involvement** - *i.e.*, no involvement/bypassing of municipalities
- (2) **Deconcentration** - *e.g.*, seconding employees of national/provincial departments
- (3) **Delegation** - *i.e.*, involvement of municipalities as implementation agents
- (4) **Prescription** - *i.e.*, municipalities required to undertake functions without direct funding
- (5) **"Creeping delegation"** - *i.e.*, involvement in national or provincial programmes, without formal assignment.
- (6) **"Creeping devolution"** when departments correctly realise the important delivery role of municipalities, but this takes place without legislation stipulating the functions or funding.
- (7) **Assignment** - *i.e.*, delegation of discretionary powers.
- (8) **Inherited function** - *i.e.*, functions performed historically by municipalities, regardless of if listed in the Schedules or whether government departments promote them.
- (9) **"Creeping centralization"**- measures which reduce the autonomy/discretion of municipalities.
- (10) **Municipal initiative** - functions performed as a matter of need by municipalities, regardless of whether listed in the Schedules or whether departments promote them.

Table 4.3.1 Status of decentralisation in different sectors

Sector	Non-involvement	Deconcentration	Delegation	Prescription	Creeping delegation	Assignment	Inherited function	Creeping centralisation	Municipal initiative
Integrated planning	X					X			
Infrastructure									
Housing			X			X	X		
Water and sanitation						X			
Transport							X	X	
Facilities management and maintenance						X	X		
CBWPP			X						
Social Development									
Environmental health						X	X		
Health		X?	X?			X	X		
Repro health			X?		X				
Nutrition					X				
HIV/AIDS			MX		X				X
Community development	X				X	X			
Municipal policing							X		X
Arts and culture			X		X		X		
Local customs and trad culture						?			
Sports/recreation					X		X		
Economic									
Poverty alleviation	X			X					
SMMEs	X			X	X		X		
LED	X		X				X		
Twinning							X		
Tourism					X		X		
Small-scale mining					X				
Electricity								X	
NRM									
Environmental management				X	X		X		
Land management							X		
Land redistribution			X				X		
Tenure reform					X				
Community-based forestry					X				
Irrigation water	X				X				
Disaster management					X		X		

This illustrates that the status of decentralisation is patchy, and many developmental services are carried out by provinces rather than local government, and that what is happening in practice is often creeping decentralisation, where functions are being handed on to local government with no linked funding, ie an unfunded mandate.

National (and provincial) policies have not been drawn up with much cognisance given to the lists in the Schedules. Government departments have typically drawn up their own policy frameworks, and then slotted in the local government sphere into those policy frameworks, as and how it seemed meaningful to them. This has created enormous disparities in the ways that different departments have conceptualised the role of municipal government.

Different departments envisage different types of roles for municipalities (HSRC et al, 2003). This causes several kinds of problems:

- Some sectors are ambiguous about the role of municipalities (e.g. housing, health)
- Some sectors are increasingly looking to a municipal role, without any clear assessment of the financial and capacity issues (e.g. transport planning, land reform, environmental management)
- There is a lack of synergy between competencies (e.g. development planning is decentralised, but road maintenance and the provision of housing subsidies are very still centralised).
- Municipalities are increasingly involved in programmes for which they have not received adequate funding, particularly for hidden overhead costs and management costs (e.g. Working for Water, Integrated Nutrition Programme, Community-based Public Works Programme)
- In some cases, the municipal role is simply not clear yet, despite evidence and acknowledgement that municipal involvement is very important (e.g. HIV/AIDS, Poverty Alleviation programmes).

Given the importance of integrated development planning and management at municipal level, the lack of synchronisation of competencies is a major problem. This has been recognised and so dplg has commissioned the two studies above to assess what the current situation is and to propose changes to powers and functions.

In terms of the operation of local government, despite the amalgamation of local governments to 231 local municipalities, many suffer from significant capacity constraints. A recent emergency programme has been initiated by central government (Project Consolidate) to strengthen these municipalities. 136 of the municipalities have been targeted, with support teams being sent in, many from better performing municipalities.

In terms of the experience with IDPs, once again this is patchy. There have been significant steps forward in that most municipalities have managed to produce these. Some of the challenges include:

- inadequate linkage with district and provincial plans (in both directions);
- inadequate strategic thinking, and sometimes the complexity of the dplg methodology has mean that the strategic intent gets lost;
- poor linkage between the plan and budget;
- lack of participation of provincial departments in the IDP process, so that the plan ends up a plan for the municipality and not an integrated plan for the municipal area;
- inadequate information from communities, so that IDPs do not reflect real priorities (eg main priority of IDP ending up sanitation when unemployment is 80%, a real case).

Another area where problems remain is in performance management. The Systems Act indicates the need for a performance management system, but the complexity of this evades many smaller municipalities, and the accountability to communities also specified in the Act is also lost in many larger municipalities.

4.4 Way forward

Some of the key areas where further work is needed include:

- simplifying the IDP process for smaller municipalities (and in the CBP Project ideas have been generated for a simpler participatory IDP process) and using a facilitated process in some cases;
- developing simple planning formats to integrate plans and budgets to ensure that the plan informs the budget (and some formats have been tested in Mangaung) and that therefore the strategy and integration actually gets integrated;
- rethinking the consultative processes during the IDP, to be based on CBP so fully participatory, and to rethink the IDP Representative Forum so that it is a better use of external stakeholders;
- rethinking the accountability mechanisms including performance management system, and simplifying based on a facilitated plan for smaller municipalities, as well as report back processes from municipality to wards.

5 REALIGNING THE CENTRE

5.1 Overall vision and strategy

The overall vision expressed by the new Government was (from Batho Pele White Paper):

The Government of National Unity is committed to continually improving the lives of the people of South Africa by a transformed public service, which is representative, coherent, transparent, efficient, effective, accountable and responsive to the needs of all.

Thus the Public Service Commission uses the following principles in assessing the performance of the public sector (State of the Public Sector 2005):

Table 5.1 Summary of principles and vision for the public sector

Principle	Vision
10. Professional Ethics	The future public service should be corruption resistant with an entrenched ethics infrastructure that protects the public interest from abuse by private and sectional interest.
11. Efficiency, Effectiveness and Economy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The future public service should have well structured human resource development strategies that focus on providing training and other support so that officials are well placed to achieve efficiency, economy and effectiveness in their daily work. A series of useful, practical and accessible guidelines should be provided by the future public service to assist officials in executing their responsibilities successfully and effectively.
12. Development orientation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Every public service department should seek to address poverty through distinct interventions and also by integrating the issue into the core business of the department. Development initiatives should successfully bridge the gap between the two economies that both meet the aspirations of the poor and create opportunities for wealth creation.
13. Impartial, fair and equitable service delivery	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In the future public service, citizens will be empowered, knowing their rights, understanding procedures and able to actively engage. This service will have an accountability culture that comes from high levels of transparency and ongoing assessment about its performance. This high level of commitment will be exemplified by the senior management cadre, which uses performance management systems.
14. Public participation	The future public service should be consultative and flexible enough to offer solutions in diverse applications.
15. Accountability	In future, public service institutions should be accountable for service delivery and financial management as evaluation criteria and systems become used.
16. Transparency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Annual Reports should be accurate, timely and accessible and structured to provide citizens with useful information on performance. The GWM&ES should be fully operational presenting useful customised reports. Performance management systems should be properly implemented.
17. Human Resource	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The public service should be the employer of choice. Human resource management practices should be aligned to

Principle	Vision
Management and Development	government's vision for a developmental state and should succeed in dealing with HIV/AIDS in the workplace.
18. Representivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The public service should demonstrate diversity and representivity as valued elements of improving its legitimacy. • A clear link between human resource planning and employment equity is needed. • Parliament and other oversight bodies should continue to engage with these issues in order to achieve this ideal.

The rest of this section draws heavily from this report.

5.2 Enabling environment

The State has been used as the main agent of change by many newly-independent governments, and South Africa is no exception. The state plays coercive and extractive roles as well as distributive. For South Africa to overcome the legacy of inequality it will have to balance these effectively to be a developmental state and to manage adequately the difficult balance of the demand for immediate improvement in living standards, with the need for longer-term and sustained change. Human (1998) uses the term *revocrat* to suggest the sort of person required to make such a change happen.

There are many drivers affecting the public sector, ranging from strong free-market approaches pushing for efficiency, which tend to emphasise the government as a machine, to the emphasis on public service values and democratic accountability. These differences can be seen in the different views of the public sector, as shown by Mintzberg (1996). A CDD approach emphasises democratic accountability, normative approaches and decentralisation, and would seem to embody the requirements of a responsive developmental state, which is committed to change.

The approach being used in South Africa is a strongly technocratic approach, albeit driven by a strong political agenda. This emphasises efficiency, performance, and management by objectives. A strong role is being played by national government, and this may be reinforced with current discussion about a unified public service, which would unify national, provincial and local government structures.

A CDD approach as a form of governance approach would seem to have an important role to play for a state committed to eradicating rural poverty. It recognises the need for democratic accountability to ensure responsiveness, and an increasing role for citizens. It recognises that significant change may be needed, although it may not be sufficiently ruthless to enforce this. It recognises the need to widen the sources of power through devolution and increasing the role of civic bodies. It recognises the need for strategic approaches but also decentralisation and learning. It also recognises diverse roles for the state, as provider, facilitator or in partnership.

5.3 Experiences with realigning the centre and CDD

Table 5.3 belows summarises the findings in the Public Service Commission's annual report 2005 on the State of the Public Service.

Table 5.3 Progress in achieving the 9 principles for the public service

Principle	Progress
Principle One: Professional Ethics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • While a basic ethics infrastructure has been established, its implementation requires attention for it to become fully entrenched and integrated within the organisational culture and ingrained into the ethos of every public servant. • The Code of Conduct will require further refinement with clear sanctions built in for non-compliance. • The PSC's National Anti-Corruption Hotline promotes ethics as misdemeanours can be reported and its usage demonstrates widespread public interest. • Understanding of the whistle-blowing guidelines and legal framework should be promoted.
Principle Two: Efficiency, Effectiveness and Economy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • While the public service is progressively starting to overcome its difficulties in spending its funds, many departments are not achieving some of their strategic objectives. • There is a continuing problem of departments not relating their annual reports to their budgets and departments are in need of comprehensive management information systems that capture systematically progress in achieving objectives. • Performance indicators need to be better defined with management reporting requiring attention. • To improve reporting and performance in this area, a clearer understanding of the relationship between key concepts such as the difference between outputs and outcomes and activities and objectives are still required.
Principle Three: Development orientation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The daily activities of public administration should seek to improve citizens' quality of life especially the disadvantaged and those most vulnerable. • The developmental state needs to use participatory and consultative processes to achieve success rates in poverty alleviation projects. • The Presidency's Ten Year Review calls for an all-encompassing development framework for SA's development in the next decade and beyond. • Whilst there are programmes such as the Expanded Public Works Programme in place, more is needed and strategies should attempt long-term rather than short-term solutions.
Principle Four: Impartial, fair and equitable service delivery	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The provision of impartial, fair and equitable services is the clearest reflection of justice in operation. Collectively, it ensures a high standard of the provision of public services. • Equity in particular requires an appreciation of historical circumstances in making decisions. • Embedding <i>Batho Pele</i> remains a priority and departments should be made to report on Service Delivery Improvement Plans in their annual reports. • An assessment of the extent to which the Promotion of Administrative Justice Act (PAJA) 2002 is being implemented shows low awareness resulting in poor implementation of the Act. • A survey of citizens' satisfaction in the policing and justice sector revealed that expectations were generally met but that service standards and redress mechanisms still needed to be made explicit.
Principle Five: Public participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public participation and consultation is important because it draws people into decision-making processes but promoting participatory governance style requires clear policies and procedures. • In many instances public participation tends to be managed on an ad hoc basis although there are some efforts to ensure genuine participation. • Research undertaken for the PSC's Public Service M&E System has found that very few departments have clear, formal policies addressing public

Principle	Progress
	<p>participation, even in those institutions that generally make efforts to involve stakeholders in their policy formulation processes.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Service delivery improvements are more successful when communities are mobilised and actively involved.
Principle Six: Accountability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Financial and non-financial accountability is one of the most important principles underlying democracy. • In terms of financial accountability, the increase in the number of qualified reports is a source of concern, indicating the challenge of compliance with the Public Finance Management Act, 1999 (as amended). • The PSC's management of the Head of Department evaluation process, which brings the highest level of public servants under scrutiny for performance, has contributed to an improved performance ethos in the entire public service.
Principle Seven: Transparency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transparency involves making the workings of government visible so that citizens know what is being done with public resources. • The quality of annual reports has improved in recent years, although there are still a number of areas of weakness. Performance information in annual reports needs to be properly linked to plans and budgets. • The envisaged Government Wide Monitoring and Evaluation System (GWM&ES) aims to provide accurate and reliable information on all government institutions.
Principle Eight: Human Resource Management and Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognising that people are the most valuable asset in the public service requires that this resource be managed effectively. • Staff who are well managed tend to be productive resulting in better service delivery and performance. • Departments should ensure that internal human resource policies are in place and that high levels of vacancies are addressed. • Departments need to consider the impact of HIV/AIDS from a strategic perspective.
Principle Nine: Representivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Personnel practices need to be based on criteria such as ability, objectivity and fairness. • Whilst progress has been made in achieving numeric targets, areas of concern remain low representivity of women in management and persons with disabilities.

Some issues emerging in terms of CDD include:

- high level recognition of the role of **public participation** in principles three and five, with the PSC suggesting that public participation has a major role to play in increasing public service effectiveness and improving long-term outcomes of its programmes. Systems for managing public participation tend to be informal and *ad hoc*, although genuine efforts appear to be made to incorporate public inputs where these are sought. There are some isolated pockets of excellence in participation, such as the Gauteng Department of Health, in which innovative and systematic efforts are made to consult service users. In its research for 2004 into sector policing strategies, the PSC found that service delivery innovations were more successful when communities were mobilised and were actively involved. The implication of this is that government is more responsive and participatory when communities are drawn into processes.
- high level recognition of the need for financial and non-financial **accountability** and **transparency** although the degree to which this has happened is not clear in this report.

The PSC suggests that most public service Annual Reports are reader friendly and accessible but in many instances they are public relations documents rather than useful sources of information. Research by the Auditor-General analysed the Annual Reports of 19 national departments and found that around half of them did not link their performance information to their plans and budgets. Adequate detail on the results achieved is also often not provided. Objectives were generally found to be very poorly stated and there is still a tendency to report on activities rather than outputs or outcomes.

- **Monitoring and evaluation**, along with planning and implementation, are key elements of management. The PSC suggests that while policy and implementation practices have been the subject of transformation initiatives over the last decade, monitoring and evaluation are generally recognised to be underdeveloped and in need of attention. In recognition of this, the Governance and Administration cluster has embarked on a long-term project to create a Government Wide Monitoring and Evaluation System (GWM&ES) to provide reliable and accurate data on the progress and performance of all government institutions. An ambitious project, it will take years to come to fruition. Its importance in the interim is the catalytic role it will play in prompting all government entities to strengthen their own internal M&E practices and capacities so that they are able to provide the required information to the GWM&ES. However this does not address participatory M&E by communities.

Another critical area not included here is policy in relation to **decentralisation**. At the moment while local government is getting increasing attention as the locus of service delivery, there is still considerable debate on the appropriate roles of local versus district municipalities, and provinces. The other area is policy around fiscal decentralisation and particularly provision for communities managing funds. At the moment this has received less attention than improving financial control.

5.4 Way forward

The PSC suggests there needs to be clear national policy and guidelines on public participation in policymaking. Such policy should indicate exactly what levels of participation are required and should offer practical and realistic strategies and procedures that can be applied in diverse settings. More innovative consultative techniques are required as well as wider adoption of participatory approaches such as Citizens Forums, Izimbizo weeks and Provincial Executive Council Outreach programmes. To achieve this, clear policy guidelines with supporting regulations should be issued prescribing the minimum levels of consultation and participation required when developing Public Service policy and legislation.

In general in South Africa the policy framework is very positive and supportive of a CDD approach. There is a strong policy intent to promote community participation, as well as developmental local government. Section 3 and 4 gives some guidance on experience and possible ways forward in these respects. Some of the areas which emerge where policy work is needed are:

- improving policy in relation to decentralisation of services
- clarifying policy in terms of enabling communities to manage funds

In general therefore the challenges are not policy (apart from work on the exceptions mentioned above), but rather the application of policy and the development of suitable mechanisms, eg for improving accountability.

Binswanger suggests in a paper on scaling up CDD that conditions conducive to scaling up CDD include:

- **Political commitment** – commitment to participation exists, although this can be in a top-down manner, promoting consultative approaches rather than self-mobilisation;
- **Well-designed decentralisation** – administrative, political and fiscal, emphasising learning by doing – this is emerging, and more work is needed to make decentralisation effective;
- Reducing **economic and fiscal costs** of scaling up – this requires developing suitable designs and there is evidence of this, whether in CBP, or the way that support is being provided to local governments through Project Consolidate;
- Seeing development as a **joint venture** between central government, local government and communities, and so overcoming barriers to co-production – much work is happening on intergovernmental relations, although the reality is still that cooperation is inadequate, and communities still a weak partner.
- **Adapting the design** to local context – this is happening in some instances;
- **Field testing** manuals, toolkits and scaling up logistics – CBP provides an example of this happening. Other methodologies are needed for community management of funds, accountability mechanisms;
- Considering **sequencing** over 10-15 year period – the government is taking a long-term view.

So overall one can be positive that the political will exists, and that many of the conditions for taking CDD forward exist. The biggest challenge is that a top-down approach to this could inhibit the very approach it is trying to promote, as has been seen to some extent with the CDW initiative, which while having many positive features has generated much resistance due to the way it has been rolled out.

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